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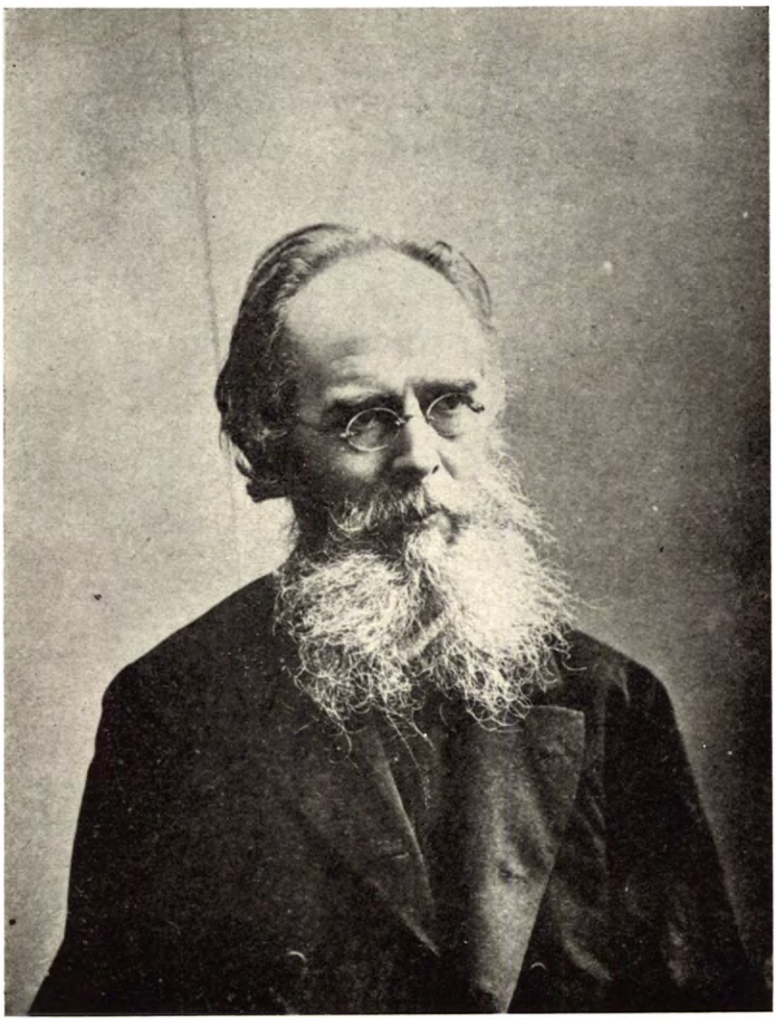

ALEXANDER POTEBNJA

(*1835 — 1891*)

PRESENT AND PAST ACTIVE PARTICIPLES (-ъ, -vъ) AS SECONDARY PREDICATES*

ALEXANDER POTEBNJA

1. *Appositive Use of the Present and Past Active Participles* (-ъ, -vъ) *in the Nominative*

A distinction between appositive and attributive use of the above participles is evident from certain phenomena of the old language, namely, the use of an appositive participle in combination with a second nominative, the use of a co-ordinate conjunction to separate a participle of this type from the main predicate, and the use of nominative absolutes. However, it is also possible to ascertain this distinction in another way: on the basis of the later structure of the language, which is characterized by the existence of the gerund.

Any Slavic gerund is based on the *short* form of the participle. The long form of the participle never becomes a gerund but either goes out of use entirely, remains a participle or becomes an adjective. However, the pronominal component provides participles or adjectives in general with an indication of closer contact with other substantives than does a tie which is expressed only in the agreement of a short-form participle or adjective; *dobryi,* i.e., *dobrъji,* meant approximately "the one who is good [*dobrъ*]." It follows therefore that, conversely, what the short-form adjective and gerund have in common must be their greater proximity to the predicate.

Let us take the main instance of the formation of the Slavic gerund, from which partial conclusions can be drawn about other

* This is a reprint from *Iz zapisok po russkoj grammatike* (Kharkov, 1888), I–II, 181-205, 534-5 and is printed as the ninth in the series of Ukrainian source material (v. *The Annals,* No. 1). The number of examples, which is very large in the original, has been reduced in the translation, and the words "Little Russian" have been replaced by the word "Ukrainian."

instances as well. This is the instance in which the gerund presupposes a participle which is in the nominative and is part of the predicate or directly adjoins the subject. What happens in a sentence when such a participle becomes a gerund? Passing over the intermediary stage, which we shall deal with later, we see that ultimately the participle loses the features which show its agreement with the subject (case, gender, number), and the tie between participle and subject is destroyed. The word that was formerly a participle either begins to tend exclusively toward the predicate (if it previously was part of this predicate), or it begins for the first time to be drawn into the sphere of attraction of the predicate (if it did not have a direct relation to it previously). It cannot of course be held that such a shift in the center of attraction in the second instance was a sudden one; before this happened it was necessary for a sense of distinction to develop in the language between the long-form participles, which had closer contact with what they modified, and the other participles, which were closer to the verbs. The former were attributive in the strict sense of the word, while the latter were appositive. All adjectival derivatives of the participles (*gorjačij, gorjučij,* etc.) came from the former, while all gerunds came from the latter.

Russian regional dialects lost the active participles, replacing them on the one hand with adjectives and on the other with developed subordinate clauses and gerunds. Literary Russian retained these participles under the influence of Church Slavonic, and one of them—the present participle—was even retained in a non-Russian phonetic form. In literary Russian too, when such participles were in apposition it was their long form which kept them from becoming gerunds.

It is still rather difficult to determine precisely the time it took for the gerunds to form in Russian. There seems to be no doubt that active appositive participles were used only in the literary language and that the gerund already existed as a fully established part of speech even by the end of the fourteenth century, although this gerund differed somewhat from the modern

one. In the old chronicle compilations, where the language is older in most cases than that of the time in which they were copied (*Laurentian,* 1377; *Hypatian,* fifteenth century), we still find very many instances of correct agreement of the active appositive participles: *za nimi buda* (masc. sing. nom.), *uzrě, Hyp.,* 44, *prinikъši* (fem., sing., nom.) *Olьga i reče, Laur.,* 24; *Davydoviča nedoiduča* (masc., dual, nom.) *paky hrada stasta blizъ, Hyp.,* 26; *Izjaslavъ že i Rostislavъ, uhadavša* (dual) *i razъěxastasja, Hyp.* 44; *my sědimъ, platjače* (plur.) *danъ, Laur.,* 9. These and similar examples show no traces whatsoever of borrowing from Church Slavonic. The frequent correct use of the present participle in its borrowed form (with *šč*) in the same texts, e.g., *Volga sědjašči vъ teremě, posla . . . Laur.,* 24, does not in itself prove that the Russian form of this participle (fem. sing.: *sědjači; plur.*: *sědjače*) had already gone out of use at that time. Yet these and similar texts already abound in examples in which there is no agreement in the appositive participle. Each of the forms of the nominative of the three numbers of the masculine and feminine gender (*veda* and *vedъ, veduči* and *vedъši, veduče* and *vedъše*) are felt almost equally as the common form not only of all genders and numbers in the nominative but in other cases as well: *Ugri prišedъ* (instead of *prišedъše*) *otъ vъstoka, i ustremišasja, Laur.,* 10; *vysědъ* (instead of *vysědъše*) *na beregъ, otrinuša lodьě ot berega, Laur.,* 61; *oviže popove edinoju ženoju oženěvsja* (instead of *oženivšesja*) *služatь, a druzii do semye ženy poimajuči služatь, Laur.,* 93; *Olьga poimše malo družiny, legko idušči, pride,* Laur., 24, etc.[1] This confusion can be assumed to have begun in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, since the texts of the late thirteenth century already contain instances, although rare, of a lack of agreement (*togo dělja idetь, aby poroznu xodjače* [instead of *xodjaču*] *jasti i piti, Vъprašanie Kjurika* [Kjurik's Inquiry], from a 13th-century copy).

1 Forms of the comparative adverb vary in a similar fashion: *bolši toho namъ neučjalъ praviti* (1501-3), *Akty Zapadnoj Rossii,* I, 225; *kotoraja tretь bolši . . . ottulь dani bolše idetь, a kotoraja menьša tretь, sъ toě i dani menъši po holovamъ birivali* (1479), *ibid.,* 91.

Of the three gerund forms listed, the last one (*veduče, vedъše*) disappears before the others, while the equality of the gerund forms *dělaja* and *prišedъ, dělajuči* and *prišedъši* in Great Russian is evident in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries: *posadniki i sockie pročetъ gramoty, i dali* (1483), *Akty juridičeskie,* 3; *Novgorodokъ Séverskoj, prišodъ, vzjali* (1648), *Akty Južnoj i Zapadnoj Rossii,* III, 216.

In our day a form similar to the old nominative feminine singular (*iduči, šedši*) has become decidedly dominant, but in no Russian dialect has the form which was at one time the masculine singular nominative (*stoja*) disappeared without a trace.

In various dialects—mostly Great Russian—the gerund is separated from the corresponding participles, and sometimes from verbal themes as well, in consequence of phonetic changes, as in northern Great Russian (Barsov, *Pričitanja Severnogo kraja,* passim), due to a special pronunciation of the *c* element from earlier č (as *tc*) and lack of accent on the final syllable: *davajutca,* etc., instead of *davajuči;* in some dialects *priexadči* (like the gerund *prišodči*); *nakopamši,* etc.; *izsušomši, istolčomši, posažomši, podnesomši* (Rjazan' Province, Šejn, *Russkie narodnye pesni,* 327-8).

2. *The Second Nominative With Appositive Participle (Compound Apposition)*

The participles of those verbs which admit the second nominative, occurring appositively, can themselves admit a second nominative. In this form they are secondary compound predicates. In the later language they undergo the same changes as appositive participles without the second nominative; in some cases this second nominative is unchanged, in others it is replaced by the instrumental case and in still others developed into a subordinate clause with a verb in the predicate.

Andrei že knjazъ, tolikъ umnikъ sy, vo vsěxъ děl̃exъ doblь sy, i pohubi smyslъ svoj nevozderžanьemъ, Hyp., 109.

A sii, pravoslavnye xristiane buduče (already in the sense of a gerund) *a narugajutsja i bezčestvujutъ cerkovь Božiju i nasъ* (1450), *Akty istoričeskie,* I, 99.

Se (=*sь*) *že, vstavъ užasenъ i trepetenъ i poklonisja obrazu Božiju, Hyp.,* 133 (438).

Otьca svojego glagolaaše Boga, ravьnъ sę tvorę Bogu, Ostromir Gospel, John, V, 18.

Ne razuměša pravdy Božьja ispraviti Rostovci i Suždalьci davnii, tvorjaščesja staršišii, Laur., 160.

Samъ že ranenъ bystь . . . i priěxa vo Brjaneskъ sъ pobědoju i čestьju velikoju, i nemnja ranenъ na tělesi, za radostь, Hyp., 202, i.e., so happy he did not feel wounded, not realizing that he was wounded.

I *tako vъzvaša kirelěisonъ vsi polci, radujuščesja polki ratnyxъ pobědivše, Hyp.,* 64. If we change the appositive *radujuščesja* into a verb, such as, for example, *radovaxutьsja* (and *rady byšja*) *pobědivše,* the meaning will be not "having conquered they rejoiced," but "they rejoiced that they had conquered": *pobědivše* is used as a second predicative case.

3. *The Conjunction Between the Appositive Participle and Verb*

Sreznevskij (*Mysli ob istorii russkogo jazyka,* 82-3), after stating that combinations such as *bě učę* and *bjaxu lovjašče* are usual in the Ostromir Gospel, Nestor, etc., goes on to say, "as for the past active participle, its ending in *-vъ* has been compared with the ending *-xъ* of the first person of the simple past tense, and it has been thought that both of these endings, together with the ending of the past participle in *-lъ,* had the same meaning as aspiration for the arrangement of the syllables," and for this reason they were supposedly used indiscriminately. This cannot be accepted, since *-xъ* is the mark of the first person and has the same meaning as *-mь,*[2] while *-lъ* and *-vъ* were indicative pro-

[2] Now, it is thought that *-xъ*<*sa-m,* i.e., this presupposes the loss of the mark of the first person in the aorist ending, and is *not* this mark. The pronominal character of the participial suffixes is open to question.

nouns used to form participles as adjectives derived from verbs. It has been observed that *sějavъ* appears in some manuscripts instead of *sějaxъ* (Matthew, XXV, 26). Many similar examples could be cited from old Russian texts (for example, *Volodimerъ . . . vъsplakavъ i reče*). This form has not disappeared in Russian to this day; it survives in northern Great Russian dialects, although it has lost its former definite character. This loss occurred because an indeclinable gerund is used in place of the participle, which agreed with the subject in gender and number (*on už vstavši, vy byli vstavši,* etc.). Both now and formerly the present tense form of the auxiliary verb is omitted in this case, just as we omit it for the past tense, which is formed with the help of the participle in *-lъ* (*on sejal,* rather than *jestь sějalъ*). In Old Czech, however, this present tense form has been retained, just as other tense forms have been: *jest zasluživ, bud' uživ.*

Hence it is assumed here that just as *jestь* is omitted in *on vstal* and *on vstavši,* so, too, *jesmь* is omitted in *žьnjǫ, ide že ne sějavъ* and *jestь* is omitted in *vъsplakavъ i reče.* We shall deal with cases such as *ide že ne sějavъ* below; here we shall take up the latter case. If it is true that the verb has been omitted where it should appear with the participle in *vъsplakavъ i reče,* inasmuch as this participle actually plays the same role as *zasluživ* in *jest zasluživ,* it cannot be maintained that combinations of the past participle in *-ъ* and *-vъ* with *jesmь* are lacking in the Ostromir Gospel and occur very rarely in the Old Russian texts because they have been crowded out by the combination *-lъ jesmь,* etc. Rather, it must be admitted that there was no such crowding out—at least not until quite recently—because expressions like *vъsplakavъ i reče* were actually quite common. But is this the case?

The above-cited opinion implies that *vъsplakavъ i reče* consists of two co-ordinate clauses (as in *zaplakalъ i skazalъ*). Moreover, mention is made only of instances of similar use of the participles in *-ъ* and *-vъ*. Buslaev has a slightly different opinion: "In ancient times a participle or gerund was sometimes used *instead of a verb* in the indicative mood, and in that case a *subordinate* clause could be joined to a principal clause by a conjunction denoting the

joining of *co-ordinate clauses,* e.g., *gradstii lovci tružđajuščesja mnogo i oskuđěvaxu, Skazanie o Petre careviče ordynskom* [Tale of Peter, Carevič of the Horde]; *my sebě ne stavja sudej da pomirilisъ, Ak. jur.*" (*Učebnik russkoj grammatiki*[2] §205). We see from this that not only the past participle in *-ъ or -vъ,* as noted above, but also active participles and gerunds in general could occur in such cases as *vъsplakavъ i reče.* Incidentally, on the basis of the meaning of conjunctions like *i* and *da,* Buslaev also recognizes such usages of the old language as combinations of co-ordinate clauses and, hence, in his examples does not use a comma to separate subject from participle or gerund. It is not clear what is meant by the use of a participle *instead* of a verb: whether some kind of simple tense was crowded out by participles or whether the auxiliary verb was merely omitted in connection with these same participles. It can be seen from these examples that if the latter is assumed we must assume that the auxiliary verb was omitted not only in the present tense (and what would be the meaning of *lovci tružđajuščesja sutъ i oskuđěvaxu* or of *my ne stavja esmja sudej da pomirilisъ*?) but in the past as well. This entails the difficulty that omission of the auxiliary *bě, bjašetъ* is extremely doubtful, while omission of *bylъ (jestъ)* seems downright improbable. If, however, we assume that simple tenses were replaced by participles we must again assume an improbable replacement of a hypothetical past tense (*tružđaaxusja* or something similar) by a present participle in the expression (*tružđajuščesja i oskuđěvaxu*).

If we had before us only expressions without conjunctions, which are indeed common in the old language—as, for example, *prišedše, sědoša, Laur.,* 3; *kohoždo peretenъ na polъ, poverže ja izъ hrada, Hyp.,* 22—there would of course be but one opinion on them, i.e., no verb has been omitted in the neighborhood of the participle and the participle here can be called a predicate only in the sense in which this designation is applicable to an appositive participle as the secondary member of a simple sentence. It is clear that the existence of combinations like *sutъ prišъdъše* does not imply that the same kind of combination had

to exist in *prišьdъše sědoša.* The only indication that the clauses were identical in structure and that the participle was *completely predicative* in *zautra vъstavъ i reče, Laur.,* 4, is that our present literary language would have a conjunction here only if it were necessary to join structurally identical clauses. But to draw such a conclusion about the old language on the basis of the modern language presupposes an equality of these languages which actually does not exist. Our language is generally more compact than the old language. In the present instance (*on vstavši skazal*), the gerund in the modern language is very closely joined to the predicate and is attracted solely by it, so that the predicate with gerund decidedly outweighs the subject.

The conjunction in *vstavši i skazal* seems out of place to us because, in contradiction to the above-mentioned attraction of the participle, it introduces a dispersive element in the language. However, what would be peculiar in the present language might not have been so in the old language if it was a feature of its structure. Hence it may be considered that in the old *vъstavъ i reče* the presence of the conjunction only made clearer an expression which existed even without the conjunction, i. e., the sentence has two *almost* equal centers, with the appositive one attracted by the first of them—the subject—and the sentence, barely retaining its unity, still seeming to break in two, though this was not equivalent to its complete division into two parts, which could have been achieved by turning the apposition into a compound predicate. Such an explanation does not effect the relationship of the tense of the participle to the tense of the predicate, and hence it is applicable equally to cases involving the present participle and cases involving the past participle. The retention of the conjunction even after the participle changed into a gerund may be explained as a case of a phenomenon "outliving" the system in which it arose.

Thus, my view of the phenomenon considered here is that nothing has been omitted where the participle occurs in the expression *vъstavъ i reče,* that the participle does not appear in

place of a verb here but appears on its own merits, that a verb might have appeared in this position at a period which cannot be studied (when the language admitted only paratactical constructions), and that the participle here is a subordinate member of a simple sentence, while the conjunction between it and the verb is not fortuitous,[3] not merely a dialect form, but Slavic-Lithuanian, very ancient and significant at the very least.

The Conjunction "i" Before the Verb

Priimъ Iisusъ xlebъ i blagoslovivъ, i prělomi, Ostr., Matthew, XXVI, 26. In the Greek the appositive participle is not followed by a conjunction as it is in the Slavonic: *kaì eulogésas éklase.*

Pilatъ . . . ixvedъ vъnъ Iisa, i sěde na sǫdišči, ibid., John, XIX, 13. Here a participle is used where the Greek has a verb: *égagen kaì ekáthisen.*

Povelě voinomъ svoimъ, ždъše vъ crъkъve, i rešti piskupu Sisiniju, jako . . . Suprasliensis, 162.

Izjaslavъ že perestrjapъ (having waited, having delayed) *dva dni u Lohožьka, i ide, Hyp.,* 11. *Privedъ brata svojeho . . . i da emu Perejaslavlь, ibid.,* 13.

This construction occurs often in these and many other, later texts. The use of the conjunction here should not be identified with polysyndeton, which is also peculiar to the old language and to some extent to present-day colloquial speech. The conjunction in the instance being discussed can also be used where in the broader sense polysyndeton cannot, and *vice versa.* For example, the power of polysyndeton (i. e., of a number of phenomena which are different from the use of a conjunction between appositive participle and verb but are not more closely defined by us) made it possible to say: *i ne daša ego živa, i*

[3] Miklosich, *Vergleichende Grammatik,* IV, 827: "Vor dem vb. fin. steht oft die Konj. *i,* wenn das Part. vorangeht. Ich setze diese das Satzgefüge störende Erscheinung auf Rechnung der Abschreiber."

umorivъše, rekoša. However, independent of polysyndeton we have:

ne daša ego živa i, umorivъše... i rekoša Frjagomъ: umьrlъ estъ, Novgorodskaja pervaja letopis' [First Novgorod Chronicle], 28.

Old Serbian has: *Ězъ knezъ Miroslavъ, klьnьse, i podьpisaxъ* (1186), Sreznevskij, *Svedenija i zametki o maloizvestnyx i neizvestnyx pamjatnikax,* XLVII, 144; *sego radi pisavъ i podьpisaxъ,* Miklosich, *Monum. Serb.,* 10.

Old Polish has: *a wstav David tajnie i przyszedł na to miasto, gdzie był Saul,* Kings I, XXVI, 5, Maciejowski, *Dodatki do piśmiennictwa polskiego,* 18; *roskrzyżowaw swoji swøci røce i pokløknøł* (1450), *ibid.,* 105.

Old Czech has: *Jakžto lvovy štěnec... jenž geště netvrd v nohy... uzřie někde stádo volov, však pochce k nim s hory dolov, nemoha té moci jměti, stana* (in the sense of a past participle) *i počne tam chtěti.* Hattala a [and] Patera, *Zbytky rýmovaných Alexandreid staročeských,* 5.

We find the same thing in Lithuanian with *ir.*

In Slavic we also find on rare occasions a present active or passive participle with this same conjunction: *Se, otьče, ne drьzaxъ priti kъ tebě, pomyšljaja, jeda kako, gněvajasja na mja, i ne vpustiši ny vъ manastyrь, Žitie Feodosija* [Life of Theodosius], *Učenye zapiski vtorogo otdelenija Akademii Nauk,* 2, 192 (= becoming angry at me you will not admit us).

Rusь že, dospěvše polkъ, Božieju pomoščьju ukrěpljaemi, i poidoša protivu imъ Hyp., 126 (423). *Aščе li kto zavistiju sotoninoju odrьžimь, i drьznetь razoriti čto otъ prinosimyxъ mnoju* (1222-8), Miklosich, *Monum. Serb.,* 10.

The conjunction *a* is also used in the same position after active participles.

Poběže Fedorъ Danilovicь sъ tiunomъ Jakimomъ, poimъše sъ soboju 2 knjažičja... Tъgda Novgorodci rěša: dažь čto zlo sъdu-

mavъ na svjatuju Sofiju, a poběglъ, a (= *ino* "then") *my ixъ ne gonili, Novg.* I, 44.

Old Polish has: *W tø dobø sebraw pachołek strzały a przi-szedł* (= *przyszedł*) Kings I, XX, 38 (fourteenth to fifteenth centuries), Maciejowski, *Dodatki,* 15.

Old Czech has: *potom Iovian, vyšed z vody, a nenalezl rucha ani konie sveho i, podiviv se tomu, a zasmutil se s toho velmi* (late fifteenth century), Hanuš, *Malý výbor z literatury české,* 15.

Here Old Russian makes the same use of the particles *ti,*[4] *ta, taže, tože* (having the sense of sequence in time and not to be confused with *tože,* "the same"), *toli, noli*:

Ašče bo kto i ne videvъ eja (Theodosius' mother), *ti slyšaaše ju běsědujuščju, to načьnjaaše mněti muža ju sušča, Žitie Feodosi-ja.* The same thing occurs after dative absolutes: *A vy, razdravše* (having created dissension, disorder), *ta pročь, Novg.* I, 43 — a turn of speech which has not yet gone out of use where the main predicate is omitted: Russian *a vy, rassorivši, da proč'. Kako i koliko lětъ ležavъ tělo svjatoho, tože nevrěženo prebysłъ ni ot kojeho* (*že*) *płъtojadьca* (twelfth century), Streznevskij, *Skazanie o Borise i Glebe* [Tale of Boris and Gleb], XXIV; *Ne lěnitesь kъ cerkvi xoditi... i v svoej klěti xotja spati, Bogu poklonivsja, toli na posteli ljazi, Poučenie Luki Židjaty* [Sermon of Luka Židjata], *Russkie dostopamjatnosti,* I, 8.

[4] Phonetically the conjunction *ti* is related to Church Slavonic and Serbo-Croatian *te* (Greek *kai*), just as *ni* = Lithuanian *neī* is related to *ne. Ti* = *i, a* in meaning (Miklosich, *Lexicon palaeoslovenico-graeco-latinum*). In consideration of the opinion (Miklosich, *Lexicon, s.v.*) that this *ti* occurs with the adverbs *kako, tako* (and others), I might point out that in *kako-ti* the *ti* is not a conjunction but the ethical dative of a pronoun, which in Russian, Polish and Czech is often abbreviated, to *-tь, -ć, -t'* (as in the Hypatian Chronicle *mi* is abbreviated to *mь,* 591, etc.), which, it seems, is never the case with the conjunction *ti.* Although Old Russian, Old Polish and Czech *at',* imparting to the indicative the sense of an imperative and permissive = Slavic *da,* Lithuanian *te, tegùt,* Russian *pust',* Ukrainian *nexaj,* corresponds in meaning to Lithuanian *te* (*Archiv für slavische Philologie,* VI, 284ff), there is a probability that there is no etymological connection between *at'* and *te* and that *at'* is from *a-ti* (*ASPh,* VII, 65), in which the *a* is like the *a* in *a-byx, da-byx,* whereas the *-t'* is from dative *ti.*

If it were permissible to draw a conclusion from a majority of cases and to contrast to the use of the conjunctions *i, a* and *ta* after the appositive past participle the observation that this kind of conjunction does not ordinarily occur after a present participle (for example, *za nimi buda, uzrě, Hyp.,* 44; *onъ mnij buda, ne pokoritъ mi sja, Laur.,* 149, *Hyp.,* 80),[5] one might think that not only the particles *ta* and *taže* in the examples cited but also the particles *i* and *a* in *vъstavъ i reče* intensify the sequence in time which is implied by the tense of the participle: "having arisen, he *then* said."

In clarification and restriction of this kind of explanation of *i* and *a,* I should add, first, that *a* can also occur after the predicate, followed by a participle:

Ty, knjaže, čužeja zemli iščeši i bljudeši, a svoeja sja oxabivъ, Laur., 28.

Second, examples were cited above of separation of present participle from predicate by *i;* a present participle designates an event contemporaneous with the predicate and not prior to it, but here *i* is in place as an indication of the sequence of a constantly operating factor and of a result: "becoming angry and (because of this) you will not admit."

Third, mention should also be made here of the use of *a* before the postpositive present active participle (and gerund) in the sense of "and at the same time": *Poslaša pskoviči voevodъ svoixъ, a krestnoe cělovanie pravja, Pskovskaja pervaja letopis'* [First Pskov Chronicle], 216; and in Old Polish: *O angele Gabriele! Gdzie jest ono twe weselie, coś eś mi go obiecował... a rzekący (rzekąci?)*: *"panno, pelna jeś miłości"* (1470), Maciejowski, *Dodatki,* 122. I consider impossible a phonetic interpretation of Po-

[5] That is, a present participle in the meaning of a present one. We know that Old Russian and other Slavic dialects quite commonly had a present participle and a form partly similar to it (for example, *poverha stjahy i poskoči, Hyp.,* 24; the present participle would be *povьrhna,* and the past *povьrhъ*; the same form appears as an archaism in the saying *nesmoga s kljačej, da po oglobljam*) in the meaning of a past participle. Cf. Buslaev, *Istoričeskaja grammatika russkogo jazyka.* § 54, notes 2, 3. In this case a conjunction following this participle is as common as a conjunction following a past participle.

lish *a rzkøc* (Queen Zofia's Bible, *et passim*) as a single word, as in Russian *aržat', iržat'* (*ASPh*), VII, 419.

Even in a sequence of words as *vъstavъ i reče,* on rare occasions *a* is found after the present active participle: *aže kto běža a pojemletъ čto čto susědne, ili tovarъ, to gospodinu platiti zanъ, Russkaja Pravda po Sinodal'nomu spisku, Russkie dostopamjatnosti,* 58.

From what has been stated above, this use of the conjunction as a kind of inconsistency of the language persisted even after the participles had become gerunds, disappearing almost without a trace only in the present literary language: *Svěšča* (accusative plural) *vъžehъ* (gerund), *i pridoša, Hyp.,* 6; *I vy, napisavъ gramotu, da pošlite ko mně, Psk.* I, 222. *Němcy . . . prišedše, da dva isada bolšixъ vyžgoša, ibid.,* 223.

Great Russian examples from Buslaev's *Grammatika,* § 285, note 1a, for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries also belong here: *priěxavši, da učali paxati: žalujuči togo Savki, da žito emu otdali.* Cf. also *Bogu pomoljas', sam i von pošel, Drevnie rossijskie stixotvorenija* (1818), 286.

Because of the possibility of doubt whether a verb has been omitted in the neighborhood of the gerund here, it is important that the same kind of usage occurs in present-day Ukrainian, while the gerund does not appear in the predicate (*on uže vstavšy; a kak-de my budemъ nedošodъ do Poharu versty sъ try, i totъ de moj tovaryšъ . . . ostalsja pytъ vody i tabaku* [1648], *Akty Južnoj i Zapadnoj Rossii,* III, 220); in Ukrainian:

Ottym to Nastja, dyvljačys' na xudobu, ta j žurylas', Kvitka.

Neduže ja dobre zrobyv, ščo ne rozpytavšy Vasylja, ta j poklykav joho do sebe, Kvitka.

Ot uvijšovšy, ta movčky j stav kolo joho, Kvitka.

The phenomenon discussed in this section is a special case of what might be considered the inadequate cohesion of the sentence in the old and the colloquial language as compared with the present-day literary language. The conjunctions here seem to mark the still inadequately integrated parts of the sentence. This accounts for the following cases:

a) a conjunction used to separate dative absolute from predicate: *i byvšju molčanьju, i reče Volodimerъ, Hyp.,* 1.

b) a conjunction between developed subordinate and principal clauses, superfluous from the point of view of the present-day literary language: *čeho xočete, i damy ti, Hyp.,*[2] 18.

In present-day Ukrainian: *ščo Božyj den' perebere orišky, ščo šče na vesilli, jak pobačylys' uperše, ta vin jij dav,* Kvitka.

It is also worth noting that in present-day Ukrainian a subject which has no participle or gerund at all can be separated from the predicate by the conjunction *ta*: *A toj didus' ta buv sobi zovsim kalika ta šče j nimyj,* Kvitka; *a tam čuty, skrypka hra z cymbalamy: Matvij Špon ta prodav sil', roščytavs' i hrošyky včystyv ta j nanjav trojistu, idem.*

Yet the conjunction frequently cannot be termed pleonastic here because it expresses a kind of mild contrast to the predicate of a concealed thought bound to the subject.

4. *The Nominative Absolute*

The relative independence of the appositive participle in the old language and the similarity of its function to the function of the main (verbal) predicate is manifested not only in the fact that it is separated from the predicate by a conjunction but in another way as well: the possibility of a subject with an appositive participle where the verbal predicate has its own subject. This construction is found in Slavonic texts more rarely than dative absolutes, but it hardly follows from this that we are authorized to consider it the error of individuals and an indication that the writer's attention generally or at the given moment slackened or that he was forgetful, that the writer involuntarily left one train of thought in the middle of a sentence and picked up another.[6]

[6] In the spoken language, especially where the speaker is inclined to use long sentences, true anacoluthon is found very often. Where it does not hinder understanding it can be retained in writing as a literary device which imparts vitality and simplicity to speech. Thus, for example, Kvitka writes:

"The reason for this irregularity (the nominative absolute)," says Zikmund, "is for the *most* part *'výšin z vazby počaté* [deviation from the original sentence structure]'" (*Skladba jazyka českého,* 676). But first of all this is not the reason for the phenomenon but the phenomenon itself. Moreover, if this construction appeared more often it would not be considered an irregularity when considered *per se.* It can be disapproved only on the basis of a rule derived from a one-sided observation of the later gerunds. The gerund which arose from the apposition of a subject with a verbal predicate will naturally relate through this predicate to the same subject, but in other instances the gerund may not relate to the subject of the verb at all. The nominative absolutes should be considered on the same level as the dative absolutes, which can hardly be considered irregular. *"Výšin z vazby počaté,"* inconsistency (anacoluthon) or deviation in the middle of a passage from the initial structural plan presupposes that initially the speaker intended or had to relate the verb to the same subject to which the participle would be related. Such a plan did not have to exist here, however. Even assuming that there was such a plan, it is conceivable that some situations in a language are so favorable to deviation from it that such deviation could readily become regular, while other situations are less favorable. The examples

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Čy je ž takyj čolovik na sviti, xto b ne ljubyv ditočok? Ni, nema takoho čolovika, ščob jix ne žalovav. I samyj zapeklyj xarcyzjaka, zvisno, jak o svojemu umi, a ne tohdi, jak rozljutuet'sja, ščo j ne čustvuje ničoho... (one expects to find *i toj jix žaluje,* etc., but instead:) *i v toho ruka ne pidnimet'sja, ščob jake zlo zrobyty dytyni,* Kvitka, *Boži dity* [God's Children].

Cases of attraction also come under this category: a) agreement of the predicate with the latter of two or several subjects of the same clause: *Ty dumaješ, tvoja pracja ob n'omu i same puste slovo, čym vtyšyv joho, tak i propalo?* Kvitka, *Boži dity;* Buslaev, *Istoričeskaja grammatika,* § 237, note 1, and b) agreement of the predicate with the subject not of the principal but of the subordinate clause, which expresses a simile: *Na dvori bojary, jak mak zacvitaje,* Metlyn'skyj, *Narodnye južnorusskie pesni,* 157, 173; *Oj tam xlopci slavni zaporožci, jak mak procvitaje* (i.e., begins to bloom), *ibid.,* 430; *Holovka, mov kavun kačavsja,* Kotljarevs'kyj, *Enejida* [*The* Aeneid]

below are taken from old texts in which the language is typical of the time. Similar examples from the present-day language would be the mistakes of individuals. The reason that the appositive participle was more likely to have its own subject in the old language than in the modern language might be that the participle in the old language was more like the verb than it is in the modern language, that in having adhered to the subject it tended to complete the sentence, though not entirely, and yet gave the thought a certain break, serving to divide the sentence into two parts in a way similar to the case of *vъstavъ i reče,* but with the difference that in a sentence with nominative absolutes the subjects of the main and secondary predicates were different. In our modern language expressions such as *ja sdelavši, on skazal* are unusual because this language has what might be termed greater inertia, causing the thought expressed to tend toward the end of the sentence; greater rapidity causes fewer twists and turns. Here are some examples from the old language:

Žętelěne že uslyšavъše plača mladeništa, i mati, počuvъši, obratisę i, razuměvъši svojego zъla, vъskriča sъ vъsěmi, Supr., 31.

I ta vsja stvorivъ azъ, reče Ihorь, nedostoino mi bjašetь, žiti, Hyp., 131; *I prišedъ Izjaslavъ Mьstislavičь kъ Kievu, i bě Ihorь razbolělsja vъ porubě i bě bolenъ velmi, Hyp.,* 28.

There are cases in which the subjects of the participle and verb are identical but the subject and participle take the form of nominative absolutes because they are far removed from the verb: *my člověci grěšni sušče i smertni, to ože ny* (whoever) *zlo stvoritъ, to xoščemъ i požerti i krovь ego prolьjati vskorě, Laur.,* 101.

On the one hand, an intermediary stage can be observed between the participle in complete agreement with what it modifies and, on the other, the gerund completely out of agreement and without a direct connection with the noun modified

by it. At this stage the word derived from the participle cannot be called a participle because it is now devoid of gender, number, and case, but it is not a gerund either in the sense described, because it does not occur with the verb but with its own subject. We shall cite examples of such a participial derivative with the dative below, but here we shall add to the above examples of the nominative absolute the following examples, in which the derivative, no longer in agreement, is no longer in the second case:

Vyskakavъ že vsi pročii iz lodьi, i reče Olegъ, Laur., 10. *Izjaslavičь Mьstislavъ veduči vъ pomočь otcju Uhry, i slyša Volodimerъ Haličьskyj, ože idetь Mьstislavъ Izjaslavičь, Hyp.,* 65. *Po Velikoj rěke ledъ iduči, xristijanomъ silno mnogo xoromъ podralo i zapasovъ sneslo, Psk.* I, 234. *I ženixъ sъ otcomъ pošedetъ k nevěstinu otcu ili materě, a priěxavъ, i nevěstinъ otecь i srodstvennye vstrěčajutъ ixъ i čestь vozdadutъ,* Kotošixin, 125. *A i na nebe prosvetja svetel mesjac, a v Kieve rodilsja moguč bogatyr', Drevnie rossijskie stixotvorenija* (1818), 45.

Ukrainian has: *Povjazavšy sobi odyn odnomu rušnyky* (matchmakers), *ot starosta j kaže,* Kvitka, *Marusja; Vin* (God) *objavyt' tvoje dilo čerez te, na ščo ty j ne dumaješ... ta objavyvšy se* (God), *tut vidkryjut'sja j usi zliji dila, ob jakyx vže ljudy zabuly y rozis'kuvaty, idem, Perekotypole* [Tumbleweed].

The following is an example of the nominative absolute in Old Czech: ranění jsouce a kryjíce se v lese, zvěř je rozsapala, Bible *Bratrská* [Bible of the Brethren].

Old Polish has: *Zabiw macierz nieo (d) daną, niepomože jemu tego obrzecezenie* (statement that he was not legally married), *ale musi głową zapłacić* (15th century), *Księgi ustaw polskich i mazowieckich,* 47.

For Serbian and Croatian see Miklosich, *Ver. Gr.,* IV, 837. The same thing occurs in Lithuanian.

Anyone who would like to assume the omission of an auxiliary verb where it occurs with the participle in all of these cases, such as *vyskakavъ (še) sutь,* would have to explain why expressions such

as *vyskakavъ (še) že vsi pročii izъ lodьja, i reče Olegъ* have the meaning not of co-ordinate clauses (they all jumped out, then Oleg said), but of a subordinate order (when they had jumped out, then Oleg said).

In cases where the gerund does not occur with an obvious nominative it is impossible to determine whether this expression came from nominative or from dative absolutes. Either is possible, and the dative is more probable only because this construction is more common. However, the form of the gerund sometimes indicates the nominative, as in *ubivъ mene* (i. e., when you kill) *a tobě volostь, Hyp.*, 16. It is likewise improbable that expressions as old as *rekuče (rekušče), rekъše,* used impersonally in the sense of "namely, that is" (*ko vsimъ stranamъ dalnimъ, rekušče kъ Hrekomъ, i Uhromъ, i Ljaxomъ, i Čexomъ, Hyp.*, 3), did not change their phonetic form until after the gerund had developed. Their endings point to a nominative plural. Other instances point to the same case in the singular, as in *a budetъ kto vъ těxъ zapovědnyxъ lěsaxъ pro svoj obixodъ sěčь lěsъ, i takomu, poimavъ, byvaetъ žestokoe nakazanie i penja,* Kotošixin. In the present literary language we have *isključaja* "except," as in *vse prošli, isključaja togo to.* For similar gerunds in Czech (*tako řka,* "so to say," etc.), see Hattala, *Srovnávací mluvnice,* 88; Zikmund, *Skladba,* 676, notes 5 and 6.[7]

The nominative absolute used without a participle in a time sense is as rare as the dative absolute without a participle: *Toja že zimy ešče poslove Pskovskii na Moskvě* (i. e., when they still were), *knjazь Pskovskoj Iv. Aleksandrovičь i posadnikъ stepennoj Alekšej Vasilьevičъ založiša gradъ novъ derevjanъ na Sini rěki, Psk.* I, (*Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej,* IV), 228.

[7] If it were possible to prove the existence in Polish of a present participle in the nominative singular masculine in *a* (as in Russian and Czech), it would be possible to assign the following to cases of a gerund derived from a participle with an indefinite subject: *Wojtek nie wiada gdzie* (= *nie wiedzieć gdzie, niewiadomo gdzie,* Russian *nevest' gde,* Ukrainian *ne znaty de*) *sie podzioł,* Kozłowski, *Lud (Mazow.)* 226. Otherwise, *nie wiada* is a feminine singular substantive with omitted predicate.

On rare occasions another construction of the same type occurs, consisting of an independent subject with a developed clause or other form dependent on the main predicate:

Konь, jego že ljubiši i ězdiši na nemъ, otъ togo ti umreti, Laur., 16; *Po vsja dni vъ večerě mužъ sъ ženoju i sъ dětьmi i sъ domočadcy, kto uměet gramotě, otpěti (imъ) večernja, Domostroj,* [House Orderer], Buslaev, *Istoričeskaja Xrestomatija,* 821.

In Polish: *zbójce, którzi sudze imenie drapieżą, ma jem być wszitko imenie zabrano* (fifteenth century), *Księgi ustaw,* 47. The same thing occurs even now in colloquial speech: *trzecia droga, co naprawo będzie, w tą jedź,* Wincenty Pol, *Dzieła.....*

The effect of such a construction is that it concentrates attention on the first nominative, setting it apart from the other parts of the sentence. An entirely different meaning would be conveyed if the Laurentian text had been: *otъ togo ti konja, na nemъ že ězdiši, umereti.*

The so-called infinitive absolute plays a somewhat similar role in the realm of the predicate: *znat' on znaet, da ne govorit.* If we explain this kind of infinitive for ourselves by writing *čto kasaetsja do togo, čtoby znat',* or *čto do znanija, to* . . . we can see that a subject placed entirely independently, not only without any verbal predicate but without any predicate whatsoever, in its way can have a similar meaning. Thus, for example, in the usual formulation of the princely charters of the fifteenth century we find: *A xto kotoromu knjazju služitъ, gdě by ni žilъ, tomu sъ těmъ knjazemъ i xoditi (ěxati), a gorodnaja osada* (i.e., "as for siege," or, "in the event of siege"), *gdě xto živetъ, tomu tuto i sěděti (v. sěsti), Sobranie gosudartvennyx gramot i dogovorov, xranjaščixsja v Gosudarstvennoj kollegii inostrannyx del,* I.

The significance of this kind of nominative absolute is clear in the Russian texts from the fact that it was sometimes preceded by the conjunctions *a čto*: *A čto knjazь Ivanъ Stryga, a totъ mně zděse u sebja nadobě, Psk.* I, 244.

The fact that the nominative subject becomes independent if

a pronominal subject is introduced comes under this category and to some extent is also one of the cases in which the subject is separated from the predicate by a conjunction:

Borǫstii sę sъ nami vrazi naši, ti iznemogošę i padošę, Supr., 54.
A knjazъ Andrěj Mixajlovičъ Šujskoj, a onъ byłъ zloděj, Psk. I.

This is often found in Russian *byliny*, etc.: *A i molodoj Dunaj, on dogadliv byl,* Kirša Danilov, *Drevnie rossijskie stixotvorenija, passim.* (The following are different from the above cases: a. when the pronoun follows the subject and predicate—*Ukatilosja krasnoe solnyško za gory ono da za vysokie, Za lesuška ono da za dremučii,* Barsov, *Pričitan'ja Severnogo kraja,* I, 1; and b. when the pronoun precedes the noun—*Videl ja Tugarina Zmeeviča; V vyšinu li on Tugarin trex sažen,* etc.).

In Ukrainian: *Zaxarij, jak ne vmiv xytrovaty (i dlja čóho b to jomu), vin i rozkazav use,* Kvitka, *Boži dity.*

A pronoun after a subject is a means of separating this subject from a number of others, sometimes enumerated previously: Belorussian, *Bylo pic'-pradavac' Majho kanja varanca, Abo mjane malajca. Kon' varanec, ën vyslužywsja b, a ja b maladzec, ja b vykupiwsja,* Šejn, *Materialy dlja izučenija byta i jazyka russkogo naselenija Severozapadnogo kraja,* I, 370; [Ukrainian] *Vid'my je roždenni j včeni. Roždenna, ta čužoho ne zajme, a svoho ne popuste, a včena, to skažena,* Dragomanov, *Malorusskie predanija i rasskazy,* 68. An adverb separating subject from predicate is formed from such a pronoun if it is in the neuter gender. In the example above, the *ta,* which is in agreement, alternates with *to;* hence, instead of *naša Bilylivka, vona teperno selo, a perše buv horod* (Dragomanov, *Mr. pred.*, 82) it would be possible to say *vono* (still in the sense of a pronoun). Such expressions in literary Russian as *žizn', èto—gore* have the same origin. In Serbian: *Liman-paša od Skadra bijela, on saziva od krajine Turke, Pev. Crnog.*, 142.

If the subject is in the plural or is a collective substantive and if it is followed by a listing of the items comprising it and of their actions, the main subject may appear without a predicate so that a kind of nominative absolute results: *Družina že eho, oni*

po nemъ idoša, a druzii ostaša eho, Hyp.,[2] 237; Ukrainian: *ditvora, kotore bižyt', kotoroho na rukax nesut'*, Kvitka, *Dobre roby.*

When the nominative is followed by a pronoun (*A N., a on byl zlodej*), a similar effect is produced by the oblique cases: *Mnogašьdy bo sъgrěšajuštaago i nekajǫštaagosję, vъvьr'žeti i Bogъ vъ napasti i vъ skъr'bi, Izbornik Svjatoslava* [Svjatoslav Excerpts] (1073), 63. In Ukrainian: *Ot-toj xlib, ščo z hamazijiv dobri ljude rozibraly, čy ne treba by joho popovnyty?* Kvitka.

The locative case or some other designation of location is very often used in Polish, Russian, Ukrainian and Lithuanian folk songs and is emphasized and separated through a demonstrative adverb: Russian *Ax po mostu... Tam išel... Soč. P. Jakušk.*, 591; *Iz pod kamuška... Tam tekla rečka, ibid.*, 558. In Ukrainian carols this is almost regular: *Z-za tamtoji hory... Vyxodyt my tam zolotyj kryžyk,* Holovac'kyj, *Narodnye pesni Galickoj i Ugorskoj Rusi,* II, 7. In other songs: *Oj u poli, v šyrokim rozdoli, Tam stojalo čotyri dubočky.*

Present-day Bulgarian has phenomena which are either completely or in part similar to the above examples of pleonasticism (from our subjective viewpoint) of pronouns.

aa) A pronoun following the noun to which it refers, partly in listings (as in Russian above), partly without them: *Stana vreme da se zemat, Moma* (accusative?), *majka ne ja dava, Irgen, bašta, ne go ženi, Dok.*, 100. Juxtaposition of pronouns in the same case but in different forms belongs here also: *Mene* (*i*) *mi se struva* (it seems to me, to me); *nego go nema* (he, he is absent), Miklosich, *Ver. Gr.*, IV, 74. bb) A pronoun *go, ja,* etc., before the noun to which it refers. This noun might have been mentioned previously, so that the pronoun expresses a reference to it, and the only thing peculiar about the expression is the repetition of the nouns: *N. mi nabrala kiska bosilek... Egidi more, mlado spaivče! Da si ja skrieš ovaa kiska...* Often, however, this is found at the beginning of a passage. In such cases previous acquaintance with the topic is only in the mind of the speaker, and the pronoun is distinguished from the definite article used in the same manner only by the fact that it has a lesser

connection with its noun, by the possibility that it may be separated from it by other words. These phenomena are regular in Bulgarian. Sporadically, they are much older than modern Bulgarian's loss of case endings. Cf. Miklosich, *Ver. Gr.*, IV, 74; the cases mentioned above, and also: *Bě u nego voevoda Volъčij Xvostъ, i posla i Volodomirъ peredъ soboju Volъčьja Xvosta; sъrěte e na rěcě Piščaně i pobědi Radimičě Volčij Xvostъ, Laur., P.s.r.l.*, I, 36.

Thus, the nominative with a participle was not unique and therefore unimportant. Rather, it occurred in conjunction with certain other phenomena and together with them characterized certain situations in the language.

The following can be said with regard to the general nature of the phenomena considered:

In living languages, destruction of the old is at the same time creation of the new. Not to mention constant change in lexical content, the creation of new grammatical functions has continued down to the present, in no way indicating an abatement of creative development.

In Russian and related languages the opposition between noun and verb has increased in the course of time. In the old language the participle, which was a form intermediary between a noun—in the strict sense—and a verb, was used far more extensively than in the new language, and the participle could have a degree of relative independence and a predicative character which are possible in the new language only in the personal verb and to some extent in the infinitive.

Agreement (attributiveness) played a more important role in sentences of the old language than of the new, in which agreement is limited by the division of a compound predicate into two clauses, linked by a conjunction, by the formation of a gerund, by the increased use of adverbs at the expense of adjectives in agreement, by instances of replacement of the participle by the infinitive and by replacement of second, attributive, cases by nonattributive ones.

The two identical oblique cases, which were in a relationship to each other that became different from simple attributiveness, were replaced by accusative with instrumental, genitive with instrumental, or dative with instrumental in the course of time. The predicative attribute, in agreement with the subject, in many but not in all cases became instrumental, and where they were retained the two former nominatives (the subject and the predicative attribute) assumed a new role. We have here a distinction of once identical functions of members of a sentence. As in nature the delimitation of organs makes for complexity and in this sense the perfection of life, so here too we must see a mounting complexity of spiritual life and a perfection of language. The introduction into the sentence of the instrumental considered here extends the range of the nonattributive cases, i.e., of the grammatical object, at the expense of those in agreement, i.e., of the grammatical attribute. Since this does not cause confusion of the categories already in existence, however, and since a new category is even formed, the tendency to reduce the category of the attribute to an attribute in the strict sense of the term, i.e., a nonpredicative one, works in the direction of economy of language.

At the same time new differences arise between the substantive, as a word largely independent and not in agreement, and the adjective, as an attributive word, which is not contradicted by the use of the adjective in the instrumental in some instances. To the extent that the concept of the substantive has been freed of instances in which the substantive was dependent, conceivable in the subject in terms of the verb or in objects [direct or indirect], this concept has been divorced from the adjective.

At the same time and in consequence of this, changes have occurred in the relationships of the predicate in the strict sense and the predicative copula. At first we see a wide range of verbs which serve as predicative copulas, and we see complete syntactical indiscriminacy among these verbs. There were many copulas, but there was no formally unique copula. A considerable number of the verbs which completely lose the ability to be copulas are re-

moved from this group, and the remaining ones retain this feature only in certain instances, mostly where they are aided in this by the attributive character of the adjectives. From them in turn the personal forms of the substantive verb drop out of this group, especially the present, to which literary Russian gives—aside from a single case where it is tangibly perceived—the function of a purely predicative form without any other content. In the entire Russian language and other languages this was achieved still earlier in regard to this form by combining it with an exclusively predicative participle in *-lъ*. In all this can be seen the same *tendency to concentrate the predicate in the verb* at the expense of the predicative character of the noun and participle, a tendency which is seen in the replacement of the participial predicate of dependent clauses by a verbal one and prior to that in the transformation of the preinfinitive word into a verbal form.

— *Translated by* FRED HOLLING

TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING OF POTEBNJA*

(CRITICAL AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL OBSERVATIONS[1])

OLEXA VETUKHIV

> "The spoken word conveys a different impression to the mind of each person pronouncing or hearing that word. Impressions conveyed are therefore at variance, and where there arises an area of identity there equally arises an area of contradiction in meanings understood."
>
> Potebnja

It seems advisable to dwell briefly on the peculiar ("one's own") and alien ("strange") character inherent in words, in creative and scientific works as understood by Potebnja, before reviewing the articles written about his theories. The above-quoted statement expresses the essence of his theory.

"The flame of a candle, from which many candles may be lit, is not broken up; each candle burns its own gases. Thus the thought of the speaker is not transmitted to the mind of the listener. The listener grasps the word through hearing and forms a concept which fits into the organized system of language somewhere alongside the concept which the speaker sought to convey. If one understands the word exactly in the same way as it is understood by another person, he ceases to be himself."[2]

The words we use in writing and in speaking, if a mutual understanding exists, create concordance between our mind and the minds whom we address.

In the process of understanding, the same fundamental aspects of the spoken and written word appear. Analysis of the process of understanding shows that language is an agent (or, to be

* This is a slightly abbreviated reprint from *Naukovo-Doslidča Katedra Istorii Ukrayins'koyi Kultury, Zbirnyk,* 1926, Volume II, Kharkiv.

1 As a supplement to this article two first pages of an unpublished article of Potebnja "The Particular in the General" are printed in two variations. This article clearly shows the relation of the form to substance.

2 Potebnja, *Iz zapisok po teorii slovesnosti,* X, 1905, p. 27.

more precise, a system of means) which changes the forming of thoughts. It is not just a means of expressing ready thought; otherwise it would have meaning only for the speaker in tune with the words used (and this is the case in the use of symbols). If this were the sole purpose of language, language would merely transmit, not stimulate, thought.[3]

"Semantics is intimately related to literary criticism. The relationship between the word used and complex literary composition is the following:

1) The circumstances in which the image conveyed takes form, e.g., under given conditions N caught an animal, and his action is described as cunning.

2) The extension of original meaning to apply in a metaphorical sense to similar cases, e.g., X_1, X_2, X_3, and to cases of quite different character. N did not capture an animal, but took a bride, took advantage of another person's idea.

3) The common elements between A and X_1, X_2, X_3, i.e., the characteristic abstracted from them (a). In the literary composition we also have: A (from circumstances a, b, etc.), X and a. A study of these three areas is the content of criticism."[4]

I. Academician D. Bahalij, "Oleksandr Opanasovyč Potebnja," *Červonyj Šljach,* Vols. 4-5, 1924, pp. 143-159.

Chapter two is the most interesting on the analysis of individual ("one's own") understanding ("Biohrafija Potebni, joho doba i sociyal'ne otočennja"). "From the sociological viewpoint great men, as all others, are merely the product of society proper" (page 144). "But although the will of each human being is predetermined, that will remains free to select the cycle of problems it shall confront. Some individuals may perform a great deal for their epoch. Thinkers (like Potebnja) understand the character of their environment better, they reject conventions quicker than the masses do, and they lead the society

[3] *Ibid.,* p. 27-28.
[4] *Ibid.,* p. 28

forward along suitable paths of their choice" (page 145). But where, in the opinion of academician Bahalij, did that progressive understanding of the individual environment which outrode its epoch manifest itself most clearly?

It becomes apparent from the brief biography of Potebnja in which the deeper sources of his Ukrainian sympathies are revealed.[5] "On February 19, 1861, serfdom was abolished, but with the advent of freedom the serfs in the Ukraine received neither true political, social nor economic liberty" (page 146). The so-called "reform" did not and could not satisfy the needs of society; popular opposition and the revolutionary movement spread. O. Potebnja joined the opposition and played an important role in the populist movement. He joined the Kharkiv *Hromada,* became its leader and guided it along the path of Ukrainian populism. He was in contact with Ukrainians in the Petersburg, Poltava and Kiev regions, and exercised great authority (as may be seen from the memoirs of Lobodovsky, a contemporary of Potebnja) in the Kharkiv *Hromada* (page 147).

The author presents broad and brilliant extracts from Potebnja's letters to Belikov; these letters excellently illustrate his fine and profound understanding of the measures to be taken for national self-determination. "The students must first of all become Ukrainians, only then can they endeavour to make the University Ukrainian," or: "The best intellectual forces in the Ukraine... forget that the heart of the Ukraine lies not in the city, but in the country"—words of golden wisdom to this day.

I shall not dwell on further brilliant illustrations (provided by Bahalij on this and subsequent pages) of Potebnja's Ukrainian "sympathies," for which he was frequently and unjustly persecuted by the authorities (here, too, "each understanding is simultaneously a lack of understanding"). For example, on the occasion of the solemn opening of a memorial to Pushkin, Poteb-

5 Compare another article by Academician Bahaliy treating the same subject: *Dumky Potebni pro ukrayins'ku narodnist'* in *Bjuleten' red. K-tu do vydannya tvoriv Potebni,* Nu. 1, X, 1922, pp. 48-55.

nja sent a telegram in the name of Kharkiv University, in which he expressed his hope to see the "development of national, as well as omni-national Russian literature." Later, on the basis of this incident, Potebnja was accused of being a "traitor" to the strictly national idea. The accusation was of course without any ground whatsoever. Mere perusal of his review on the collection of songs by Holovac'kyj, of his article "Jazyk i narodnost'" suffices to show how unjustified were the accusations hurled at Potebnja: "For one human being to exist, other people are needed; for the life of a nation, other nations. Consistent nationalism is the same as internationalism." This is the main principle on which the article of D. Bahalij is based; in view of the man himself, in view of his "social environment" this attitude is the fundamental and most attractive element in the complex, great spiritual personality of Potebnja,—this is the feature, which in his opinion, accounted for the fact that Potebnja was ahead of his epoch. Therefore, this particular aspect received the utmost attention in his article; however, this was merely an expression of the author's personal opinion. In the remaining part of the article, D. Bahalij refers to quotations from different authors.

The general approach throughout this article is so objective that the excessive emphasis placed on the aspect with which the author was primarly concerned, neither diminished its overall value, nor obscured the "general" characterization. This is understandable: D. Bahalij was closely acquainted with O. Potebnja over a protracted period of time and, therefore, in the words of Potebnja, "created his own thoughts which occupied in the system" of Potebnja's theories a place "analogous with the place occupied by the thought of the speaker."

How is the faceted thought of Potebnja reflected in the thoughts of authors who did not know him personally? The following group of individuals was attracted by Potebnja; to them Potebnja was a "messenger" of revolution in science, for he far outstripped his epoch....

II. Professor A. P. Maškin dealt with Potebnja is some of his recent articles and perceived in him a figure that cannot be measured by ordinary standards. Potebnja's social status does not indicate a man inclined to revolutionary tendencies; almost shut up within his narrow scientific circle, his scope of interests apparently limited, this representative of the "sixties," judging from the date of publication of his principal works, was yet a direct predecessor of revolution, for in his time he was bringing forward certain problems in a manner which we are only now, seven years after the revolution, beginning to face and which we consider far in advance of modern life (for example, the relationship between substance and form, the nationality problem and others).

To illustrate this and to confirm Potebnja's favorite expression "an area of identity in meaning also implies an area of contradiction in meaning understood," I shall dwell on the attempt to translate Potebnja into Marxist language in the two following articles of Maškin:

I "Na šljachu do naukovoi estetyky" (*Šljach mystectva,* 1922, No. 1, pp. 61-5). This article clearly reveals the role played by Potebnja and his school (the so-called "psychological," or more correctly in my opinion, that, which "established the integrity of form and substance,") as the last completed stage on the way to a thorough scientific analysis of the facts of *belles-lettres*... The theories produced by this school have been further developed by another school of literary criticism generally known as sociological. The duty of the latter is to provide scientific aesthetics, criticism and methods. We wish to point out, however, that there is no sociological school[6] as yet; we are merely proceeding towards its formation (page 64).

Potebnja's school utilized West-European tendencies in critic-

[6] We think that Pereverzev's works could be named the most perfect among those of this school, especially Pereverzev s research of Gogol's style, because here Pereverzev could lean on foundation laid by Mandelstam in his work on Gogol's style.

soul . . . are in reality "the processes occurring in the souls of those who enjoy the poetic work" (Potebnja, *Basnja, poslovica, pogovorka,* page 137). And vice versa, of course, since "the personality of a poet is exceptional only due to the fact that his mind is a powerful concentration of all elements integrating the minds of those who understand the poet's work" (*ibid*). Considering the problem from this approach, it is difficult to speak of the author as being divorced from the reader. We can cite many more excerpts from various works of Potebnja, which convey different shades of the same basic idea constituting the core of his system. Language in its entire volume and in each separate word, corresponds to the literary art, not only from the viewpoint of each contributing element, but from the viewpoint of the manner in which they are combined (*Mysl' i jazyk,* page 184); therefore, "the problem of changing the internal form of the word is identical with the problem of the relationship existing between language and prose and poetry, i.e., to the literary form in general" (*ibid.,* pp. 177-8). The "internal form," i.e., our ability to understand what we hear or read, is conditioned, as we saw before, by social environment—by the language of the poeple. "The image is the only common property of art, while its understanding proceeds along different lines in each separate individual" (*Mysl' i jazyk,* p. 204). "Those understanding each other may be compared to two different musical instruments tuned in such wise that the tone produced by one of them brings forth a corresponding, though different tone in the other" ("Jazyk i narodnost'," *Vestnik Evropy,* 1895, Vol. VIII, p. 8). "Art is the language of the artist, and as a thought cannot be transmitted to someone else by means of a word, but merely stimulates another thought in the listener, an idea cannot be conveyed through a work of art; therefore, the essence of the latter (if it has been completed) develops further not in the artist, but in those who understand it" (*Mysl' i jazyk,* pp. 186-7). "The listener is far better able to understand what is hidden within the word than is the one who speaks it, and the reader can perceive the idea of a poetic work much better than can the poet himself. The essence,

the strength of a poetic work lies not in what the author understands by it, but in how it affects the reader or the viewer, consequently, in its inexhaustible essence. The above-quoted essence, i.e., the ideas suggested by the work ...may have not been considered by the artist at all, who creates to satisfy the temporary, often narrow needs, of his personal life.

The merit of the artist lies not in the minimum meaning which he meant while creating, but in the certain flexibility of the image, in the ability of the internal form to stimulate most varied interpretations of the essence (*Mysl' i jazyk,* page 187). The fable may be used as a brilliant example of such ample meaningfulness, since "at the first requirement these amalgamated images can be transformed into a general scheme of complicated phenomena of life and serve as their explanation," (Potebnja, *Iz zapisok po teorii slova,* page 137). When we open the great work by Potebnja, *Ob'jasnenie malorusskich i srodnych narodnych pesen',* an extraordinary abundance of illustrations on the varying understanding of folklore arts flows therefrom, as from a horn of plenty. I shall not dwell on them and will pass over to the comments on another note by Professor Maškin.

2) "Potebnja" (*Šljach mystectva,* 1921, No. 2, pages 102-103). Structurally this essay ressembles the previous type: it begins with the statement affirming that Potebnja reached the summit of pre-revolutionary science and pronounced the last word of science in his time; that the apogee of his glory resides in the analysis of his creative activities—it awakened the interest of contemporary writers (Gorki[7]) and critics, theoreticians on poetry (Šklovskyj learned from him to understand the symbolism of words and language; Chlebnikov, the symbolism of sounds of a language that have been separated from the life of words, contrary to Potebnja's theories); that, lastly, Potebnja closely approached the very aim of two scientific methods (and outlooks on life), which have not formed an integral whole as yet, but

[7] See Acad. Sumcov's short essay *O. O. Potebnja i M. Gorki* in *Bjuleten' Redakts. Komitetu dlya vyd. tvoriv Potebni,* part 1, Kharkiv, 1922, pp. 64-65.

which, nonetheless, are gradually becoming monolithic. However, here, too, we may perceive a certain *a priori* approach: a nobleman, a research scholar (which is the usual approach to Potebnja) naturally had to stand "apart from public life" and abstain from it. The limited data available on Potebnja's life, show, however, that he exercised an immense influence on the Kharkiv *Hromada,* was a lively and energetic worker, and found it difficult to break away from this community work when he eventually had to return to his study. All this slightly lifts the veil covering his personal spiritual tragedy on this ground (which can be seen from his letters dated shortly before his death). Moreover, the statement that "Potebnja in no place and at no time emphasized the relationship between the word, thought, language, tempo and tone and the class structure of society" (page 103), considering, of course, that at that time the modern conception of "class" did not exist, is somewhat incongruent with the review by Potebnja of Holovac'kyj's collection and numerous quotations from his great treatise *Ob'jasnenie malorusskich i srodnych narodnych pesen'*. The discrepancies in theories of Potebnja and Maškin on the couplet ("Častuška") clearly illustrate our epigraph. The author refuses to agree with Potebnja, who regarded the "Častuška" as a "degradation and downfall of poetry and not in terms of its organic relationship to production."

Naturally, Potebnja never thought of denying the relationship existing between different forms of artistic composition and the social and economic condition, the mode of life, the milieu in which they are created and accepted. This is the very basis of his teachings. Potebnja stands on a material base, when he declares that the couplet begins to blossom and develop when the popular "collective" creativity breaks out of its rut, grows more powerful through contact with the popular environment with the spread of literacy and with individual creation. This is the line of demarcation between two methods, a gulf still difficult to cross; for Maškin who then stood on the heights of Marxist methodology, "form" is evaluated from the point of view of its importance to "substance," even though the "form" is of a small

capacity, but however small, it still reflects the life of a society or of a class.

Potebnja, however, proceeded from the understanding of integrity of the form and substance, forming a binary unit organically bound into an integral whole, and, therefore, regarded the small capacity of form that can naturally contain but a small substance, as a 'degradation' doomed to a short existence. Vaudeville and comedy on the same subject and of equal workmanship, are to him, of course, magnitudes of unequal value. A. P. Maškin later began to understand the organic, monolithic nature of form and substance, which however at this time was not clearly discernible in his views.

III. T. Rajnov, *Aleksandr Afanasievič Potebnja* (Petrograd, 1924 (published by Kolos). This is one of the best and most interesting of the recent works on Potebnja; it embraces as far as possible all the main problems ("growth of Potebnja's fame; Potebnja against the background of Russian science of the period 1860-1880; the personality of Potebnja; principal ideas of Potebnja and lastly—the relation of students on Potebnja to corresponding trends of scientific philosophic thought"). Moreover, it is written in a simple, easily comprehended manner which in places is fascinating. For these reasons, we shall dwell on this book somewhat longer than on the previous works. In order to be able to consider objectively the defects of this work (which we can, of course, find in considerable number), it is sufficient to read the following line at the end of the foreword: "July 10, 1922, the village of Šesternja." In other words, we must consider the place and date at which Rajnov wrote his work, and that, despite his wishes in the matter, most essential references were missing and much was written from memory.

"A detailed biography of the great scholar has been a long time in preparation for publication. It has not been published as yet. If, after its publication, we will find therein all that we need to know of Potebnja's life in order to understand the psychology of his activity, the latter (i.e., the activity), will appear to

us in a new and clearer light. In the expectation of this moment, I did what I was able to do. The reader will find several essays written in an attempt to explain the extraordinary individual character of Potebnja's spiritual self" (page 6) and, if possible, to reveal the reasons for his continuously growing fame in wide circles, by comparing his works with the trends of the Russian scholars who were his contemporaries as well as with general philosophic and scientific trends in European learning.

As is known, T. Rajnov is a philosopher by profession. It is natural, therefore, that while in his essay, more or less intended for popular reading, he endeavoured to preserve a uniform character throughout and assign to each aspect an equal value, he attributed his own meaning to Potebnja's theories and approached his work as a philosopher and not as a "philosopher-philologist," a combination so brilliantly and harmoniously blended in the profound and many-sided spiritual personality of Potebnja. Whatever the aspect considered by Rajnov in his study on Potebnja, he invariably returned to the philosophic approach, often to the detriment of other aspects. From the autobiography of Potebnja, from published data on Potebnja's life, some of which are highly valuable (for example, those provided by Gornfield, Kašmenskyj, Kašireninov, Sumcov, Smorodinov, Chalan'skyj, Charciev and others) , Rajnov utilized only that which confirmed his particular way of thinking. Naturally, the clarity of other aspects, which Rajnov considered in other chapter, suffers.

Thus, for example, Rajnov hardly mentioned at all the problem which awakened great interest on the part of both Bahalij and Semrovsky, namely, the problem of nationality, ethnic origin and internationalism, aspects which shed light on Potebnja's personality and epoch. Therefore Rajnov failed to notice the peculiar feature of Potebnja's character, which was particularly well pronounced at a certain period of his life, namely, his pessimism. If the origin of this pessimism could be understood, then the reasons which led Potebnja, who was an active member of the Kharkiv *Hromada* at one time and keenly interested in politics, to change and become "apolitical" could be understood. This is

why he is often, although erroneously, described as such (see even the previously mentioned articles by Maškin). Nevertheless, he frequently gave profound thought to these problems and spoke on this matter. He ends his autobiography[8] with the words: "From what I have said on ethnic origin, loan-words etc., only a few isolated lines have found their way to the press as for example, in the analysis of 'Pesni Golovackogo.'"

Some of Rajnov's unfortunate attempts to develop Potebnja's ideas on the grounds of the general spirit of his theories were also based on the prevailing philosophic trend in Rajnov's approach (page 104), a trend also observed by Aisenštock: "The clause is the microcosm of the thought. The structure of a thought is identical with the structure of a clause. When a clause lacks the verbal element but is rich in substantives, it lacks the junctures required to form compact unity; substantives are independent essences. Substantives cannot be welded into an integral whole without losing their individual character. Therefore, the sphere of meaning once contained in a substantive clause was a sphere that did not form a compact unit. The world of a verbal clause is different. It relates everything by the process in which cosmic meaning arises through the supreme governance of the verb over the clause" (Rajnov, 91). In order to translate and, even more, to develop the idea of a great artist or scientist into one's own language without considerably damaging it, one must be congenial with the author, his co-specialist at least to a certain degree (while Rajnov is no linguist). Further on, in reviewing V. Petrov's article "Potebnja j Lotze," we shall discuss this attempt to retell (with different consequences) another person's thought "without quotes," i.e., as ones own idea, as an idea studied until organically incorporated into one's flesh and blood, without, of course obscuring and misinterpreting the original creation. In the meantime, however, we shall quote Potebnja for a comparison with Rajnov's intepretation of the thought that has been quoted above. We shall thus see who of the two conveyed the thought more brilliantly, with a greater assurance, in a more

8 See A. N. Pypin *Istoriya russkoy etnografii,* vol. III, supplements, p. 424.

concise and easily understandable form, taking into consideration the general opinion affirming that Potebnja's style of writing was extremely difficult to understand, too concise and stenographic.

"In the life of a language, grammatic categories arise, give way to other categories, simultaneously changing the entire structure of speech.... On analyzing component parts of a clause, I concluded that in Russian and in other languages there is an intensification of the opposition between noun and verb and a tendency to concentrate the predicativity in the verb at the expense of the noun," which results in the "increase in cohesion (hypotaxis) of speech," etc. Philology contributes to the solution of the fundamental problem of "each sphere of knowledge, i.e., our point of origin and future goal." (Potebnja, *Iz Zapisok po russkoj grammatike,* 111, 1). "Certain grammatic terms have other, more philosophic meanings.... The noun . . . is a grammatical name for an object—the substantive, the subject and object. By an object, we mean a combination of phenomena (qualities, forces which we consider separately from other combinations). The unity of such a combination consists in the fact that we are compelled (temporarily at this time or permanently) to relate the combined phenomena to one center, the substantive, which is represented as bearer and source or cause for these phenomena. Thus, the concept of the substantive comprises the conception of causality" (*ibid.*). "The grammatical term, adjective... corresponds to the category of quality or property of an object, i.e., a force in a state of rest" (*ibid*). The force, or property of an object, comprehended by its reflection in other things, in objects, and consequently, the property in which are the connection between objects, corresponds to the term, verb (*ibid., finitum* and *infinitum*) to the grammatical predicate (the name of the steps, which indicates the action of the subject). Individual manifestations of the force are called from the point of view of the subject—active, from the point of view of the object—passive. The idea of action, as well as the idea of subject and object, are inseparable from the idea of casuality.... This casuality consists

of the action accomplished by the subject and of the simultaneous or consequential character of this action with the state of the object. The notions of action and cause were formed as follows: observations on our actions were carried over to the action of objects in a manner so that each subject becomes a likeness of our self, and each action—a likeness of our action. Thus, relationship between the ideas, substantive and phenomenon, substance and force or quality... are anthropomorphous, and may be expressed as grammatic categories—the defined and the definition, subject and predicate; moreover, the corresponding philosophic categories expressed through these ideas form pairs; the course of human thought consists of dual thrusts of the explained and of the explaining" (*ibid.*). Juxtaposition and grammatic and philosophic conceptions may seem superfluous only to those who assume that the quality of our thought for ourselves is independent from the manner in which it is expressed. If, however, we reveal our thought through words, then for us (and not only for the listener) it arises and changes simultaneously with its verbal expression (page 4-5). Category or other general conceptions may neither be expressed graphically, sculpturally, nor through any other means with the exception of the use of words" (page 5). "Since grammatic categories (like everything else in a language) are subject to change, therefore, the aforementioned juxtapositions transfer the exploration of philosophic categories from utopia onto popular and historic ground... The popular and temporary nature of general categories of thought does not exclude the possibility of generalizing these categories until converting them into the universally human; nevertheless, such generalizations must obey the general rule of gradual change" (*ibid.*) This is probably the material which Rajnov endeavoured to "develop" in the above-mentioned fragment. The difficulties associated with such attempts can be clearly seen from the draft of Potebnja, who was an ardent partisan of concise and laconic thought. Of course, he develops this idea considerably more in his draft by introducing comparisons between general premises, whereas all this is removed from the prepared text. In this case,

however, he found it necessary to further develop the initial, concise exposition, which was against his habit and because it seemed somewhat difficult to understand even to Potebnja. Thus, because this part of the text is very important in understanding Potebnja as philosopher-philologist (which, probably, also explains why Rajnov devoted so much attention to this fragment), I shall quote two fragments from this particular "draft."

"The anthropomorphous character of the understanding of the relationship between substance and force is subject to changes in a definite direction despite the uniform tempo of thought. Achievements of separate sciences and different scientists are in this case merely a continuation of the activity of tribes and peoples. A mass of individuals impersonal to us, a mass, which can be regarded as one great scholar, great philosopher, throughout centuries developed methods for acceleration of thought and its classification under general categories and thus accumulated the products of its endeavour in the language for the use of subsequent generations" (page 642). "The task of special grammar does not reside, of course, in proving the probability of these premises. No doubts exists that achievements of thought are expressed in substituting things, mythical substances, such as "frost" (*moroz*), by phenomena: that man proceeds from incoherency, divisibility, parataxis of thought and language towards a well-organized subjection of numerous particular cases of speech to the entirety of the period, from many periods to the integrity of composition, from unconscious uniformity of a mental state towards a conscious unity between world outlook and character. It is less obvious, however, that the history of the formation of superstitions and the struggle against superstitions (for example, that "frost" is an object) is not merely a problem of mythology and natural history, but also a grammatical problem because of the formation, modification and elimination of the general categories of thought involved, that a change in the meaning of a part of speech, in the substantive (noun), is related to many other phenomena of language and thought, including the development of the period. It is even less obvious to one who thinks

of these problems at all, what phenomena in a definite language indicate the formation or modification of some mental phenomena, for example, some categories of perceived things. It is to such an extent not obvious that this very problem, whether solutions to these questions should be looked for in a language, receives a negative reply (pp. 642-3)." Here the ends of the threads by means of which Potebnja closely ties language and thought, philological depth and philosophic height, together become apparent. Rajnov revealed it in his book on Potebnja in an understandable and rather brilliant manner. He understood and appreciated that "numerous contradictions characteristic of Potebnja are contradictions only on the first superficial glance. In reality they characterize an individual of rare insight" (Rajnov, p. 60), and "indicate the powerful soul and intense spiritual life of this man." Owing to such understanding, the chapter devoted to the "personality of Potebnja" was the most successful in Rajnov's work in spite of his own declaration: "We know pitifully little concerning the life of Potebnja. How was that soul formed? What troubled it at various periods of its development? What did Potebnja believe in? What did he like or dislike? How did he conduct himself in the crucial moments of his life? All this and many other details are obscure to us—or at least to me" (pp. 5-6).

Certain parts of this chapter, in which Rajnov dwells on these "antinomies" (Potebnja's personality combined the serious with the eternally childish; the gift of sympathetic understanding with the sense of humour reaching angry sarcasm; tendency towards the broadest generalizations and love for concrete facts) are read with delight. The general evaluation of the principal features of Potebnja's character completes the portrait of this powerful personality. Being neither a linguist, nor a theoretician of the subject of literature, Rajnov failed to grasp the full meaning of Potebnja's theory on internal form—which constitutes the core of his entire doctrine establishing a firm bond between the word as the embryo of art and science and scientific-artistic creations. He understood, however, that the principal characteristic of logic and grammar resides in the fact that the former is static (im-

movable protection of the law and identity) while the latter is continuously dynamic with constant violation and re-establishment of law and identity, that "life in science is possible only due to the constant intervention of art" (page 80). Rajnov understood one other substantial characteristic of Potebnja—his genius for establishing unity and entirety where the majority of great researchers clearly saw an irreconcilable dualism. Potebnja was not merely a linguist and a thinker, he was a linguist-thinker. It is possible that the extraordinary saturation of his linguistic ideas with philosophic meaning accounts for the fact that linguists are reluctant to follow in his footsteps, that some of them consider that he devoted too much attention in his research to thought to the detriment of the language proper (Fortunatov's school) (page 101). Thus Rajnov finely grasped the essence and peculiarity of Potebnja, where he found in Potebnja chords which were in harmony with those in his own thought.

We can only wish that the second edition of this valuable book will be published by the author with appropriate corrections and under more favorable conditions.

Almost simultaneously with Rajnov's book on Potebnja the same publishers ("Kolos") in Petrograd issued another interesting work by B. M. Engelhardt *A. N. Veselovskij,* from which I wish to quote a half page to demonstrate once more the "varied understanding." Potebnja and Veselovskij were both students of Steinthal in Berlin, who spoke to them of Humboldt and his theories. Thus we should expect a certain unity, at least a similar trend in theories of these leading scholars. "But comparing their doctrines it seems that they divided the famous antinomy of Humboldt on language into product and activity; for one of them everything is "ergon," for the other—"energia," for one of them (i.e. for Veselovskij) literature is an agglomeration of works, for other, it is pure activity. In the hands of the former the most refined, imperceptibly subjective play, which one dares not approach for fear of disturbing its charming individual character, becomes impregnated with his historic matter, quasi-petrified and, disintegrating into constant elements, becomes accessible

to the most objective methods. In the case of the latter, however, (i.e., in the case of Potebnja), even a phenomenon forever solidified in its historic antiquity, acquires lightness, melts and flows changing into a complex of continuously mobile processes occurring in the individual conscience. Here we see the contrast of two basic ways of understanding culture, each of which has a definite place and future in the history of science" (page 82). This page is characteristic of both the approach to the understanding of differences between Potebnja and Veselovskij, as well as Engelhardt's understanding of Potebnja, which is, of course, "one's own" and is a portrait of Potebnja which can hardly be considered as true.

In the course of the last few years several more articles have been published about Potebnja. However, my work has reached such dimensions that I shall limit myself to one article, particularly since it requires serious study.

IV. Victor Petrov, "Potebnja and Lotze" (*A. A. Potebnja, polnoye sobranie sočinenij.* Under the editorship of the Committee for the Publication of the Works of A. A. Potebnja, All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences; Vol. I, *Mysl' i jazyk,* 4th ed. revised and corrected, with an introduction by V. I. Chartsiev. Gos. Izd. Ukr., Odessa, 1922, p. 168). This is the complete title of this article published in the Notes (*Zapiski*) of the Historical-Philological Section of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (VUAN), Book IV, pp. 259-263, Kiev, 1924.

If the article by Petrov had not been published in the organ of VUAN much less space would be devoted to it, because the author not only understood "in his own way" certain aspects of Potebnja's work but also because the substance of all that he has written seems not to be Potebnian. The author raises one of the excessively interesting questions in studying every great intellectual figure concerning the influence of precursors and contemporaries and their reciprocal influence. Thus he attempts to do what has not even been completed in the study of Puškin, although the bibliography of works concerning Puškin comprises

not a small tome; this has also not been completed in the case of Ševčenko, although thousands of articles have been written about him. In addition their writings have been published in tremendous quantities and are accessible to all, while at the present time it is very difficult to find Potebnja's works even in more or less cultural centers.

From our side we can express the warmest wish that the author study at least some little corner of this huge uncultivated field delimited by him. However, his approach to this topic evokes great uncertainty. Almost half of this short article is devoted to parallel extracts from those passages in Potebnja in which he paraphrases Lotze, utilizing that writer's data for his own conclusions and therefore does not quote him. Petrov also questions Potebnja's use of the Korš translation of Lotze, and not the original, published in 1867. The conclusions from this collation are quite modest as, for example, that: if we take page 229 in Lotze, the beginning of it will be found in Potebnja on page 59 of *Mysl' i jazyk,* the middle part is carried over to page 63 and the end to page 59. At times offering only Lotze's thought, at other time paraphrasing in his own words the text of the source and still other times giving a straight translation, Potebnja is said to have related chapter four ("Jazykoznanie i psikhologya") of his book with chapter two of the first volume of *Mikrokosmos* ("Priroda i sposobnost' duši"). On the basis of quotations from Lotze, and not by the paraphrasing of him by Potebnja, the author of the article noted the absence of quotation marks only on three lines of page 65 of *Mysl' i jazyk.*

Meanwhile, from this collation of a whole series of pages cited below and referred to by the author as being close to those of Lotze, another less-tempted reader might conclude that Potebnja "borrowed" not a little from Lotze without even referring to him. "When the habit of not placing what is borrowed in quotation marks becomes a permanent and constant phenomenon in a given author, I would say that this question can finally acquire cardinal importance—the importance of the question of the independence or of the compilational character of a given

work. When we attempt to verify Potebnja's quotations from Lotze (and to a certain extent from Steinthal), we find that the habit of not placing borrowed texts in quotation marks is rather characteristic of Potebnja" (p. 260).

This question is indeed one of cardinal importance. The idea of Potebnja's taking from Lotze a given page and concealing parts of its content in different places in his own book would probably not enter the head of anyone having even the slightest acquaintance with Potebnja—as it probably does not enter the head of the author of the article.

This could not have been the case. What then is the substance of the matter? It is sufficient to take any work of Potebnja's in order to see with what exactitude he quotes the author with whom he disagrees in ideas, in understanding (as, for example, with Buslayev in his *Iz zapisok po russkoi grammatike,* Part I), with what attention and caution he treats another's thought, another's hypothesis, even openly confronting those with whom he disagrees, with what clarity and exactitude he distinguishes his own views never trying to impose them upon others. This lies at the root of the whole of Potebnja's world outlook; this is the principal basis of his teaching about language as unceasing creation, about speech as self-determination, about hearing and understanding as co-creativeness, about the necessity of the congeniality of the creator-writer and the creator reader-critic as well as others. These matters are more or less known. I regard it as useless to dwell any longer on them. It so happens that some of Potebnja's quotations from Lotze which are in quotation marks are sometimes not exact quotations. For illustration I shall give one or two examples of Potebnja's translation of quotations from the German original. Let us compare two texts from Potebnja's *Mysl' i jazyk* with N. Lotze's *Mikrokosmos. Ideen zur Naturgeschichte u. Geschichte der Menschheit.—Versuch einer Anthropologie,* Vol. I, Leipzig, 1856; Vol. II, 1858. (The third volume, which appeared in 1864, was not utilized by Potebnja). I shall give examples taken at random from the first and second volumes.

Potebnja (page 50): "Comparing *four* with *five,* we see that

the former is by one unit less than the latter; but without special prodding this number will not by itself state that it is twice as great as two and one-half of eight; we require new comparisons in order to create in our minds these relationships. However, in each of these relationships there is expressed the whole nature of *four* but solely in a one-sided way corresponding with our point of view."

Lotze (Vol. I, pp 196-197): "Vergleichen wir die Vier mit der Fünf, so zeigt sie sich um eine Einheit kleiner, aber unaufgefordert setzt sie nicht hinzu, dass sie auch die Hälfte der Acht und das Doppelte der Zwe sei; es bedarf neuer Vergleichung damit sie auch an diese Verhältnisse erinnere; aber in jedem derselben drückt sich doch die ganze Natur der Vier aus nur einseitig, nach der Richtung allein, in welcher ihr Veranlassung gegeben war."

We note here the shifting of one half a line in place of the other. What should then be done in comparing these quotations? Several lines higher, also in quotation marks, we find several lines which do not correspond exactly to the original ("Nicht so"...).

Potebnja (page 56): "As in the case of sound, we hear the sound itself and not the quantity of sound waves, so music is not more harmonious to one who, not knowing this, simply succumbs to its influence."

Lotze (Vol. II, page 169): "Wie wir die Klange nicht die Anzahl der Schallwellen hören, sondern nur den Klang, so ist keine Musik für den, wer die Entstehungsweise der Töne und ihrer Consonanzen kennt harmonischer, als für die anderen, die ohne diese Kenntniss einfach und unbefangen von ihr sein Herz bewegen lässt."

What should be done here by the one who verifies the quotation? This is not a translation in the ordinary sense of the word but an original, concentrated improved rendering of it. This superiority of Potebnja over Lotze's text is emphasized also by V. Petrov who regards the translation by Potebnja as far superior to that of Korš (page 260), although Korš is a recognized master

of the craft and made his translattion five years following Potebnja's. If we were to adhere to the letter of the text of the original we would either have to "mottle" it with corrections or remove quotation marks everywhere; it is better not to complicate matters and to quote "according to Potebnja." Such comparison of Potebnja with his "sources" is a separate very important and desirable topic for research. Such research would possibly clarify, on the basis of Potebnja's own works and general world outlook, on factual data, who "borrowed" what from whom and how Potebnja himself viewed this phenomenon. This would be a work of large scope and would have significance not only for Potebnja but for every writer as, for example Puškin.

However, when Potebnja agreed with someone or something, which he adopted, then he might have used borrowed materials as his own; it is possible that he did not use the particular book for a long time and had forgotten and had long ago ceased to think about where he had obtained the given thought and, in part, its particular form, just as we do not think of placing a popular expression in quotation marks; so it is with a whole series of poems by well-known authors (who have sometimes themselves been forgotten) sung by a whole people and regarded as its own "collective" creation. Without discussing instances of analogous creativeness which are beyond the bounds of all physical possibilities of borrowing, Potebnja taught that one should be very cautious in determining borrowing after having established that a given base, a given social milieu, was unable to bear such fruit and only then seek from whence it came. In such instances it can happen that a quotation from Potebnja may be, as Petrov expresses it, a "quotation of a quotation." This was the case and such it will be and not only with Potebnja but with every great intellectual figure who is far in advance of its time (Lomonosov, it can be said, almost a half century *earlier* quoted German scholars who were congenial to him and who may not even have been born at that time but who were said to have "discovered" that which he had discovered long before). Suffice it to say that Potebnja, as can be ascertained in many instances

from protracted study of his manuscripts and editing of his writings, was "careless" with quotations in certain instances systematically and in a fully conscious manner. Thus he quotes the "Little Russian" song which was printed "yaryzhka"* and in his quotation it became "kulishivka."* Thus he became convinced in one way or another that a certain passage in Metlynsky was falsified, and in Potebnja we find a quotation with "its own" beginning, conclusion or body or simply with the omission of one or another passage or even—*horribile dictu*—with his own insertion or changes as required by his ever profound, exacting, carefully weighed and seven-times measured research. There is no danger in anyone's referring precisely to Potebnja and citing his "quotation of a quotation" and leaving it at that. It is unfortunate if he offers *his own* interpretation, *his own* understanding either of the original quotation or of the "quotation of the quotation" as Potebnja's understanding of it. Such an attitude towards a borrowed text, towards borrowed thought always elicited an outburst from Potebnja, disturbed his inner calm and angered him.

All of the misunderstandings in the article of V. Petrov result from his not having understood one of the most difficult basic questions concerning Potebnja without which it is impossible to understand him, namely his teaching concerning *internal* form. The end of the last page of V. Petrov's article reveals this very clearly. Potebnja's text is very difficult to comment upon, and commentary on it in the case of determining what is basic in the text and what is secondary—such commentary upon *Mysl' i jazyk* we regard as a task of the first order. The extent to which the text of our scholar remains contradictory without these commentaries will be clear from the several examples which I give here. When, for example, Potebnja, on the one hand, recognizes "the internal form of the word" as the "sole objective content of the word" (in *Mysl' i jazyk*, p. 153, 4th edition; p. 158, 2nd edition) he is prepared, on the other hand, to assume that "the internal form of the word is that means by which this content is express-

* A type of Old Ukrainian spelling.

ed" (p. 145, 4th edition; p. 178, 2d edition). In this way there emerges a contradiction, whether the internal form of the word is the content of the word or the means by which this content is expressed. This is especially the case when Potebnja writes: "With a certain amount of caution it is impossible to confuse the content with the internal form" (*ibid.*, p. 145). Or, to take another example, on page 153 of the fourth edition (p. 189 of the second edition) of *Mysl' i jazyk* we read: "The internal form or notion is related to the felt image or the internal form of an artistic creation (an image or idea) is related to the thought which is objectified in it." However, on page 160 (second edition) Potebnja quotes Humboldt to the effect that "a notion, according to our terminology, is a felt image" and Petrov states that "when we commence to interpret the first expression by means of the second we have an explanation of the *idem per idem* type" page 263).

We shall attempt, within the limits of our ability, to offer commentary on the question of what is the "internal" form according to Potebnja since it is impossible to admit even for one minute that Potebnja, as it were, to state it coarsely, was "grinding water in a mortar" (*idem per idem*). This question is the lever which lifts the many other questions which are interwoven with it so that when this basic question remains beclouded, the whole system of Potebnja's teaching cannot be clear.[9] We shall only attempt to contrast several excerpts from various of Potebnja's writings in which he treats the "internal form" of the word and of artistic creation. Already in the brief second chapter of *Iz zapisok po russkoi grammatike* which is entitled "Notion and Meaning" (*Predstavlenie i značenie*), and is only six pages long, we shall clearly see the line of delineation between the two mean-

[9] In our opinion the best way to interprete Potebnja is by means of his own works, by his thoughts formulated in different variations in different years and works, because Potebnja was a man of high integrity in his *Weltanschauung*. The other way which needs more time and stress is to work out in accordance with his system a certain specific problem. I personally made such an attempt in my *Zahovory, zaklinanija i dr. vidy vrachevannja, osnovannye na vere v silu slova,* Warsaw 1907, part I-II, page 522.

ings of the term "notion" (*predstavlenie*)—the one is ordinary, commonplace, broader, although less expressive, the "representation of the felt image." The other meaning, which does not yet enjoy the full rights of citizenship, although it was recognized yet by Steinthal, it that "notion as identical with the basic comparison of the word or sign constitutes an indispensable element of the emerging word" (*ibid.*). The sign in a word is necessary for the rapidity of thought, the equivalent of the corresponding image or concept; it is the representative of one thing or another in the flow of thought and because of this is called notion (*predstavlenie*). This meaning of the word "notion," a meaning which has special significance for philology, "should not be confused with the other meaning" (*ibid.*), indicated earlier, of "notion as felt image."

Distinguishing strictly between these two different interpretations of the term "notion," Potebnja uses these two meanings of the word (and according to him there are two different words) each in its own place, not confusing them (which is what tempted V. Petrov).

Let us turn to Potebnja's understanding of the internal form as objective meaning. "What is the 'meaning' of a word? It is obvious that philology, not losing sight of its goals, looks upon the meaning of a word only to a certain point," otherwise it would "embrace in addition to its undisputed content, which is not challenged by any other science, the content of all other sciences" (page 10). Speaking, for example, of a tree, we would have to speak of botany and in this connection, let us say, also of cause and to become involved in a discussion concerning world causality. And here, obviously, in one expression two different meanings have been joined: the "closer" meaning of the word—the subject of philology—and the "remote" meaning which is the subject of other sciences. "It is only the closer meaning of the word (the internal form of the word) that constitutes the real content of the thought during the pronunciation of the word" (page 110). This means that both of Potebnja's assertions are fully established, although to V. Petrov they appear to be "con-

tradictory," namely that "the internal form of the word is the sole objective content of the word" and simultaneously that the internal form of the word is "the means by which this word is expressed" as the result of which it becomes understandable to the other person. "The closer or normal meaning of the word together with its notion makes it possible for the speaker and listener to understand each other" (page 11). Thus the second misunderstanding of V. Petrov is disposed of. Let us pass to the third, the most difficult and most complex, because here the basis of all of Potebnja's teaching must be borne in mind, that the word is in miniature both an artistic and scientific creation, that language and literature are phenomena of the same order, that what is said of the internal form of the word can be applied to the internal form of a creation. Thus in a quotation from Potebnja cited by V. Petrov, the first part of it, which is cited above —"the internal form or notion is related to the felt image"—does not require explanation; it is necessary only to note its close: "as the internal form of the artistic word (an image, an ideal) is related to the thought which is objectified in it." Here we enter the boundaries of "the theory of letters (*slovesnost'*) to which Potebnja devoted an entire volume and which clarifies these complex processes. In our every process of cognition, by which we compare that which we learned earlier (A) with that which we commonly call *tertium comparationis* or, simply the "sign" which points to the meaning. "That which in the word we term the notion and in a poetical work the image can be termed the sign of meaning."[10] Thus: "the process of creating a word or a poetic image is fully analogous, i.e. when we understand a word heard from another person or a poetic work there necessarily occur within us the same elements but only in a different order" (*ibid.*): from xAa to aAx. "We are able to comprehend a poetic work to the extent that we participate in its creation" (*ibid.*). "The processes which occur in the soul of a poet... are the essence of the processes of our soul, of the souls of those who un-

[10] Potebnja, *Iz lekciy po teorii slovesnosti. Basnya, poslovica, pogovorka.* Kharkiv, 1899, page 136.

derstand and make use of the artistic work. The personality of the poet is exclusive only because in it in greater concentration are to be found those elements which are also to be found in those who understand these works. Between the poet and the public of his time exists a very close bond" (*ibid.*, p. 137). "Every sign has many meanings; this is an attribute of poetic works" (*ibid.*, p. 139). "Prose and poetry arise from two conditions linked in the word with the current and with the forgotten notion in the domain of the more complex literary thought which occurs with the aid of the word. Their embryonic definition is to be found in the definition of the two conditions of the word indicated above.[11]) The one and the other, like language and other arts, are as much known as means of thought as they are as artistic works" i.e. what in one aspect is the means, in the other is the content. "The elements of poetical works correspond to the elements of the word expressing a current notion since such a word is in itself a poetic creation. The external form of artistic creation corresponds to the unity of distinct sounds (the external form of the word); the external form of artistic creation must be understood not as merely a sound but as a literary form renowned in its component parts. Already by means of the external form the means of perception of the artistic creation are determined and distinguished from other arts. The image (or the certain unity of images) in poetic creation corresponds to the notion in the word. To the poetic image can be given the same names which are proper to the image in the word, namely: the sign, the symbol from which is taken the notion, the internal form of the word'" (*op. cit.*, page 30). "The poetic image (the internal form) serves as a link between the external form and the meaning. The external form determines the image" (*ibid.*). "The image is applied, fitted; the poetic image may be called an 'example' and in Old Russian *pritča* (parable), because it *prityčecya,* applies to something and in that way acquires meaning. By this is determined the line between the external and internal poetic forms. All which precedes application in the

11 Potebnja, *Iz zapisok po teorii slovesnosti,* Kharkiv, 1905, p. 29.

course of understanding the poetic creation still remains the external form. In this way the proverb *'ne bulo snihu, ne bulo slidu'* [there was no snow, there was no trace], the external form includes not only the sounds and the meter but also the closest meaning."

"For the creator of a song the relationship between the image and the closest meaning was fully defined,[12] i.e., the imagery was namely the means for creating the thought in the same way as in the word the notion is the means of attaining meaning." Thus it would appear that the last doubt of V. Petrov has been resolved although with a lengthy but necessary series of excerpts from Potebnja. And yet we should linger somewhat on this most important question of the dual unity and compactness of the form and substance because around this revolves the question of whether literature is a separate discipline.

The problem is that the substance (*zmist*) is not distinguished from other plain substitutes for it such as "essence (*sut'*), understanding (*rozuminnya*), meaning (*značinnya*)" and especially the well-known "idea" which takes on so many different meanings. "To the meaning of the word corresponds the meaning of poetic creation, usually called the idea. This last term can be retained only if it cleansed of the transcendentalisms which have become attached to it,"[13] and they are numerous. If we turn to some of the old textbooks on the theory of letters or the history of literature we see that *idea* is most often identified with the essence (*suščnost'*), with the Platonic *noumenon* or rather *o'bia.* In the new studies on poetics the idea is interpreted differently: "In a political as well as in every artistic creation the formal and informal (*vneformal'nye*) elements (the content) are subordinated to a certain unity; that which is given and can be submitted to our objective analysis is the form; that which we feel and can feel and analyze, like the readers, only in ourselves, is the content. Therefore the path of every analysis should of necessity proceed from the formal to

12 Potebnja, *Recenziya na sbornik narodnych pesen Golovackogo,* p. 51.
13 Potebnja, *Iz zapisok po teorii slovesnosti,* page 30.

the informal if only this analysis has pretences to a certain measure of objectivity."[14] In this way, on the delimitation of concepts such as ... essence, idea, content ... and subject, theme, motif, mode, means, and on the understanding of their dual unity a separate discipline concerning literature should develop.

From all that has been said, there distinctly emerges the profound correctness of Potebnja's thought as expressed in the epigraph to this article: "The spoken word conveys a different impression to each person pronouncing or hearing that word." However, this does not mean that there are no objective means "to draw these scissors together": they may be spread far apart or be brought *almost* together when they are joined by means of a rivet and put to work and adjusted to life's processes and needs. Such a rivet which assures the possibility of understanding between the speaker and listener—the poet and his reader—is the "internal form" of the word and of the artistic creation.

SUPPLEMENT

The Particular in the General

The concept of what is *general* is a relative one. All generalization has significance for thought as a means of repeating, of reproducing in the memory the *particular* and, being deprived of what is particular, loses all meaning. However, at certain times, closer to our own, for people who are more accustomed to the effort of thought, the possibility of division of the general into the particular is so great that in speech and thought it is possible to be satisfied with the general and to set aside the particular, as superfluous at that moment, easily implied and reconstructed in accordance with need. For him who says "all" it is unnecessary to add: "the rich and the poor, the old, the young and the middle-aged, men, women and children," i.e., the appear-

14 Professor A. I. Belecky, *V masterskoj chudožnika slova,* published in the eighth volume of *Voprosy teorii i psichologii tvorčestva,* Kharkiv, 1923, pp. 106-107.

ance of a general word in speech can lead to avoidance in the consciousness of a series of particulars related to it. When the general is already fully developed it is possible to sense the lack of confidence in one's own abilities to divide it into particulars. With another, more archaic, state of thought, generalization occurs along with the particular, before or after it, and has for thought a meaning not of conditional, easily realized value, making unnecessary an enumeration of money or goods every minute, but—an account enclosed with cash or goods, or a total, preceding enumerated values or following them. In this way, the movements of thought related to the pronunciation of the word to the general meaning are to such an extent inseparable from the movements related to the particular, that the appearance of the former draws behind it the ranks of the latter. The latter movements are not held back until the time of need but always make their appearance together with the former. From the more or less complete dominance of this condition of thought depends the rate of speed of thought, the degree of prolongation of expression, which sometimes, as in many monuments of Russian literature and folkloric poetry, are so extensive that to us it seems unbearably tiresome. This prolongation goes far beyond the limits of requirements of precision in the matter. It is not at all limited to the class of official papers, because to it are related the so-called epic repetitions (for example, Kiz., IV, 38-41-42).

This is dealt with here in connection with the concreteness of nouns, but the characteristic under consideration also manifests itself in other parts of speech.

The Text of the Same Two Pages of a Second, Later Variation Characteristic of Potebnja

"Obr.—The boyars and the *okol'ničiye* and *dumnye lyudi* and the dvoryane and the boyars children, and guests and tradesmen and *all orders of people* and the *čern'*." Kotoš. et passim.

The word as an agency of thought, accomplished at the present moment, is a reference to meaning (termed the "farther"

in *Iz Zapisok po russkoi grammatike,* I. p. 10), which consists of signs recognized previously and being held in supply. These signs in the event of need can be reproduced not otherwise than in juxtaposition with the following acts of thought and expression. Such a relation of the word as the reference—to the meaning is compared with the relationship of the sign of credit to the actual value at which it is exchanged. There are words just as there are signs of credit which do not deserve any attention.

This can be expressed in another way if we say that the relationship is the same between the word with a more general meaning and the word with a more particular meaning suitable to the general.

The general is always valuable to the extent that it can be divided into its particulars to the phenomena (i.e., to the conditionally concrete) inclusively, but according to the quality of connection of the general and the particular there can be distinguished two conditions of language and thought. In the one case, in the latter, which is closer to our own, the conviction of the possibility of substituting the particular for the general is so great that he who says "all are mortal" may not sense any need to add: "the rich, the poor, the old, the middle-aged and young, men and women and others." In this way the thought can rapidly float among the summits of generalizations dropping to their foothills only rarely in particularly important instances. And, on the contrary, the conviction of the appurtenance of the particular to the general is so great that in the moment of speech the particular does not elicit in the consciousness its general and we say "eagle," "Pskovite" and not "eagle bird" or "man Pskovite."

It is otherwise in the case of the other, more prototypical, state of language. The more remote this state is from that mentioned above, the more often and the more permanently does the general in it draw behind itself a series of particulars and, on the contrary, the particular is culminated by the general so that the thought retraces its earlier course more often and its earlier work is repeated also in reduced form. In this way, returning to the

earlier comparison, we can say that in this case there is little credit, and the word with the general meaning, for the most part, is not a sign of credit easily changed, making unnecessary a by-the-minute presence of money or goods, but an account enclosed with cash or goods, not an algebraic sign but a total accompanying a series of concrete items. In this case the general and the particular are not separated to the extent that one of them can be kept in supply unconsciously while the other appears in the conscious; the ties between them are so short that the one which emerges on the surface automatically draws behind itself the other ...

ALEXANDER POTEBNJA AS A LINGUIST

GEORGE Y. SHEVELOV

Although lip-service is frequently paid to Potebnja, he is little known as a linguist or a Ukrainian scholar in the Soviet Union. He is entirely unknown in the West. Born in the region of Romny in a family of "aboriginal Little Russians,"[1] and educated at the University of Kharkiv under the influence of I. Sreznevs'kyj and A. Metlyns'kyj, Ukrainian Romanticists, Potebnja stressed his loyalty to the Ukrainian people throughout his entire life. In linguistic studies he utilized the data of the Ukrainian language and folklore along with other Slavic languages. In his private life, however, he always found time and opportunity to devote himself to specific Ukrainian problems. As a student, he participated in the activities of Kharkiv's "Community of Ukrainian Students" and collected Ukrainian folklore both in his native region and during a special expedition to Poltava and Okhtyrka.[2] According to P. Popov, the collection thus assembled was published in 1863 by O. S. Ballina but with the omission of Potebnja's name.[3] In the eighties, Potebnja published the works of his favorite Ukrainian writer, H. F. Kvitka-Osnovjanenko, as well as those of P. Hulak-Artemovs'kyj. He maintained a lively correspondence with I. Manžura, a poet and his contemporary, whose works were published in 1889 as a result of Potebnja's efforts and under his editorship. Potebnja's spare time in the last few years of his life was devoted to his

1 B. Ljapunov in Collected articles, *Pamjati A. A. Potebni,* Kharkiv, 1892, 29.

2 I. Žytec'kyj, "O. O. Potebnja i Xarkiv'ska hromada v 1861-63 rr." *Za sto lit,* I, 1927, 73-76; M. Hnip, "Do istoriji hromads'koho ruxu 1860-x rr." *Za sto lit* 5, 1930, 170; P. Popov, "Do xarakterystyky naukovoji dijal'nosty O. O. Potebni," *Radjans'ke literaturoznavstvo* 7-8, Kiev 1947, 121.

3 *Ibid.,* p. 122. The foreword to O. Ballina's collection of songs strikingly suggests the style of Vasyl' Mova-Lymans'kyj. The problem of possible bonds between this interesting writer and ardent Ukrainian patriot and Potebnja, merits particular attention and might shed new light on the Ukrainian contacts of Potebnja.

hobby, the translation of the *Odyssey* into Ukrainian.[4] Throughout his active life, Potebnja defended the individuality of the Ukrainian literary language, pleading the thesis of "two Russian literary languages." However, in reference to the evolutionary development of the Ukrainian literary language, he opposed the program of Staryc'kyj, agreeing with I. Manžura, i.e., he was against an artificially crossed language and for a language close to the peasant dialects.[5] The first attempt to outline the history of the Ukrainian language was Potebnja's work *Zametki o malorusskom narečii,* published in 1870. Therefore, it was not surprising that during Potebnja's funeral there appeared among the wreaths a garland made of ripe yellow ears of wheat interwoven with blue immortelles (the colour combination of the Ukrainian national flag), laid by Potebnja's students and bearing the Ukrainian inscription: "From Ukrainians, auditors of Potebnja, November 29, 1891."[6]

As a scientist, Potebnja matured during the period of late romanticism and early positivism. Metlyns'kyj, the Romantic, was his immediate teacher, but he was much more influenced by W. von Humboldt, Steinthal and Lotze. The role of the latter, however, even during the early period of Potebnja's activity, has been somewhat overestimated by Petrov.[7]

Humboldt's basic idea—the direct association between language and reasoning which even found expression in the title of his most important work[8]—was central to all of Potebnja's research activity. The critique of logicism in linguistics, the stress on the relation between language and psychology, the attempt to per-

4 A preserved fragment of this translation was published in the appendix to Potebnja's work *Iz Zapisok po teorii slovesnosti,* Kharkiv, 1905.

5 For "two Russian literary languages" see, for example, *K istorii russkogo jazyka,* Voronež 1876, I. Ljapunov in *Pamjati Potebni,* 46, mentions Potebnja's attitude towards a coined literary language *à la* Staryc'kyj.

6 *Pamjati Potebni,* 73.

7 V. Petrov, "Potebnja j Lotze," *Zapysky Ist.-fil. vidd. UAN* 4, 1924, 259-263; "Do pytannja pro Potebnju j Lotze," *Zapysky Ist.-fil. vidd. UAN* 9, 1926, 367-368.

8 W. von Humboldt, *Ueber die Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaues und ihren Einfluss auf die geistige Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechtes.* First edition appeared in 1836.

ceive a reflection of the national mentality in the structure of a given language—all leads to Steinthal.[9] The epoch of positivism contributed to a strict adherence to facts, an unemotional and concise style of exposition, an absence of emphasis, a cautious approach to arbitrary or excessively broad generalizations and an association with the Neogrammarian school. However, all this was to a great extent outward appearance, and attentive readers of Potebnja will easily perceive the sweeping passion and broad generalizations of a great scholar, who psychologically remained a Romantic forever. Potebnja never accepted the mental attitude of materialism that was fashionable in the sixties; he remained an idealist and regarded the primitive materialism of "Estjetičeskije otnošenija iskusstva k dejstvitel'nosti" by N. Černyševskij as most alien to his own views and, in Potebnja's opinion, "merely a result of a sad misunderstanding."[10] Potebnja's contemporaries compared his evolutional theory on the gradual formation of parts of speech to Darwinism;[11] however, actually he was probably closer to Lamarck and fundamentally incompatible with the "spirit of the sixties" in Russia. Potebnja's theory of literature and the nation was most popular and widely popularized. His only work to appear in five editions was his first theoretical essay "Mysl' i jazyk." Many articles and publications about Potebnja stressed in the main this particular aspect of his activities and the so-called "School of Potebnja," chiefly centered in Kharkiv (V. Xarcijev, B. Lezin, O. Vetukhiv and others) with its organ *Voprosy teorii i psixologii tvorčestva,* was

9 H. Steinthal, *Der Ursprung der Sprache im Zusammenhang mit den letzten Fragen alles Wissens,* 1851; *Charakteristik der hauptsächlichten Typen des Sprachbaues,* 1860; *Einleitung in die Psychologie und Sprachwissenschaft,* 1871. Steinthal was one of the editors of the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft* (1859-1890).

10 A. Gornfeld, *Pamjati Potebni,* 17.

11 A. Budilovič commented on the results of Potebnja's research: "It appeared that syntactic categories of language, previously considered stable, analogous to laws of logics, are in fact also subject to changes when etymological forms change, and in interaction with such forms. This discovery, not merely guesswork, but a fact proved by Potebnja, is as important to linguistics as Darwin's theories on evolution of species in biological sciences", *Pamjati Potebni,* 64.

also primarily concerned with these questions. Nevertheless, this was the least independent and, therefore, the least valuable aspect of Potebnja's activities; "Mysl' i jazyk" was his only work strongly lacking in originality, although even here Potebnja produces a series of brilliant observations and interesting examples, and shows an individual trend of reasoning. Potebnja's theory of a literary work was based on an attempt to identify the word and the literary work as structural units, the essence of which was in both cases in the presence of an internal form (Humboldt's *"innere Sprachform"*) constituting the center in which the national (in the case of words) and individual (in the case of literary works) mentality was reflected. This theory hardly proved satisfactory and hindered Potebnja, as well as his disciples, who, therefore, did not proceed with an analysis of literary works beyond the simplest forms—such as proverbs, adages and fables. Potebnja's theory advancing the harmful effect of children's bilingualism, constitutes the basic idea of his article "Jazyk i narodnost' " and partly of the study "O nacionalizme"; this point of view was later seized upon by V. Simovyč,[12] but it has not been confirmed by facts, though it played a significant part in the struggle for Ukrainian schools.

It is easy to understand the reasons for the popularity and renown of this aspect of Potebnja's activities and ideas. First, the general reading public was more interested in literature than in linguistics. Second, these ideas could be directly or indirectly utilized in the struggle against Russification, which explains their popularity in the Ukraine.[13] In Russia these ideas were popular at the beginning of this century, i.e. when Symbolism began to oppose barren positivism.[14] Nevertheless, in a general

12 V. Simovyč, "Ridna mova j intelektual'nyj rozvytok dytyny," *Šljax vyxovannja j navčannja,* L'viv 1934, I. Cf. U. Weinreich, *Languages in Contact,* New York 1953, 116 ff. Bilingualism, as such, in its influence on the intellectual and psychological development of a child, must be kept apart from the effects of a socially conditioned assessment of the two languages. This is the prerequisite of any objective study in this field, but one seldom observed.

13 Cf. K. Čexovyč, *Oleksander Potebnja, ukrains'kyj myslytel'-lingvist,* Warsaw, 1931.

14 A. Belyj wrote in his program book *Simvolizm,* Moscow 1910: "Potebnja approaches the threshold, where a confession of the symbolic school of poetry begins"

way, this cannot render the theories original, even though somewhat analogous ideas have formed the basis of the approach of the contemporary American so-called Ethnolinguistical School. Works, such as "Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture: A Study in Method" by E. Sapir and B. L. Whorf's articles on the language of Hopi Indians[15] are "Potebnian"—without even knowing Potebja—both in the manner of presenting the central problem, i.e., how a language conditions the reasoning and behavior of human beings, and in the general methods applied. But the fact is that these theories, as well as fundamental conceptions of Potebnja, stem from a common source: Humboldt and Steinthal. This circumstance also explains the similarity

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(575). Belyj repeatedly referred to Potebnja as the ultimate authority on the problems of language and mythic essence of poetry; cf. references to Potebnja on pp. 432, 434, 447, 573 f, 576 ff, 582 f, 585 f, 598, 604, 618. Simultaneously, Belyj devoted to Potebnja a separate article "Mysl' i jazyk (Filosofija jazyka A. A. Potebni)," *Logos,* 1910, 2. Rejecting Potebnja's geneticism and psychologism, as allegedly non-essential for his viewpoint (256), Belyj thinks that "the establishment of an analogy between word and myth" (245) constitutes the basic principle of Potebnja's conceptions. Belyj substantiated the "irrational symbolism of language" by Potebnja's theory pertaining to the interior form of word. Hence, the conclusion, in which he directly associated Potebnja with the (Russian) symbolism: "The numerous statements expressed and proven by Potebnja, appeared, independently of himself, as battle slogans of the school of arts that is still disputed and contested" (257)—and further on: "Many opinions of Vjačeslav Ivanov on the development of myth from an artistic symbol, or Brjusov—on the artistic value of words and verbal combinations, are a direct continuation, occasionally a mere rehash of Potebnja's theories proven by his painstaking investigations" (245). Belyj was trying to establish similarities even between Potebnja and Mallarmé!

15 Sapir's article published in *Selected Writings of Edward Sapir,* ed. by D. G. Mandelbaum, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951, pp. 389-462. Whorf's most important articles are: "The Punctual and Segmentative Aspects of Verbs in Hopi"; "Some Verbal Categories in Hopi"; "An American Indian Model of the Universe," collected in *Language, Thought and Reality,* selected writings of B. L. Whorf, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1956. It must be said, however, that Potebnja insisted upon the universal character of human reasoning. For a well chosen series of quotations from Potebnja's works on this subject, see T. Rajnov, *A. A. Potebnja,* Petrograd, 1924, 69 ff.

between K. Vossler and Potebnja that attracted the attention of Belyj.[16]

Leaving the research on folklore aside, Potebnja's scientific activities reached a peak in his works on historical syntax of the Slavic languages. Four volumes of *Iz zapisok po russkoj grammatike* surpass by far anything else written on this subject. On publication nothing favored their popularity, neither the inappropriately modest title of the work, nor the methods used, which differed greatly from the methods and approach of the Neogrammarians, who at that time had started their victorious march through Slavic linguistics. Nevertheless, the power and depth of Potebnja's study on syntax could not be completely ignored by his contemporareis. One of the leading representatives of the Slavic Neogrammarians, Jagić, commented on the first two parts of Potebnja's work as follows: "The work of Professor Potebnja is a worthy rival of Miklosich's syntax."[17] This was high praise from Jagić, a comparison of the work of a professor from an obscure provincial university in Russia with the universally-known founder of scientific Slavistics, the famous professor at the University of Vienna. In fact, however, it meant very little to say that. There was a substantial difference between the *Vergleichende Syntax der slavischen Sprachen* of Miklosich and Potebnja's *Iz zapisok po russkoj grammatike*: despite the importance of Miklosich's work, a pioneering effort in its field, and profusion of data, it was but a collection of examples, atomized, and devoid of any general principle, whereas Potebnja's study was permeated by an original conception. Miklosich was, therefore, unable to show the development and progress on syntactic constructions. This was common to most subsequent studies on Slavic historical syntax. Potebnja's work stood apart from all later research as well,[18] since he alone succeeded in showing the development of syntactic categories, the decay of some of them and formation of others, as a process regulated from within.

16 *Logos,* 1910, 2, 253.

17 *Pamjati Potebni,* 55.

18 Perhaps with the exception of A. V. Popov's work, "Imenitel'nyj, zvatel'nyj i vinitel'nyj . . .," *Sintaksičeskie issledovanija,* I, Voronež, 1881.

Though Neogrammarians repeatedly declared that linguistics must be based on history to be scientific, their works on syntax remained mere collections of facts from different epochs and virtually devoid of historic approach. Potebnja's works on syntax are thus far the only historical studies of Slavic syntax.

The problems considered in these works—the decay of the participal structure of the sentence and rise of the verbal structure, the transition from the multicentral to the unicentral sentence, to which were related such changes as the changes in the function of infinitive, breakdown of the system of "second cases" and development of the predicative instrumental, the polarization of the originally undifferentiated noun to substantive and adjective—had never before been so thoroughly and persuasively expounded. With slight corrections (Potebnja exaggerated the importance of the verb; his theory that the role of "pure" impersonal sentences increases, was erroneous) these works are still the most up-to-date word in science, but unfortunately, little known even to professional linguists. Thus, today, one occasionally finds in textbooks and scientific works certain statements that have been long refuted by Potebnja's research.

I shall confine myself to the following example. Even now, all the courses on history of the Slavic languages reproduce the theory of Neogrammarians emphasizing that the so-called compound adjective forms, such as *zelenъ* + *jь* in their opposition to simple forms of *"zelenъ"* type arose as definite forms and the pronoun added thereto played the part of an article. Only recently A. Dostál, one of the most interesting Czech linguists of our time, expressed serious doubts on this subject. He showed that specialization of two forms either in the attributive or predicative function, is not conditioned by their definite or indefinite character; he further stated that an article used only with adjectives is difficult to imagine, etc. He thus concluded that the reasons for attaching a pronoun to an adjective must be sought not in the tendency towards the definite adjective, but in the tendency to contrast adjectives and substantives morphologically.[19] These ideas are very opportune. However, they directly follow from the data and theories of Potebnja that have been

assembled and presented in the third volume of his work *Iz zapisok po russkoj grammatike.* If these theories had been known and assimilated by Slavic linguistics, their rediscovery would have been superfluous.

I could cite many analogous examples. However, a detailed exposition of Potebnja's theories of syntax and conclusions is beyond the purpose of this article. His works on historic syntax are written in a highly concise form and, therefore, cannot be presented in an article. The extract from the second volume of his *Iz zapisok po russkoj grammatike* that is reprinted in the present issue of the *Annals,* will show to a certain extent Potebnja's approach to these problems, as well as his style. However, nothing can replace a direct and thorough study of this masterpiece of Slavic linguistics. Meanwhile, I wish to devote the rest of this article to the lesser known works of Potebnja. While Potebnja's studies of syntax are at least paid lip-service, his works on etymology and phonetics are either completely forgotten or generally regarded as entirely out-of-date. This is partly true. Historical phonetics greatly advanced during the past century and many general theories of Potebnja (and, still more their details) concerning phonetic changes in Slavic languages are indeed out-of-date. Potebnja's works on historical syntax can be read, with slight limitations, as if they were written today. Potebnja's works on historical phonetics as a whole are obsolete and can be utilized only in historical perspective, against a background of the evolution of knowledge in this particular field. However, these works also contain a great deal of interesting details, valuable but now forgotten observations, general reasoning or original and still fresh methods of approach. Omitting the obsolete, I shall stress the facts that are still interesting and fruitful, some of which have been "re-discovered" anew at a relatively recent date.

Etymologies of Potebnja, mostly out-of-date in their phonetic comparisons, remain nonetheless interesting because of the ample

[19] Dostál, "K otázce slovotvorných typů, zvlaště slovanských," *Studie a práce linguistické* I, 111 f (Prague, 1954).

historico-cultural material used, folklore data in particular. Potebnja's essay on the origin of the words *selo-derevnja,* etymological in its subject, at the same time is a study on the history of national economics, the history of laws, the history of customs and the history of spiritual and material culture. The more recent tendency in etymological research, known under the name of *Wörter und Sachen,* has its undisputable predecessor in the works of this type by Potebnja. However, Potebnja, once more revealing his association with Romanticism, devoted much more attention to the relation between language and folklore. When, for example, he traces back the origin of the Ukrainian expression *"ni za capovu dušu" (in vain)*, literally 'not even for a goat's soul,' he substantiated his explanation not only by actual comments, but also by parallels with biblical data, German popular fairy-tales and Ukrainian customs and traditions.[20]

Potebnja's works on the historical phonology of the Ukrainian and Russian language are mostly neglected and forgotten. Nevertheless, many discoveries, which have been attributed to more recent scientists, were actually Potebnja's accomplishments in these works. A few examples will suffice. Šaxmatov is generally believed to be the originator of the theory that the modern Russian language was formed through the integration of two, initially mutually different, dialectal groups, which at present are known as the North and South Russian dialects. In reality, however, Potebnja already advanced this view in 1864.[21] At the same time, Potebnja expressed the hypothesis that the Ukrainian *i* developed from the ancient *o, e* in the so-called newly closed syllables through the stages of lengthening and diphtongization of original *o, e.*[22] This theory has been accepted by the majority of modern linguists (although the author of the present article does not share it), but is universally attributed to A. Sobolevskij, as expressed in his study dated 1884,[23] i.e. twenty years following

20 *K istorii zvukov russkogo jazyka,* IV, Warsaw 1883 (*"Selo-derevnja* i t.p. [K istorii byta]," pp. 1-48; *"Ni za capovu dušu,"* pp. 84-5.

21 *Dva issledovanija o zvukax russkogo jazyka,* Voronež, 1866, p. 74.

22 *Ibid.,* pp. 102 ff.

23 A. Sobolevskij, *Očerki iz istorii russkogo jazyka,* Kiev, 1884.

the publication of Potebnja's work. Certain discrepancies in this explanation compelled Lehr-Spławiński in 1928 to offer the assumption that the lengthening of *o, e* under these circumstances began already in the prehistoric epoch.[24] But this, too, has been foreseen and formulated by Potebnja in the same work.[25] It must be added to Potebnja's credit that soon, namely in 1876, he voiced a supposition, though a tentative one, that the explanation of the origin of the Ukrainian *i* by the way of compensatory lengthening is not the only possible explanation of its formation,[26] a supposition that anticipated the more recent theories of Hancov, Kurylo and the author of this article. In 1938, Z. Stieber supplied proofs of the fact that Ukrainian *dž* is not a new formation, as believed by Šaxmatov and others, but a remainder from the ancient stage in the development of the Eastern Slavic languages.[27] But he, probably without being aware of it, confirmed Potebnja's views.[28] Recently Professor R. Jakobson told me that the newly found data on the vocabulary of Pskov of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries contained some striking Ukrainian features, such as *dobranič* — 'good night'. It was Potebnja who posed the question of the penetration of elements of Ukrainian vocabulary in the north, as far as Novgorod,[29] simultaneously condemning and rejecting the arbitrary combinations concerning the initial oneness of the Proto-Ukrainian and North Russian dialects.[30]

Potebnja occupied an isolated position in the question of the East-Slavic linguistic unity. He did not deny the existence of an East-Slavic common language, which could have served as an

24 T. Lehr-Spławiński, "Kilka uwag o wspólności językowej praruskiej," *Sbornik statej v čest' A. Sobolevskogo,* Leningrad, 1928, p. 376.

25 *Dva issledovanija . . .,* p. 139.

26 *K istorii zvukov . . .,* 1, 47.

27 Z. Stieber, "Małoruskie *dž* < *dj*-czesko-słowackie *dž* < *dj*," *Biuletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Językoznawczego,* 7, 1938, 72.

28 *Dva issledovanija . . .,* p. 124.

29 *Ibid.,* p. 54.

30 *Zametki o malorusskom narečii,* Voronež, 1870, 15; "Razbor sočinenija P. Žitec-kogo: 'Očerk zvukovoj istorii malorusskogo narečija'," *Otčet o dvadcatom prisuždenii nagrad grafa Uvarova,* SPb, 1878, 792, 794.

intermediate link between the Protoslavic language and the Slavic languages which arose at a later date. He described this hypothetic Proto-East-Slavic language as "a concrete, non-disintegrated language, which already differed from other Slavic languages," and he grounded this assumption on common East-Slavic features, such as pleophony, identical development of nasal vowels, initial *e,* combinations of sonants and reduced vowels, hushing sibilants and lastly, the identical reflexation of the groups *dj,* tj.** However, he placed the disintegration of this language in the prehistoric epoch, before the tenth century.[31] After this date the entire history of East-Slavic languages was to him a history of dialects and he protested vigorously against any attempts to attribute facts pertaining to isolate dialects to the East-Slavic languages as an entirety. On this error the so-called "histories of Russian language," as advocated by Sobolevskij up to Černyx and Kuznecov, have been based.

"The division of the Russian language occured before the eleventh century," wrote Potebnja, "and its entire history, based on manuscript evidence, is of dialectological nature and represents the history of Russian dialects, written dialects included." "The researcher must keep in mind that starting from the first written texts he deals with samples not of the entire Russian language, but only of some of its dialects." And again: "Already at the time of the earliest Russian literature, our language was nothing but an aggregate of popular and one, then two, standard Russian dialects."[32]

Fundamentally Potebnja acted here as an advocate for the interpretation of the history of a language as a historic dialectology, a concept successfully applied now in Polish linguistics, however inhibited by the centralistic tendencies in the USSR. Nevertheless, Potebnja refrained from identifying initial dialects with these or those Eastern-Slavic tribes and sharply opposed similar attempts of Žytec'kyj.[33] He saw clearly that following the

31 *Dva issledovanija . . .*, pp. 138, 140.
32 *K istorii zvukov . . .*, pp. 1, 2, 3, 4.
33 *Razbor . . . Ziteckogo . . .*, 776.

disintegration of tribes, numerous regroupings of dialects took place, in view of which no direct continuity can be established. Furthermore, not all separate tribes necessarily differed in language.

Potebnja based historic research in linguistics on the conception of sound law as developed by Neogrammarians, and far more consistently than, for example, Sobolevskij. With regard to the latter he wrote: "Once we understand a certain sound law, we must endeavour to explain phenomena that do not abide by this law, not for the purpose of subjecting the law to doubts, but differently, as guided by analogy. However, regularities in nature are a constant image of phenomena under definite conditions, which change when conditions are changed. Understanding of the regularities is an attempt to achieve a possibly thorough knowledge of the variety of conditions."[34] At the beginning of his career, Potebnja, who already accepted the principle of sound law, endeavoured to reconcile it with romantic conceptions. He wanted to believe that phonetic changes in words were a result of modified relationship between the words and thought. He wrote at that time: "Nothing occurs in a language that does not reveal a corresponding influence on thought.... Sounds undergo changes and are lost only when the meaning associated with them has lost its value for the thought."[35] Later, however, he adhered to the purely Neogrammarian interpretation of the sound law, as a phenomenon purely phonetic or articulatory. Then he admitted that phonetics must also study those "complications of the vowel" that "neither had, nor have an individual function."[36]

Nevertheless, Potebnja remained highly critical in regard to the Neogrammarian concept of the evolution of languages according to the principle of a genealogical tree, toward a gradual, but continuous division of languages. He stated that he favored

[34] "Otzyv o sočinenii A. Sobolevskogo 'Očerki iz istorii russkogo jazyka'," *IORJaS*, 1, 4 (1896), 808.

[35] *Dva issledovanija* . . ., 20.

[36] *K istorii zvukov* . . ., 1, 180.

the possible convergence of languages — heretic thoughts for that time. "The form of genealogy," he wrote, "admits various complications. Thus, for example, a hypothesis that today's Russian dialects originated from two, three, or more progenitors instead of one, would not contradict it in the least."[37] Potebnja refuted two typical errors in the linguo-historic principles of those Neogrammarians, who considered forms attested to be of chronologically earler date, as well as the forms found in the majority of the later languages and dialects, to be older. He emphasized that it is erroneous "to regard the Old [Church] Slavonic forms as basic in comparison with the forms of other dialects, on the other [hand], the tendency to draw conclusions on the grounds of majority" is in his opinion, equally erroneous.[38]

Potebnja consistently followed the theory which affirmed that changes in every language and in each dialect are individual and conditioned from within. A certain approximation in Potebnja's ideas to more recent theories of structuralism thus becomes apparent, although it must be borne in mind that his arguments remained psychological and never were phenomenologically-structural. Potebnja was willing to persist in this individualization up to the logical end, even if it resulted in agnosticism. "As a rule, the phenomena in languages, as well as in other spheres of life, which I consider real, are so individual that the entirety of their conditions can be found nowhere outside themselves," wrote Potebnja in his criticism on Sobolevskij.[39] This is why explanations of phenomena through external changes failed to satisfy him: "Explanations by means of borrowing of those facts from a language or some other sphere that seem strange to us, appear easy and appealing to many, because they carry the phenomenon over into another region, which we do not investigate, and serve as a pretext for us to get rid of the incomprehensible within the immediate domain of our research."[40]

[37] *Razbor ... Žiteckogo ...*, p. 772.
[38] *K istorii zvukov ...*, I, 115.
[39] *Otzyv o sočinenii Sobolevskogo ...*, 824.
[40] *Zametki o malorusskom narečii*, pp. 42f.

Direct approximation to structuralism may be seen in some isolate and concrete characteristics of phenomena of the Slavic languages. In Potebnja's opinion the unity of Ukrainian dialects was not in the identity of phonetic realizations of the ancient *o, e* in the newly closed syllables—as is known, they vary in different Ukrainian dialects: *i, y, u,* various diphthongs—but in the structurally conditioned principle of their use under identical conditions.[41] His statement that reduced vowels *ъ, ь,* having disappeared as sounds, survived in Slavic languages as junctures of morphems,[42] a statement to which the actual differentiation between synchronic and diachronic approach is a prerequisite but which simultaneously bridges the two, merits close attention. Furthermore, Potebnja was a resolute antagonist of abstractions detached from real facts and of presumptuous or unjustified generalizations, which—it must be admitted—certain representatives of modern structuralism in Slavistics bestow upon us in abundance. Precisely from this point of view Potebnja mercilessly criticized Žytec'kyj. When, for example, Žytec'kyj wanted the hardening of consonants to be considered a general tendency of the entire historic development of the Ukrainian language, Potebnja remarked: "It is rather difficult to refute such general statements, and here lies the danger for the author."[43] Potebnja clearly saw the danger of concepts which were too symmetrical and well proportioned, since he knew that they were always formed by ignoring a considerable part of the non-conforming data. Potebnja wrote with regard to the same Žytec'kyj: "The mere fact that this author treats phonology like a building, in which all the doors can be unlocked by the same master key... leads us to doubt whether the 'meaning' ascribed by the author to his material is 'real.' "[44]

The relation between Potebnja and later structuralism should not be exaggerated. Potebnja was not among the founders of this school in linguistics if one takes his method as a whole and

41 *Ibid.*, p. 24.
42 *Razbor... Žiteckogo...*, p. 820.
43 *Ibid.*, p. 839.
44 *Ibid.*, p. 767.

not some isolated thoughts. The psychological approach of Potebnja hardly appeals to the modern linguists. However, some of his theories, pertaining to individual phonetic changes in East-Slavic languages maintain their vitality. In addition, Potebnja's scientific honesty, his adherence to facts, and his ability to pursue his own course, while rejecting the cheap imitations of the fashionable, undoubtedly commands admiration and respect. In a clamorous, materialistic epoch, Potebnja succeeded in preserving his romantic outlook, while making it meet the stern requirements of facts. In the epoch when the religion of progress prospered and reigned, Potebnja demonstrated that there exists neither progress, nor regress in the development of a phonetic and morphologic structure.[45] In an epoch when a professor of Slavic languages was expected to advocate the "onenes" of the "All-Russian language," Potebnja insisted on the independent development of each dialect, starting from prehistoric times, and defended the separate rights of the Ukrainian language. When Potebnja was expected to lecture at Kharkiv University following Buslaev, he (as I know from the recollections of Xarcijev) appeared on the dais with Buslaev's textbook in his hands, read a passage from it, and then, with a calm, but annihilating critique, refuted it completely. When necessary, Potebnja opposed his epoch in the name of scientific truth, not in order to show his originality, as is frequently the case, even among distinguished scientists. Like another prominent Ukrainian of that time, the distinguished philosopher P. Jurkevyč, Potebnja remained honest to the end. He wrote: "Heresy should be least feared in scientific problems, however, one should not become a dissident without sufficient grounds."[46] Acquainted with these facts, one often discovers behind the impersonal, dry, and severe lines of Potebnja's works not only a great scientist and a great Ukrainian, but an outstanding personality as well. And science, despite its general character, can not be separated from the individual.

[45] *Iz zapisok po russkoj grammatike,* I-II, Kharkiv, 1889, 55.

[46] *K istorii zvukov . . .,* I, 148.

Scholars of Potebnja's type and character were undesirable in both the old and the new, official Russia. Official Russia dealt with Potebnja for being what he was. The first three volumes of *Iz zapisok po russkoj grammatike* were never republished in our century. The fourth volume of this work was published from manuscripts in 1941, practically edited by Filin, but the carelessness of the editors borders upon scandal. Apart from the total absence of comments, the editors appeared unable to arrange the pages of the manuscript in sequence. Many manuscripts of Potebnja are still unpublished: his comments on the treaties of Rus' with Greece, material on Daniel the Exile's *Lament,* material on accentuation of substantives in the Russian language, and folklore recordings. The publication of his complete works—as announced in the twenties—did not proceed beyond the first volume. *Literaturnaja èntciklopedija* described Potebnja as a spokesman for the "declining tendencies of upper-class intellectuals."[47]

The so-called "School of Potebnja" was unable to oppose the rejection of Potebnja. This school produced no eminent figure and instead of developing or popularizing the best in Potebnja's theories, it rather deviated from the latter. If I were asked to name creative and responsible disciples of Potebnja, I would not search for them among his followers within the Russian Symbolists, nor within the representatives of "Kharkiv school," but rather among the Ukrainian linguists of the twenties; and they were not associated with Potebnja in organization nor in program. I would accord the first place to Olena Kurylo.

[47] *Literaturnaja èntciklopedija,* 9, Moscow, 1935, 188.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF SCHELLING (1775-1854) IN THE UKRAINE

DMITRY ČIŽEVSKY

The philosophy of Schelling had considerable influence in all cultured countries of Europe during the first half of the nineteenth century. It is not always easy to determine the exact limits of this influence, since, apart from the works of Schelling himself, a large role in the diffusion of his philosophy was played by his various followers, popularizers, and, finally, by both authors and poets. Furthermore, Schelling, in working out various philosophical questions in his works, emphasized particularly the importance of first one, then another problem, so that we often encounter the assertion, from historians of philosophy, that Schelling created different philosophical systems one after the other; this, however, is untrue.[1]

Of the philosophical questions with which Schelling was especially occupied during various periods of his activity, certain ones were particularly echoed in the Ukraine: above all natural philosophy (*Naturphilosophie*), to which Schelling had dedicated his early works (beginning in 1797), then esthetics (developed particularly in works from 1800 on, above all in *System des transcendentalen Idealismus,* 1800), and finally the philosophy of history, which Schelling did not set forth in a special work. Mainly through the mediation of a series of Schelling's followers, and in connection with his natural philosophy, were propagated the psychological views of his "psychological school," the opinions of which Schelling undoubtedly shared, but to which he devoted no special work.[2]

1 In January 1796, Schelling had already conceived a program indicating all the later themes of his philosophical system. See, F. Rosenzweig, *Das erste Systemprogramm des deutschen Idealismus,* Heidelberg, 1917.

2 A good presentation of the psychology of the Schelling School, in connection with Schelling's philosophy, is given in the book of H. Knittermeyer, *Schelling und die romantische Schule,* Munich, 1929.

Thus, there was no echo in the Ukraine of highly essential parts of Schelling's system of thought: his philosophy of religion and even his philosophy of freedom, to which he had devoted his most profound work, *Untersuchungen über das Wesen der menschlichen Freiheit* (1809).

It is not our task here to judge and appraise the philosophy of Schelling. I shall only remark that the time has long since passed when many parts of Schelling's philosophical system were treated with abrupt rejection or even with irony. His esthetics, moreover, almost never lost their meaning. The psychology of the "Schelling School" introduced the concept of the "subconscious" into the science of psychology, and S. Freud, for example, refers in his works to the representatives of the psychological school of Schelling as his own precursors (G. H. von Schubert, C. G. Carus). Finally, the most fantastic part of Schelling's philosophy, his "natural philosophy," does not of course correspond to our contemporary views of natural science; yet even at the beginning of the twentieth century a number of major representatives of the natural sciences remarked that the fundamental ideas of natural philosophy had exercised a positive influence on the development of natural science. These fruitful ideas were the idea of the unity of natural forces and the idea of evolution. One of the men who established the law of the conservation of energy, Dr. Ju. T. Meyer, proceeded from the premises of Schelling, and a number of the predecessors of Darwin, whom Darwin himself mentions in the historical survey in the third edition of his *Origin of Species,* were Schellingites. Followers of Schelling were founders of electrochemistry and made a number of discoveries in the field of electricity and magnetism (Oerstadt); the unity of chemical processes in organic and inorganic matter was one of the theses of Schelling even before the appearance of organic chemistry as a science. One contemporary chemist even sees in Schelling a forerunner of certain ideas of Einstein. All this, naturally, only demonstrates the fertility of the fundamental ideas

of natural philosophy, but in no way serves as a justification of its concrete content.[3]

Schelling's philosophy and the "philosophical romanticism" founded upon it had an even greater importance in the development of nationalist movements in the nineteenth century, particularly among the Slavic peoples. In this respect both Herder and Hegel, in addition to Schelling, were influential.[4]

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The philosophy of Schelling was introduced in the Ukraine simultaneous with the founding of the first Ukrainian university, Kharkiv in 1804-5. The German philosopher I. B. Schad (1758-1834) was invited to the university as professor of philosophy and taught there until 1818, when he was discharged and even exiled from the country. During his residence in Kharkiv, Schad published (in Latin) two books, *Logic* and *The Bases of Natural Law*. Although Schad was a follower of Fichte, he became a follower of Schelling in matters of natural philosophy ("the philosophy of nature"), with which Fichte did not concern himself, when he lectured at the university in Jena. Schad dwells upon these matters in his *Logic*. His exposition reiterates the fundamental ideas of Schelling's natural philosophy: In all nature, and even in man, are at work, antipodal, "polar" forces, which assume different forms at each stage of development. Nothing occurs in the world without the uninterrupted struggle of these mutually opposed forces. All nature is one integral organism. We also know that Schad expounded the philosophy of Schelling in his lectures and insisted that it be studied by his students.[5]

3 See for example the article of Paul Valden in the Symposium *Romantik*, Tübingen, 1948.

4 See my books *Narysy z istoriji filosofiji na Ukrajini*, Prague, 1931, and *Gegel' v Rossii*, Paris, 1939, p. 56, 130-1.

5 There are numerous works on Schad, see V. Zenkovski, *Istorija russkoj filosofii*, Vol. I, Paris, 1948, p. 125 f. (English and French translations exist).

The activity of Schad proved fertile in many senses. Above all, Schad kindled an interest in philosophy in a succession of students, who published eleven philosophical works, in general a rarity in Russia at that time. Six of these were Latin dissertations, and the remainder written in Russian: among them were two textbooks of logic, a textbook of psychology, and a book on esthetics.[6] Schad also interested his faculty colleagues in philosophical questions: Four academic speeches on philosophical themes have been preserved from the period of his teaching, two of which demonstrate even in their titles their connection with the natural philosophy of Schelling.[7]

Schad's successor was his student Andrij Dudrovjch (1782-1830), from the "Sub-Carpathian Rus," who held the chair of philosophy until his death in 1830. He was an orthodox Schellingite, but printed only two articles, one of which is devoted to the poularization of the Schelling School psychology.

Certain of the other Ukrainian followers of Schelling left noticeable traces in the history of natural science, philosophy, and literature. First among them was Danylo Kavunnyk-Vellansky (1772-1847), the son of a Cossack artisan from the city of Borzna. He studied at the Kiev Academy and at the Medical Academy in St. Petersburg; from 1801-5 he attended the lectures of Schelling himself in Jena, and later in Würzburg. Upon returning to Russia, Vellansky was until 1836 professor of physiology at the Medical Academy in St. Petersburg. In spite of the fact that his lectures enjoyed considerable success and that he published a number of books and translations, devoted in large measure to matters of natural philosophy and partially to theoretical philosophy, his influence was insignificant. Only in the eighteen twenties did he enter into relations with the Russian Romanticists of Moscow and St. Petersburg. In his books one finds an exposition of the natural philosophy of Schelling, in which Vellansky

[6] See the bibliographical summary of this literature in my note in the *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie*, X, 1933, p. 380 f.

[7] G. Shpet, *Očerk razvitija russkoj filosofii*, I, Petrograd, 1922, p. 116 f.

also makes use of the books of the German Romantic natural philosophers H. Steffens and L. Oken. Vellansky characterizes the philosophy of Schelling as renascent Platonism.[8]

Jakiv Kaydanov (1799-1856), from the city of Lokhvytsya, studied like Vellansky at the Kiev Academy and St. Petersburg Medical Academy, and from 1803-07 in Vienna, after which he was until 1831 a colleague of Vellansky at the Medical Academy, teaching the veterinary sciences. He was responsible for only one philosophical book, in Latin, with the strange title *Tetraktys vitae* (1813). In this book Kaydanov, proceeding from the general bases of Schelling's philosophy, gives, according to the testimony of specialists, a very interesting theory of the evolution of the organic world. Kaydanov's book apparently had no influence on his contemporaries, although it was sympathetically reviewed by one of the German Schellingites, Karl Burdach (1776-1846).[9]

A greater success was enjoyed by the works of the Ukrainian author, poet, historian, and historian of literature, Mychaylo Maksymovych (1804-1873), who began his scholarly career as professor of botany at the University of Moscow. His works on botany (three books from 1827-31), devoted to a considerable degree to the classification of plants from the point of view of natural philosophy, are, according to the testimony of specialists, scientifically significant. His teaching career at the University of Moscow (1827-34), was in part devoted to the popularization of Schelling's natural philosophy. In 1833 Maksymovych published the first popular book on natural science to appear in Russia, *The Book of Naum (Nahum) about the Great World of God,* in which, it is true, philosophical motives play only an insignificant role. In the same year Maksymovych published a brochure *Reflections on Nature,* in which he sets forth briefly the fundamental concepts of Schelling's philosophy. In 1834 Maksymovych became professor and rector of the newly reopened University of Kiev, but left in 1845. The last period of Maksy-

[8] For literature on Vellansky see Zenkovski, *op. cit.,* pp. 126, 130.

[9] On Kaydanov, see B. Raykov, *Russkiye biologi-evolutsionisty do Darvina,* I, 1952, 315-364.

movych's life was devoted to works in the realm of Ukrainian history, literary history, and folklore. This work is of great merit. In some of these works, traces of Schellingism are still noticeable. In addition, Maksymovych played a certain role in the development of Ukrainian literature, as a publisher of symposia (almanachs) and as a poet, in particular as a translator of the Psalter into Ukrainian.[10]

There were some Schellingites among the faculty of the Richelieu Lycée in Odessa, forerunner of the University of Odessa. M. P. Rosberg (1804-1874) taught there from 1830-35, and printed in Odessa a book on the philosophy of art, which presented an exposition of Schelling's esthetics.[11] N. Kuryandtsev (1802-1835), professor of mathematical sciences from 1826-35, published in Odessa a translation of one of Schelling's works on natural philosophy (1834) and also translated books on the Schellingites Schubert and Steffens (1834 and 1835). The Ukrainian K. Zelenetsky (1802-1858), professor of literature at the Richelieu Lycée from 1837-58, published a collection of articles *An Attempt at Investigation of Certain Theoretical Questions* (1-4, 1835-36), in which he expounds the philosophy of history in the spirit of Schelling and Herder. This exposition influenced his contemporaries, Belinski among others. Finally, from 1839 the professor of philosophy at the Lycée was Iosyp Mykhnevych (1809-1885), a student in the Kiev Academy, among whose works is *An Attempt at a Simple Exposition of the Philosophy of Schelling* (1850).

The Hegelian S. Hohotsky (1813-1889) was professor of philosophy at the University of Kiev; in his books on the history of philosophy and in his *Philosophical Lexicon* (vol. 4, 1872),

10 About these professors, followers of Schelling, see my book, *Filosofiya na Ukrayini. Sproba istoriohrafiyi,* Prague, 1926: Dudrovyč, pp. 83, 87; Mykhnevych, pp. 105 f., 111; Hohoćky, pp. 107-09, 113; also *Gegel' v Rossii,* pp. 284-87; on the others, my *Narisy* . . .

11 According to the facts given in Shpet's book, p. 538 f., it is probable that Rosberg's book is only a translation of Schelling's *Ueber die Verhältnis der bildenden Kunste zu der Natur.*

Hohotsky gives a critical exposition of Schelling's philosophy. A Swedish student of Vellansky, Christian Ekeblad (1860-1877), was from 1835-70 professor and rector of the university-type school, the Lycée in Nizhyn; his book *An Attempt at Psycho-biological Investigation of the Faculties of the Human Spirit* (1872) borders upon the psychology of the Schelling School.[12]

Echoes of Schelling's philosophy are also met in certain Ukrainian scholars of a later period. Especially worthy of mention is the influence of Schelling on the philosophy of language of A. A. Potebnja (1835-1891), the highly significant and influential linguistic scholar and remarkable investigator above all of Ukrainian folklore. It is true, however, that Potebnja probably acquired the ideas of Schelling through the intermediary of Schelling's later followers.[13]

There are traces of, and enthusiasm for, Schelling in wide circles of philosophical dilettantes. For example, in the eighteen twenties in Kiev the Schellingite General Begichev was popular. Enthusiasm for philosophy among wide circles of the Ukrainian intelligentia, however, arrived only later, in the eighteen thirties.

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Enthusiasm for philosophy was particularly characteristic of the first nationalist Ukrainian romantic groups in Kharkiv in the eighteen thirties and in Kiev in the forties. In Kharkiv a group of students was gathered about I. I. Sreznevsky (1812-1880), later one of the best-known historians of literature and language, but at that time interested in Ukrainian folklore. The Ukrainian poets O. Shpyhotsky and L. Borovykovsky, A. Metlynsky (1814-1870), poet and later professor of literature in Kharkiv and Kiev, a poet and editor of Ukrainian folk songs, M. Kostomarov (1817-1885), poet and later professor of history in Kiev

12 Ekeblad also gave the first brief exposition of *Zoopsychology* (animal psychology) in an article in *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniya,* 1839.

13 There is no good work on the philosophical viewpoints of Potebnja. *Cf.* T. Raynov, *A. Potebnja,* Petrograd, 1924.

(1846-47) and St. Petersburg (1861-63), one of the most important historians of the Ukraine and Russia, all belonged to this group. In Kiev, there was the Brotherhood of Cyril and Methodius, the first nationalist political organisation in the Ukraine, to which belonged, apart from a number of Kiev students, Professor Kostomarov, the Ukrainian poet and scholar P. Kulish, and the great Ukrainian poet Shevchenko. In 1847 the members of this society were arrested and underwent severe punishment, consisting for the most part of exile to distant provinces, which had a grevious effect on the lives of members of the society.[14]

It is striking that, in both cases, members of these Ukrainian romantic groups were more or less under the influence of Schellingite professors.

In Kharkiv there was the professor of classical philology, Iohann Christian Kroneberg (1788-1838). Kroneberg published in Kharkiv several collections of articles of a philosophical nature,[15] among which one must note two histories of esthetics, ending with an exposition of the esthetics of Schelling, and in which Kroneberg underlines the enormous significance of popular poetry, particularly in the lives of entire nations. In 1835 Kroneberg published an article *On the Study of Letters,*[16] in which we meet a string of thoughts which confront us later in the works of representatives of the Ukrainian romantic circle of Kharkiv, especially in the books of Metlynsky and Kostomarov. Kroneberg emphasizes the importance of poetry and the "word" in general, in the life of the individual and entire peoples. The word is that fundamental form in which are manifested the intellect and creative spirit of man. Every language develops in close connection with its "own soil and its own sky," that is, in connection with the landscape of each country. The spirit of each people is

14 On both Ukrainian groups, see my *History of Ukrainian Literature.*

15 Kroneberg's books are called *Amal'teya* (I-II, 1825-26) and *Broshyurki* (I-X, 1830-33). On Kroneberg, see Shpet, pp. 324-335.

16 "O izuchenii slovesnosti" in *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniya,* 1835, II, pp. 253-289.

manifested in its history, art, poetry, and mythology. Poetry and folklore are closely connected with the "spirit" of a people, but also with its being, its existence as a people. Every literature should "blend with the tongue of the people," since language conforms to the particular mentality of the people which speaks it. Again, among representatives of the Ukrainian Romantic circle of Kharkiv, who were all students of Kroneberg and attended his lectures, we encounter above all that same high evaluation of the role of the "word" and of the popular tongue in the very existence of the nation, and in particular the thought that literature in the popular language is a guarantee of national preservation; this thought is repeated many times in the poetry of Metlynsky and Kostomarov. In his later books on the theory of culture and poetry (1839, 1843, and 1850), Metlynsky terms poetry, and folk poetry in particular, "a manifestation of the eternal thoughts of the human spirit"; this poetry is most intimately bound up with the life, customs, and history of each people. Language is one of the most powerful means of development of a people and even a guarantee of its originality and its existence.[17] Sreznevsky, in his works of the eighteen thirties on folklore, proceeds from the thought that popular poetry is intimately corrected with the life history of the people and with a specific landscape.[18] Finally, Kostomarov wrote a dissertation on *The Historical Significance of Popular Poetry* (1842), and later a book, *Slavic Mythology* (1847), containing judgments about the significance of mythology in the spirit of Kroneberg's article.[19] In any case Kroneberg was, if not the only, then at least one of the most essential sources of ideas of the Ukrainian Romantics of Kharkiv. The Kharkiv Romantics probably arrived

17 *Cf.* Metlynsky's books, *O sushchnosti tsivilizatsii i znachenii ee elementov,* 1839; *Ob istinnom znachenii poezii,* 1843; and *Vzglyad na istoricheskoe znachenie poezii i prozy,* 1850.

18 Sreznevski, *Zaporozhskaya starina,* Preface to Vol. I, 1, 1833.

19 Kostomarov's dissertation *Ob istoricheskom znachenii russkoi narodnoi poezii,* 1843, and *O slavyanskoi mifologii,* 1847. On Kostomarov's *Weltanschauung* see V. Petrov, *Kostomarov i Alina,* 1928.

at the decision to write in the national tongue of the Ukrainian people on the basis of their own ideas; their decision, however, could have been buttressed by the words of their teacher about the necessity of a connection of each "literature with the language of the people."

In Kiev, a certain influence on the younger members of the Brotherhood of Cyril and Methodius, and in all probability on Kostomarov also, was exerted by Petr Avsenev (1810-1852), professor of psychology at the University of Kiev (1838-44) and the Kiev Academy (1836-50). Avsenev, a Schellingite, and in the main a partisan of the Schelling School psychology,[20] was on close terms with the student members of the Brotherhood. He gave them books and conversed with them on religious and philosophical topics. The influence of Avsenev was manifested in the spirit of Christian utopianism with which the program of the Brotherhood was imbued. Kostomarov's interest, during the Kiev period of his life, in psychological matters in the spirit of the Schelling School is explained primarily by the influence of Avsenev. Even if one assumes that Kulish and Shevchenko arrived in Kiev with already fixed philosophical and political opinions, they nevertheless could not help being interested in the religiously-tinged political and social views of their younger companions in the Brotherhood, Biloversky and Andruzsky. The influence of Avsenev's Christianized Schellingism is indubitable in Kostomarov's *Books of the Life of the Ukrainian People,* in the drafts of Kostomarov's utopian novel *Young Mr. Natalich,* and in one particular dazzling poem of Andruzsky.[21] Let us recall only such phrases from *Books of the Life* as, "There is no freedom without the faith of Christ," "The religion of Christ gave the world a new moral spirit," etc. Later, Kulish also wrote

20 Avsenev's lectures on psychology appeared in the symposium *Sbornik iz lektsii byvshikh professorov Kievskoi Dukhovnoi Akademii,* 1869. *Cf.* also Shpet, *op. cit.,* pp. 186-93.

21 The rough draft of Kostomarov's novel in the review *Ukrayina,* 1924, 1-2, p. 121; the poem of Andruzsky in *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva imeni Shevchenka.* 83, 1908, 181 f.

about the Brotherhood of Cyril and Methodius, emphasizing the eschatological moments of its ideology and disposition. It is true that in the ideology of the Brotherhood there is undoubtedly both Polish influence (Mickiewicz) and influence from the West (Lamennais).

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There are a great many philosophical motifs in the poetry of Metlynsky and Kostomarov and a lesser number in the poetry of O. Spihotsky and the later Kharkiv poet Petrenko. No small number of these motifs have their origins in the philosophy of Schelling and recall the Schellingite poets of other Slavic peoples (for example D. Venevitinov, E. Boratynski, and F. Tyutchev among the Russians; let us remember that the philosophical poetry of Tyutchev became known only at the end of the thirties). Here I can only list some of these motifs.[22]

One such motif is that of night, which symbolizes for these poets the profundity of existence (*cf.* Schelling, *Werke,* I, IV, 278). We find this motif in the works of Metlynsky and Kostomarov, but also in Borovykovsky and Petrenko. Among the other motifs of Schellingite poetry is the conception of nature as a living being, which exists while constantly destroying its own creations (*ibid,* I, III, 607). The idea of the impotence of art, in particular of the art of the word, poetry to be exact, adequately to express thought (*ibid.,* I, III, 628), and finally the conception of the tragic character of the historic process (*ibid.,* I, III, 592, 598 or I, V, 287, 290) are repeated in the poetry of Metlynsky and Kostomarov.[23]

It is even possible that Shevchenko's conception of the decisive role in national life played by the "word" arose not without in-

[22] More details will be found in my history of Ukrainian literature.

[23] *Cf.* my article "Tjutčev und die deutsche Romantik" in *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie,* IV, 1927, pp. 299-323, and my review of the symposium *Urania* in the same *Zeitschrift . . .,* VII, 1930, pp. 459-67.

fluence of the Schellingites, whom Shevchenko had already encountered in Petersburg. We even find some motifs of Schellingite psychology in Gogol, and in Kulish.

In poetry, incidentally, a significant role was played by acquaintance with the romantic poetry of other peoples, especially Slavic; already in the twenties and thirties we find in this poetry many motifs originating in the philosophy of Schelling.

A HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS OF KHARKIV UNIVERSITY

MICHAEL VETUKHIV

Kharkiv University played an important role in the cultural and scholarly developments of the Ukraine. It was one of the centers of cultural life in the Ukraine and always a scientific institution of high standing. Many alumni and professors of Kharkiv University contributed generously to the progress of Ukrainian science and world science as a whole, e.g., I. Mechnikov, I. Sreznevsky, M. Kostomarov, O. Potebnja, D. Bahaliy, V. Danilevsky, F. Inozemtsev.

Kharkiv University was the first university in the Ukraine, founded in accordance with the best traditions of the universities of the West. Its history has been closely connected with the general political trends in the Ukraine and has reflected the spiritual developments of different periods.

In his major work on the history of Kharkiv University, the prominent Ukrainian historian, Dmytro Bahaliy, stated that "the main feature of the history of this University is its singularity in being founded as a result of public initiative."[1] He meant the initiative on the part of Ukrainian intellectual circles active in the Slobids'ka Ukraine at that time; they were under the influence of certain Western enlightenment theories and aspired to enlighten their own country.

The history of Kharkiv University can be traced to the first half of the eighteenth century when the Kharkiv Collegium was organized. This institution played an important role as an educational center of the Left-Bank Ukraine. For a time, the prominent Ukrainian philosopher, Hryhoriy Skovoroda, was on the staff of this Collegium. Later he changed this position for the fate of a wandering lecturer. Traveling and lecturing throughout the Ukraine, visiting the landlord's estates, towns and vil-

[1] *Kratkiy Ocherk Istorii Khar'kovskogo Universiteta,* D. I. Bahaliy and others, Kharkiv, 1906, p. 1.

lages, the philosopher, in peasant garb, spread the idea of organizing a university in Kharkiv. Later, the people with whom he associated were among the first founders of the newly organized University.

The Kharkiv nobleman, Vasyl Karazin, a man of high integrity, became an ardent promoter of the cause. It is to his tremendous energy and persistence that the founding of Kharkiv University is to be ascribed. Belonging to the generation educated on ideas of enlightenment, Karazin aimed to bring those ideas into being, founding the university in Kharkiv. In 1802 he wrote to the priest Fotiev: "It is not necessary to write about the benefits of this institution and the glory that it will bring for our mother country, the Ukraine. My heart is filled with joy when I imagine what an influence this institution will exert on our country in all fields—moral, physical, and political."[2]

V. Karazin formulated the project of the University, which, he stressed, should follow the example of the best English and American free universities.[3] He spread his idea among the Kharkiv noblemen and businessmen, collecting money and even reaching the suburban landowners, who offered land for university buildings. Sufficient funds were collected to erect those buildings, which even today are an essential part of the University campus. Then Karazin went to St. Petersburg to persuade the Ministry of Education to grant permission to open the University.

1805 — 1835

In November, 1804, Kharkiv University received an official constituent charter, and on January 17, 1805, the inaugural ceremonies took place.

The charter of 1804 was the most liberal charter in the history of the University, granted in an era of relative liberalism during the early years of Alexander the First. This charter granted broad autonomy to the University and stated that its

2 *Ibid.*, p. 4.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 5.

main purpose was to prepare the youth for service to the state. It also provided for the development of scholarly activities, and emphasized the importance of cooperation with European scholars. The Professors' Council was the highest body in the University and it was entitled to elect the University President and all the professors.

Many prominent scholars of leading European universities (Goettingen, Jena, Edinburgh) were invited to lecture at Kharkiv, but only a few decided to come to such a small, remote city, with a population of about 5,000 at the turn of the last century. There were twenty-nine foreigners on the staff of the University in the first year of its existence and eighteen professors from the Ukraine and Russia. The prominent German philosopher, J. Schad, a follower of Schelling, who came on the recommendation of Goethe, later greatly influenced the development of philosophy in the Ukraine and Russia.[4] The well-known classicist, Rommel of Marburg University, came to Kharkiv; Jacob had been a professor and the President of the University of Halle. Others were from Frankfurt, Marburg, and Paris.

Close cooperation with the West was manifested during the first years of existence of Kharkiv University. Many Kharkiv professors traveled abroad.

In the beginning the following departments were active in the University: 1) Department of Literature, 2) Department of Moral-political Sciences (later Law), 3) Physics and Mathematics, 4) Medical Department.

There were 57 students attending the University in 1805, 122 in 1816, and 263 in 1835.[5] The first graduation took place in 1808.

From its first days, Kharkiv University was an important cultural and intellectual center of the Left-Bank Ukraine. The charter of 1804 entitled the University to supervise all state and private schools in the Kharkiv Educational District, encompassing the Left-Bank Ukraine and some provinces of Russia. This

[4] D. Čiževsky, "The Influence of Schelling in the Ukraine", in this number of the *Annals*.

[5] *Kratkiy Ocherk...*, p. 87.

lasted up to 1832, when it was abolished by the Russian government, which aimed at weakening the university's autonomy and strengthening the tendencies of centralism. However, during those first 28 years of authority over the educational institutions in a large territory, Kharkiv University (with a special committee in charge of secondary schools) succeeded in raising the number and the level of educational institutions. Some public schools were reorganized into gymnasiums, others were enlarged and many new state and private schools were established. A fund raising campaign to support the development of educational institutions was continuously carried on and many new schools buildings were constructed. On an average, thirteen new schools were opened yearly during this period.

The appearance of the first periodicals in Kharkiv was connected with the cultural circle that concentrated around the University. The first newspaper, *Yezhenedelnik,* was published in 1812 by the owner of the University bookstore. Publication of magazines was begun by the Kharkiv professors, the contributors being mostly lecturers and students. During the period of 1816-1825, the following publications appeared in Kharkiv: *Ukrainskiy Vestnik, Khar'kovskiy Demokrit, Ukrainskiy Domovod, Ukrainskiy Zhurnal, Khar'kovskie Izvestiya.* In 1825, the periodicals ended their existence, but literary symposia came into being. In those periodicals and symposia, the works of Ukrainian writers and material on Ukrainian studies were published.

A literary school came into being in circles connected with the University, known as the "Kharkiv School of Romanticism." The role of these writers in creating literary works in Ukrainian had reached a higher level than the works of their predecessors. I. Sreznevsky (1812-80), a professor of literature, exerted great influence on that school. A talented student of Ukrainian ethnography, he evoked in others an interest in Ukrainian poetic folklore. In 1833-38 he published in Kharkiv six books of symposia (*Zaporozhskaya Starina*) containing historical material and folklore.

Thus, Kharkiv University was unique in bringing into the Ukraine modern trends of Western thought, and by being

the first to recognize the value and importance of Ukrainian folklore as one of the manifestations of spiritual life of the Ukrainian people.

The reaction that began in the Russian Empire after the Russo-French War, continued growing, and most of the foreign scholars left Kharkiv. In 1816 even professor Schad was exiled from Russia. Among other reasons, he was accused of attacks upon clericalism and the propagation of rationalism. The first University charter was gradually restricted. Thus, in 1826, the *"popechitel' "* of the educational district, Perovsky, secured from the Ministry of Education permission to appoint the President of the University and to invite professors.

1835 — 1863

In July 1835, a new University charter was introduced which embodied the main tendencies of the reactionary regime of Nicholas I. It limited the University autonomy, diminished the authority of the Professors' Council, and strengthened the power of centralism and bureaucracy. A *"popechitel'"* was in charge of the University as a plenipotentiary of the Petersburg government. The political events of 1848 were an excuse for still stronger measures taken by the tsarist government in regard to the universities. Contact with Western Europe was greatly restricted, in order (as it was said) "to guard the students against the storms in neighboring states."[6] Scholars were forbidden to travel abroad. The programs of political and juridical sciences were limited, and great emphasis was put on theology. In 1850 philosophy courses could be taken only by the theologists.[7]

A well-known example of the reactionary tendencies of the forties was the burning of M. Kostomarov's master's thesis, "On the Uniya." This dissertation had been approved by the faculty and printed. In 1849 a date was set for the defense of this work, but never took place because the Ministry of Education

6 *Kratkiy Ocherk...*, p. 119.
7 *Ibid.*, p. 120.

gave the order to destroy all the copies of this paper. In the period between 1835 and 1865 only one foreigner was on the staff of Kharkiv University.[8]

During the sharpening of reaction in 1848, special instructions were given to the professors to lecture along certain approved programs and a duty was imposed on the rector to submit annual reports "on the spirit and tendencies of lecturing."[9] However, the scholarly work of the University was on quite a high level and many papers in different fields of scholarship were published.

The following prominent scholars were active: Kalenichenko (paleontology), Pavlovsky (mathematics), Lunin (literature), Maslovsky (zoology), Shidlovsky (astronomy). Some of the lecturers were educated at Kharkiv University, as for example, the brilliant I. Sreznevsky who was a scholar and an idealist aiming to promote the development of all the Slavic cultures. A. Metlynsky's works played an important role in the advancement of studies of Ukrainian folklore.

The educational influence of the University was rather limited by the charter of 1835, but the University continued to affect all fields of cultural life of the Left-Bank Ukraine. In the University report of 1842-43, I. Sreznevsky stated that the city of Kharkiv grew and expanded only as a result of the University. In the report of 1850-51, it is said in part: "During the 45 years of its flourishing, the University, being faithful to its primary task of being a seat of learning in the south-eastern region of Russia, disseminated its influence still further. Nearly 3,000 young men were educated by the University to render services to their home country ...more than 700 physicians ... nearly 350 teachers ...among them 66 university and lyceum professors — all these facts show that this University is not only a local source for popular education, but also a central one. ... Kharkiv University has not evaded the general aim of an insti-

8 *Ibid.*, p. 133.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 147.

tution of higher learning — to be the disseminator of the useful knowledge of European scholarship."[10]

In the thirties and forties, Kharkiv University continued to be a center of the Ukrainian literary movement. The well-known Ukrainian writer, H. Kvitka-Osnov'yanenko, greatly influenced students interested in literature, among them, M. Kostomarov. P. Hulak-Artemovs'ky and A. Metlyns'ky published Ukrainian poetry. In 1843-44 the scientific-literary symposium *Molodyk* was published, partly in Russian and partly in Ukrainian. P. Hulak-Artemovs'ky's *Solopiy ta Khyvrya* was the first book published in the Ukraine in the Ukrainian language in the 19th century (in the forties).[11]

The reactionary tendencies of the government began to weaken only beginning with 1856, after Tsar Alexander the Second came to power. Gradually many restrictions were abolished. So that by 1860, for instance, the lectures on the history of philosophy had already become renowned. These liberation tendencies later found their expression in the new charter of 1863.

1863 — 1884

The charter of 1863, reflecting the liberal trends of the time, once more extended the rights of the president and of the Professors' Council. Grants for museums and libraries were greatly increased, especially for those connected with pure science, and trips abroad were facilitated. The new charter was hailed by progressive University professors who, in their speeches and in publications, expressed their pleasure in abolishing many reactionary measures of the previous period.

This new period was the golden age of scholarship in Kharkiv University. During this period it contributed generously to the development of world science and solved many problems of practical importance, which were used by the growing industry of the Ukraine. The University was proud of its alumni, e.g., Ilia

10 *Ibid.*, p. 167.

11 *Entsyklopediya Ukrayinoznavstva*, 1949, Munich-New York, p. 972.

Mechnikov. Olexander Potebnja became one of the leading professors of the day. Geologists I. Levakovsky, A. Hurov, N. Borysyak were among the first students of the geology of the Ukraine, and their classical works are of value today. A. Hurov was the first to propose the use of artesian water for the Kharkiv water supply. The famous botanist, L. Tsenkovsky, worked at the University at that time, as did the zoologist N. Beletsky, and the mathematician V. Imshenetsky. The chemist, N. Beketov, was one of the first researchers in the field of physical chemistry.

Scholarly societies were founded during this period: the Society of Naturalists in 1863, the Historical-Philological Society in 1869, the Society of Experimental Sciences in 1872, and the Mathematical Society in 1879. The Societies were composed not only of the University professors, but also of broad circles of intellectuals. During these years they played an important role in the development of many fields of science: scholarly conferences were held, the works of the members were published, and congresses were organized.

Beginning with 1872, *Zapiski Imperatorskogo Khar'kovskogo Universiteta* were published, four books annually. Voluminous material on Ukrainian studies was included in this series.

In 1879 the valuable archives of the former Little Russian College were brought to the University from Chernihiv and were later widely used by scholars interested in the history of the Ukraine.

It is worth mentioning that the material basis of the University was also strengthened at this time. Thanks to a generous grant (100,000 rubles) from a local businessman, Kharitonenko, and to other contributions the University was enlarged. New buildings for the medical department were constructed.

1884 — 1905

The University life of this period was overshadowed by the reactionary tendencies that spread all over the Russian Empire. Whereas various political trends were developing in intellectual circles around Kharkiv University, the spirit of Ukrainian libera-

tion grew and spread among the students and professors. A new University charter was introduced in 1884 which aimed to end students' disorders, which had begun early in the sixties. This charter again restricted the universities' autonomy and placed them fully under the control of the Ministry of Education, which determined all details of their life, appointed and removed professors, and appointed the examination commissions. Things went so far that special permission had to be gotten from the Ministry to make changes in the timetables.[12] The influence of the Professors' Council was greatly curtailed.

In 1885 special rules were issued by the Ministry to explain the new charter. One of the circulars stated that "the University is a state institution. Therefore special duties are placed on the professors as 'state officials' and on the students preparing for service to the state. ... Neither professors nor students are supposed to be engaged in politics.... University education — lectures and moral guidance — should be at the service of state interests and government, and should be patriotic."[13]

The papers of candidates for professorships were sent to the Ministry, where they were judged on the basis of their "political reliability."[14] One of the candidates was not approved by the Ministry because "in accordance with the intelligence from a private source, he manifested Ukrainophile tendencies."[15] Early in 1885, the new *"popechitel' "*, a former artillery officer, N. P. Vorontsov-Vel'yaminov, came to Kharkiv with 20 years administrative experience in Poland. He was very suspicious of all manifestations of separatism. In one of his telegrams to St. Petersburg he spoke about a students' demonstration, writing that it occurred "under the influence of harmful historical ideas developing in the heads of our Ukrainophiles."[16]

Nevertheless, despite the conditions of heavy administrative pressure, scholarship expanded greatly. O. Potebnja, M. Sumtsov,

12 *Ibid.*, p. 245.
13 *Ibid.*, p. 246.
14 *Ibid.*, p. 249.
15 *Ibid.*, p. 250.
16 *Ibid.*, p. 254.

D. Bahaliy worked in specific fields of Ukrainian history and literature. Much material on Ukrainian studies was published in *Sborniki Istoriko-Filologicheskogo Obshchestva* (1877-1922). Prominent scholars were in all departments: L. Hirshman, A. Reprev, V. Danilevsky, A. Byelousov, N. Trinkler, V. Prokopenko (medical), V. Buzeskul, D. Ovsyanikov-Kulikovsky (history of literature and philology), N. Beketov (chemistry), V. Steklov, A. Lyapunov (mathematics).

New university hospitals were built in this period, construction of the astronomical observatory was carried out, which in the nineties became one of the best in the Russian Empire, the meteorological station was opened in 1892, museums improved, and new library and archives buildings were constructed. There were 1,361 students in 1903-04.

1905 — 1917

Many changes in the Ukraine, as well as in the Russian Empire, were caused by the Revolution of 1905. Wider circles of youth aspired to higher education. The number of students at Kharkiv University grew rapidly: there were 1,486 students in 1904, 1,660 in 1905, 2,029 in 1906, 3,450 in 1907.[17] Under the pressure of the revolutionary movement, the tsarist government in August 1905 renewed the autonomy of the University, retaining the right of control and supervision over the Council's activities and the educational processes. The Ukrainian national liberation movement, which burst out during the Revolution, greatly influenced university life. In 1906 the president, on the request of the Department of History and Literature, applied to the Ministry for permission to organize two new chairs: that of Ukrainian history and of the Ukrainian language and literature. The Ministry refused this request, but in 1907 permission was granted to teach the course, "History of Little Russian Literature", given by M. Sumtsov. Sumtsov began his lectures in Ukrainian

[17] *Khar'khovskiy Gosudarstvennyy Universitet Imeni A. M. Gor'kogo za* 150 *Let*, Kharkiv, 1955, p. 133.

but the Minister of Education, Kaufman, forbade that, calling it "unlawful."

The president of the University at this period, D. Bahaliy, was a versatile individual. A first-rate scholar and an able diplomat, he succeeded in rendering tremendous service to the development of Ukrainian culture. He managed to combine his Ukrainophile tendencies with the position of a prominent public figure. For a certain time he was not only the president of the University, but also the mayor of Kharkiv and a member of the State Council. Bahaliy lectured on the history of Russia, devoting much attention to the history of the Ukraine. He published many original works on the history of the Left-Bank Ukraine, based on first-hand sources, wrote books on the history of Ukrainian culture, and published popular books. Bahaliy supported research by his associates (D. Miller, M. Plokhyns'ky, V. Barvins'ky, M. Maksymeyko) in the field of Ukrainian problems.

At the turn of this century, the Ukraine was characterized by the development of public works: activities of zemstvos, founding of libraries, and educational work among the broad masses of the population. Many professors of Kharkiv University took an active part in the work of cultural institutions of the city. M. Sumtsov was one of the founders of the Kharkiv Public Library, having initiated the collection of funds for it. D. Bahaliy in the years 1893-1905 was the president of the Library Board. Many professors took a leading part in the work of the Kharkiv Society of Literacy, which organized libraries, reading rooms, and published popular books. Professors lectured at courses organized for workers. When the institutions of higher education for women came into being in Kharkiv, their staffs consisted mostly of professors from Kharkiv University.

Many prominent scholars were on the staff of the University at that time: S. Bernshtein, D. Sintsov (mathematics), Krasnov (geography), A. Gruzintsev, T. Kravets, D. Rozhansky (physics), V. Danilevsky (physiology), N. Trinkler (surgery), V. Arnoldi (botany).

In 1911 a new wave of reaction brought on the abolition of autonomy. Professors and lecturers were again appointed by the government. The Ministry aimed to select professors of rightist sympathies.

1917 — 1919

The majority of professors and students welcomed the February Revolution, although a great political diversity arose in the University body. Most of the staff expressed their adherence to the Petrograd Provisional Government, while a few professors sympathized with the Ukrainian Central Rada in Kiev. All the political parties active in Kharkiv at that time found followers among the students.

The Professors' Council adopted quite a number of resolutions of solidarity with the Petrograd Government.[18] The professors tried to preserve the old academic traditions and fought the attempts of student-leftists to have their representatives at the Professors' Council.[19] The students were not admitted to the Council up to the beginning of the Bolshevik occupation.

After the General Secretariat of the Central Rada was formed in June 1917, it attempted to bring under its control all the universities in the Ukraine. This was not an easy task, since most of the professors had been previously appointed by the tsarist Ministry of Education and, by and large, had had nothing in common with Ukrainian culture and politics; in fact, many of them came to the Ukraine from Russia. In July 1917, the University Council created a special commission[20] to prepare a memorandum on the Ukrainian problem to be presented for the Council's consideration. This memorandum was discussed at the Council meeting on October 12, 1917, was accepted and sent to the Petrograd Provisional Government and to the Kharkiv and Moscow press. In this memorandum, the

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 193.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 194-195.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 197.

Council declared for "the right to use the Ukrainian language in all the local institutions and for the free development of the national Ukrainian culture." However, the Council, consisting at this time mostly of Russians, voted against extending the power of the Central Rada over the Kharkiv province, stating that the future All-Russian Constituent Assembly should make decisions in this respect. Two professors, D. Bahaliy and M. Sumtsov, did not sign this resolution and added to the minutes of the conference their considered opinion that "the Ukrainian problem is not only of a cultural-national character, but also has a political meaning." They stressed that the Kharkiv province, formerly Slobids'ka Ukraine, should be joined to the Ukrainian territory now under the authority of the Central Rada.

In December 1917 the Bolsheviks invaded Kharkiv for the first time and were there for about three months. They had no chance to approach the University and were fully boycotted by the University staff. While the lectures almost ceased, the professors, however, continued their research. D. Bahaliy prepared for publication the book *History of the Slobids'ka Ukraine* in the Ukrainian language. In March 1918 the Bolsheviks left Kharkiv, and in April the Hetman took power in Kiev. Kharkiv University received some funds from the newly created Ministry of Education.[21]

Meanwhile, the spontaneous outburst of the development of Ukrainian culture permeated the University. In 1918, besides D. Bahaliy's book mentioned above, quite a number of works on Ukrainian studies were published, e.g., S. M. Kul'bakin's *Ukrainian Language: Short Outline of Historical Phonetics and Morphology;* A. Biletsky's *Ukrainian Nationality;* also a book by O. Fedorovsky on the geology and archeology of the Ukraine, a book by S. Taranushenko on Ukrainian art, as well as others. New courses were introduced in 1918, e.g., "South-Russian Law," "History of Ukrainian Literature," "Ukrainian Language." New

21 *Ibid.,* p. 208.

lecturers came to the University as specialists in Ukrainian studies: M. Plevako, O. Synyavsky, O. Fedorovsky. In 1919 M. Sumtsov's work was published: *Slobozhane. An Historical and Ethnographic Study.*

From January 3, 1919, to June 25, 1919, Kharkiv was again occupied by the Red Army. Now the Communists extended their power over the University, having gained experience in dealing with universities in Communist Russia. On March 10, 1919, the People's Commissariat for Education of the Ukrainian SSR issued decree No. 8, which introduced forceful changes in all the universities in the Ukraine. The offices of president and vice-president were abolished and their functions were turned over to a political commissar, appointed by the Commissariat for Education. Political commissars had unlimited power over universities, even approving plans for research.[22]

The Professors' Council protested against this intrusion upon the University's autonomy, but the next decree of the Commissariat of Education, dated March 28, 1919,[23] abolished the University Boards and Council.

There was hardly any academic life at this time. Many professors sabotaged the Communist decrees openly.[24]

From June 25, 1919, to December 11, 1919, Kharkiv was occupied by Denikin's Army. The use of the Ukrainian language in the University and courses on subjects of Ukrainian studies were forbidden.

In December 1919, the Red Army came to Kharkiv again and with this date began permanent Soviet rule over this part of the Ukraine. A number of professors and students left Kharkiv and went abroad.

1920 — 1933

A period of continuous change followed which lasted for thirteen years. All the Communist changes were aimed at completely

22 *Ibid.*, p. 213.
23 *Ibid.*, p. 214.
24 *Ibid.*, p. 215.

crushing the remnants of those who still defended academic freedom, and to make the university an obedient tool in the Communist indoctrination of youth.

The great changes began early in 1920 and abolished the name "university" for thirteen years. Actually, during those years the University chairs continued their work in various institutes under many names, and in 1933 began functioning again under the name "university." In the spring of 1920 the Medical Department of the University was reorganized as the Medical Institute. The Department of Law was liquidated in May, 1920. Later, based on this department and the Kharkiv Business Institute, the Kharkiv Institute of People's Economy was organized.[25] On the basis of the Departments of History and Philology and Mathematics and Physics, in June 1920 the Provisional High Pedagogical Courses were organized, which existed only one month, being reorganized next July into the so-called Academy of Theoretical Knowledge,[26] which lasted one year. The Academy was divided into two institutes: social sciences and pure science. The first one consisted of four departments: social-historic, linguistics, arts, and philosophy. The second consisted of three departments: mathematics, chemistry, and biology. Many chairs of both institutes were actually the old university ones, headed by the old professors. The new courses in the field of the political sciences and of so-called dialectic materialism were introduced in all the departments. There were also many new courses in psychology and pedagogy, taken mostly by newcomers.

The Academy was headed by the president, but there was also a political commissar with a veto right. Important changes also occurred in regard to entrance requirements. In order to facilitate the enlisting of Communists and those "of proletarian origin," entrance examinations were abolished and no high school diplomas were required. Thousands of poorly-educated students entered the University. A students' Communist cell was organized in 1921 and influenced greatly all university life.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 221.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 223.

In May 1921, the Academy was reorganized into the Kharkiv Institute of People's Education, whose purpose was to prepare teachers for all kinds of schools. Many reforms in administration and in teaching methods took place in this Institute, also many political trends and campaigns were carried out, claiming many victims among professors and students.

The years of Ukrainian independence brought about a Ukrainian national rebirth in many fields of life. This wave could not be stemmed by the Soviet government. The early twenties witnessed the flourishing of Ukrainian studies at Kharkiv University also. The chair headed by D. Bahaliy grew to be the Research Chair of the History of the Ukraine. It united many scholars and published quite a number of works. Many young candidates were prepared for further research and lecturing. The professor of Ukrainian Language, O. Synyavsky, headed the school of Ukrainian linguists who were educated mostly at the Kharkiv University. Professors M. Plevako and A. Shamray worked on the history of Ukrainian literature. Young historians concentrated around Bahaliy and published their original works. Late in the twenties and early in the thirties almost all the University staff connected with Ukrainian studies was arrested: (to name only the historians) M. Horban' and N. Mirza-Avak'yanz, historian of literature M. Plevako, A. Shamray and V. Koryak, linguists K. Nimchiniv, O. Synyavsky, B. Tkachenko, and many others. D. Bahaliy died in 1932, and the research institute which he had headed was destroyed. Many lecturers, who had come in the twenties from Western Ukraine at the invitation of the Communist government and had worked for Kharkiv University, were liquidated. The students' purges proceeded without interruption.

Still, research work continued among the faculty, but only limited funds were granted for this purpose.

A new reorganization took place in 1929, when the general tendency in the U.S.S.R. appeared to break institutions of higher education into smaller units. At that time the Kharkiv Institute

for People's Education was reorganized into a few pedagogical institutes.

Finally, in 1933, the institutes were united and named the A. M. Gor'ky Kharkiv State University.

1933 — 1941

The years 1929-1933 saw a great turn in the history of the Ukraine and the U.S.S.R. as a whole. At this time the Communist government began to put a greater emphasis on research in pure science in the fields having practical importance for the developing economy. There was need for highly qualified specialists, and therefore special attention was focused on improving methods and programs of education. On September 19, 1932, the U.S.S.R. Central Executive Committee issued a special decree: "On the educational programs and regime in the institutions of higher learning and in the technical schools."[27] Detailed directions were given in this decree, as for example, to abolish the method of "team examinations," to introduce the term examinations, to introduce differentiated grades, etc. This decree also ordered the organization of universities in those Soviet Republics (Ukraine and others) which did not have them.

Thus, by the order of the All-Union government, the "A. M. Gor'ky Kharkiv State University" came into being in the fall of 1933, with the following departments: physics and mathematics, chemistry, biology, geology and geography, history (with a section of philosophy), economics (with a section of economic geography), and literature and linguistics. Eight formerly independent research institutions were joined to Kharkiv University to promote the research activities of the University. Large funds were granted to the University to develop its laboratories and research work.

The number of students constantly increased: there were 1,871 students in 1933-34, 2,897 in 1938-39.[28] Special measures were

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 271.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 275.

taken to raise the students' level: great emphasis was put on entrance examinations, and people with poor educational background were not admitted any more.

The program in the University was very strict, all fields fully ruled by the Communist Party. Only members of the Party were appointed to be presidents of the University, while Party members ruled the life of every department, every group. Emphasis was put on preparing future lecturers from among Party members and *komsomoltsi*. A non-Party member, despite his ability and erudition, had very few chances of remaining at the University for research and future lecturing. Just before World War II, Communists numbered 20.5 per cent of the professors; in 1940-41 there were 111 Communists and *komsomoltsi* among 167 candidates left at the University.[29]

The arrests of professors continued up to the War, reaching their climax in 1937-38, when hundreds of students were also arrested and exiled. Almost all the lecturers formerly associated with the chairs pertaining to Ukrainian studies disappeared during that time; they were either arrested or, being persecuted, left Kharkiv. Students were afraid to specialize in Ukrainian studies and preferred to take subjects connected with Russian literature and language. *Komsomoltsi* and party members were almost exclusively admitted to the departments of history and economics. The book, *Khar'kovkyy Gosudarstvennyy Universitat im. A. M. Gor'kogo za* 150 *Lyet,* mentions the fact that "the humanities" departments were developing, unevenly, faculties of economics, history and literary-linguistics. This is explained by the fact that the hostile elements at that time in the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian SSR and the University intentionally hindered the development of social-political sciences and that of higher education. This was clearly manifested in the sharp drop in the number of students in the literary-linguistics department and in the full liquidation in 1935 of the departments of history and

29 *Ibid.,* p. 288.

economics. The historical department was renewed in 1936 and the economics in 1939."[30]

Actually, the departments comprising the humanities were almost destroyed by purges and arrests. Young people preferred to enlist in departments of pure science, which gave more chance for future research activities or lecturing; it was tacitly admitted that a specialized knowledge of the humanities was dangerous for life. Late in the thirties, the departments of the humanities were put into working order. Only a few professors, specialists in the Russian literature and language, survived the purges (O. Biletsky, L. Bulakhovsky, A. Zhinkin). New lecturers appeared, humble and obedient, not daring to express any original thought or mention any historical name which had been obliterated from the latest editions of the textbooks. Special measures were taken to use only the latest editions of books. The lectures on Marxism-Leninism, Political Economy, Soviet Economics were a compulsory part of the program in all departments.

At the same time, great progress was made in development of departments pertaining to pure science and research work. The standard of education was improved, the laboratories perfected and research work facilitated by special grants.

Beginning with 1935, the *Ucheni Zapysky Kharkivs'koho Universitetu* was published and, also, the *Annals* of certain research institutes incorporated into the University (geology, mathematics and mechanics, astronomy, etc.). The achievements attained at certain chairs and institutes were of a practical importance. Thus, the Chemical Institute worked on the problems of dyers, on drugs, and metalography. This Institute was one of the first to start close cooperation with industry and worked on a basis of agreements with the industrial enterprises. The Geological Research Institute also performed much work of practical importance in the fields of prospecting and water power projects. Also, the institutes of botany, zoology, mathematics, mechanics, and physics produced achievements of practical value.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 300.

1941 — 1955

During the War the administration of the University, some professors, and a very few students were evacuated to Kzyl-Orda in Kazakhstan. Most of the professors and lecturers did not leave Kharkiv and stayed there during the German occupation. There were attempts made during the occupation to renew the work of the University. The Professors' Council was formed and elected a president and deans, and appointed the adminstrative personnel; the laboratories and library began to open, research work started to some degree, and preparations were made for opening classes, but this was not allowed by the German command. After the war, the work of the University proceeded along the same line as before the war.

A STUDY OF UKRAINIAN-JEWISH RELATIONS

JOSEPH L. LICHTEN

The decision of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the United States to organize a series of discussions about Ukrainian-Jewish relations in the past, present and future, represents an act of great wisdom and historical vision.

We deal here with a topic around which tremendous and terrible, justified and unjustified, accusations, misunderstandings, half-truths and deceptions have accumulated for centuries, but especially during the last four decades of our twentieth century. We deal here with a highly emotional problem in which so much that is dear to man is involved—the fate of his country, his kinsfolk, his family.

What is the purpose of discussing Ukrainian-Jewish relations at all? What is the purpose of discussing Ukrainian-Jewish relations *now?* The answer is two-fold: because of the situation in the United States, and the conditions in Europe. The United States is a country based and built on the concept of cultural pluralism, which means that no *one* ethnic group, *one* religion, *one* race should play a predominant role here. On the contrary, modern American sociologists and educators believe that American culture represents a conglomeration of many different cultures, traditions and customs. Harmonious equilibrium of all these elements secures a democratic way of life for every individual and every group. Ukrainians and Jews represent two such composite groups of the American people. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that these two groups also live here together in harmony and mutual understanding. The American-Jewish communities in their self interest and in the interest of the country as a whole, are ready to cooperate with other groups; therefore, they are ready to cooperate with Ukrainian-Americans. However, several obstacles, mostly related to experiences in Europe but partly to this country also, stand in the way of the establishment of trust and confidence of Jews toward Ukrainians.

The reverse is true: Some Ukrainians often look with great suspicion and not without prejudice on Jewish-American communities. The analysis of the reasons for this deplorable situation is one of the purposes of our discussion.

It is no secret that the United States has helped other nations to secure liberty. We all remember that immediately after the First World War, Czechoslovakia was practically born here as an independent nation and the Fourteen Points announced by President Wilson—the 13th of which dealt exclusively with Poland—are now recognized as the Magna Carta for the return of Poles to an independent life. Who can predict the future role which the United States may play in the re-establishment of an independent Ukraine? One thing, however, is certain: In their striving for self-determination, the Ukrainian people need friends, many friends everywhere, but most of all here, in this country. Jews—a nation of martyrs and fighters—have a natural sympathy and a feeling of solidarity with every individual and every group which suffers under alien and hostile domination. They can and should be won for the Ukrainian cause. The American-Jewish community always was, and still is, vitally interested in helping their co-religionists wherever they are in need of aid. The role which Jews in the United States play in economic help for the state of Israel should not be underestimated.

About two million Jews still live in the Soviet Union, several hundred thousands of them in the Ukraine. Their future should be, and sooner or later will be, a concern of every Jewish-American leader and every Jewish-American organization. The friendly attitude of the Ukrainian people in their own land and in other countries in this respect will be extremely important for the proper solution of the problem. The Jews, therefore, have two reasons to be interested in the proper solution of the so-called Ukrainian problem: an altruistic one, dictated by sympathetic understanding for everybody who is oppressed; and the other, dictated by concern for the future of a substantial part of Jewish world population. I am far from exaggerating the importance or influence of Jewry in America or in any other part of the world.

I leave this to our mutual enemies. Let me, however, repeat after Emerson that:

> He who has a thousand friends has not a friend to spare
> And he who has one enemy shall meet him everywhere.

Thus we have summarized, in the most general way, some of the basic reasons for the necessity of a closer Ukrainian-Jewish relationship. Let us now try to analyze some of the obstacles, difficulties and misstatements which hinder the proper perspective of Ukrainian-Jewish mutual understanding.

For more than three centuries, one Jewish generation after another was educated in the concept that the Ukrainians were responsible for unscrupulous anti-Semitism and violent atrocities against Jews. Since the Cossack leader Pavluk suddenly appeared from beyond the falls in the province of Poltava,[1] and destroyed several synagogues in the town of Lubny, killing about 200 Jews in 1637, a tragic chapter in the history of Ukrainian-Jewish relations began. During the hearings of the House of Representatives Select Committee on Communist Aggression, on September 22-23, 1954, devoted to the situation of Jews behind the Iron Curtain, the following dialogue between Congressman Michael O. Feighan and the witness, Madame X, was recorded:[2]

Madame Witness: In connection with Khmelnitzki, I would like to add that, as historical facts prove, there were pogroms under him just as bad as the Hitler pogroms, also, this fact was concealed in Soviet schools, so that there were very many Jewish war heroes of the last war who risked their lives in the struggle with Hitler and were decorated with the order of Hetman Khmelnitzki and did not know

1 S. M. Dubnow, *History of Jews in Russia and Poland,* Philadelphia, 1916-1918-1920, I, 144.

2 *Treatment of Jews by the Soviet,* 7th Interim Report of Hearings before the Select Committee on Communist Aggression. House of Representatives. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1954.

that the man whose portrait they were wearing on their chest was as abhorred by Jews as much as Hitler is and will always be.

Mr. Feighan: Let me have that again.

Madame Witness: I am sorry, it is complicated.

In the days of Hetman Khmelnitzki there were terrible Jewish and Catholic pogroms. Khmelnitzki used to hang on Greek Orthodox churches a pig, a rabbi, and a Catholic priest.

Mr. Feighan: That is a tragedy, to me.

Madame Witness: Well, it is true.

These feelings and opinions originated a long time ago. An echo of the uprising of Bohdan Khmelnytsky and everything which went with it resounds in contemporary chronicles and mournful synagogue liturgies. One of the eye-witnesses to the massacres of this period, Nathan Hannover, from Zaslav, wrote in 1653 a moving story *Yeven Metzula.* Several Jewish scholars, like Sabbatai Kohen of Vilna, Lipman Heller, Rabbi of Cracow, Sheftel Horowitz, Rabbi of Poznan, Meir of Shchebreshin and Gabriel Shussberg devoted many dissertations to the Khmelnytsky period.[3] We mention all these names in an attempt to prove that we are dealing here with a problem which cast its shadow over the Jewish people uninterruptedly for three centuries and found its way into books of an almost liturgical value.

We stated in the beginning that we do not intend to present here a detailed history of Ukrainian-Jewish relations, nor to appraise these attitudes in complete detail. We will only mention, therefore, the Haidamak movement and cite as an example the decree of Hetman Skoropadsky of 1721 by which all Jews were expelled from the territory under his jurisdiction. However, the events of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries give us the opportunity to draw our first conclusion. An average individual, and we are not talking about scholars and

[3] Dubnow. *op. cit.,* I. 157-8.

students of history, is always ready to generalize, to place the blame for the mistakes of a few or many, on all. Atrocities of Khmelnytsky's regiments, or even of Ukrainian peasant guerillas, were and are erroneously identified with the whole Ukrainian nation. Furthermore, when blood is shed, when people are losing their lives, being expelled from their homes, losing everything of material value accumulated by sweat and toil, it is difficult to discuss the political and economic conditions under which the tragic events occurred. It is psychologically difficult, but very often necessary, to discuss them, not in order to justify violence and murder, but for the sake of future generations and future relationships.

This truism will be even more self-evident if we will analyze the events which occurred immediately after the end of the First World War, between the years 1917-1920. The anti-Jewish pogroms in countless towns and villages of the Ukraine made a tremendous impression on the whole civilized world. The fall of the Ukrainian Republic was a result of an unfortunate combination of many complicated factors of a political and social nature in this revolutionary period. The pogroms probably played a minor role in this event, but not too small to be entirely overlooked. They added to the anarchy in the Ukraine and increased the mistrust of the Western world toward her. But, what is even more significant, they contributed greatly to all the setbacks which confronted the legitimate Ukrainian independence movement from that moment on. The world was right in its condemnation of the tragedies in Zhitomir, Cherkassi, Rivne, Bobrinsk, Sarni, Fastiv, Korosten, and Proskuriv.[4] It was wrong, however, in blaming every Ukrainian individually and all Ukrainians collectively for these tragic events. It was wrong in failing to see basic differences between real and responsible representatives of the people, and imposters, troublemakers and stooges of foreign powers. In the year 1923, the Chief Rabbi of England published a booklet, devoted to the events of the recent past in the Ukraine. We find there the following passage:

[4] John S. Reshetar, *The Ukrainian Revolution,* Princeton University Press, 1952, p. 254.

> Throughout 1919 and 1920, we have had in the Ukraine not merely the expulsion... of human beings, but their extermination by the wild hordes of Denikin, Petlura, Grigorif, Makhno and other bandits, raging like wild beasts amid the defenseless Jewries of South Russia.[5]

In the description of the events the author was right; they were deplorable; violence and murder were committed in the Ukraine. However, what he failed to stress is that Denikin was in charge of the Russian, and not the Ukrainian army and Hryhoryiv and Makhno headed bands of guerillas entirely independent from the regular army of Petlyura.

In the first month of its existence in 1917, the Ukrainian Central Rada (*Ukrainska Tsentralna Rada*), the "first Ukrainian Government in modern times,"[6] issued a proclamation to the populace from which we translate a portion as follows:

> Citizens... the dark forces which exploited you under the old order, do not sleep.... They are asking you to take the Cross during Easter-time and, with the Cross in your hands, to rob and kill in the name of Christ who thought only to love all people. They are asking you to shed the blood of people like you, our brothers. In undermining our freedom which is so dear to us, they are inciting you against your neighbors, calling you to organize pogroms.... Let us turn deaf ears to these slogans.... We became independent not to rob and kill, but because we wanted to bring a better life to all people in our land....[7]

On January 20, 1918, the Central Rada published the Law on National Autonomy in the official *Herald* of the Ukrainian Republic:

5 *A Decade of Woe and Hope,* (by the Chief Rabbi, Dr. J. H. Hertz), Oxford University Press, 1923, p. 5.

6 Vasyl Ivanys, *Simon Petlyura—Prezident Ukrainy,* Toronto, Canada, 1952 (in Ukrainian); John S. Reshetar, *op. cit.,* p. 47. These and the following Ukrainian documents were translated by the author of this paper.

7 V. Kedrovsky, *Borotba z pogromami na Ukraini,* Svoboda, 1923.

> Article I. Each nation living in Ukraine has the right to individual national autonomy, within the limits of the Popular Ukrainian Republic. It is an imprescriptible right of each national and no one can be deprived of his rights or limited in their application.
>
> Article II. The Great Russians, *Jews* [italics mine, J.L.] and Poles residing within the territories of the Popular Ukrainian Republic have the right to individual autonomy by the act of this law.[8]

The first proclamation of the Central Rada and the adoption of the law on National Autonomy began the long series of statements and resolutions directed toward the stoppage of the ugly crimes committed on the helpless Jewish population. These resolutions also vividly demonstrated the gravity of the problem. On October 20, 1917, Alexander Shulgin, Secretary of National Minorities, one week later, Volodymyr Vynnychenko, at that time Secretary of the Interior, a month later, Simon Petlyura, as a Secretary of the Army, requested the population to help the Government in its struggle against pogroms. In his first proclamation Petlyura said:

> I am asking all of you for full support for the Central Rada and the Secretariat General. Do not permit pogroms and disorders, because if you will permit them, you will bring infamy to the honor of the Ukrainian Army. Pogroms should not take place on our land.[9]

Several similar proclamations were issued by Petlyura during the two next years. In the two orders to the Ukrainian Army of August 26 and 27, 1919, as the commander-in-chief he warned:

> The brave Army which brings brotherhood, equality, and freedom to all nations of the Ukraine... should not contribute to the great misery of Jews. The one who is responsible for such a crime commits treason as an enemy

8 *Eastern Europe,* Paris, No. 7, December 1, 1919, pp. 213-215.

9 I. Tscherikover, *Anti-Semitism i Pogromy na Ukrainie,* 1917-1918, pp. 217-218; Vasyl Ivanys, *op. cit.,* p. 152.

of our country and shall be eliminated from the community of humans.

I order that all those who provoke you to pogroms, should be expelled from the Army and brought to justice for treason against their own country. The Courts should judge their acts without mercy.[10]

Volodymyr Kedrovsky, inspector general of the Army, condemned not only pogroms against the Jewish population, but also introduced an extensive educational program in the Army, designed to eradicate anti-Semitism and anti-Jewish hostilities.

One of the subordinates of the inspector general gives a full account of these cultural activities, conducted during most difficult military operations.[11] All orders of the High Command against pogroms were explained in detail and interpreted on a large basis of "tolerance, progress, religion, social justice."

Dr. M. Zylberfarb as a secretary general of Jewish affairs of the Ukrainian National Republic also issued a proclamation to the Jewish population with assurances that the Central Rada would do whatever was in its power to stop anti-Jewish atrocities.[12] A full chronology and description of all the efforts of the Central Rada, and later of the Directory in combatting pogroms in the Ukraine would show their truly humane attitude toward the Jewish population.[13]

The role and responsibility of Simon Petlyura in that crucial period still awaits a scholarly evaluation. It is unfortunate, however, that in the non-Ukrainian world, his name became almost a symbol of an enemy of the Jewish people. How Petlyura could

10 Vasyl Ivanys, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

11 Inspector A. Kovshnivsky in his report about the cultural activities in the 3rd and 7th Divisions of the Ukrainian Army (in manuscript). This report is interesting not only as a document about the positive attitudes of many of the high officers of the Ukrainian Army toward Jews, but also as an illustration of the high level of these cultural and educational activities.

12 Vasyl Ivanys, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-4.

13 V. Kedrovsky, *op. cit.* A. Margolin, *Ukraina i Polytyka Ententy*, Berlin, 1922 and *From a Political Diary*, Columbia University Press, 1946. Solomon Goldelman, *Lysty pro Ukrainu*, Viden (Vienna), 1921.

do more than he did in combatting pogroms during a period of anarchy, when he did not have full control over his own army, remains to be answered, and such an answer will be of great importance to future harmonious Ukrainian-Jewish relations. One thing is certain. We must consider it an act of great historical injustice to blame Petlyura personally for crimes committed by various *otomani* like Makhno, Hryhoryiv, Semesenko, or individuals close to the Hetmanate.

We have devoted much attention to the period of the First World War for a special reason. It is beyond question that the Jewish population suffered tremendously during that period of history and that it was of secondary importance to an average Jewish family in the Ukraine if the crime was committed by the hands of one of the *otomani* or by the regiments of Petlyura. It had even a lesser significance for a Jew in the United States who knew only that his brethren were being persecuted in the Ukraine. A more subtle historical perspective is needed when we describe the events of the years 1917-1920. These events proved that the Central Rada was established by democratic forces and that these democratic forces not only guaranteed to the Jewish population all important civil rights, but sincerely combatted all the reactionary elements responsible for anti-Jewish hostilities. Once again, it was proved that the Jewish communities around the world can exist and flourish only under a democratic system. Ukrainian democrats established themselves as friends of the Jews; the Jews knew where to look among the Ukrainians for their allies; democratic Ukrainians are the best emissaries for their own people when it comes to establishing closer relations with Jews in the United States and any other country in the world.

We should keep this in mind, particularly when it comes to the period of the Second World War.[14] Here again, accusations accumulate. It is impossible not to remember that certain segments of the Ukrainian population actively collaborated with the

14 Ukrainian-Jewish relations in Poland and the Soviet Union in the period between the two World Wars will be the subject of a separate study.

Nazi oppressor; even certain political parties or movements put their hopes for the future in the Nazi victory. During the last several years, countless numbers of memoirs, diaries and documents in English, Yiddish and other languages were published, which gave personal experiences, eyewitness accounts about the behavior of certain individuals and groups of Ukrainians toward Jews in their darkest hour in the ghettos, concentration camps and gas chambers. These accounts made a great impression on American Jewry. Memories of old events returned and, combined with these contemporary experiences, developed into a new wave of unfriendly feeling toward Ukrainians.

These revived memories of old events also played a role in the wave of anti-Jewish atrocities during World War II.

> A Ukrainian militia with blue and yellow armbands was quickly recruited and a thousand Jewish hostages were arrested. Then on July 2nd and 3rd, with the connivance of the SD, *Aktion Petlura* was organized, the symbolic revenge for the murder of the Ukrainian Hetman by a Jew in Paris in 1926. Jews were killed in the prisons, the streets, and in the sports stadium....[15]

Mutual animosities did not quiet down even under the yoke of the Communist oppressor, who persecuted Ukrainians and Jews alike.

> The [Jewish] old man began shoveling. He had plenty of good will but he had never used a shovel before in his life. His partner, Dazuk, a Ukrainian, laughed at him: 'Look at the way the Jew works!' He was anti-Semitic, like most of the Ukrainians, though not one of the pogrom heroes who like to boast openly about the number of Jews they have shot.[16]

The following quotation should convince us of the extreme

[15] Gerald Reitlinger, *The Final Solution,* New York, The Beechhurst Press, 1953, p. 229.

[16] Joseph Scholmer, *Vorkuta,* Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1954-1955, p. 105.

importance of seeking a friendly relationship between Ukrainians and Jews. It makes us feel that we should not lose time in cementing these bonds of mutual understanding.

> The non-Communist Jews of the Soviet Union find themselves in one of the most tragic situations in which Jews have ever found themselves in all their long history. They are faced on the one hand by the anti-Semitism of a considerable part of the population, which identifies the Jews with Communism; on other hand by a Communist government that sentences them to many decades of forced labor. If the system lasts, they will stay in the camps for the rest of their lives; if it collapses, they will go down with it. They know that Hitler's pogroms cost six million Jewish lives. The collapse of Communism will bring about another pogrom, which will leave few of the four million Jews now left in the Soviet Union alive. And this pogrom will take place before any foreign influence can be brought to bear to prevent it.[17]

These anti-Ukrainian attitudes were even strengthened by allegations that during the last war some of the Ukrainian-Americans also sympathized with the Nazi program of oppression. Again, however, some showed a tendency toward generalization. There also existed among Ukrainian-Americans forces hostile to these pro-Nazi elements, following democratic ideologies and with a sincere desire for friendship with Jews. Very few knew, and this should not be held against them, because no serious attempt was made to inform them, that there were also Ukrainians in Europe, mostly in the church circles of both the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic persuasions, who saved many Jewish lives.

The Metropolitan Andreas Sheptitsky, the head of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, shortly after the beginning of the German invasion in 1941, issued a pastoral letter under the meaningful title: "Thou Shalt Not Kill," in which he warned the Ukrainian populace not to participate in the destruction of the

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 116.

Jews. Major Izhak Lewin of the Israeli Army wrote a moving article, "Jewish Call for Friendship with Ukrainians—to whom it may concern. This is a plea for friendship,"[18] in which he described how he was hidden in the guise of a monk in the monasteries of the Studites Fathers, stressing "that it was not an occasional event or a few isolated cases in which those monks and priests helped."

> "It was a deliberately planned campaign," Major Lewin continues, "a difficult and dangerous campaign, which was organized by Metropolitan Sheptitsky and his assistants, with no payment of any kind, with disinterested motives, and with no thought of any future demands on the beneficiaries. I will never forget what Metropolitan Sheptitsky said to me during one of my visits: 'I want you to be a good Jew, and I am not saving you for your own sake. I am saving you for your nation. I do not expect any payment, I do not expect you to accept my ideology and faith.' "

In the same statement, Major Lewin testifies also about another phase of Metropolitan Sheptitsky's activities designed to prevent the destruction of the Jewish Community:

> He [The Metropolitan] had the courage to write a letter to Himmler in which he protested against the inhuman annihilation of the Jews.... I happened to see a copy of this letter with my own eyes in the archives during my work as his librarian.[19]

Major Lewin ends as follows:

> I appeal for friendship with Western Ukrainians, particularly for the people who offered us help regardless of

[18] Major Izhak Lewin, *Jewish Call for Friendship with Ukrainians,* Svoboda, Jersey City, N. J., January 1954.

[19] John A. Armstrong in his book *Ukrainian Nationalism,* 1939-1945, writes that Sheptitsky "was especially alarmed by the SP use of Ukrainian police for their murders, *and is said to have sent* a direct demand to Himmler that this practice be stopped." (p. 172) As Major Lewin testifies above, he actually had seen a copy of this letter.

> faith, regardless of race, regardless of circumstances. There is no measure to ascertain the price of such deeds. I appeal for an act of good will, friendship and acknowledgment of what was done, an act of good will for people who earned it in the most wonderful way in the dark days of the Second World War, in a sea of hate, sadism, brutality, and murder.

About 150 more Jews were hidden in various Greek-Catholic monasteries during the Second World War. Hundreds of monks and nuns knew about this, but there was not even one case of betrayal.

Rabbi Dr. David Kahane, later Chief-Chaplain of the Polish Army and President of the Jewish Communities in post-war Poland until he left for Israel, a brother of Major Lewin, both sons of Rabbi Dr. Jecheskiel Lewin, the sons of Dr. Chameides, and the Rabbi of Katowice were also saved by the Ukrainians. Many additional names and several towns and villages, where Jews were rescued by the local Ukrainian population, could be cited.

The picture would not be complete if we did not register several additional Ukrainian opinions about Ukrainian-Jewish relations. Obviously, we are interested only in the opinions of those who know how to view the subject objectively and without prejudice, whose main goal is to find the way toward friendship and understanding. Convinced anti-Semites are not classified according to nationality. Their aim is always the same, despite their ethnic extraction; diversity can be found only in timing and regional slogans, in tactics, never in basic strategy.

Ukrainian writers are of the opinion that the origins of anti-Jewish sentiment in the Ukraine stem from the fact that Jews, throughout history, are always identified with the occupants, landlords and representatives of wealth, rather than with the native peasant Ukrainian population. In every struggle between these two forces, the Ukrainian writers say, Jews stood on the side of the oppressor, never with the oppressed. According to them, Jews, since the fifteenth century, supported the Polish feudal landlords; during the Tsarist regime they were on the side

of the Russian occupants, and again during the War for Independence, took the Polish or Russian stand and, only rarely, the pro-Ukrainian position.

Kedrovsky came to the conclusion that only in the political, social and economic conditions can we find the seed of Ukrainian-Jewish misunderstandings and clashes through the centuries:

> There we should search for the origins of Ukrainian-Jewish hostility, and not in the religious or racial differences between these two nations. It is known from history, that the Ukrainian nation has always been extremely tolerant to other races and religions. This is also its present position as long as they are not identified with its oppressors and exploiters.[20]

Reshetar, however, although not minimizing the social and economic differences, stresses also the religious element:

> The religious differences which existed between Ukrainian Jewry and the peasantry provided another barrier and gave to the peasant a sense of exclusiveness which is evident in the Galician proverb: 'He who eats the Jewish matzoh will not live to eat his own paschal bread.' This admonition was based on the peasant superstition that there was Christian blood in the matzoh. Anti-Semitism in Western Europe can be understood only when viewed in this historical context which is rooted in profound, social, economic and *religious* differences.[21]

In addition to these reasons, there were others. One of them, that Jews, during the Ukrainian revolution, sympathized with the Bolsheviks. Another, of more recent vintage, is that American Jewry is opposed to the Ukrainian ideal of their rebirth as an independent nation.

It is difficult to discuss objectively superstitions and prejudices of a religious nature, although we are inclined to agree that they have played and now play a lesser role in any Ukrainian-

20 Kedrovsky, *op. cit.*

21 Reshetar, *op. cit.*, p. 253 (italics added).

Jewish conflicts, as compared with the importance of the social and economic aspects of the problem. The Ukrainian people, eagerly looking for outside support in their struggle for survival and not finding it, turned against those who were indifferent to their pleas. We can find here, however, some exaggerations, which naturally tend toward generalization. Jewish masses, workers, artisans and peddlers had little in common with big capital, and very often they sided with the Ukrainian peasant. Some of the Jewish Socialist and Democratic parties wholeheartedly supported the Central Rada from its inception. Others, disappointed with the Bolshevik government soon after the October Revolution, also threw their weight on the side of the Ukrainian independence movement. We should not forget that at that time, this movement was branded as "nationalistic" even by some Ukrainian parties. Several declarations issued by Jewish political and municipal groups in sympathy with the Central Rada are largely known. We would like to quote from one of them, —the declaration of the General Jewish Union of Kamenetz, which is almost forgotten:

> The history of the laboring Israelite people in Ukrainia is closely related to the history of the Ukrainian people. Every square yard of Ukrainian territory is besprinkled with the sweat and the blood of the Israelite people. The oppression and the exploitation of Ukrainia by the indifferent imperialism affected the laboring masses of the Jewish population as much as it did the Ukrainians. The deprivation of civil rights from which the Ukrainian people suffered under the Tzarist regime was the same for the Israelite working classes who were condemned to the ghetto. The common destiny inflicted upon the Israelite and Ukrainian peoples give the Israelite workers the certainty of equal rights with the Ukrainians in Ukrainian territory, the assurance of not being regarded as intruders, as wandering hosts in the farmsteads of Ukrainia.
>
> All the labouring elements are interested in the political and economic enfranchisement of Ukrainia to the same

> degree. It is for this reason that at the moment of the political and economic emancipation of Ukrainia, thanks to the great revolution, the Israelite people ought not to stand by as mere neutral onlookers and take no interest in the movement. On the contrary it will fight side by side with the Ukrainian people to ensure the triumph of the cause of the Popular Independent Ukrainian Republic..[22]

A group of former members of the Ukrainian Central Rada, in their statement of November, 1953, introduced later into the Congressional Record, also mentioned the Jewish support for the Government of the Ukrainian National Republic:

> It had the moral support of all the groups among the Ukrainian population. Together with other members of the Ukrainian Central Council, we heard, at that time, the speech of the representative of the Jewish population in Ukraine, A. Shatz, who, after the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, declared: "Only one constructive force remains in the territory of Russia — Ukrainian Democracy and its organ, the Ukrainian Central Council." In behalf of his nation, Shatz pledged support in the struggle with Bolshevik violence. Another representative of the Jews in the Ukrainian Central Council, Zolotaryov, declared that "the Jewish proletariat, together with the Ukrainian, will defend the freedom and independence of Ukraine against Russian Bolshevism to the last drop of blood!"[23]

It is true that in 1919 Jews in the United States protested publicly against pogroms in the Ukraine, but Jews in the United States have also expressed a great interest in the Ukrainian struggle for independence. We quote from a Ukrainian source:

> New York—A group of leaders of the Jewish Party *Yidishe*

22 *Eastern Europe,* Number 6, November 16, 1919, Paris, pp. 183-4.

23 Declaration of Former Members of the Ukrainian Central Council. Extension of Remarks of Hon. Peter W. Rodino, Jr. of New Jersey in the House of Representatives, Monday, March 29, 1954. Congressional Record—Appendix P.A2368.

> *Volkspartei* in the Ukraine is conducting an energetic campaign here toward closer cooperation with the Ukrainian Independent Movement... For example, one of the Ukrainian-Jewish leaders, Mr. Leiner... spoke recently at a large Jewish gathering in New York... and met with great sympathy from those present. In general the activities of this group of Jewish leaders from Ukraine are creating in Jewish circles great interest and a desire to help...[24]

Likewise, the following statement on the eve of the trial of Schwartzbard in Paris indicates the attitude of an influential segment of American Jewry during the 1920 s:[25]

> The assassination in Paris of the former Ukrainian leader, Simon Petlura, by Sholom Schwartzbard, a Jew, is also likely to create difficulties for Jews in the Southern republic. The manner in which the matter is being discussed in sections of the Jewish press is calculated to arouse violent anti-Jewish feeling on the part of the Ukrainian people, among whom Petlura was and is held in great honor. The Ukrainians are irritated by the attempts which are being made to prove that Petlura was not only officially but also personally responsible for pogroms, and by the attitude of some of the Yiddish newspapers in various countries, which depict Schwartzbard's act as that of a national hero. This attitude is not only harmful but is believed to be unwise. It would involve the presentation to the French courts as an issue the extent of Petlura's responsibility for the massacres which occurred in the Ukraine in 1920. Whether or not the judicial tribunal will undertake to determine it, whatever the decision may be, it will not be accepted by the partisans of Petlura and will inevitably tend to open old wounds and give occasion for bitter controversy from which the innocent will be sure to suffer. While we can understand how a man who constantly

24 *Ukrainska Tribuna,* Warszawa, January 28 (15), 1922, p. 3.

25 *The American Jewish Year Book* 5688, Volume 29, The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1927, pp. 427-428.

> broods over human wrongs and crimes and whose relatives may have been pogrom victims may find himself in such a state of mind as to be driven to so desperate, and futile, an act, there is no justification for making him a national Jewish hero, or for the Jewish people to assume the responsibility for his deed. We trust that agitation along these false lines will cease before it is too late. Defense for his act should rather be sought in the field of mental irresponsibility in the juridical sense.

We hope it is clear that throughout this whole study it has been our intention to clarify and explain, by illustrative historical events, some of the reasons why there has been prejudice and misunderstanding in Ukrainian-Jewish relations in the past and at the present time. We believe strongly that only through a frank and honest discussion will we be able to chart these relations on a path of understanding and mutual cooperation.

THE GENESIS OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL NOTION OF SCYTHIA IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

ALEXANDER DOMBROVSKY

Herodotus believed that Scythia was a large square (4,101) which abutted on the sea on two sides. It was quite obvious that the southern boundary of Scythia ran along Pontus. But in what area exactly was Scythia abutting on the sea on the other side? Herodotus thought that this could only be at the eastern boundary which was believed to run along the western shore of Meotida, as he states in his works (4,99). This would indicate that this ancient historical writer conceived the western shore of Meotida as a line running approximately from north to south. Herodotus even mentions some figures. It took ten days to go from the Ister to Boristen, and, since each day of the trip was divided by him into two hundred stages, the said distance was given as 2,000 stages. Traveling another 2,000 stages, one arrived to Meotida. Thus, in the opinion of this historian, the southern frontier measured 4,000 stages. Scythia extended for another 4,000 stages north from Pontus. In the west Scythia reached the lower course of the Ister; it must be noted that the lower course of Ister looks quite different from what Herodotus imagined. He ignored the fact that here the Ister ran approximately toward the east; close to the shore it turned north sharply and then east again, forming a delta later on. It may be assumed on the basis of various reconstructions that in Herodotus' opinion the Ister ran from west to east along an almost straight line and that its bed was situated farther north than it actually is. Further, Herodotus thought that the Ister turned south and, in general, paralleled the Tiras, thus constituting the boundary of Scythia. Matzat[1] indicates that the ten days of travel from the Ister to Boristen (almost fifty miles) mentioned by Herod-

[1] Heinrich Matzat, *Ueber die Glaubwürdigkeit der geographischen Angaben Herodots über Asien,* Hermes 6 (1872), p. 423, note 7.

otus was an exaggeration at least by a fifth, since the distance between these two points is only forty miles. The northern boundary of Scythia abuts on a country which, as Herodotus says (4,7), "cannot be fathomed by vision or traveled due to flying feathers. People say that there are more feathers there than land and air, so that vision is impaired." What the historian undoubtedly meant was that the northern boundary of Scythia crossed a country covered by snow. Cuno[2] assumes that the northern frontier of Scythia should be traced at 53° of latitude. If this were true, the northern frontier of Scythia would extend to the present day cities of Mohyliv and Minsk. The 4,000 stages could be converted to our units as follows: A stage was equivalent to 600 feet; the Parisian foot which served as a basis for the conversion of ancient distance measurements is equal to 0.325 m. Accordingly, 4,000 stages would correspond to 780 km. If a straight line were drawn north from the shore of the Black Sea throughout the above-mentioned distance, it would almost reach the 55th degree of geographical latitude. Of course, this calculation is only approximate.

If we were to assume that Scythia had the shape of a square, it would have 16,000,000 square stages,[3] or 608,400 sq. km. Müller[4] thinks that the question of Scythia's shape is insolvable. Kretschmer[5] suggests that Herodotus' geographical notion was probably based on the Ionian cartography.

Niederle[6] studied in detail the various interpretations of the square that Scythia constituted, particularly with regard to its problematic western boundary running along the Ister; the latter's course was anything but an adequate boundary line of a square. This author proposes a reconstruction of its own of the

2 J. G. Cuno, *Forschungen im Gebiete der alten Völkerkunde,* I, Berlin, 1871, p. 82.
3 B. G. Niebuhr, *Kleine historische und philologische Schriften,* I, Bonn, 1828, p. 358.
4 R. Müller, *Die geographische Tafel nach den Angaben Herodots mit Berücksichtigung seiner Vorgänger,* Neunter Jahres-Bericht des K. K. Oberreal-Gymnasiums in Reichenberg für das Schuljahr 1881, p. 14, see also footnote 37, p. 24.
5 K. Kretschmer, *R. E. Pauly-Wissowa,* 2 Reihe (R-Z) II Band, 2.
6 L. Niederle, *Slovanske Starozitnosti,* Dil I, Svazek I, v Praze, 1902, p. 234.

Scythian square and also mentions the reconstructions made by Rawlinson[7] and Krechetov,[8] the latter probably being the least trustworthy. According to Krechetov's reconstruction, the northern and southern boundary lines were not horizontal, whereas the western and eastern frontiers were not vertical. In Krechetov's reconstruction the northern and the southern boundaries meet at an angle. The same thing applies to the western and the eastern frontiers. It would appear from this that only one point of the northern frontier was at a distance of 4,000 stages from the sea (i.e. from the northern angle to the southern). However, the statement that the diagonals, not the sides, of this Scythian square measured 4,000 stages is not quite in agreement with what Herodotus meant.

Originally Scythia (ἡ ἀρχαίη Σκυθίη) extended from the Ister to Karkinitis which was situated at the mouth of the Hipakir (4,99 and 55). But already in the times of Herodotus it extended up to Tanais in the east, and the territory had also expanded in the west. Thus a new notion emerged, the so-called "Scythia of Herodotus," in Greek «τῆς δὲ χώρης ἐούσης μεγάλης» (4,7). It goes without saying that in a later epoch, closer to ours and during it, the notion of Scythia became very elastic and comprised the whole of East Europe. Ethnographic in its origin, it now became a geographic notion. The authors of the third and fourth century A. D. speak of Scythia and the Scythians as their contemporaries. The name "Scythia" survived with the same geographical meaning as the subsequent appellation Sarmatia, the latter reaching the late middle ages. The name «ἡ ἀρχαίη Σκυθίη» and later the enlarged "Scythia of Herodotus" were molded after the terminology of ancient Greek geographers. The oldest history of Greece also contains the expression ἀρχαία Ἑλλάς with reference to the territory around Dodona and later Μεγάλη Ἑλλάς, which

[7] *History of Herodotus,* George Rawlinson, vol. III, 4th ed., London, 1880, p. 202

[8] P. N. Krechetov, "Pisma o Gerodotovoi Skifii, O Skifskom chetyreugolnike," *Zapiski Imp. Odesskago Obshchestva Istorii i Drevnosti,* vol. 15, (1889), p. 463. A similar opinion was expressed by N. Nadezhdin, "Gerodotova Skifiya," *ibid,* I (1844), p. 3-114.

means the whole of Greece.[9] The Greeks and Herodotus were used to these names and possibly applied them to another country, namely, Scythia. It also seems plausible that the contents of the name Scythia were enlarged in proportion as the horizon of Greek geographical science expanded. As soon as the Greek colonist or merchant set foot on the far land of eastern Europe and new geographical data had been made available, the mythical inaccessible "Cimbrian kingdom" and the still farther "Hyperborean territory"—creations of the mind of the average Greek in the times of Homer—became obliterated. Those fathomless territories were replaced by concrete geographical notions that could be measured, traveled, with fixed boundaries, in contrast to the mythical geography that dealt with the kingdom of the shadows. Man of the ancient world was becoming accustomed to space. The geographical notion of old Scythia might have been enlarged as a result of the discovery of new horizons.

A discussion of the Black Sea coast, i.e. the southern boundary of Scythia, which Herodotus possibly knew better than other regions, entails the problem of Tauridia. What was the notion Herodotus had of that country? Niebuhr[10] thinks that Herodotus was ignorant of the fact that Crimea was a peninsula. He probably believed that a country inhabited by the Tauri was a rocky shore. Niebuhr contradicts himself. On one hand he states that for Herodotus Crimea was not a peninsula, on the other hand, the reconstruction of Herodotus' map given at the end of the work quoted shows Tauridia as a narrow, long peninsula. In one of the English commentaries to Herodotus[11] there is a reconstruction of his Scythia, where Tauridia is marked as a broad peninsula, of course, without the Perekop isthmus. Also Tozer[12] represents Herodotus' Tauridia as a peninsula; he also considers the Perekop isthmus, although in his map it is broader than in reality.

9 G. Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, I, Gotha, 1885, p. 43; J. Miller, R. E. Pauly-Wissowa, Band VIII (1913), 158-9.

10 B. G. Niebuhr, *Kleine historische und philologische Schriften*, p. 157.

11 W. W. How, J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus*, vol. I, Oxford, 1912.

12 H. F. Tozer, *A History of Ancient Geography*, Cambridge, 1935.

If we wish to know what Herodotus thought of Tauridia, we must remember that in his description of Scythia we must differentiate between places he probably visited from those which he describes from hearsay. Criticism is very important in this respect. As regards Tauridia and the eastern part of Scythia in general, the scholars agree in thinking that Herodotus did not visit those regions. This conclusion is inferred from his description of Tauridia. It is quite possible that to him only the *mountainous part of Tauridia* (4,99) was a peninsula, approximately the countryside between Sebastopol Feodosia. It is most probable that Herodotus ignored the fact that the whole of Tauridia was a peninsula. Otherwise he would not have compared Tauridia including its mountainous southern part with Attica and Yapigia (Calabria), the latter being rounded extensions of the continent resembling the southern part of Tauridia rather than the entire peninsula. Besides, he needed no far-fetched comparisons. Peloponnesus, Marea of to-day, resembles Tauridia much more closely. Had Herodotus known of Tafros, i.e. the Perekop isthmus of to-day, he would have rather compared Crimea with Peloponnesus, as Strabon[13] did. Speaking of the prolongation of Scythia north from Tauridia he does not mention the Perekop isthmus which joins the peninsula with the continent. Herodotus thought that only the southern part of the peninsula, inhabited by the Tauri, bore the name of Tauridia; he calls Scythia the territory extending farther north and says that a ditch (τάφρος) ran in Scythia "from the Taurian mountains to Meotida" (4,3). Brandis[14] thinks that Herodotus clearly keeps apart τρηχέη χερσόνησος from Ταυρική. The former was situated in the eastern part of Tauridia and abutted on Meotida, whereas the latter was located more west and comprised the mountainous area in which the city of Chersonesus lies. This contradicts the fact; actually, τρηχέη χερσόνησος should comprise the area farther west, where the mountains were located, and Ταυρική an area farther east. Brandis correctly observes that

[13] Strabon, vol. VII, 4, §5.

[14] Brandis, R. E. Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, III, 2255.

the mentioned ditch (τάφρος) "extending from the Taurian mountains to Meotida" should rather apply to the Perekop isthmus, which at a later date was called Tafros by geographers. Herodotus was probably misled by the presence of Scythians[15] in Tauridia, who also inhabited that region in addition to the Taurians, who lived in the mountains. Therefore, Herodotus thought the mentioned peninsula was an extension of Scythia in addition to the southern, mountainous area. It appears from this that Herodotus' knowledge of Tauridia was insufficient and that he did not know about the existence of the Perekop isthmus; his description of this peninsula was compiled on the grounds of data, often contradictory, originating from different sources. Still more fantastic is Bevan's[16] notion of Tauridia as embodied in his reconstruction of Herodotus' Scythia. To him it is almost as elongated as the Apennine peninsula.

To sum up, the mere presence of a great number of variants in the reconstructions of Herodotus' Scythia including Tauridia, which sometimes differ a great deal, seems to indicate that there is much confusion in Herodotus' description of these two regions. Already this is sufficient reason to adopt a critical attitude with regard to Herodotus' descriptions of this region,[17] as well as those of the entire eastern part of Pontus. Herodotus exploited the references made by his countrymen and some foreigners. His compilation of often contradictory data has been a difficult problem to scholars ever since. All the reconstructions of Herodotus' Scythia and Tauridia are nothing but more or less ingenious hypothesis.

Finally, it would be expedient to consider the notion Herodotus had of the Scythian square. How did the father of history arrive at such a conclusion? Three solutions are possible.

15 On Scythians in Tauridia see Karl Neumann, *Die Hellenen im Skythenlande*, I, Berlin, 1855, p. 201.

16 W. L. Bevan, *The Student's Manual of Ancient Geography*, London, 1875, p. 30.

17 Jacoby is the author of an excellent monograph on Herodotus in R. E. Pauly-Wissowa; Forbiger (*Handbuch d. alt. Geogr.*); Dahlmann, *Herodot. Aus seinem Buch sein Leben*, Altona, 1823; Ebert (*Südrussland im Altertum*), Rostovtsev and others.

Thinking of Scythia as a square, Herodotus might have meant ethnographic territory, and in this particular case, a territory inhabited by the ancestors of the Ukrainians. The Danube in the west, the Don in the east, the Black Sea in the south and the Pinsk marshland and forests in the north were the ethnographic boundaries of Scythia. Should this prove to be true, there would be an indication that the pre-Ukrainian ethnic element already at that time had individual features easily observable by foreigners.

Herodotus might have envisaged the Scythian square as a political body organized by the Scythian leading classes, the boundaries of the state in question enclosing a square.

Herodotus viewed Scythia as a separate physical and geographical unit bordered by national frontiers and having well-defined geographical and climatic particularities, as well as specific flora and fauna.

The question is which of these notions, ethnographic, geographic or political the ancient historian had in mind. The answer is not easy to find. Herodotus might have considered one of these three possibilities, all three together or none. Taking into account the fact that Herodotus mentions the Danube as the western boundary of the Scythian square, the Sea of Azov as the eastern and the Black Sea as the southern boundaries, which are natural borders, it may be inferred that his criterion was a physico-geographical one. Although this opinion is only a conjecture.

There is another explanation of the Scythian square, quite different from those studied above. The opinion which we shall now scrutinize goes far beyond the contemporary notions on geography and history and penetrates the dark regions of ancient mysticism that so far have not been investigated. This mysticism often parallels reality in the work of Herodotus. Numbers and geometrical figures played an outstanding role in ancient mysticism; to this effect we may quote philosophical and mystical ten-

dencies of Pythagoreanism[18] construed on the symbolism of the number and corroborated by an ethical postulate. Mystical notions of this kind were not confined to the Greek world but had partisans among many people of antiquity.

Some scholars discover the influence of Iranism in the Scythian square. Wiesner[19] mentions an old Iranian legend that involves the country having the form of a square. In the writings of the younger Avesta the country of Varna is mentioned, which was the home of the hero Tretaona. This name is a synonym of Treton, who had three sons: Airia, Tura, and Sairima. The resemblance with the Scythian legend is not exhausted by the square form of the two countries. According to the Scythian legend, the territory enclosed in the Scynthian square was the birth place of Targitay, son of Lipoksay, Arpoksay, and Kolaksay (Herodotus 4,5). Fressl[20] is of the opinion that ξαϊς resembles old Indian Kshaya, meaning ruler or king and old Persian Khshaya-thiya, meaning king. This would be another proof in favour of Wiesner's opinion on the relationship of these two myths. I have reached the following conclusion: The Scythian square is another country of Varna from the younger Avesta. Christensen[21] also mentions Varna and its symbolic number 4. The word which in the original of the younger Avesta should correspond with our square, in a verbatim translation means four-eared.[22] Therefore, Christensen gives a slightly different interpretation of this word

18 E. Hoppe, *Mathematik und Astronomie im Klassischen Altertum,* Heidelberg, 1911, p. 83.

19 J. Wiesner, *Osteuropäische Frühzeit im Lichte neuer Forschungen, Die Arier in Osteuropa,* Prussia, Band 35 (1943), pp. 81-124.

20 J. Fressl, *Die Skythen-Saken, die Urväter der Germanen,* München, 1886, p. 129, who quotes Müllenhof; M. Hrushevsky, *Kievskaya Rus,* vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1911, p. 125; M. I. Artamonov, "Voprosy istorii Skifov v Sovetskoi Nauke," *Vestnik drevnei istorii,* 1947 (3), Moscow-Leningrad, p. 68-82; *The Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. III, (1929), p. 193.

21 Arthur Christensen, *Le premier chapitre du Vendidad et l'histoire primitive des tribus Iraniennes,* Köbenhavn, 1943, pp. 49-53, Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser, B. XXIX, no. 4.

22 In Christensen — *"á quatre oreilles";* in Wiesner — *"vieröhrig".*

of the original. He conjectures that the symbolism of the number 4 might refer to the four roads that crossed Varna, the four doors of the city, or even to the four sources that from four various regions were sending their water toward the city. Others think that the text speaks of the four market places. I am inclined to believe that Wiesner's opinion is most probable. It is typical that it is not old Scythia (4,99) that Herodotus compares to a square but the enlarged territory, the so-called Scythia of Herodotus (4,101). Should the genesis of the notion of the Scythian square stem from Iranian myths, it would imply that the Iranization of the pre-Ukrainian territory might have been more recent than the geographical notion of old Scythia.

We would like to mention in this connection that Lenormant[23] points to the ancient expression τετράγωνος ἀνήρ "or square person", which means honest man. The expression τετράγωνος ἀνήρ might have been a classical example of the synthesis of two notions: the mathematic and geometric symbolism and the ethical postulate inherent in the philosophical and mystical trends of the ancient world.

The ancient Babylonian and also Jewish historians spoke of four horns, meaning the four corners of the globe. Jeremias[24] is inclined to believe that some passages in the Old Testament are literary remnants of such an opinion. It is possible that the Scythian square within the framework of ancient geography was also a geographical *pars pro toto* of the Eurasian continent or even of the entire globe, which appeared to be dark and enig-

23 François Lenormant, *Die Magie und Wahrsagekunst der Chaldäer,* (German translation of *Les Sciences occultes en Asie. La magie chez les Chaldéens et les origines Accadiennes*), Jena, 1878, pp. 520, 524.

24 A. Jeremias, Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients, 4 Aufl., Leipzig, 1930, pag. 66; A. Jeremias, *Handubch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur,* 2 Aufl., Berlin-Leipzig, 1929, p. 142. If mountain and valley are added, we shall have six parts of the world in the cosmic sense. The notion of a four part world is superseded by the idea of six parts of the world. E. G. Klauber, *Zur Politik und Kultur der Sargonidenzeit,* The American Journal of Semitic languages and literatures, vol. XXX, No. 4 (1914), pp. 254-5.

matic to the average Greek mind. The latter hypothesis is in agreement with the theory expounded by Cassirer.[25]

The notion of the Scythian square may be connected, be it even in part, with ancient mythicism, since its influence on the contemporary geography and historiography is obvious. Herodotus, who abandoned the mythical tendencies of the oldest Greek historiography and was led by realism and pragmatism, was not quite free from the impact of the old mythological school,[26] as it is acknowledged by his notion of the Scythian square.

25 E. Cassirer, *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen*, II, Berlin, 1925, p. 119: "Das mythische Denken ergreift eine ganz bestimmte, konkret räumliche Struktur, um nach ihr das Ganze der "Orientierung" der Welt zu vollziehen."

26 Albert A. Trevers, *History of Ancient Civilization*, vol. I, New York, 1936, pp. 316, 317.

EXPERIMENTAL WORK OF ACADEMY MEMBERS

ANATOMIC STRUCTURES OF *CUCURBITA* FRUIT AND THEIR IMPORTANCE FOR THE STUDY OF ECONOMIC QUALITIES OF THE FRUIT

KLAVDIA STARCHEVA-SANDUL

The present work is a direct continuation of our preceding research, in which the anatomic characteristics of fruit of the gourd family (Cucurbitaceae) was investigated and the effect of the structure of pepo on its economic values, clarified.

In our previous work dealing with the anatomic structure of fruits of various species and varieties of the genus *Citrullus* (water melon), we pointed out that transportability and storage quality of a fruit depend on the degree of development of mechanical tissues, thickness and texture of the parenchyma cells. Moreover, we found that the degree of transportability of a fruit may be determined at the early stage of its development.

In the article dealing with the anatomic structure of fruits belonging to different species of *Cucumis** (melon), we also emphasized the interdependence between the transportability, storage quality, quality of the pulp and anatomic structure of the pepo.

The third stage of our experimental investigations in this field was to study the genus *Cucurbita* (pumpkin).

The pumpkin culture is spread around the world. Pepos of this valuable plant are known as food product for the population, but mainly as a juicy fodder for cattle. Pumpkin culture became particularly important in dry regions, such as the Ukrainian steppes, where it either serves as a supplementary fodder or constitutes the only juicy forage used in industrial animal husbandry.

Although at present there exists a considerable number of valuable forage varieties, nonetheless the rich world assortment of cultured, as well as wild pumpkins, has not been thoroughly

* Unpublished work of the author.

studied as yet. Certain forms among the latter, however, are highly interesting from the economic point of view. Many are outstandingly large-fruited, multi-fruited, keep over prolonged periods of storage, and have a high quality pulp or sugar content.

Apart from the botanico-geographic, biochemical and other methods, this vast material must be also studied anatomically. I believe this would greatly contribute to the solution of a number of theoretic botanical problems concerning the *Cucurbita,* facilitate the task of practical agriculturists, and enable selectionists to choose for hybridization the sorts having desired qualities.

Publications on this subject that are known to me deal in the main with the ordinary descriptions of the anatomic structure of fruits of one or two pumpkin varieties without associating this structure with certain qualities of the pepo. Thus, for example, we find in the work of Popova an anatomic description of the pepo of summer squash.

The present work endeavors to bring to light peculiarities, which are characteristic of the anatomic structure of pepos of different species and varieties of the genus *Cucurbita,* and to clarify the relation between such structures and economic qualities of the fruit, such as transportability, storage quality, quality of the pulp and sugar content.

Species Investigated and Methods Employed

Cultured pumpkins may be classified under six species:

1. *Cucurbita pepo L.*
2. *Cucurbita moschata Duch.*
3. *Cucurbita maxima Duch.*
4. *Cucurbita turbaniformis Boem.*
5. *Cucurbita mixta Pang.*
6. *Cucurbita ficifolia Bouche.*

However, only three former species are widely cultivated. *Cucurbita turbaniformis* is bred as a rule for decorative purposes, although its pulp is sweet and tasty. *Cucurbita mixta* is cultivated only in America and used for seeds. *Cucurbita mixta* is

not cultivated for industrial purposes, but can be found in botanic gardens.

The three first species, however, are widely cultivated and provide the initial material for generation of new agriculturally valuable sorts.

In our research we studied the fruits of the following *Cucurbita* species:

1. *Cucurbita pepo* L.
2. *Cucurbita moschata Duch.*
3. *Cucurbita maxima Duch.*
4. *Cucurbita mixta Pang.*

Apart from that, we investigated a wild Argentine pumpkin.

All pumpkins were bred under identical conditions on the black soil of Ukraine (1940). The fruits were fixed in alcohol. The tests were set up with pepos of different age: ovaries, 5, 10, 14-15 and 30 days old fruits and those that underwent a preliminary storage for 3 and 6 months. Cross-sections have been prepared with a microtome and by hand with numerous repetitions. Drawings were made by hand from a microscope. The rind and pulp of pepos have been investigated.

Description of Cucurbita Pepo

C. pepo L. is the most widespread cultured pumpkin species having an early as well as a late period of ripening. The largest and most diverse assortment of this species is found in Asia Minor. It is used for both table and fodder pumpkin.

The following forms were investigated:

1. Decorative, multi-fruited pumpkin, bearing small fruits.
3. Bezenchuksky table pumpkin, widely popular in Ukraine.
3. Custard squash (or gourd)—small-fruited *Cucurbita.*
4. Crookneck squash—a decorative, multi-fruited bushy form of *Cucurbita,* whose three or four days old ovaries are used for food.
5. Italian squash—chiefly used for food in the stage of green ovaries.

Anatomic investigations of *C. pepo* showed that separate varie-

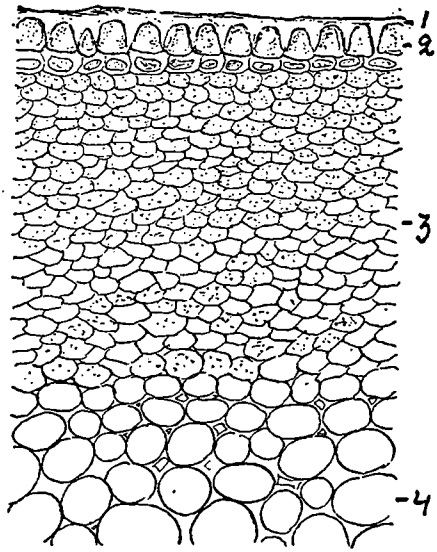
ties of this species are highly dissimilar from each other. The differences mainly pertain to the quantity, character and arrangement of mechanical tissues, character of the rind parenchyma and number of starch grains.

As it may be seen from the drawings, (figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6), ripe pepos of all the sorts of *C. pepo* are covered with a layer of epidermis that consists of cells elongated to a degree different for each respective variety and radially arranged (see table). The rind parenchyma is situated under the epidermis. In certain sorts (like Bezenchuksky) it consists of a well pronounced collenchyma, in others thin-walled (like crookneck squash), thick-walled (like custard squash) or both (as in decorative species) cells of basic parenchyma. Dimensions and texture of parenchymatous cells in rind and pulp are different for individual varieties. In Bezenchuksky pumpkin the rind and pulp are most closely adjacent, in custard squash this has been observed to a somewhat lesser degree. The basic parenchyma of rind in Bezenchuksky and decorative pumpkin gradually goes over into the parenchyma of pulp; however, in the crookneck squash, summer squash and custard squash its lower part consists of mechanical tissue. In the two former sorts the mechanical tissue forms a continuous layer of stone-cells (figs. 4 and 6, 5). Mechanical tissues in custard squash are arranged in isolated irregular agglomerations scattered among the lower part of the cells of rind parenchyma (fig. 3, 5). In all the previously-mentioned sorts the mechanical tissues are best developed in the proximity of the pedicle.

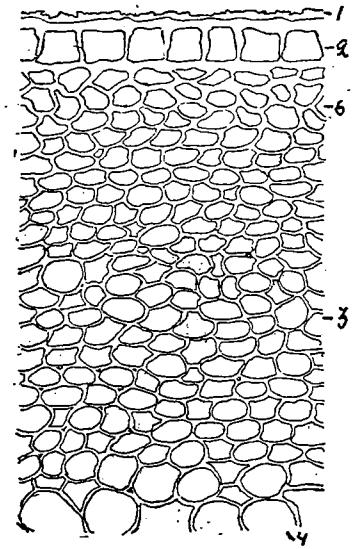
Formation of mechanical tissues in the pepos of pumpkin begins with a hardly noticeable thickening and hardening of separate rind cells (fig. 5, 5). In the pepos of 14 and 15 days old crookneck squash, summer squash and custard squash pepos it occurs first near the pedicle, then gradually spreads toward the equator. The Bezenchuksky variety has highly developed fibro-vascular bundles rendering the pulp hard and fibrous.

In freshly picked fruits of *C. pepo* the number of starch grains varies for separate sorts (see table). During storage the number of starch grains gradually decreases until they disappear en-

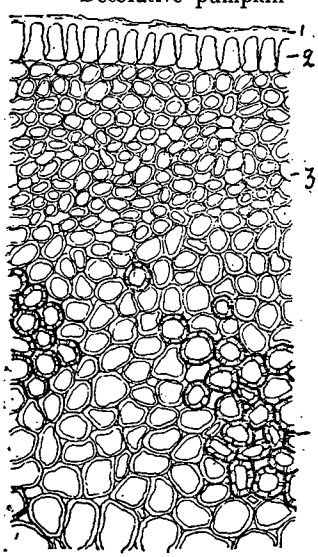
CROSS-SECTION OF THE RIND AND PULP OF C. pepo L. FRUITS.



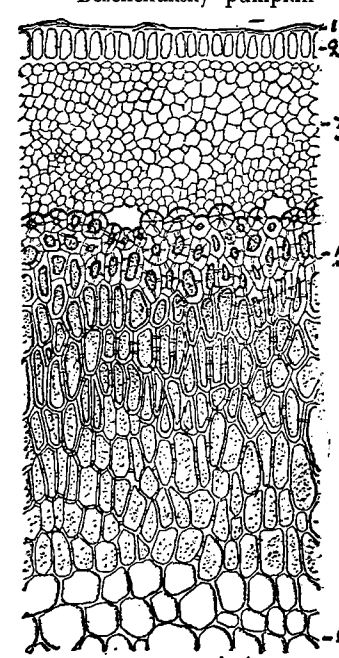
Drawing 1.
Decorative pumpkin



Drawing 2
Bezenchuksky pumpkin



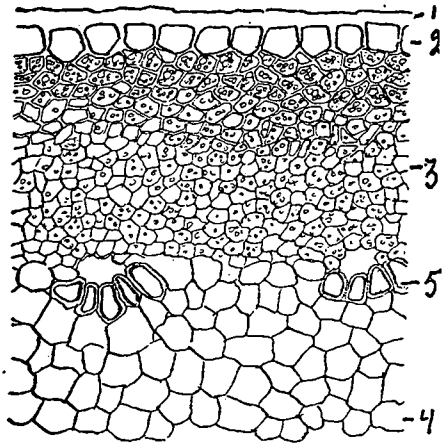
Drawing 3
Custard squash



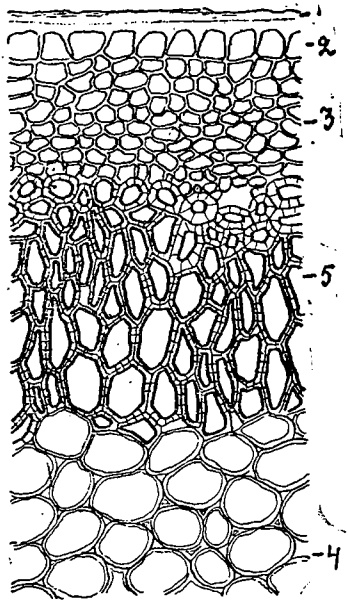
Drawing 4
Crookneck squash

1. Cuticle; 2. Epidermis; 3. Rind; 4. Pulp; 5. Mechanical tissue; 6. Collenchyna

CROSS-SECTION OF RIND AND PULP OF C. pepo L. FRUITS.



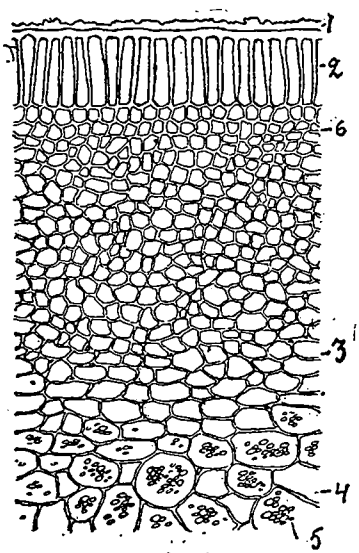
Drawing 5
Fourteen day old fruits of Italian squash.



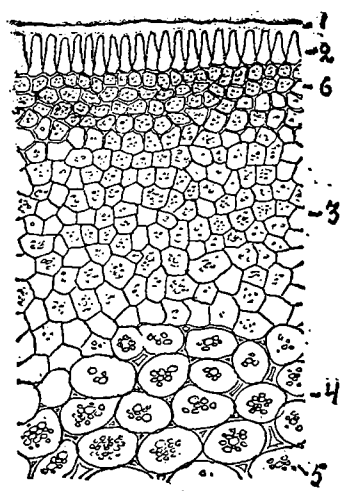
Drawing 6
Italian squash.

1. Cuticle; 2. Epidermis; 3. Rind; 4. Pulp; 5. Mechanical tissue

CROSS-SECTION OF RIND AND PULP OF C. moschata Duch. FRUITS.



Drawing 7
Japanese pumpkin



Drawing 8
Indian pumpkin

1. Cuticle; 2. Epidermis; 3. Rind; 4. Pulp; 5. Starch grains; 6. Collenchyma.

Name	*Thickness of the cuticle in micromillimeters*	*Thickness of cell-walls in the rind (in microns)*	*Thickness of the cell-walls in pulp (in microns)*	*Size of epidermal cells (in microns)*
C. pepo L.				
1. Bezenchuksky	5	5	5	25X25
2. Italian squash	7.5	3.75-5	3.5	25X20
3. Custard squash	7.5-10	5	3.5	30X20
4. Crookneck squash	5-7.5	2.5-5	5	25X20
5. Decorative variety	5	4	3.5	35X25
C. moschata Duch.				
6. Japanese	10	5	5-7.5	40X15
7. Indian	7.5	5	5-7.5	40X20
C. maxima Duch.				
8. Hubbard	7.5	10	5	30X25
9. Anatolian	7.5-10	5-7.5	2.5	30X20
10. Honey	5-7.5	5	2.5-5	35X20
11. Chilly (from Chile)	7.5	5	3.5-5	25X20
12. C. mixta Pang.	5	2.5-5	2.5-5	35X15

tirely. Wild forms have but a few starch grains that disappear sooner than in the cultured pumpkins. Chromoplasts in the pepos of the *C. pepo* varieties investigated are found in the form of round or cylindrical grains.

Curcubita Moschata Duch

This species merits particular attention, since it embraces the best representatives of pumpkins known in culture. Its tasty pepos have a high sugar content. Certain sorts of this species keep well for one or two years and are easily transportable. The majority of *C. moschata,* however, ripen late, have a protracted period of vegetation and require great quantities of sun heat. This is a considerable disadvantage. *C. moschata* originated in

Width of the sclerenchyma layer (mechanical tissues) in microns			*Starch grains in freshly picked pepos*		*Starch grains after 3 months of storage*		*Starch grains after 6 months of storage*		*Sugar content in freshly picked pepos (in %)*
Around the pedicle	*Along the equator*	*At the top*	*In the rind*	*In the pulp*	*In the rind*	*In the pulp*	*In the rind*	*In the pulp.*	*Total of sugars*
None	None	None	Very numerous		Few	Few	Dispersed		5.18
280	135-140	160-165	Numerous		Few	Dispersed	None	None	2.43
	Separate groups.		"	"	Dispersed		"	"	—
4500	3500	2100-2600	Few	Few	"	"	"	"	—
None	None	None	Very few.		None	None	"	"	—
None	None	None	Very numerous		Very numerous		Numerous		6.96
"	"	"	"	"	Few	Few	Dispersed		4.17
3500-3900	2250-2260	1800-2000	"	"	Numerous		Numerous		6.74
None	None	None	Numerous		Few	None	None	None	4.80
None	None	None							—
	Separate groups.		Numerous		Few	Few	Dispersed		—
3000-4600	550-560	1000-1350							—

the Central America and North-Western part of South America, where the largest assortment of this species continues to be cultivated.

We investigated the following forms of *C. moschata*:

1. Japanese pumpkin—fruitful, having a thick, delicate and very sweet pulp.
2. Indian pumpkin—large-fruited, having a delicate, though less sweet pulp.

Drawings (figs. 7 and 8) and table show that ripe pepos of all the *C. moschata* forms investigated have qualitatively affinitive structures with slight differences pertaining to anatomic elements. Thus, among all the varieties investigated, the fruits of the Japanese and Indian pumpkins have epidermal cells most radially elongated, with a highly developed waxy surface collen-

chyma and closely adjacent cells of rind parenchyma. Anatomic elements in the Indian pumpkin are developed to a lesser degree than those of Japanese pumpkin, notably: the cuticle, as well as the cells of rind parenchyma (with the exception of three or four outer layers of colenchyma), are relatively thinner. No mechanical tissue (sclerenchyma) was found in the two pumpkin forms. The pulp cells are small, thick-walled, closely adjacent to each other. In both forms the fibro-vascular bundles are small and little developed. In freshly picked ripe pepos of these two forms the cells of the rind and pulp are filled with starch grains that keep over prolonged periods of time during the storage. This is particularly true for the Japanese pumpkin. The diversity of shapes of the chromoplasts is rather striking. They may be either round or elongated grains or appear in the most varied shapes resembling small rods.

Thus, the lack of mechanical tissues (sclerenchyma) and small fibro-vascular bundles account for the delicate texture of these forms, while a well developed collenchyma and cuticle, thickened and closely interconnected elements of the rind and pulp consisting of small cells, plus certain biochemical properties, insure outstanding storage qualities of their pepos.

Cucurbita Maxima Duch

To this group mainly belong the fodder sorts of pumpkin having very large pepos, spongy or farinaceous, occasionally silghtly fibrous pulp with a low content of dry substances. As a rule, the pepos of fodder pumpkin are not sweet; however, there are also table sorts within this species having a high sugar content. Botanically speaking, this species has been little studied as yet.

In our research the species *C. maxima* was represented by the following varieties:

1. Hubbard (United States)—bearing hard, ligneous fruits with a high sugar content and excellent storage quality.
2. Anatolian (Asia Minor)—a pumpkin bearing large, slightly sweet pepos with a delicate, soft pulp.

3. Honey variety (Ukraine) bearing large, delicate fruits of a table quality.
4. Chilly variety (Chile) —with large, slightly sweet pepos having a farinaceous pulp.

The differences in anatomic structure of varieties belonging to *C. maxima,* as well as in *C. pepo* sorts, is well manifest. Among the sorts of this species, Hubbard (fig. 9) merits a particular attention. It has a well developed collenchyma situated under the epidermis and a layer of highly developed mechanical tissues. Elements of the rind and pulp have tightly adjacent and considerably thickened cell-walls. In the pulp this phenomenon is somewhat less pronounced. Furthermore, a great number of starch grains remaining intact in storage over protracted periods of time, and diverse shape of the chromoplasts found in pepos are characteristic of this variety. Strongly developed ligneous elements in Hubbard pepos and closely interconnected thick-walled cells of rind and pulp account for the high storage quality of this pumpkin. Ripe pepos of Honey and Anatolian pumpkins have analogous structures and a highly developed cuticle. The cellular membranes in rind and pulp are thickened to a lesser degree than in Hubbard. The lack of mechanical tissues and a dispersed arrangement of the fibro-vascular bundles are responsibe for the delicate texture of pepos of these sorts. Starch grains, found in great abundance in both these varieties, disappear, however, following a prolonged storage of pepos.

The shape of chromoplasts is highly diverse as in the case of the Hubbard fruits; moreover, in the Anatolian pumpkin the depth of chromoplast deposits is non-uniform, a fact which explains the variegated appearance of the pepos. Pepos of the Chilly pumpkin, as well as fruits of all the previously-mentioned *Cucurbita* belonging to *C. maxima* have a well developed cuticle, 2 or 3 layers of collenchyma situated under the epidermis, thick-walled elements of rind, somewhat less of the pulp, loosely interconnected; mechanical tissues are found in irregular agglomerations in the vicinity of the pedicle and in single cells in the central sections of pepo. A characteristic peculiarity of Chilly pumpkin is the *resides* in lenticular spots scattered over the ex-

terior of rind tissue. Clorophyll bodies in the rind cells are situated at a certain distances from the epidermis, which accounts for the grey coloration of pepos.

Cucurbita Mixta Pang

The distinguishing features of pepos of *C. mixta* are epidermal cells considerably elongated as compared with the width of cells and a strongly developed layer of stone-cells having the minimum width along the equator (see table). The formation of mechanical tissues in fruits begins on the eight or tenth day of development, i.e. earlier than in pumpkins considered above. On the fourteenth and fifteenth day, the fruits of *C. mixta* form a continuous layer of mechanical tissue. The cells of rind and pulp are relatively thin-walled.

Pepos of the wild Argentinian pumpkin have strongly thickened epidermal cells and 1 to 3 layers of sub-epidermal cells. Cellular elements of rind and pulp are thin-walled. There are few starch grains. Chromoplasts are round or cylindrical, as in the case of pumpkins of the *C. pepo*.

* * *

The above considered anatomic structures of *Cucurbita* pepos enabled us to reveal the following:

1. Within the species *C. pepo* and *A. maxima* we observed substantial dissimilarities between different varieties mainly consisting in the quantity and arrangement of mechanical and suberized tissues, size and density of the fibro-vascular bundles, structure of the rind and pulp parenchyma and number of starch grains.

2. The forms of *C. moschata,* i.e. Japanese and Indian, are more uniform. The differences observed were chiefly of a quantitative nature.

3. Mechanical tissues are developed in a few forms only. The following *Cucurbita* have a continuous layer of mechanical cells: crookneck, squash, summer squash, wild Argentinian pumpkin,

Hubbard and *C. mixta.* Custard squash and Chilly variety have irregular agglomerations of stone-cells. No mechanical tissues (i.e. sclerenchyma) were found in the Bezenchuksky, decorative, Japanese, Indian, Anatolian and Honey pumpkins.

4. The formation of mechanical tissues in the pepos of *Cucurbita* begins with a hardly noticeable thickening and lignification of separate rind cells. In the species *C. pepo* and *C. maxima* it takes place on the fourteenth or fifteenth, in *C. mixta* on the eighth or tenth day.

5. Chromoplasts in the species *C. pepo* and wild Argentinian pumpkin are round or cylindrical. In pepos of the species *C. moschata, C. maxima* and *C. mixta* we observed highly diverse rod-shaped, apart from the round and cylindrical, chromoplasts.

6. We noted a close relationship between certain anatomic structures of *Cucurbita* fruits and their transportability, storage quality, quality of the pulp and sugar content.

7. We believe that the structural peculiarities characteristic of the transportable fruits are as follows:

a) highly developed cuticle and a waxy surface;
b) thickening of epidermal cells;
c) closeness of connection and thickening of the cell-walls in rind;
d) well developed mechanical tissues.

8. Apart from the qualities mentioned in paragraph 7, the storage quality depends on the following properties:

a) small-celled pulp;
b) tightly interconnected cells;
c) thickening of cell-walls in parenchyma of the pulp (Japanese, Indian, Bezenchuksky, crookneck squash, custard squash, Hubbard).

The more a fruit has the qualities mentioned in the paragraphs 7 and 8, the better it keeps during transportation and storage.

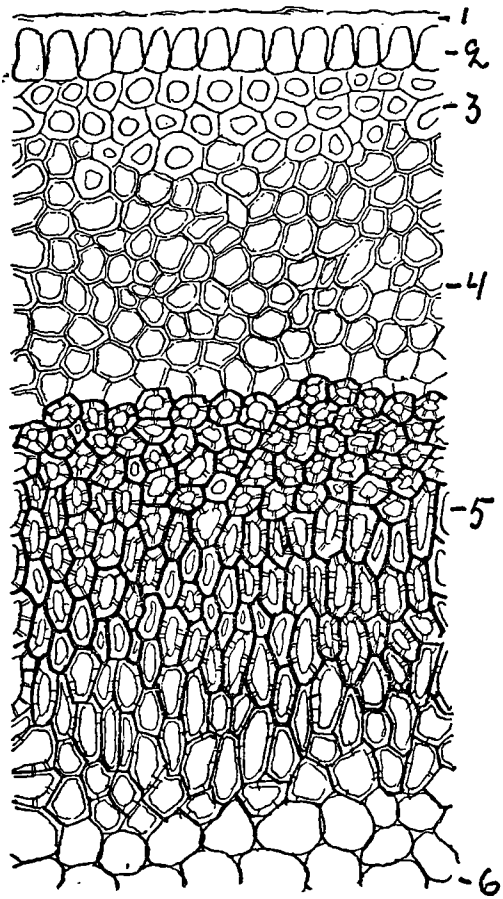
9. The quality of the pulp depends on the density and degree of development of the fibro-vascular bundles, as well as on the degree of thickening of its cell-walls.

The delicate texture of the pulp in Anatolian and Honey

pumpkins is a result of the sparse arrangement of thin fibro-vascular bundles and thin-walled pulp cells.

On the other hand, the pepos of Bezenchuksky variety have closely arranged and strongly developed fibro-vascular bundles, due to which their pulp is fibrous and hard.

CROSS-SECTION OF RIND AND PULP
OF THE C. maxima Duch. FRUITS.



Drawing 9 Hubbard

1. Cuticle; 2. Epidermis; 3. Collenchyma; 4. Thick-walled rind cells; 5. Mechanical tissue; 6. Pulp.

10. The sugar content depends, of course, on the number of starch grains in the tissues of the pumpkin.

Sweet forms and varieties of pumpkin, i.e. Japanese, Hubbard, Bezenchuksky, show the greatest abundance on starch grains in tissues, which keep over protracted periods of time during the storage of pepos. The tissues of little cultured and less sweet *Cucurbita,* i.e. the decorative pumpkin, crookneck squash and wild Argentinian pumpkin, contain a minimum amount of starch granules, which rapidly disappear during the storage of pepos. At first, the starch grains disappear from the pulp, then from the rind.

11. Anatomic method may be used in the analysis set-up in order to study the transportability, storage quality, quality of the pulp and, in part, the sugar content of fruits.

12. The Japanese form of *Cucurbita,* whose delicate and tasty pepos preserve their qualities for more than one and a half years of storage, merits close attention.

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REVIEW ARTICLE

REMARKS ON RUSSISHES ETYMOLOGISCHES WOERTERBUCH*

D. ČIŽEVSKY

The valuable publication of M. Vasmer is progressing rapidly and successfully. Fascicules 8-14 appeared by the end of 1954; fascicules 8-9 contain pp. 545-712, the end of Volume I. Fascicule 10 begins Volume II with the letter "L." Fascicules 10-14, pp. 1-400, bring the second volume up to the word *polymja*. Completion of the dictionary has been promised for 1956. Because of the author's wide use of Great Russian dialect material and his constant and careful indication of Ukrainian parallels, together with parallels in other Slavic languages, Vasmer's *Russian Etymological Dictionary* can to a significant degree serve as a substitute for an as yet nonexistent Ukrainian etymological dictionary. It should in any case evoke in Ukrainian etymologists a natural aspiration to complete the material of this fundamental work. Of course, a dictionary of the *Russian* language leaves aside numerous Ukrainian lexical elements, but it would perhaps be useful if Ukrainian etymologists were to decide to give, if only at first as a complement to Vasmer's dictionary, a collection of etymologies of Ukrainian words foreign to the Russian language and its dialects. Not being an etymologist, I shall make certain remarks about the newly appeared fascicules, principally from the field in which I am occupied, Russian and Ukrainian lexical history. In particular I shall attempt to indicate the oldest examples of the use of separate words by the East Slavs; I shall give such indications especially where Vasmer cites a later work and where the reader might receive the impression that Vasmer's citation indicates the oldest example. In some cases I

* See my reviews in the *Annals*, II, 2 (4), 1952, pp. 322-31 and II, 4 (6), 1952, pp. 465-71.

shall note Ukrainian parallels not appearing in Vasmer. Occasionally I shall record word-meanings different from those given by Vasmer. Such indications may in certain cases be important in ascertaining the etymology of a word.

Abbreviations:

PSRL — *Polnoe sobranie russkich letopisej.*
RIB — *Russkaja istoričeskaja biblioteka.*
SRIO — *Sbornik russkogo istoričeskogo obščestva.*

VOLUME I

Page	*Russian word*	*Remark*
550	*keramida*	found in Leskov; probably preserved in the language of some circles until the nineteenth century.
552	*kersta*	in the *Nestor Chronicle* under the year 1092.
555	*kizjak*	probably borrowed from Ukrainian for Russian dialects and not directly from Turco-tatar languages.
560	*kirdžali*	there is a novel with this title by the Polish author M. Czajkowski (ca. 1835).
561	*kiset*	exists in modern Ukrainian; found in Gogol.
562	*kit*	in Czech there is a word *kitovec,* possibly borrowed from Russian.
565	*kladbišče*	Ukr. *kladowyšče,* not *kladowišče.*
589	*kožan*	Ukr. *kažan.*

Page	*Russian word*	*Remark*
591	*kozodoj*	hardly a "learned borrowing"; this bird (Lat. *caprimulgus*) is known by the same name among Ukr. peasants (Kherson government).
597	*kolduny*	Belorussian parallel should have been noted, since this food is particularly widespread in Belorussia.
599	*kolzat'sja*	Ukr. *kovzatysja,* in Gogol, *kovzjat'sja.*
604	*kolpak*	Ukr. *kovpak.*
604	*koltun*	Lat. *plica polonica,* an illness widespread in Belorussia (*cf.* Nekrasov, *Železnaja Doroga*); probably a Polish word borrowed through Belorussian and not Ukr.
605	*kolupa*	Ukr. *kolupaty* incorrectly translated; should be *kratzen* — to pick at, scratch.
606	*kom*	Belorussian *kamy* (Plural) — *Knoedel* (*cf.* in Zelenin).
607	*komar*	I also know in Ukr. the genetive *komarja.*
607	*komedija*	borrowed, probably from German, since it was just German troops who first put on theatrical performances in Moscow.
608	*kometa*	already found in Great Russian translations of the seventeenth

Page	*Russian word*	*Remark*
		century and therefore, probably, borrowed directly from Latin. However, it could have been borrowed from Polish, too, where in the seventeenth century the Polish word was used both as a feminine and a masculine.
608	*komin*	I know Ukr. *komýn* (stress!) — stove pipe in a peasant house (Kherson government).
610	*kompanija*	the explanation of Ukr. *kompanijeć* is false.
616	*konsul*	probably first entered the language from the clerical school with its terminology borrowed from Roman state organization. In any case, the word was known in Moscow even before Prokopovyč.
617	*konfuz.* I	the form *konfuzija* is found in Gogol (*Revizor*); this word is also used by his sister Anna in a letter to M. Pogodin of 1852 or 53.
621	*kopyto*	Czech *kopat* and *kopaná* — "football," should have been mentioned.
625	*korec*	the word is found in the *Sudnaja Gramota* of Pskov.
627	*korica*	in the L'vov letopis', *PSRL* XX, p. 308 (fifteenth century).

Page	*Russian word*	*Remark*
628	*kornyj*	already in Old Russian; see the *Russko-livonskie gramoty* of Naperskij, 1868, p. 27: *kornoe serebro.*
631-32	*korona*	the form *koruna* appears for the first time not in the seventeenth century, but in the *Hypatian Chronicle* under the year 1248.
635	*kortom*	already in the *Acts* of N. Lichačev, 1895, p. 130.
637	*korčma*	in the meaning "beverage" in the *Sudnaja Gramota* of Pskov: *korъč'my variti* (see *RIB.,* VI, 841); as a measure in the *First Pskov Chronicle* under 1474 (*PSRL,* IV, 248); in the meaning "brewery" in the *Second Pskov Chronicle* (*PSRL* V, 36).
643	*kosjak*	also piece of material of fixed dimensions (*SRIO,* XXXV, 10, 26, 45; year 1488).
644	*kotel*	there is also the meaning "group of workers," *SRIO,* XI, 115, 162, 235; years 1492, 1498.
650	*kočet*	the word is already in the Pskov *Sudnaja Gramota.*
650	*kočkar'*	also the name of a Polovcian in the retinue of Prince Svjatoslav of Kiev (*Hyp. Chr.,* 1180).
652	*košmar*	in the first half of the 19th century, frequently *košemar.*

Page	*Russian word*	*Remark*
661	*kresit'/kresat'*	in Ukr. there is also the simple meaning "beat" (cf. the customs connected with the so-called *kalyta*).
661	*kreslo*	the plural only — *kresla* — was usual in literary Russian until the mid-nineteenth century.
662	*krestit'*	the most usual Ukr. form *chrystyty, krystyty* should have been noted.
662	*kretin*	there is an interesting parallel to the etymology of this word (from *christianus*) in Ukr. *boževil'nyj,* Orel government *boževol'nyj.*
662	*krečet*	in old Russian often *krečat.*
664	*krindžoly*	Ukr. *gryndžoly, gryndžoljata.*
664	*krinica*	in Ukr. also *kernycja*; in the *Hyp. Chr.,* 1150, *krinica.*
664	*krinka*	also in Ukrainian.
670	*krupa*	already in Old Russian, cf. *RIB,* VI, 98 (1274).
671	*kruta*	in Old Russian not only "decoration," but also "clothing," Pskov *Sudnaja Gramota* 4, 20.
676	*Kub* I	*kubok* is older than the fourteenth century; it is found in the *Hyp. Chr.* under 1288 and in the Sinodal'nyj Spisok of the *I. Novgorod Chr.* under 1204 (*kubъkъ*).

Page	*Russian word*	*Remark*
679	*kuvšin*	*kuvšin* already in the fifteenth century (not for the first time in the seventeenth), *SRIO,* XXXV, pp. 24, 32 (1489).
697	*kurant*	A. Sobolevskij calls even the manuscript newspapers of the seventeenth century by this name (*Perevodnaja Literatura,* 236-51), beginning with the start of the century. Cf. P. Berkov, *Russkaja Žurnalistika* 18. *v.,* 1952, p. 31, 3d note.
708	*kuchmister*	first appears not in the sixteenth, but in the fifteenth century: *SRIO,* XXXV, 171 (1489, 1495: *kuchmejster*).
708	*kuchol'*	Czech *kuflik* is not mentioned among the parallels.
709	*kušak*	first cited from the late sixteenth century (*Domostroj*), but found in the fifteenth: *SRIO,* XXXC, p. 32 (1489).

VOLUME II

5	*ladan*	also the name of some sort of tax: *SRIO,* XXXV, 23, 27 ff.
7	*lazur'*	first appears not in the sixteenth century, but in the *Hyp. Chr.,* 1259 (*na lazorě*).
10	*lalki*	"gums" — in the Muscovite Andrej Belyj, *lalaki.*

Page	*Russian word*	*Remark*
11	*lan*	already in 1403, *RIB,* II, 16, 17; therefore, a borrowing from Polish is unlikely.
13	*lantux*	usual in Ukrainian.
20	*Lače*	Vasmer cites Daniil Zatočnik, but this place is probably a later edition (all manuscripts are no older than the sixteenth century); the word is found in the *IV Novg. Chr.* under the year 1374 (written no later than in the fifteenth century).
24	*Leviatan*	usual [in the Bible, Job 40,20 (Engl. 41,1)] but also, for example, in contemporary translations of Hobbes: Leviathan — *Leviafan.*
26	*Ledovityj okean*	Vasmer surmises that the Old Russian name *Dyšuščee* more was applied to the Arctic Ocean as a sea covered with fog and vapors. In all probability the "breathing" of the sea means the rise and fall of the tide. In Josephus Flavius *Dyšuščee more* — the Atlantic ocean, see II, XVI, 4 *et al* (Istrin, Vol. I, p. 178). The conception itself of the sea's "breathing" in ancient Greek literature: Poseidonios Fragment 85 in D. Jacoby: *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker,* Vol. II. Berlin. 1826, Strabo 173C, Pom-

Page	*Russian word*	*Remark*
		ponius Mela III, 1, 2. *Cf.* K. Reinhardt, *Kosmos und Sympathie,* Munich, 1926, pp. 58-60, where there is also an interesting citation from Leonardo da Vinci. Also M. Pohlenz: *Die Stoa.* Vol. I. Göttingen. 1948, p. 216.
30	*Lena*	the name of the river is found even before Avvakum, see *RIB,* II, (1638), but there in the document from 1616 the Lena is called *Velikaja reka* (*ibidem,* p. 373).
37	*lešina*	Vasmer considers the Ukr. form *il'šyna* to be only hypothetical, but in reality it is found with a prothetic "v," as *vil'šyna,* in Old Ukr. *gramoty* (ed. of V. Rozov). See also the dictionary of Hrinčenko, I, 280, and Holoskevyč.
42	*lilovyj*	cf. Czech *lilek* — egg-plant.
44	*lira*	also a stringed instrument, until recently widespread in South Great Russia, but especially in the Ukraine, and also in northern Italy and southern France, *Die Welt des Schalles,* Vienna, 1940, an old picture by the French artist George de la Tour (early seventeenth century), "Le joueur de vielles" (Musée de Nantes).

Page	*Russian word*	*Remark*
46	*litera*	it is unlikely that this word, common in Ukr. from the beginning of the seventeenth century, first appeared at the time of Peter I; cf. on p. 47 the word *litoreja.*
47	*liturgija*	the word *liturgisati* did not disappear even after Avvakum; it is still usual today in Russian church language and church literature.
49	*lico*	Ukr. is not *lyće,* byt *lyce* (without palatalization of "c").
52	*logika*	already in *Logika Aviasafa* of the *židovstvujuščie.* The translation of the end of the fifteenth century (*Kievskie Universit. Izvestija,* 1910, ed. by K. Neverov).
56	*loni*	this word and derivatives of it are found not only in the dialects: in Ostrovskij, already in the Sinodal'nyj spisok of the *I. Novg. Chr.* (1950, p. 87, *lonščina*), etc.
62	*lox.* I	also *loxa*: *Novgorodskie Piscovye Knigi,* Vol. V, p. 421.
67	*luzga*	for some reason there are no Ukr. parallels together with the Belorussian.
68	*lukno*	already in the *Nestor Chronicle* under 997.
74	*lyva*	also found in literature, in Lomonosov for example.

Page	*Russian word*	*Remark*
82	*ljalja*	in Russian literature in N. Kukol'nik.
88	*mazurka*	second meaning: a sweet nut-cake; from the Polish *mazurek;* the gender was perhaps changed under the influence of the name of the dance.
88	*majdan*	also in Ukrainian (P. Tyčyna).
93	*mamona* II	use of this word by Afanasij Nikitin, who had been in the East, is not characteristic. But the word is found several times in the fifteenth century (beginning in 1492) in diplomatic correspondence: *mamon — zvěrok malyj* was sent as a gift to the Polish King Kazimir (*SRIO,* XXXV, p. 65).
94	*manatka*	more frequent than the dialectal meaning "handkerchief" given in Ukrainian is "trinket," "baggage."
95	*mandragora*	in the Bible, Genesis 30, 16.
101	*maršal*	in Old Russian not only *moršalok,* but also *maršalok* (IV Novg. Chr., *PSRL,* IV, 1, p. 533) and *maršalko* (*Sbornik Muchanova,* pp. 71, 74, etc.).
102	*master*	already in the *Hypatian Chr.,* "Master Rižskij" (1259); "master" in the sense "master craftsman" is in the *Hyp. Chr.* under the years 991 (p. 83) and 1161 (p. 350).

Page	*Russian word*	*Remark*
110	*med*	Ukr. *mid* is dialectical only; the normal form is (by analogy) *med.*
133	*mizgit'*	an old word, already in the *Nikonovskaja Letopis',* IV, 101.
135	*mindal'*	Vasmer gives examples from 1534 and 1584. But *mindal'nye jadra* is already found in documents of 1489 (*SRIO,* XXXV, 32).
139	*miting*	the meaning of the English word has been narrowed in Russian.
141	*mišiginer*	the form *mišugener* is also found.
162	*moskotel'nyj*	*cf. moskotinnik,* for ex. in *RIB,* XXXII, p. 35 (before 1470).
163	*moslak*	Ukr. *maslak.*
164	*muzyka,* cf. p. 177, *musikija*	*musikija* is not infrequent in the eighteenth century and even in the nineteenth (in Tjutčev for ex.); in a translation of Donatus (1522) is found *muzikija.*
170	*muza*	found before the eighteenth century; with an explanation of the meaning in a Novgorod translation of Donatus' grammar (1522) and thereafter in Simeon Polockij, in addition, as the Christian name *Muza.*
171	*mùka, muká*	for the etymology of *muká* it is interesting to note, in Daniil

Page	*Russian word*	*Remark*
		Zatočnik, *mučit' pšenicu* — to grind (Zarubin, pp. 12, 13, 68, 93, 116).
174	*mur*	this word is probably older than the sixteenth century; *murovat'* is frequent in the chronicles: e.g., Sofijskaja, *PSRL,* VI, 16, 32, then in sixteenth century chronicles (Voskresenskij, e.g., *PSRL* VIII, 181), but in any case earlier than 1584 (as Vasmer has it).
192	*nagara*	already found in the Sof. Chr., *PSRL,* VI, 340, 342, 351f.
198	*narečie*	doubtless not from Latin, but already found in the article "O vos'mi častjach slova," going directly from Greek; the word is back to the activity of Ioann Ekzarch Bolgarskij (see Jagić, *Rassuždenija južno-slav. i russkoj stariny o cerkovnoslavjanskom jazyke,* SPb., 1895, pp. 329, 335, 761 *et al*; Maxim Grek has *priréčie* (*ibid.* 597).
200	*nasad*	frequent already in the *Hyp. Chr.* (1161f.).
210	*neklen*	Ukr. *paklen*; the word *neklen* cited as Ukr. by Vasmer is unknown to me.
222	*ničkom*	Ukr. *nyškom* has nothing in common with Russian *ničkom; nyškom* — silently.

Page	*Russian word*	*Remark*
230	*nuža*	Ukr. *nuža* also in the narrowed meaning *lice.*
237	*obapol*	already in the *Slovo o polku Igoreve;* the meaning is sometimes "around" (*Life* of Stephen of Perm).
241	*oblivanec*	applied by Great Russians in the seventeenth century to Ukrainians, in view of the form of baptism practised in the Ukraine (see Prokopovyč: *Opravdanie pravoslavnym christianom, krešćeniem oblivatel'nym vo Christa kreščaemym*).
245	*obstojatel'stvo*	Vasmer considers this word Karamzin's. I noted the existence of this word in the *Logika* of Baumeister, translated from the Latin in 1787 (*Zeitschrift für slav. Philol.* XIX, 353-4). A. Florovskij (*Slavia* XXI, 287-9) gives examples from 1767-70. In the article of G. Worth (*Slavic Word* III, 1955) are examples from the beginning of the eighteenth century. The word was obviously borrowed from Latin *circumstantia.*
245	*obuža*	found in hagiographic literature of the sixteenth century.
253	*ogromnyj*	cf. Polish *ogróm.*
253	*oguda*	cf. Ukr. *ohydnyj, ohyda.*

Page	*Russian word*	*Remark*
275	*organ*	*argany* is more frequent in Old Russian (*cf.* Daniil Zatočnik).
278	*orudie*	*cf.* Ukr. (dial.) *orudka* — business, affair.
286	*ostobisit'*	as was the word cited by Vasmer *ostočertet'*, borrowed from Ukr. *ostočortity.*
289	*otbojarit'sja*	probably not from *bojarit'sja,* but as an antonym to the word *obojarit' (sja)* — to be subordinate to a *bojar.* Cf. Sreznevskij.
302	*pazur*	Ukr. *pazur,* more often the plural *pazuri.*
303	*pakost'*	in Ukr. *kapost', kaposnyj* are more frequent.
315	*parafija*	*parochija* is more frequent in Ukr. (from the seventeenth century until now).
317	*parkan*	Polish *barbakan.*
348-9	*pestun*	2. is not completely true: — an older bear who travels with his younger brothers (*cf.* in L. Tolstoj, *Narodnye Rasskazy*).
359	*pirg*	older than the fifteenth century. From here the *Bogorodica Pirogoščaja* in the *Slovo o polku Igoreve;* cf. I. I. Malyševskij in *Čtenija v obščestve Nestora Letopisca,* Vol. V (1891).

Page	*Russian word*	*Remark*
381	*povoj*	Old Polish *zawój,* also in the chronicle "Dalimil's" (Mourek, p. 49; this probably corresponds to Latin *peplum*).
400	*poludnica*	there should have been given a more well-grounded explanation of this image, widespread among the Slavs, of "lower mythology."

Concerning the first fascicules of the dictionary I shall mention the word *buker*—"a plow with two or three shares" (vol. I, p. 140). Vasmer mentions that this word is *unklar* (not clear). The word *buker* or *puker,* also *bukar, bukarja* is known to me in Ukrainian (Kherson government). This word is undoubtedly connected with the name under which such plows figured in the catalogues of agricultural-machinery factories: "Bekker," obviously the German name "Becker," probably the name of the inventor or manufacturer of such plows.

It is appropriate to remark, for Ukrainian readers of the book, that in the use of Ukrainian materials there are some "systematic" insufficiencies: (1) the author employs at times insufficiently authoritative sources, such as out-of-date dictionaries, for example that of Želichovs'kyj; (2) the orthography of Ukrainian words is not always consistent (for example in the use of a sign for the hard "l" or bilabial "v"); (3) occasionally Ukrainian parellels are missing. More complicated is the question, in my opinion not always correctly resolved by the author, of the borrowing of one or the other Russian word from Polish or from Ukrainian. However, before a definitive solution of such questions is possible, additional essential material must be supplied by investigators to whom are available manuscript translations of the seventeenth century, and by historical dictionaries of the Polish and Ukrainian languages, which as yet do not exist. Doubts are evoked by the repeated rejection on Vasmer's part of the

Greek origin of such words as are also found in the Western Slavic languages (for example Vol. II, 138, 189, 208, 265). The borrowing of separate words from the Eastern Slavic languages (if their direct borrowing from Greek at the time of the Slavic Mission is not admitted) is possible for the eleventh century: as witnesses of such borrowings, for example, one finds the frequent Old Czech names "Dimitr" and "Ol'ga." These remarks, as is the case with the lexical material given above, do not of course reduce the significance of the *Russian Etymological Dictionary* of Vasmer in any way. It is without doubt one of the most fundamental reference works for every Slavic philologist.

BOOK REVIEWS

G. H. Lucyk, *Contribution to Methods in Onomastics, Choro- and Toponyms and Their Origin,* Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, Series: Onomastica, Editor-in-chief: J. B. Rudnyćkyj, No. 6, Winnipeg. Published by the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1953. 23 pp.

In agreement with J. B. Rudnyćkyj,[1] who makes an attempt at refuting the conception that the genesis of the terms *krajina* and *ukrajina* may be related with territory and maintains that their primitive meaning was that of *boundary,* G. M. Lucyk examines the counterparts of these words in other languages, viz. Gr. *chōra;* Eng. country, Ger. *Gegend,* Fr. *pays.* The author thinks that these words originally meant only lines and points in the space. Thus Lucyk states (p. 9) that Gr. *chōra* designated the *distance* between a central point and the limiting line, the *vacuum* adhering to the surface of the earth, but not the surface itself. Accordingly, *krajina* is a limited space, and this is compared by Lucyk (p. 11) with the geometrical figures (circles, squares, etc.) which at night may be traced in the air (vacuum) by a luminous body. I disagree with Lucyk on the question of origin and early meaning of the foreign counterparts of *krajina, ukrajina;* in my opinion all these terms are connected with territory.

Chōra (noun corresponding to the verb *chōreo,* I recede, I leave, and speaking of implements, I assign a place, I comprise)[2] meaning a space or room in which a thing is defined as partly occupied[3] was not considered as a vacuum by the Greeks. See Aristotle, *The Sky,* vol. 2, p. 309 b, 24-26, Bekker: "It is a nonsense to associate a place (*chōra*) with the vacuum, be-

[1] J. B. Rudnyćkyj, *The Term and Name "Ukraine,"* Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, Onomastica, No. 1, Winnipeg, 1951.

[2] The ancients associated the word *chōra* with *chōreo.* See *Chrysippus apud Stobaeum,* H. v Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta,* v. II (1923), p. 162, fr. 503, whereas *chōra* is applied to that which comprises the larger body (*to choroyn meizon sōma*). Etymology of *chōra*: this word is derived from the stem *ĝhēi,* meaning: to be insufficient, to gape. See Latin *hiare,* Slav. *zijati,* Greek *chētos* meaning "lack," *chateo, chatizo*—"I lack," "I need," *chōris*—"separately," "without," "except," *chōrizo*—"I separate" (not "I divide," as Lucyk states on p. 12), Old Indian *jāhāti*—"he abandons, renounces" and *hīyatē*—"he remains behind," See J. B. Hofmann, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Griechischen,* München, 1949, pages 417, 424. s.v.v. *chōreo, chōros, chōra.*

[3] D. H. G. Liddel, R. Scott, H. S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon,* page 2015, s.v. *chōra.*

cause the latter is not a place (*chōra*)."[4] Chrysippus and other Stoics made a difference between the vacuum (*to kenon*), *topos* and *chōra*.[5]

Lucyk thinks (p. 21) that the word *zeml'a* could refer to a definite territory only when being associated with the geometrical notions of *krajina*. Without this requisite it could not designate the notion of *krajina* at all. However, in Greek the word for *zeml'a* (*gaia*) in the sense of *krajina* already appears in Homer, whereas *chōra* is found first in Aeschylus and Herodotus. It seems that the word *chōra* has assumed the meaning of krajina rather late; first it designated a small territory, the plot assigned to a temple, or the area of a city (frequent in inscriptions, e.g., *chōra* of the Magnets, *chōra* of the Itanians and *chōra* of the Latians in the Creta; therefore, *chōra* is often opposed to city, in the sense of "field," "land," "landed property," "village").

According to Lucyk, p. 12, country, Fr. *contrée,* derives from Lat. *contra* —in front of; "thus we called in ancient Rome that point, more exactly, province that was situated in front of the centre of the Roman empire or *orbis terrarum,* namely the city of Rome. This designation applied more specifically to Gaul, which was located *contra Romam-centrum.*" Lucyk does not explain how the Latin pronoun, prefix or adverb *contra* produced the French noun *contrée* and the English substantive country; nor does he account for the ending *ée* in French or the ending *y* in English.

As a matter of fact, *contrée* and country do not derive directly from *contra,* but from medieval Latin *contratus,* which is attested only in the feminine form *contrata.* See also Provençal, Old Spanish, Italian *contrada,* and Old Italian *contrata. Contrata* is composed of the stem *contr-,* suffix *at* and ending *a. Contrata* (certainly *scil. regio*) means the territory situated in front of the beholder or before the beholder.[6] Thus French *contrée* and English country undoubtedly are related with territory.

German *Gegend* (from *gegen*—in front of) is a literal translation of

[4] I would not devote further attention to Lucyk's statements with regard to the theory of Aristotle concerning territory and space, his affirmations being based on the antiquated German translation of Aristotle's *Physica* made by C. H. Weisse (1829) and quoted in such a way that it is impossible to check them in the original.

[5] Material on this topic was collected by H. v. Arnim, *SVF,* v. II 162 and further, for instance, page 163, fr. 504 *Aëtius Plac.* "And the Stoics make a difference between *kenon, topos* and *chōra;* in their opinion *kenon* is a lack of body, *topos*—that which is occupied with the body, and *chōra*—that which partly is occupied with the body, like a glass of wine."

[6] D. W. D. Whitney, B. E. Smith, *The Century Dictionary,* An Encyclopedic Lexicon of English. New York, v. II, page 1307, s. v. Country and W. v. Wartburg, *Französisches Etymologishes Wörterbuch,* v. II[2] (1910), page 1117,1.

Latin *contrata* and French *contrée;*[7] it, therefore, does not contribute anything to the discussion of the origin of the above words.

According to Lucyk, page 12, French *pays* derived from Latin *pango* (after Lucyk, I confine); *pagus* meaning 1) "borderland," 2) "province at a distance from the center" and 3) "village" preserves the idea of a limit. However, the basal meanings of the verb *pango,* related with Old Indian *paça-h-,* "a sling" or "string," *pajra-h-* "thick," "strong," Greek *pagnymi,* Ionic-Attic *pegnymi*—"fasten," *pegos*—"hoar-frost," *passolos*—"wooden nail," are as follows: I strengthen, I plant into the earth, I plant, I compose (verse),[8] and the noun *pagus* according to A. Ernout and A. Meillet[9] first meant a pole planted into the earth,[10] a country area bordered by stakes. In any event, if one of the primitive meanings of *pango* was "I plant into the earth (a pole)," the words *pagus, pays* designate a concrete territory on the earth and not lines or points in the space, as Lucyk suggests.

In my opinion, Lucyk has no background for conducting investigations in the field of comparative linguistics. Although he quotes examples from Greek, Latin and English, he does not seem to be acquainted with etymological dictionaries and works on the historical grammar of the languages in question. His practical knowledge of Greek and Latin is insufficient; he often substitutes philosophizing, which does not appeal to a serious linguist, for investigations based on concrete, linguistical material. His work contains many ill-founded statements, e.g., the etymology of the English word "country" suggested by Lucyk supposes the existence of the Roman Empire at the time when this word originated, while the word in question was derived from medieval Latin *contrata.* Occasionally he quotes unattested meanings for Greek and Latin words.

[7] B. v. Wartburg, *ibid.,* and W. W. Skeat, *An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language,* page 139, s. v. *Gegend.*

[8] See in Fest, 235,5, *pangere, figere, unde plantae pangi dicuntur, cum in terram demittuntur, inde etiam versus pangi vel figi in cera dicuntur.*

[9] D. A. Ernout et A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire etymologique de la langue latine,* Paris 1951, page 841, page 848.

[10] See Verg. G. 2, 382 *praemiague ingeniis pagos et compita circum Thesidae posuere.*

Andrij Kocevalov

Roman Jakobson, *Slavic Languages* (Columbia Slavic Studies), 2nd Edition. Columbia University, New York, 1955. 36 pp. Map prepared by G. Weinreich.

The growing interest *in rebus Slavicis* on the North American continent has increased the demand for academic manuals, surveys, reference works in the field of Slavic philology, literature, ethnology, a.o. disciplines.

Several publications in the United States and Canada in the field of Slavic studies have appeared showing that this previously neglected and underestimated discipline is gradually finding the understanding and care in the Slavic departments and in the respective sections of schools of modern languages. Such publications as the Macedonian and the Old Church Slavic grammars of Lunt (Harvard University), Columbia Slavic manuals edited by Simmons (Columbia University), the series on Slavic folklore (University of Manitoba) a.o. indicate that Slavic studies in America are not only a matter of the pure research, but also that they are facing the needs of the academic practice in our universities and colleges. The bulk of the books and pamphlets contributes to individual problems in the Slavic field, while only a few tend to a synthesis in this respect, e.g., D. Cyžev'skyj's *Outline of Comparative Slavic Literatures* (American Academy, Boston). As a programmatic survey of all Slavistic activity in this respect the article of R. Jakobson *Comparative Slavic Studies,* Review of Politics, Notre Dame, Ind., Vol. 16 (1954), p. 67-90, is also to be considered. Among other problems, the common linguistic features of Slavic languages have been discussed in that article. A more exhaustive although condensed survey of the whole problem has been presented by the author in the booklet under review. The plan of it is indicated by chapter headings: Distribution, Subdivisions (1-4); Protoslavic, Expansion (4-5); History of the Literary Languages (6-11); Samples (12-13); Comparative Phonology (13-17); Comparative Grammar (17-21); Selected Bibliography (22-26). A rather schematical map has been added before the first chapter. In compiling the bibliography Professors H. Lunt, G. Shevelov, and W. Weintraub helped the author (see p. 22). As the editor, Professor E. J. Simmons states that the publication was made possible by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation to the Department of Slavic Languages of Columbia University.

It is well known that Slavic comparative linguistics presents some controversial problems to the student. Jakobson is to be commended for the elimination of them, or better, for reducing them to a minimum. He is thoroughly informal, and yet, thoroughly scientific. Thus, for example, the problem of the classification of the Slavic languages after new attempts of Isačenko,[1] Kopečny,[2] Braun,[3] is at least disputable at the present time. Jakobson retains the traditional tripartition: "In the usual classification they are distributed into three groups—Eastern, Western, and Southern Slavic" (p. 1). One little insertion of the word "usual" allows him to restrain himself from the discussion and yet to be objective and fair. Another example: A very delicate question about the Protoslavic homeland has been

1 A. V. Isačenko, 3 *ème Congrès International des Slavistes* (Philologues Slaves), Réponses aux gestions, Vol. I, Belgrad, 1939, p. 71-80.

2 F. Kopečny, "K otázce klasifickace slovanskych jazyku," *Slavia* 19, 1949, p. 1-12.

3 M. Braun, *Grundzüge der slavischen Sprachen, Göttingen,* 1947.

presented in all brevity and universality: "the territory of present-day Poland, Byelo-Russia, and Northwestern Ukraine seems to exhibit perceptible vestige of the oldest Slavic settlement" (p. 5). This statement can satisfy both, the East and West Advocates of the problem, including the Polish seekers of "Lusatian culture" and their conception of the oldest Slavic settlement. Many other passages of the booklet confirm Jakobson's objective approach to the complicated problems of the comparative Slavistics and testify to his extensive knowledge of the respective literature which combine with the experience of a teacher and the brevity of an encyclopedist. Often the results of immense research are given in one sentence. Jakobson states for example that "the Slavs swarmed over the Peloponnesos during the seventh century, but were eventually driven back from Greece" (p. 5). Behind this statement stands a long list of works starting with those of Fallmerayer[4] and Hilferding[5] and finishing with Vasmer[6] and Georgakas.[7] Only a profound erudition and clear-minded attitude to the results of the Slavistic research could have produced such a "condensed survey" as that of Jakobson.

As compiler of a similar work, in 1948,[8] I miss in Jakobson's survey an introductory chapter on Indo-European languages and the problem of the so-called Balto-Slavic lingual unity which (in my opinion) would have a great influence on the academic treatment of Slavic and Baltic languages in America primarily with respect to other modern languages taught in our colleges and universities. Also a mention (if not a special chapter) devoted to the problem of the name "Slavs," "Slavic" (Slavonic) would be welcomed by the reader.[9] These shortcomings can be easily overcome in the new edition of the survey. Also, the selection of the pertaining bibliography can be revised and supplemented in some sections (p. 22-36) in a new edition.

In general, Jakobson's survey should be useful. Its value to teachers and advanced students of Slavistics is in its clear exposition, brevity and

4 J. Ph. Fallmerayer, *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea,* Stuttgart, 1830-1834.

5 A. Hilferding, *Istorija bolgar i serbov,* Sobranije sočinenij, Vol. 1, Petersburg, 1868.

6 M. Vasmer, *Die Slaven in Griecheland,* Berlin, 1941.

7 D. Georgakas, "Beiträge zur Deutung als Slavisch erklärte Ortsnamen," Byzantinische Zeitschrift, Vol. 41, p. 351-81; *Slavs in Cyprus?,* 1950; "Slavic Names on Cyprus," *Names,* Vol. 1, 1953, p. 30-1 a.o.

8 *Vstup do slovjanoznavstva,* UVU Munich, 1948; also, *Lekciji z porivnjalnoji hramatyky slovjans'kych mov,* Častyna I, Augsburg, 1948 (both mimeographed).

9 The term "Great Russian" suggesting "Little Russian" a.o. archaisms, should be rather avoided in a modern work on Slavistics. Jakobson gives the preference to "Russian" and rightly so; however in some passages we find some confusion in the terminology, e.g. p. 15, "South Great-Russian" and on the p. 16 on the same, "South Russian."

objective attitude to problems in Slavic linguistics. Especially, in smaller universities and colleges where only Russian is being taught the booklet shall be introduced as a compulsory lecture to show the American and Canadian students that the Slavic world is a little more than "Russia" and the Slavic philology a little more than the reading knowledge of Russian. To Slavists and linguists in general this booklet will not be new, but something can always be said for lucid statements, individual interpretations and admirably condensed presentation of the material.

J. B. Rudnyćkyj

Alexander Ohloblyn, *Treaty of Pereyaslav,* 1654, (Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation, Organization for Defence of Four Freedoms of Ukraine, Toronto 1954, New York. Translated by B. Budurovych, M. A., cover by M. Dmytrenko. Printed by "Homin Ukrainy," Toronto, Canada), text, appendix, notes, 103 pp.

In his foreword, the author states that two factors accounted for the contradictory interpretations of the events of 1654: first, the lack of authentic documentary data on the Treaty of 1654; second, the "Pereyaslav legend," —Lypyns'ky's term—which is used both in the Ukraine and in Muscovy, a legend which has finally overshadowed the truth about the treatry of Pereyaslav.

"It is a welcome phenomenon of our times," writes O. Ohloblyn, "that Ukrainians, particularly in emigration, have perceived the perfidy of the union of Pereyaslaw and that new light has been shed on the Ukrainian national revolution of the seventeenth century and the formation of the Ukrainian state; in this sense the new generation of Ukrainian historiographers not only *can*, but will clarify and solve the problem of the Pereyaslaw treaty in 1654."

The first chapter of Professor Ohloblyn's work is devoted to the circumstances which made an alliance between Muscovy and Ukraine unavoidable. On one hand, the author describes the persevering endeavour of the Ukrainian people headed by Bohdan Khmelnyts'ky to win independence and to build a state and, on the other, Muscovy awaiting the moment when the Ukraine, devastated and weakened through the hard struggle, would fall easy prey.

The second chapter deals with the negotiations in Pereyaslav and Moscow proper. The author emphasizes the unusually formal reception shown by Bohdan Khmelnyts'ky to Muscovite envoys: the hetman limited himself to strictly official discussions and did not invite the delegates to his home. The principal problem pertaining to the treaty was whether the Muscovite envoys had taken an oath. The author reminds us, in conformity with entries in the records of the city of Luck, that the Ukrainian tradition considered the oath as mutual as far back as in 1654, whereas the head of the

Muscovite delegation, Buturlin, referred on several occasions to the "tsar's word," claiming it to be "immutable," and, by this claim, he produced an act equivalent to the oath. The Hetman also understood it in this sense.

O. Ohloblyn emphasizes that during the negotiations in Pereyaslav the initiative remained in the hands of the Ukrainian representatives in dealinn with both international politics and military affairs. On the whole, these negotiations solved two main problems: 1) The conclusion of a military alliance, 2) A guarantee by the tsar to preserve all the freedoms and privileges of the Ukraine. However, the Ukrainian government received no document, since the written statements were to be exchanged in Moscow. In March, 1654, the negotiations in Moscow legally formulated the treaty of Pereyaslav, which the Tsar ratified. The Ukraine-Muscovy alliance was concluded.

The third chapter is devoted to the analysis of the treatry proper. O. Ohloblyn affirms that the 223 articles were not part of the final text of the treaty, but constituted the Ukrainian draft of the treaty which was left in Moscow. On the basis of these articles, the tsar's grant-charter and the "11 articles" forwarded to the Ukrainian delegates were drawn up and they represented the Muscovite text of the Treaty of 1654.

The grant-charter of the tsar solemnly confirmed the constitutional rights of the Zaporozhian Host, granted rights to social classes, i.e. the entire Ukraine, and stated that the tsar recognized and would observe these rights. This was the guarantee which the Ukrainian government demanded in Pereyaslav. "Specifications of this charter," writes O. Ohloblyn, "fully agreed with the contemporary conceptions of state and society; these charters, in particular the charter concerning the Zaporozhian Host, despite their form... recognized and confirmed the sovereign rights of the Ukraine. However, the treaty was not ratified in the Ukraine and Bohdan Khmelnyt'sky did not proclaim it."

The fourth chapter deals with the evaluation of the Pereyaslav treaty. The author concludes that in spite of controversial opinions, particularly with regard to the details, the thoughts expressed by Ukrainian historiography can be reduced by and large to the following: the treaty of Pereyaslav was a type of protectorate or military alliance between two states. From theoretical evaluations of the Pereyaslav treaty, the author proceeds to the evaluation of the status of the Ukraine after the Treaty of 1654 and concludes that it introduced no substantial changes. The Ukraine remained an independent and sovereign nation with a hetman at the head of the state, a supreme national government, an army, external politics, social order, culture, legislation and church. The authority of the hetman was the proof and symbol of Ukrainian sovereignity. His power increased, a power reflected in his titles: "As the tsar is tsar in his land, the hetman is hetman, or king, in his country," declared Vyhovsky to the Muscovite envoys (1657).

The author dwells on the respect which Bohdan Khmelnyts'ky enjoyed during the epoch of Mazepa. In particular, Pylyp Orlyk was his great admirer. In *Vyvid Prav Ukrainy* (1712), he gave a brilliant characterization of Khmelnyts'ky's epoch. "The strongest and most persuasive argument in the favor of the sovereignity of the Ukraine is the solemn treaty of alliance concluded on one hand between Tsar Aleksei and Hetman Bohdan Khmelnyts'ky and the social classes of the Ukraine on the other hand," he wrote.

O. Ohloblyn attributes great importance to the new title of tsar: "Velikiya i Malyya Russii," which, engraved on a special seal introduced at that time, was used in relations with the Ukraine after 1654. He agrees with V. Prokopovych, who saw an analogy between this act and the practice of the Caesars of the Holy Roman Empire who used special seals in their relations with the kings of Bohemia and Hungary. The new seal bearing the above inscription showed that Muscovy regarded the Ukraine as an independent political body. O. Ohloblyn points out that the European states and monarchs of that epoch also treated the Ukraine as a free, sovereign state. This was clearly expressed in the message of the Swedish King Charles X addressed to Bohdan Khmelnyts'ky in 1656 and echoed by contemporary European opinion.

Further history of the relations between the Ukraine and Muscovy did not strengthen the premises of Pereyaslav. The first important act of violation of the military alliance was the falsification of "Bohdan Khmelnyts'ky's articles" by Moscow in 1659 under the disguise of the authentic articles of 1654. Gradual forgeries of the treaty were ultimately completed by Catherine I.

This is a summary of the contents of Prof. O. Ohloblyn's work. The text contains a portrait of Bohdan Khmelnyts'ky and fascimile of his letter of June 21, 1657 written to Friedrich-Wilhelm, *Kurfuerst* of Brandenburg, where he declared to be a "friend of the *Kurfuerst*" and signed "Dux Co*hortum Zaporoviensium.*"

The appendix contains English translations of the text of the 1) Ukrainian draft of the treaty in 1654; 2) Tsar's Grant-Charter to B. Khmelnyt'sky of March 27, 1654; 3) Muscovite "articles" of March 17, 1654, and an extensive bibliography.

N. Polons'ka-Vasylenko

E. Malanyuk, *Narysy z istoriyi našoyi kul'tury* [E. Malanyuk: *Essays from the History of Our Culture,* New York, 1954, 80 pp.].

Our poet is also well-known as a prominent and at times brilliant publicist and critic. In this book he appears as an historian of Ukrainian

culture. And, one must say, he does so with success. This book is a collection of four sprightly written essays, which of course do not present an exhaustive survey of Ukrainian culture. However, they are devoted to the most interesting periods. The author sees harbingers of culture in "geoculture'" (first essay), and then gives the characteristics of the Kievan period (second essay), the baroque epoch (third essay), and the nineteenth century (fourth essay: "The Night of Statelessness").

This book calls forth practically no factual comment. I shall only observe that the treaties of Igor' should have been mentioned together with the treaty between Oleg and the Greeks (pp. 26-27). It is an error to assert that Hohol' (Gogol') was descended from the seventeenth century Ukrainian colonel, Ostap Hohol' (pp. 68-9); in reality this kinship between the Hohol' family, which until the end of the eighteenth century was named Yanovs'ky, with the Hohol's of the seventeenth century, is a genealogical myth. The disparaging remark about Ševčenko's poetry was made by Hohol' in conversation not with G. Danilevsky, but with O. Bodyansky; however, the very context of this utterance is so unclear, that it is hardly worthwhile drawing any sort of conclusion from it (p. 73).

However, trifling imprecisions do not concern the essence of this book, in which the author elaborates or mentions in passing a series of interesting thoughts, which are worthy of further consideration. To me personally the conception of "geoculture" (perhaps an unfortunate term), as it is unfolded in the first essay, appears particularly worthy of attention. Intimations of such a conception of the role of nature in the Ukraine were already to be found among the Romantics. The characterization of Kiev Rus', the high estimate of the culture of which hardly anyone would deny today, is entirely successful. Less brilliant is the characterization of the Baroque period, where the contradictions *within* Ukrainian society itself should have been mentioned (for example, at least the religious contradictions, or those between the hetman, government and the Zaporozhian Sich, etc.). The final essay, "The Night of Statelessness," suffers from certain exaggerations: the "statelessness" of nineteenth century Poland, for example, or of Czechoslovakia (from the middle of the seventeenth to the nineteenth century) was not an *absolute* impediment to the development of an independent culture of high standing. To the "statelessness" of the Ukraine were joined yet other causes, of which the author says almost nothing.

The author is not an independent researcher, and for this reason, in using the material of scholarly literature he occasonally places himself in the camp of doubtful theories or hypotheses: We do not know any "Latinophile" hierarchs in the Ukraine of the eleven-twelfth centuries (p. 34); the last representative of the Great Ukraine-Rus' of Kiev time (*velikoderzhavnost'*)was not Vladimir Monomakh but his son the holy prince Mstyslav (1125-1133 — p. 36); it is hardly possible in the year 1955 to speak of the

"not entirely exact term baroque" (p. 41): this designation has entered completely firmly into both political and cultural history, *cf.* for example, such essays on the history and culture of the baroque epoch as the books of Schnuerer (in German) or of C. J. Friedrich (in English). It is not the author who is guilty of certain terminological inaccuracies: it is high time to stop calling the Tatars "Mongols" and to cease equating the Muscovite Duchy with "Great Russia." The Tatars belong to the white race, and the Duchy of Moscow waged a long battle with such Great Russian princedoms as Tver', Novgorod, and Pskov, during which struggle Tver', and especially Novgorod and Pskov, tried more than once to enlist the support of the West against the exigencies of Moscow.

D. Čiževsky

George B. de Huszar and Associates, *Soviet Power and Policy*, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1955. x & 598 pp. Maps, annotated selected bibliographies, index. $6.50 text, $8.75 trade edition.

It should now be clear to everyone that the totalitarian octopus tries to penetrate with its tentacles into every nook and cranny of society. The ideal analyst of Soviet affairs would, therefore, have to be a topnotch historian, political scientist and economist, a first-rate sociologist, psychologist and military expert all rolled into one. In recognition of the plight of the students of Soviet Russia who during their training have to digest an enormous amount of diverse material, the authors of *Soviet Power and Policy* have decided to give the essence of the manifold writings on this subject in a single volume, whose chapters would serve as introductions to the numerous aspects of Soviet politics. In its first part such diverse functional topics as lands and resources, population, economic development, transportation, political and administrative structure, ideology, education, controls, armed forces, Communist parties and the Communist International, foreign trade and foreign policy are briefly reported on by various experts; the second part is devoted to a regional analysis of actual and potential Soviet expansion. Professor de Huszar has contributed several of the special and all of the general introductory chapters.

Depending on the preparation and the expectations of the reader, the basic merit of such a work is that it raises more questions than it can possibly answer. In the reviewer's opinion, one such question is whether the tendency of some contributors to stress the material and institutional factors at the expense of the human can be justified even in such a compressed treatment. For instance, in the chapter on economic development one finds a good summary of Soviet industrial and agricultural output, but the working conditions of labourers and peasants are described only very

laconically and the significant role of the managerial class is not even touched. Furthermore, in view of the emergence of the armed forces as an important factor in the internal power struggle, it was an excellent idea to ask Professors Krauss and Coonrod of West Point to write a chapter on them. They have described the organization and equipment well, but one would have welcomed their mentioning the fact that in 1941 and 1942 many Soviet soldiers willingly surrendered to the Germans. The nationality problem is obliquely touched upon in several chapters, but nowhere does any of the authors come to grips with it. It is a pity that Pipes's scholarly *Formation of the Soviet Union* and Scholmer's impressionistic *Vorkuta* were published too late to be taken into account, for according to the two writers the problem warrants more attention than it has customarily received. Incidentally, Professor de Huszar's statement that the Russian, Ukrainian and White-Ruthenian peoples "differs from each other in dialect and tradition" (p. 49) is not quite correct. Already in 1905 a committee of the Imperial Russian Academy of Arts and Sciences came to the conclusion that Ukrainian was a separate language, not a dialect.

Against these minor shortcomings must be held the illuminating analysis of the system of controls by Robert W. Murphy and the interesting discussion of Soviet expansion into the major regions of the world. Moreover, each chapter has an annotated selected bibliography, which enables the student to deepen his knowledge in the particular field without the danger of overlooking imporant works. On the whole, *Soviet Power and Policy* is the first book to provide beginning students of Soviet affairs with a much needed skeleton guide, and it will also serve as a very handy reference work to all those who are looking for the basic factors of the Soviet system.

Jaroslaw Bilinskij

Horace G. Lunt, editor, *Harvard Slavic Studies,* Volume II, Harvard University Press, 1954, 390 pp.

Dedicated to the distinguished historian, Father Dvornik, this second volume of the *Harvard Slavic Studies* consists of twenty essays that range the varied aspects of Slavic civilization and even venture into the related Byzantine field.

In one of the several historical-political essays, André Grabar reviews the shrewd "family of princess" doctrine that was used by medieval Byzantism for the purpose of tying various independent states closer to itself in peacetime. To the literature on this subject, he adds a brief new note: he points out that the *Institutio Regia* of Theophylact of Ochrid illustrates how the Byzantines sought to sanction this theory by propounding a similar relationship between God and the *basileus.*

Two of the studies trace the course of Byzantine political ideas among the Slavs. One, by Milton V. Anastos, details the attitude of the Slavic biographers of Constantine and Methodius toward the Byzantine ruler and his realm: in line with traditional Byzantine political theory and exegesis, the Emperor was regarded as God's earthly representative and the Empire as the promised kingdom of Christ. The other paper, that of Ihor Ševčenko, follows the peregrinations of certain parts of the sixth century Agapetus' "Hortatory Chapters" in the Kievan State and Muscovite Russia. While showing how Agapetus, under various guises, was used for the justification of sundry political ideas, he gives an excellent exposition of the manner in which Ivan IV and his adversaries alike utilized this Byzantine's material for their own ends. Occasionally the essayist will cause raised eyebrows (as in his psychological explanation of why Vassian of Rostov did not quote Agapetus to Ivan III), but the lapses hardly detract from the merit of the paper.

Roman Jakobson's contribution to this volume emphasizes the importance of minor West Slavic legends for the history of the activities of Constantine and Methodius and their followers. In the light of other investigations, he reviews the Russian *Primary Chronicle's* references to the Slavic West up to the end of the ninth century, stressing their apparent source in a very late ninth century Moravian work and hence their value in depicting the nature and intensity of the Slavic Church's claims to Illyricum, especially to its northwestern portion. Turning to the oldest extant Czech-Latin chronicle of the Slavic Apostles, whose sources probably extend back to ninth and tenth century Moravian and Bohemian apologetic works in Church Slavic, he rehabilitates this account: he shows that the original text, once reconstructed by a comparison of the *Legenda Bodecensis* and the *Legenda Christiani* and by the elimination of interpolations, can be a provocative supplementary source for the early history of the Slavic Church. Concluding, he points up the neglected *prolog vitae* of Constantine and Methodius as materials meriting more attention from scholars.

In his paper Otakar Odložilik seeks to place in proper perspective the history of Moravia from Velehrad's ruin in 907 to the rise of Olomouc about 1055. He advances the idea that the Magyars never completely dominated the central and northern parts of Moravia between 907 and 955 and that the Wracen mentioned by Cosmas may have acted as bishop in Moravia in the period between 1055 and 1021, or, more probably, sometime between 1021 and 1030. Unfortunately, as the author admits, the evidence for this period is both fragmentary and unreliable. This prevents him from giving more than a series of speculations.

Also concerned with problems basically historical-political, George C. Soulis details Stephen Dušan's patronage of the monastic communities on Mount Athos, especially of the Serbian Monastery of Chilandar. The con-

clusions reached is that the Slavs (the Serbs in particular) gained more strength on Athos as a result of Dušan's activities, but that any talk of a "Slavicization of Mount Athos" during this period would be an exaggeration.

Other papers in this collection are primarily devoted to problems of the various Slavic literatures.

The late N. S. Trubetzkoy's opening lecture in a course in Old Russian Literature is a corrective to misconceptions about the nature of Byzantine and Old Russian civilization which have, in the past, resulted in a deprecating attitude toward pre-Petrine literature. By this time these erroneous notions have been dispelled in large measure, so that, while one appreciates the pioneering nature of the lecture and recognizes its value as an introduction to a course intended for the uninitiated, one wonders why it was included in a volume which would primarily appeal to the Slavic specialist.

Dmitry Čiževsky contributes a very excellent discussion of the strong determining role of genre in Old Russian literature. He demonstrates that the differences between the sermons of St. Feodosij Pečerskij and those of Luka Zidjata springs from the demands of different stylistic types rather than from any juxtaposition of the authors' personal or regional characteristics. Further, he differentiates between two accounts of Boris and Gleb: (the *Lection* is a "life" while the *Skazanie* is a"martyrdom"), corrects a misunderstanding about the *Kievan Caves Paterikon* (it belongs not to the *žitie* but to a separate *paterikon* genre), and ends with a delineation of secular biographies in the Hypatian Chronicle and elsewhere.

The paper of Jury Serech concentrates on a later period of East Slavic literature. Referring to Teofan Prokopovič's *Vladymyr* and his sermon of 1705 and 1706, he shows that this exponent of the ideology of Peter the Great was, during his earlier or Kievan period, primarily interested in the religious problems of the Ukraine. One of Prokopovič's principle worries appear to have been the expansion of the Uniates; one of his principle themes was the traditional Ukrainian glorification of Kiev as the "second Jerusalem."

Nineteenth century Russian literature is represented by three studies. In the first, Waclaw Lednicki takes exception to Henri Grégoire's identification of Pushkin's *Aleksandrijskij stolp* (in the "Monument") as the Pharos of Alexandria and demonstrates at great length that the traditional and obvious view is correct. The second contribution dealing with the Russian literature of this period is Richard Burgi's excellent note on Pushkin's imitations from the Lefebvre de Villebrune translations of the *Deipnosophists*. The last essay, by Hugh McLean, indicates how Leskov, in his *skaz Polunoščniki,* effectively carried off a "Tolstoyan" attack on Father Ioann of Kronstadt which he screened off from the censors by linguistic devices (primarily lexical), circuitous narration, and by setting up situations which would push the intelligent reader into making certain inferences.

West Slavic literature is the subject of five of these studies. In the Polish area, Wiktor Weintraub develops an ingenious, although not altogether convincing theory that the structure of Norwid's "Spartacus" was a rebuttal to Klaczko's attack on Lenartowicz's *Gladiators*. Pointing out the pro-Western Klaczko's opposition to the iambic tetrameter and the strong Slavophilism of the *Gladiators* and also indicating that Norwid had his own scores to settle with the critic, the author concludes that Norwid felt impelled to provide an answer to Klaczko. However, Norwid did not wish to appear as an out and out champion of the Slavophile position set forth in the *Gladiators,* so he hit upon the device of using a structural pattern similar to that of the Onegin stanza, a fourteen-line stanza and iambic tetrameter. This was to point out that iambic tetrameter had a great place in poetic tradition as well as to indicate that Norwid *would* go a certain distance in identifying himself with Lenartowicz's ideological position.

The other essay dealing with Polish literature is Jan Lechon's at times saccharine treatment of Stefan Zeromski. He shows us the Zeromski who, with his poetic prose, inspired a nation to persevere in its struggle for freedom; he gives a portrait of the later Zeromski who became disillusioned with the realities of the Polish state; and he touches upon possible connections between Zeromski's personal life and the themes that recur in his work.

Three of he essays deal with the Czech literary scene. Milada Součkova surveys various aspects of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century intellectual-literary ferment that served as a precursor of modern Czech literature. Rudolf Sturm details Josef Sladek's New World experiences, showing how much they contributed to the writer's understanding of American culture. Finally, René Wellek contributes a valuable article on Czech criticism and literary scholarship between the two wars, devoting most of his attention to the dynamic Salda, but also mentioning many of the gifted minor figures.

Serbocroatian literature is represented by Albert B. Lord's note which points up some motifs common to *Digenis Akritas* and various Serbocroatian epics. His remarks on the appearance of "birdless places" in the two traditions are quite interesting, but the parallels discussed in the "Griffins" section are much too general to be readily accepted.

It is difficult to fit two of the essays into the above groupings, but they are both worthwhile contributions. Stanislaw Kot presents the frequently lively "international insults and praises" (mostly of German and Polish origin) that were current during medieval times—a wealth of material for the sociologist. Milenko S. Filipović starts with a historical survey of studies made in Eastern Yugoslav folk religions which indicates the wide field for reevaluation and further investigation. He goes on to discuss several aspects of folk religion in this area: the pre-Slavic and pre-Christian elements such as the Orman snake ceremony; the reflection of certain old Slavic

religious ideas in toponyms; and the interpenetration of the Christian and Mohammedan faiths.

Taken as a whole, this volume (which also contains the bibliography of Father Dvornik and an essay about his scholarly career by Dmitry Obolensky) is a valuable contribution to Slavic studies.

Peter Rudy

Eugene Pyziur, *The Doctrine of Anarchism of Michael A. Bakunin*, The Marquette University Press, Milwaukee, Wis., 1956.

The task which Eugene Pyziur set himself in his monograph on Bakunin as a theorist was not an easy one. Pyziur makes it amply clear that to a large degree the generally accepted picture of Bakunin as a repetitious and self-contradictory writer of little theoretical importance is not false. It has been Pyziur's accomplishment to wade through the jungle of tangled thought and to demonstrate that in one respect—and though it may have been only one, that one was of cataclysmic significance—Bakunin was a powerful and original thinker, with a prophetic foresight which even today is of a disturbing actuality.

The title of Mr. Pyziur's book is somewhat misleading, since it is not Bakunin's doctrine of anarchism, but rather his doctrine of revolution which deservedly is given the central position in this study. This emphasis is entirely justified, since the problem of revolution was the core of Bakunin's political philosophy and also the area in which he made his original contribution in the field of political thought.

Bakunin's most original contribution to the theory of revolution was his idea of the role of the *avant garde*:

> Acording to Bakunin, a revolutionary conspiracy is unconditionally necessary for the successful leadership of a revolution. This is true not only of the prerevolutionary period. Also during the revolution itself, the conspiracy should remain secret, or at least preserve its distinct exclusive character, and even after the victory of the revolution, it should not be dissolved (p. 69).

Bakunin always placed a high value on the spontaneous initiative of the masses. He advocated a mass rebellion, and rejected Blanqui's idea that a revolution could be effected from above, without stirring the people from their usual passivity. This raises the problem of maintaining the unity and desired political orientation of the movement during the chaotic upheaval. Bakunin's proposal was a tightly knit conspiracy or secret alliance which would provide the necessary leadership and direction to the elemental forces of the revolution, but without ever appearing to infringe on their uninhibited spontaneity. "In the ocean of confusion of the revolu-

tion, in the midst of elemental upheavals and convulsions, it must be the sole element which does not lose its political goals from sight" (p. 95).

The most interesting sections of Mr. Pyziur's study are those devoted to the criticism of Bakunin's idea. This is, of course, an "internal" criticism which tries to evaluate the contradictions inherent in Bakunin's system, and to weigh the hypothetical consequences to which a practical application of these ideas would lead. The author shows the unresolved tension between the libertarian and equalitarian sides of Bakunin's program.

Marx and Engels predicated the "dictatorship of the proletariat," not the dictatorship of the revolutionary party. But the Russian Bolsheviks, although theoretically disciples of Marxism, actually followed a course which was in this, as in many other respects, closer to Bakunin than to Marx. Mr. Pyziur says:

> A Bolshevik revolution was needed to expose the true meaning of Bakunin's teaching. The techniques of this revolution were those proposed by Bakunin. Marxism only provided a more attractive label and more reasonable goals (p. 147).

Here I should like to mention one point not raised by the author. It was in the early years of the regime that the similarity between Bakunin's vision and the Soviet Russian reality was most visible.

To avoid any possible misinterpretations, may I say that Mr. Pyziur makes it clear that parallels between Bakunin's ideas and the actions of the later Bolsheviks were not caused by conscious borrowing. These were similar answers in response to a similar challenge, that of the Russian historical heritage, socio-political structure and atmosphere. "Both Bakunin and the Bolsheviks forged their revolutionary approach in full accordance with the situation which confronted them in Russia" (p. 148). And it was no accident that the Bolsheviks succeeded where their predecessor failed. "Any revolutionary movement in Russia which based its action on the rudimentary ideology of Bakuninism would certainly have broken down. At this point, Marxism was of decisive help" (p. 147). Bakunin offered a theory of revolutionary strategy, but not a general interpretation of society and history which could carry any intellectual authority or serve as a great inspiration. And, of course, conditions were not ripe in his time.

With this book, Mr. Pyziur has made a valuable contribution to the history of political ideas in Russia. The study is thorough and systematic in the presentation of its difficult subject matter.

Perhaps a minor drawback comes from the fact that in quoting from the various collected editions of Bakunin's works, the author fails to cite the particular work from which the quotation comes. For readers interested in further research it would have been helpful to cite the individual title. The book would also have benefited from a short synopsis of Bakunin's

major works and a biographical sketch, or even a mere chronological outline. These might conveniently have been given in appendices.

Mr. Pyziur's monograph is the first volume in a new series, "The Marquette Slavic Studies," published under the direction of the Slavic Institute of Marquette University. The editorial preface states the purpose of this undertaking:

> We would like to strengthen the knowledge of Slavic matters and problems in America thorugh this special series of monographs on Slavic nations, their history, culture, civilization, and their great personalities. Simultaneously we would like to cultivate, through original research, the Slavic heritage of more than twelve million of America's citizens.

Ivan L. Rudnytsky

OBITUARIES

TEOFIL YANOVSKY
(IN MEMORY OF HIS DEATH)

It is twenty-eight years since the death of T. H. Yanovsky, the first academician of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and one of the founders of modern internal medicine in Ukraine. He worked and lectured in Kiev for over half a century and gained fame both in and beyond the Ukraine. His influence was felt even in the smallest villages, remote from the medical centers. He was not merely respected as a scientist and clinician, but loved and admired as a good and sincere human being, ever-ready to help.

T. H. Yanovsky was born in 1860 in Milkyvtsi (Podillya). Having graduated from St. Volodymyr's University in Kiev, where he was granted a fellowship for further specialization, he remained with the section of internal medicine. Yanovsky soon distinguished himself as a talented scientist, upon whom nature had bestowed the unusual gifts of the born physician. Following several years of work in various clinics and institutes of Germany and France, he defended his thesis "Bacteriology of abdominal typhoid fever" (1888) for the degree of Doctor of Medicine. In 1894 he obtained the title of assistant-lecturer in the therapy of internal diseases. In 1904 he became professor of diagnostics of internal diseases at the University of Odessa. The following year he returned to St. Volodymyr's University and held the same chair. From 1921 onwards T. H. Yanovsky headed the therapeutical clinic. In 1925 he became an active member of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

The clinic of T. H. Yanovsky was one of the most active and influential centers of medical life in Kiev and Ukraine proper. His energy and industriousness knew no limits. Not only did he handle an extensive private practice, devote himself to the clinic and lectures, but he also found time for scientific research. His yearly news bulletin was always original and most instructive. It contained articles on varied problems of bacteriology, pathological anatomy and physiology, though in the main it dealt with the clinical problems of internal diseases. His book "Tuberculosis of lungs" (two editions), a monograph on pulmonary emphysema and numerous articles on nephrology excited widespread interest. He was frequently invited to speak at different conferences and congresses both at home and abroad, in Germany, France, etc., where he had many scientific friends.

Surrounded by numerous disciples of the so-called "Yanovsky School," the master supervised scientific research among the young specialists. Between 1910 and 1940 sixteen of his disciples were elected professors in various schools of medicine in the Ukraine. Many of his students became lecturers, scientists and heads of the therapeutic wards in different hospi-

tals. In the course of his long career, T. H. Yanovsky prepared several generations of Ukrainian physicians. During his lectures, auditoriums were always crowded. He fascinated his listeners by the depth of his clinical analysis, wide experience, profound intuition and his elegant, polished lecturing style.

Shortly before his death, T. H. Yanovsky addressed the Second Congress of the Ukrainian Therapeutists, inviting them to "approach the patient more closely" (Odessa, 1927). Here he presented in brief his medical credo. He called upon prysicians to develop an individual approach in the diagnosis, prognosis and therapeutics, claiming that each case is an individual scientific problem in itself and must be considered not merely from the anatomical and etiological, but from the functionally-syndromic point of view as well. A direct and attentive observation of patients must not be neglected, since this enables physicians to reveal the peculiarities of reaction of a given organism to the action of different stimuli and evaluate the nature, as well as degree of the abnormal phenomena with a greater precision. The formulation of a diagnosis is not a simple arithmetic summation of A plus B plus C, but must be considered in the light of the total clinical data. Furthermore he pointed out that it is as important to increase the resistance and immunity of an organism in order to prevent the action of various harmful factors. In the numerous cases, where the latter appears impossible, the physician must endeavour to neutralize the nosive effect by creating a state of functional balance. T. H. Yanovsky insisted on the simplification of the medical prescriptions for a given patient and at a given time. He pointed out that pharmacotherapy must be frequently supplemented by a diet of physiotherapeutical treatment. He also greatly valued a well-balanced psychotherapy without exaggerations and believed that such must be applied from the initial questioning of a patient. Every patient—he affirmed—is an unhappy individual, who suffers, who needs a gentle word and understanding, kindness and encouragement. Because—he continued—apart from being a science and an art, medicine has also some ethic and moral aspects. Altruism, humanity and a certain amount of self-sacrifice are a must for every physician in his harsh task of serving the sick.

The funeral of T. H. Yanovsky afforded ample proof of the universal esteem and affection with which he was regarded. It became a mass upheaval, a demonstration of respect and love.

I. Basilevich

VALERIYA KOZLOVS'KA

Archeologist Valeriya Kozlovs'ka, a full member of the Academy, died on May 6, 1956 in Utica, N. Y. She left nearly forty publications based on her archeological excavations in the Ukraine.

Valeriya Kozlovs'ka was born on June 20, 1889 and graduated from St. Volodymyr University in Kiev in 1915. While still a student she became interested in archeology and completed her studies under the guidance of the prominent Ukrainian archeologist, V. V. Khvoyko, assisting in his museum work and archeological excavations. After V. Khvoyko's death, V. Kozlovs'ka became the manager of the archeological department of the Shevchenko All-Ukrainian Museum in Kiev in 1914 and remained in this office for many years. Later she was appointed the Director of the Archeological Museum in Kiev.

After the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences had been founded, V. Kozlovs'ka was active in the All-Ukrainian Archeological Committee of the Academy. For some time she was its secretary and also the secretary of the section of the Ukrainian Arts at the Academy.

V. Kozlovs'ka was an active scientist, having led or participated in more than forty archeological excavations in the Ukraine. Trypillya culture and the culture of the ancient Slavs were her specific fields of interest. During 1926-32 she edited a number of publications of the Academy devoted to archeological problems.

After the war V. Kozlovs'ka lived in Aschaffenburg and Munich, lecturing at the Ukrainian institutions of higher education. She came to this country in 1950 and lived in Utica, New York. An able and active researcher, V. Kozlovs'ka contributed generously to Ukrainian archeological studies.

VOLODYMYR (SERHIY) HORODETSKY

Professor Volodymyr (Serhiy) Horodetsky, a corresponding member of the Academy, died on April 9, 1956 in New York. He was a researcher in plant selection and published some fifty papers in this field.

V. Horodetsky was born in 1885 in Podillya region, Ukraine. In 1913, after graduation from the biological department of Moscow University and from the Petrovo-Razumovsky Agricultural Academy, he devoted himself to research and pedagogical activities. He was a professor at the agricultural institutes of Kamenets-Podolsk, Kiev, and Zhytomyr. V. Horodetsky was persecuted by the Communist rulers of the Ukraine for his work *Kultura tsukrovykh buryakiv na Ukrayini,* 1925 (Sugar Beet Cultivation in the Ukraine), because he advocated individual cultivation and criticized government policy in regard to the farmers who cultivated sugar beet. He was compelled to leave the Ukraine and before World War II lived in Minsk and worked for the Byelorussian Academy of Sciences.

After the war, V. Horodetsky was in Western Germany and took an active part in the work of the Ukrainian Husbandry Institute in Regensburg. After coming to the United States, he lived in New York and participated in the activities of the Academy. V. Horodetsky wrote papers for the Re-

search Program on the U.S.S.R. and for the Institute for the Study of the U.S.S.R. He worked also for the Ukrainian Technical Institute in New York.

V. Horodetsky was known as a thorough researcher and a good specialist in his field.

CHRONICLE

During the period from July 1, 1955 to July 1, 1956 the following lectures were delivered before the plenary sessions of the Academy:

October 29, 1955 — Prof. George Shevelov: *Potebnja and Slavistics at Kharkiv University.*

December 10, 1955 Conference devoted to Metropolitan Andrey Sheptycky.
— Prof. V. Doroshenko: *"In Memory of Andrey Sheptycky".*
— Prof. D. Hornyatkevych: *"Ukrainian National Museum in Lvov".*

December 18, 1955 — Prof. D. Ciževsky: *"St. Yuri and Yaroslav the Wise in Folklore."*
— Prof. O. Povstenko: *"The Architecture of Princely Ukraine in the time of Yaroslav the Wise."*

February 2, 1956 Conference devoted to Adam Mickiewicz.
— Dr. A. Berlstein: *"Mickiewicz and Ukrainian Culture."*
— Prof. V. Lev: *"Ukrainian Elements in Mickiewicz's Works."*

February 25, 1956 — Prof. G. Shevelov: *"Ukrainian Grammar by Pavlovsky* (1818) *and its Author."*

March 18, 1956 Grand Conference in honor of Taras Shevchenko, with the participation of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U. S. and the Shevchenko Scientific Society in America.
— Prof. K. Kisilevsky: *"Two Recent Works on Shevchenko."*
— E. Malanyuk: *"Shevchenko, as a Human Being."*

March 24, 1956 — Charles B. Sherman: *"The Ethnic Groups in the U. S. A."*

March 31, 1956 Conference devoted to the 5th anniversary of death of the first president of the Academy, Prof. D. I. Doroshenko.
— Prof. M. Vetukhiv: *"Introductory Word."*
— Prof. V. Hryshko: *"Memoirs of D. Doroshenko."*

April 14, 1956 — Prof. Karl Menges: *"Remarks on Vasmer's Etymological Dictionary (with special emphasis on oriental elements)."*

April 21, 1956 — Prof. John H. Wuorinen: *"Nationalism in Modern Finland. A Historical Analysis."*

May 4, 1956 — Prof. V. Timoshenko: *"Notes on the recent Soviet publication, Narysy pro Rozvytok Ukrainskoho Narodnoho Hospodarstva.*

May 13, 1956 — Conference devoted to the memory of Professor A. Yakovliv. Prof. M. Vetukhiv and Dr. A. Margolin spoke.

May 18, 1956 — Conference in Detroit, with the participation of the Biological Section in Detroit.
— Prof. M. Vetukhiv: *"Some New Studies on Populations Genetics."*

May 19, 1956 — Conference Devoted to the Memory of S. Petlyura.
— Prof. M. Vetukhiv: *"S. Petlyura as a Statesman."*
— Prof. I. Rozhin: *"S. Petlyura on Scholarly Problems."*
— P. Krat: *"My Meetings with S. Petlyura."*

June 2, 1956 — Conference in memory of the Ukrainian pioneer, Ahapiy Honcharenko, arranged by the Commission for the Study of Ukrainian Immigration in the U. S. A.
— Ya. Chyz: *"Biography of A. Honcharenko."*
— I. Sweet: *"Honcharenko and Alaska."*
— St. Jarema: *"SS Ahapiy Honcharenko."*

June 17, 1956 — — Prof. M. Vetukhiv: *"The Work of the Academy during the Past Year.*
— Prof. D. Hornyatkevych: *"On the Creative Works of the Artist Petro Kholodny."*

The following Lectures and Seminars were held under the auspices of the Sections and Commissions of the Academy:

Literary and Philological Section:

December 17, 1955 — Prof. D. Čiževsky: *"Unknown Memoirs on Adam Mickiewicz."*
— Prof. P. Odarchenko: *"Lesya Ukrayinka and Adam Mickiewicz."*
— Dr. V. Bezushko: *"Ernest Hemingway, Life and Works."*

Historical Section

November 26, 1955 — Dr. Th. Mackiv reviewed a new German publication on the Cossacks.

February 26, 1955 — Rev. Dr. Nazarko: *"New Materials on Dobroniha, St. Volodymyr's Daughter."*
— Prof. O. Ohloblyn: *New Data on the Author of Istoriya Rusov."*

March 17, 1956 — Dr. M. Kushnirenko: *The Role of the Church and Clergy in the National Movement in the Carpathian Ukraine."*

May 26, 1956 — Joint conference with the Black Sea Commission:
— Prof. O. Ohloblyn: *"M. Vasylenko and Vadym Modzalevsky* (on the basis of unpublished materials)."
— P. Hrytsak: *"The 100th Anniversary of the Crimean War."*

ANCIENT HISTORY SECTION

November 27, 1955 — Prof. Yu. Perkhorivich, *"The Oldest Known Reference to Volhynia."*

January 21, 1956 — Dr. O. Dombrovsky: *"On the Problem of Feudalism in the Hellenic Little Asia."*

April 7, 1956 — Mrs. T. Ivanivs'ka: *"Caucasian Arts at the Beginning of the Iron Age."*

June 9, 1956 — Prof. J. Stankevich: *"The Origin of Kryvychi (Beylorussian people) in the Light of the Archeological Data."*

June 23, 1956 — Prof. Stetsiuk: *"Rome Republic and Democracy."*

The Commission for the Study of the Post-Revolutionary Ukraine and the Soviet Union

January 26, 1956 — Dr. J. Armstrong: *"The Communist Elite in the Ukraine since the Stalinist Purges."*

January, 28, 1956 — Dr. J. Reshetar: *"Some Ideological Aspects of Soviet Studies in the U. S."*

February 2, 1956 — V. Holubnychy: *"The Competence and Power of the Government of the Ukrainian SSR."*

April 8, 1956 — Conference at which the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR and the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of the Ukraine was discussed.
Speakers: J. Reshetar, H. Kostyuk, Yu. Lawrynenko, V. Holubnychy.

May 25, 1956 — Ye. Stakhiv: *"Reminiscences on the Ukrainian Underground in the Donets Basin during the World War* II."

June 10, 1956 — Prof. V. Hryshko: *"Panslavism in Soviet Historiography."*

BIOLOGICAL SECTION, DETROIT:

November 5, 1955 — Prof. I. Rozhin: *"Materials on Biology of Demodeco foliculorum, a parasite living in the skin of men and sheep."*
— Dr. I. Volynets: *"A New Method of Determination of Some Blood Components."*
— Prof. M. Levytsky: *"On the Book of N. Osadcha-Janata, Herbs in the Ukrainian Folk Medicine."*

March 3, 1956 — Prof. I. Rozhin: *"The 10th Anniversary of the Academy."*
— Prof. F. Ukradyha: *"Determination of Creatine and other Chromogenes in Urine and Blood Plazma by Method of Dialysis."*

April 13, 1956 — Prof. I. Rozhin: *Some Material on the History of the Organization of the Ukrainian Biologists in the System of the Academy."*
— Prof. M. Levytsky: *"Plan of the Activities of the Academy Group and the Biological Section in Detroit in* 1956-57."
— Prof. I. Rozhin: *"On the Studies of the Scholarly Heritage of late professors H. Makhiv and B. Ivanytsky."*

June 23, 1956 — Prof. O. Antypiv: *"Influence of Ice Age on Resettlement and Formation of New Human Races."*
— Ya. Zubal: *"American National Parks."*

BIOLOGICAL SECTION, NEW YORK:

October 15, 1955 — Prof. N. Osadcha-Janata: *"Mykhaylo Maksymovych, as a Naturalist."*

November 5, 1955 — Prof O. Arkhimovych: *"Flax Cultivation in the Northern Part of the Ukraine"* and *"Research of N. Osadcha-Janata in the Field of Applying of Herbs in the Folk Medicine of Ukraine."*

November 19, 1955 — Prof. S. Krasheninnikov: *"The Importance of S. Kushakevych's Studies of Volvox in Development of Conception of the Origin of Metazoa."*

June 23, 1956 — Prof. S. Yefremov: *"New Data on Mineralogy of Ukraine."*
— Nikishyn: *"Forestry in the Ukraine."*

PHILOSOPHICAL SECTION:

December 17, 1955 — Prof. D. Čiževsky: *The Problem of the Ukrainian Terminology in Philosophy."*

March 3, 1956 — Dr. V. Rudko: *"Some Problems of Contemporary Ethics."*

FINE ARTS GROUP:

October 16, 1955 — Myroslav Skala-Starytsky: *"Impressions and Observations of Musical-Theatrical Life in Western Europe."*

October 30, 1955 — Conference of the Fine Arts Group in association with the Shevchenko Scientific Society.
— Dr. V. Lev: *"H. Khotkevych's Literary Works."*
— Prof. M. Fomenko: *"On Musical Activities of H. Khotkevych."*

June 16, 1956 — Prof. D. Hornyatkevych: *"Ukrainian Themes in the I. Ryepin's Works."*

THE GROUP OF THE ACADEMY IN DENVER:

December 9, 1955 — Mr. L. Bykovsky: *"70th Birthday of Prof. V. Timoshenko."*
— Dr. H. Zavadovych. *"On the Publications of Dniprova Khvylya In Germany."*
— L. Bykovsky: "10 *Years of the Academy."*

February 10, 1956 — Dr. B. Vynar: *"On the Problem of Economical Colonialism of the Ukraine."*

April 7, 1956 — Dr. S. Krotyuk: *"The Agrarian Policy of the Ukraine."*

A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

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

а	—	a	н	—	n
б	—	b	о	—	o
в	—	v	п	—	p
г	—	h	р	—	r
ґ	—	g	с	—	s
д	—	d	т	—	t
е	—	e	у	—	u
є	—	ye	ф	—	f
ж	—	zh	х	—	kh
з	—	z	ц	—	ts
и	—	y	ч	—	ch
і	—	i	ш	—	sh
ї	—	yi	щ	—	shch
й	—	y	ю	—	yu
к	—	k	я	—	ya
л	—	l	ь	—	’
м	—	m			

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

In articles on comparative philology the "international" transliteration (see *Annals,* Vol. I, No. 2, 1951, p. 188) will continue to be used.

CONTRIBUTORS

Alexander Potebnja, famous Ukrainian scholar and professor in Kharkiv University; worked in the fields of literary methodology, folklore, and philology; died in 1891.

Olexa Vetukhiv, philologist and ethnographer, professor in Kharkiv University; died in 1941.

George Y. Shevelov, philologist, literary historian and critic; associate professor in the Slavic Department of Columbia University.

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

Michael Vetukhiv, biologist, research associate in the Zoological Department of Columbia University.

Joseph L. Lichten, Doctor of Law, graduate of Warsaw University, now Director of the Foreign Languages Department of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith.

Alexander Dombrovsky, historian, now resides in New York.

Klavdia Starcheva-Sandul, botanist-researcher, now resides in Toronto, Ont.

Andrij Kocevalov, philologist, author of many publications on linguistics, now resides in New York.

Jaroslav Rudnyćkyj, associate professor of Slavic Languages, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Canada.

Natalya Polonśka-Vasylenko, Ukrainian historian, now in Germany.

Jaroslav Bilinskij, a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Political Sciences, Princeton University.

Ivan L. Rudnytsky, a member of the faculty of La Salle College in Philadelphia.

Peter Rudy, assistant professor of Slavic Languages and Literature in Pennsylvania State University.

Ivan Basilevich, formerly professor of medicine, Kiev; now resides in Rhode Island.