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SOCINIANISM IN POLAND AND SOUTH-WEST RUS'*

By OREST LEVYTSKY

PREFACE

by D. ČIŽEVSKY

The sixteenth century Reformation spread quickly through the Slavic territories. It did not meet any major obstacles, since even before Luther, Bohemia experienced the Hussite "pre-Reformation," which had spread in part among the other Slavic peoples — Slovaks, Poles, Croats and also had affected the East Slavs.¹ Already in the middle of the sixteenth century wide strata of the Polish nobility and the urban population were steeped in Luther's and Calvin's teachings. As a result of synthetic works² the history of the Polish Reformation is quite well known even in the non-Slavic countries. The same is true of the other Slavic Reformation movements: Slovak, Czech, and Slovenian. However, the Ukrainian participation in the Reformation is almost never mentioned. It is true that this movement was not widespread among Ukrainians, but it is equally true that some prominent Ukrainians participated in it and left quite a number of literary works. Usually these Ukrainian Protestants are treated as part of the "Polish Reformation" despite the fact that they joined Protestantism as former Greek Orthodox believers, that their activity had been confined to the Ukrainian ethnographic territory, and that their influences undoubtedly affected the Ukrainian population.

It is true that Ukrainian Protestantism belonged to the extreme trend of the Protestant movement, the so-called "Socinianism," "anti-Trinitarianism" or "Unitarianism," which is of lesser interest for historians of the Reformation. Meanwhile, this extremely rationalistic trend, with its rejection of the divine Trinity and its limitation of the divinity of Christ, found in Poland its ultimate elaboration and theological formulation. The influence of this "Polish" anti-Trinitarianism, was considerable even in Western Europe: it suffices to mention its influence upon Hugo Grotius (who succeeded in publishing the basic theological works of the anti-Trinitarians in many volumes: *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum*) or upon Spinoza, Locke, Milton,

* This is a reprint from *Archiv. yugozapadnoi Rossii* and *Kievskaja starina*, 1882 and it is published as the fifth in the series of translations of Ukrainian source material. (v. *The Annals*, No. 1).

This article is one of the most interesting works on Protestantism in the Ukraine of which little is known.

We publish the chapters X, XI, XII slightly abbreviated.

¹ F. Erlenbusch (D. Čiževsky), "Husitsví a vychodoslovanské sekty," *Co daly naše zeme Evrope a lidstvu*, Prague, 1940, pp.90-92.

² The best review of this problem is found in the German work: K. Völker, *Kirchengeschichte Polens*, Berlin und Leipzig, 1930.

and Newton. In the Grotius' collection we find many references to Ukrainian anti-Trinitarians who in the author's opinion are "Poles." It must be said that the Ukrainian anti-Trinitarians turned their attention to America, a country in which they thought they could popularize their teachings. The reader will find mention of this fact on page 490 of Levytsky's text.

Polish literature concerning the anti-Trinitarians is voluminous and even now continues to increase. American literature also possesses good works on anti-Trinitarians.³ The history of anti-Trinitarianism among the other Slavic peoples of Poland, the Belorussians and the Ukrainians, was only described in one work, written by the prominent Ukrainian historian, Orest Levytsky, who could not become a University professor under the tsarist regime. His works are very rich in factual material which was collected from almost unknown archival sources. His works on "Socinianism in the Ukraine" appeared as early as 1882⁴ and proved to be so factual and objective that when in 1921 the editor of the newly created journal "Reformacja w Polsce" began to publish data on Protestant history in Poland he reprinted in the second volume⁵ the greater part of the article without any change. The part which is presented here in English translation does not need much additional clarification. Moreover, we fear that a large amount of the archival material which could supplement this article was lost during the last war. Of course, Levytsky limits himself to the "external history" of Socinianism in the Ukraine and does not dwell on the literary works of the Ukrainian Socinians. Other scholars, however, dealt with this aspect.⁶

The origins of Polish anti-Trinitarianism go back to the middle of the sixteenth century, but its development and the unification of the separate groups into one organization is closely connected with the stay in Poland of the Italian anti-Trinitarians: Francesco Stancaro (1559), Lelio Sozzini (1558) and his relative, Fausto Sozzini (1579). The basic force which helped anti-Trinitarianism and the other Protestant religions in Poland (as

³ Earl Morse Wilbur, *Our Unitarian Heritage, An Introduction to the History of the Unitarian Movement*, Boston, 1925, p. XIII and 495, cf. *Harvard Theological Studies*, XIII, 1932. In recent times the English bibliography pertaining to the same problem had been enlarged by Wilbur's (1) *A History of Unitarianism, Socinianism and Its Antecedents*, Cambridge, Mass., 1945. (It should be noted that this work greatly improves upon the previous work of the same author, written in 1925.) (2) *A Bibliography of the Pioneers of the Socinian-Unitarian Movement*, 1950. (3) *A History of Unitarianism and Socinianism in Transylvania, England and America*, Cambridge, Mass., 1952, as well as H. John McLachlan's *Socinianism in Seventeenth-Century England*, London, 1951. Compare also the newest remark of Leslie Makin Oliver, "An Early Socinian Publication in England," *Harvard Library Bulletin*, VII (1953) 1 p. 119 ff.

⁴ *Kievskaja starina*, 1882, No. 4, pp. 25-57; No. 5, pp. 193-211; No. 6, pp. 401-32. During the same year this work had been republished in the *Arkhiiv yugozapadnoy Rossii*.

⁵ *Reformacja w Polsce, Kraków*, II, 1922, pp. 202-34.

⁶ In addition to older works, consult the Polish bibliography by Estreicher.

well as in the whole of Europe) were noblemen—Maecenases, who protected and supported the communities, schools, and printing houses. From 1569, the city of Rakow was the major center of anti-Trinitarianism in Poland. It had a school (from 1602, an Academy, i.e. a university) in which the Polish and foreign Socinian scholars gathered. In this school young people were educated, theological literature printed, and theology, as a science, cultivated. The leading representatives of Ukrainian Socinianism were produced by this school.

Some influential Belorussian and Ukrainian Orthodox nobles were attracted by Lutheranism and Calvinism, others were among the anti-Trinitarians. Levytsky gathered materials relative to the Ukrainian anti-Trinitarian problem in Galicia, Volynia, and the Eastern Ukraine. The latter was called Ukraine in a somewhat narrower sense of the word. The prominent Ukrainian families of Chaplych-Shpanovsky, Senyuta, Pron-s'ky, Kyshka-Hois'ky and many others were anti-Trinitarians. They studied partly in foreign countries⁷ and partly in Rakow. They organized on their estates, which sometimes included hundreds of villages and towns, Socinian parishes, schools, and printing houses. In the first part of his work, Levytsky presents certain facts of Ukrainian Socinianism in Galicia and Volynia and of the Socinian communities which played a leading role in the history of Polish Protestantism. Such communities were in the following localities: Lyakhivtsi, Halychanky, Hoshcha and also in Kyselyn, the home estate of the Chaplych family. Here the Chaplychs intended to create some sort of "Sarmatian Athens." Unfortunately, Levytsky pays little attention to the literary activity of the Ukrainian Socinians. Their works, written in Latin, are known to us merely by name.⁸ The number of Slavic works is rather limited. However, it must be mentioned that the Socinians made numerous attempts to translate the Bible into the vernacular. Levytsky's references to the association with Socinians of Ukrainian leaders and writers who did not belong to the sect (let us recall, for example, the author of the first Ukrainian grammar and the first Ukrainian dictionary, Lavrentiy Zizaniy) are of special merit.

Levytsky concludes the first nine chapters of his work with the description of the persecution by the Polish government of the Socinians, who lived in the Western Ukrainian territories. This persecution began at the end of the sixteenth century and assumed rather severe forms in the late twenties of the seventeenth century. At that time a number of judicial processes

⁷ One can find data on the Ukrainians who studied in foreign countries during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in the supplement to the article of Dr. Domet Olianchyn, "Aus dem Kultur—und Geistesleben der Ukraine," *Kyrios*, II, 1937, No. 3, pp. 264-78, No. 4, pp. 35-66. (There were a few hundred Ukrainian students at foreign universities in the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries.)

⁸ Research on the Ukrainian Socinians' literary works should be undertaken. Some of these works, especially those written in Latin, are accessible in foreign countries.

were launched against the protectors of the Socinian movement, for example, against the Chaplychs, Senyutas and others, pastors and professors. By the second half of the seventeenth century, Ukrainian Socinianism in the Western Ukrainian territories was suppressed. Governmental oppression contributed to this extensively.

There is some interesting material on Socinianism in the anti-Socinian poems, which were published by S. Shcheglova in 1915; these poems, numbering about one hundred, date from the end of the sixteenth century. They demonstrate a good poetic technique. Written in the Ukrainian variant of Church Slavonic, they are directed against the Ukrainian Socinians. This source material on the history of Ukrainian Socinianism was accessible only after Levitsky had published his article.

We publish this part of Levitsky's work dealing with the Eastern Ukraine, below.

X.

There is no definite evidence as to how early Socinianism appeared in the Ukraine. Knowing the constant relations between Volynia and Kiev, we can assume that Socinianism appeared in the Ukraine and Volynia simultaneously. In one of the polemical works of the Jesuit Father, Żebrowski, published in Cracow in 1597, it is stated that "it is superfluous to guard the country's frontiers against the Turks, when the newly baptized, these Turks of the interior, settle down at Podhor'e and Volynia and *reach Kiev itself*."⁹ Let us remember that Ivan Chaplych-Shpanovsky held the position of Kievan castellan just at this time. Socinianism first appeared and flourished in the part of the Ukraine bordering upon Volynia, that is, the Zhytomyr district. Here, at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, we find the nobleman, Petro Ivanovych Peresytsky, the owner of a house and an estate in Zhytomyr, among the adherents of the new sect. He held the mortgage of the estate of the Lithuanian vice-treasurer (*podskarbiy*), Ostafiy Tyshkevych, in the village of Yankovtsi.¹⁰ In 1611, Peresytsky, who was then quite old, entered his spiritual testament in the Zhytomyr town records. This writing reflects

⁹ Adam Jocher, *Obraz bibliograficzno-historyczny literatury i nauk w Polsce*, t. II, p. 133.

¹⁰ Zhytomyr district, on the river Kodynka.

the influence of Socinianism. In it he asked his son, Andriy, to bury him according to the Socinian custom in "the garden of the estate" and to donate in his name thirty Lithuanian *kopa* for the poor and the needs of the community to the *zbor* (i.e. the Socinian community) of Chernyakhov and also thirty Lithuanian *kopa* to the Lublin community."¹¹ Thus, we learn that a fully organized Socinian community already existed in 1611 in the town of Chernyakhov (Zhytomyr district) and that this community cared for its indigent members and received monetary support from the richer members for this purpose and to cover other ecclesiastical needs. Undoubtedly, this community possessed its own house of prayer and maintained a pastor. Soon afterwards the town of Chernyakhov attained the same importance as a center of Socinianism in the Ukraine as Kyselyn did in Volynia and its owners, the Nemyrych family, became just as zealous in protecting the sect as were the Chaplychs in Volynia. The Nemyrychs were descended from an old South Rus' family which owned large estates in the Kievan and Volynian voyevodstvos; many were known as zealous defenders of the Orthodox faith and as founding members of the religious fraternities. Stepan Andriyovych Nemyrych, the Kievan vice-steward (*podkomoriy*) and Ovruch bailiff, who lived in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, was the first of that family to become an advocate and protector of Socinianism. His family relations were almost exclusively limited to Socinian families; his wife, Marta Voynarovska, was a descendant of Ukrainian nobles, the Voynarovskis, who were followers of the Socinian sect. One of the daughters of Nemyrych, Kateryna, married Pavlo Kryshtof Senyuta-Lyakhovetsky. The other, Elena, married Nicolas Liubenecki, a member of a well-known Socinian family in the Lublin voyevodstvo. In Little Russian political history Stepan Nemyrych is known for participating in the commission which was set up by the Polish government in 1625. This commission sought to organize the Cossacks after their defeat at Kurukovo. In all probability it was he who founded the Socinian community in Chernyakhov.

Stepan Nemyrych had three sons: Yury, Vladyslav and Stepan.

¹¹ *Kniga grodskaia zhitomirskaia*, a. 1611, No. 12, p. 205.

They were reared from childhood in the Socinian religion and contributed much to the sect's progress, as did their father. Afterwards the oldest, Yury, became widely known for his participation in Little Russian political affairs under Khmelnytsky and his successor. It appears that Yury Nemyrych, as a youth, studied at the Rakow Socinian Academy, where he became a friend of Fausto Sozzini's grandson, Andriy Vyshovaty, later a prominent Socinian leader and writer. In 1631, Yury Nemyrych and his friend, Vyshovaty, together with Olexander Chaplych, Mykola Liubenecki, Petro Sukhodolsky and other coreligionists, went abroad to perfect their education. From Danzig, the young people went to Holland where they visited Leiden and Amsterdam Universities. Here they met the Polish Socinian, Krzysztof Arciszewski, who almost succeeded in persuading them to go to America to organize a Socinian colony. Arciszewski carried out his plan, but our travelers went to England and then to France. Here they attended the Sorbonne and heard the famous Hugo Grotius.¹² Upon returning home, Yury Nemyrych proclaimed himself a zealous advocate of Socinianism and helped to propagate it in the Ukraine. Socinian writers can scarcely find adequate words of praise for him and his services to their sect. Gifted by nature with a lively and energetic character, possessing an innate intelligence and an excellent education and taking advantage of his position as a noble and his wide connections in the Senate and at Court, Nemyrych typified the powerful Socinian patron, similar to Kyshka in Lithuania and Yury Chaplych in Volynia. He quickly gained a leading position among the Ukrainian nobility and often assumed various social and political duties. He never forgot the interests of his sect in carrying them out. Thus, in 1637 he was elected to the Lublin Tribunal as a deputy of the Kievan voyevodstvo and, as a result of his efforts, a public debate between the Jesuits and the Socinian scholars, who had been expelled in 1627, took place in Lublin. In 1638 the well-known Rakow catastrophe occurred. As a deputy participating in the Warsaw Diet, with the help of Andriy Vyshovaty and other religious friends, Nemyrych tried to do his best to stop the blow

¹² *Biblioth. Antitrinitariorum*, pp. 231-33.

directed against the Rakow community. But when his efforts proved unsuccessful, he openly protested against the violation by the diet of fundamental state laws which guaranteed to all the freedom of religious convictions. His protest was recorded in the judicial books.¹³ After this incident he devoted his efforts to the organization of the sect's affairs in the Ukraine with renewed energy. At the same time, as the Chaplychs and other Socinian leaders planned to regain in Volynia what the sect had lost in Rakow, Nemyrych was similarly occupied in the Ukraine. After his father's death he was the guardian of his younger brothers and the numerous estates of the family were concentrated in his hands. This enabled him to aid and protect his coreligionists. In addition to the community which already existed in his family center, Chernyakhov, he organized similar communities on his other estates in the Ukraine. After the Rakow debacle, Nemyrych provided refuge for the exiled Socinian pastors and scholars. The three Statorius or Stoinski brothers were among them and afterwards, the oldest, Ivan, became the pastor in the town of Lyakhovtsi with Petro Senyuta and, as we have mentioned, was sentenced by the tribunal, incurred infamy, and was deprived of his nobility. Another Stoinski, Krzysztof, remained in the service of Nemyrych for a long time and was invaluable in organizing the sect's affairs. For this loyal service, Nemyrych granted him one of his estates, the village of Miniyky (at present the village is in the Radomyshl district).¹⁴

In propagating Socinianism in the Ukraine and in organizing the sect's communities, Nemyrych had other collaborators. One of the closest was his relative, Stepan Voynarovsky, the huntsman (*lovchiy*) of the Kievan voyevodstvo. At Voynarovsky's estate in Shershni (Radomysl district), which was formerly owned by Stefan Nemyrych and settled by him, a Socinian community existed, probably organized by its earlier owner.

At the time a man lived in the Ukraine who was quite famous in the history of the Socinian sect. He devoted all his energy and all his faculties to its interests and ended his life in exile: a certain

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 278.

¹⁴ *Kniga grodskaia zhitomirskaia*, 1646, No. 17, p. 226.

Samuel Prypkovsky. Judging by his active participation in the business of the diet of the Kievan voyevodstvo, we must conclude that he belong to the ranks of the resident nobility of this voyevodstvo and possessed property there.¹⁵ Samuel Prypkovsky, a learned man and an extremely prolific writer, was the author of over fifty works. Among them we find the following types: theological and historical treatises, polemical articles, apologetic treatises, biographies, panegyrics, epitaphs, hymns, elegies, poetic paraphrases and so on.¹⁶ Despite the variety of forms, Prypkovsky's works are unified by the subject matter, since they all attempt to explain or to defend the Socinian sect and its teachings. Prypkovsky's literary activity started as early as 1628; in this year he published in Holland under the pseudonym, Iriney Filalet, his work: *De pace et concordia ecclesiae*. This was republished in 1630 and soon translated into German. Of the other works of Prypkovsky most probably written while he stayed in the Ukraine, we shall mention the following: A Panegyric in Honor of King Wladislaw IV, written in 1633; The Biography of Fausto Sozzini, in 1636; A Short Inquiry into Faith; A Panegyric in Honor of King Wladislaw IV, written in 1633; The published in 1646; A Composition on the Evil of Monasticism; A Hymn to the Words of the Apostolic Symbol, and others. Besides Prypkovsky, Yury Nemyrych, a powerful patron of the Ukrainian Socinians, also participated in literary activities. A treatise is ascribed to him, the title of which, Sand, a Socinian bibliographer, gives in Latin: *Periphrasis et paraphrasis Panopliae Christianorum*. It is believed that he also wrote prayers and hymns for the local Socinian communities. These were published in 1653.¹⁷ These facts indicate a nascent literary movement among the Ukrainian Socinians similar to the one which occurred a little earlier in Volynia.

In the forties of the seventeenth century, Socinianism in the Kievan Ukraine reached its highest stage of development. Among

¹⁵ The name of Samuel Prypkovsky is found among the Kievan nobility who in 1645 signed a protest against the decisions of the provincial diet held during that year in Zhytomyr. *Arkhiv yugozap. Rossii*, Part 2, Vol. I, p. 279. A little earlier, in 1634, we even find Prypkovsky in the role of speaker or *marszałek* of the Zhytomyr Little Diet. *Kniga grodskaia zhitomirskaia*, 1643, No. 16, p. 9.

¹⁶ See the full account of Prypkovsky's works in Sand, *Biblioth. Antitrinitariorum*, pp. 123-26.

¹⁷ *Bibliotheca Antitrinitariorum*, p. 145. Later we shall name the other works of Nemyrych.

the local nobility the number of its adherents was so great that at times they themselves filled the local diets and constituted a dominant party. In regard to the propagation of Socinian teachings among other classes in the Ukraine, one cannot say anything definite because of the lack of data. It can be conjectured, however, that there were people from the larger cities and towns such as Zhytomyr, Ovruch, Chernyakhov, Shershni, etc. among the followers of the sect. Nothing definite is known about Kiev in this respect except that during the first years of the Kiev Mohyla Academy the teachers had to defend themselves several times against the suspicion of being Calvinists and Arians rather than Catholics or Uniats. According to the story told by Silvester Kossov, then a prefect of the Academy, such a rumor once aroused such a terrible stir among the Kievan middle class and the Cossacks that the members of the Learned College "after their confession, began to think that they would be thrown into the Dnieper as feed for the sturgeons or that one would be killed by fire and the other by sword."¹⁸ Socinianism became such a prevalent feature in Ukrainian social life that it was among the topics most discussed in society. Often sharp disputes arose which caused quarrels, fights, and, sometimes, even ended in death. Thus, in the record books of 1643, there is the complaint of the Catholic noblemen, Yan and Martin Krentowski, against Ivan and Yakiv Bohutsky. It states that Mykola Krentowski, a brother of the plaintiffs, while a guest in the Bohutsky home in Nehrasky,¹⁹ was present at a discussion of the tenets of the Socinian sect. The hosts tried to prove its superiority over the Catholic religion and, indecently and blasphemously, disparaged the latter. In turn, Krentowski tried to defend his religion and, finally, unwilling to listen to the blasphemy, wanted to leave the house; but their dispute reached such a point that it soon turned into a quarrel and then a fight. The hosts unsheathed their swords, summoned their servants to help them and injured their guest so severely that in a week he died.²⁰ Of course similar cases created nothing but irritation with the

¹⁸ Mitrop. Makari, *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, Vol. XI, p. 490-491.

¹⁹ Today Krashy—a village in the Kiev district near the town of Yasnohorodka.

²⁰ *Kniga grodskaia zhytomirskaiia*, 1643, No. 16, p. 192.

Socinians among the Catholics and caused the Catholic clergy to instigate their persecution, which actually soon followed.

At that time the Ukrainian group of Socinians was helped by a new zealot who had acquired great fame for his missionary activity and who was considered one of the most learned men among the sect's representatives. This was Andriy Vyshovaty. According to the decisions of the Socinian synod, he was appointed chief pastor of the Socinian communities in the Ukraine. He arrived to take up his new duties in 1643. At the beginning he settled on the estate of Stepan Voynarovsky in the town of Shershni. Meanwhile, Yury Nemyrych, the friend of his youth and companion in his travels in foreign lands, had often invited Vyshovaty to visit him and now wanted to see him. At this time he was headed for his Orel estates and invited Vyshovaty to join him. While crossing the Dnieper river with him, he spoke to him as follows: "According to tradition, your namesake, the Apostle Andrew, preached the Holy Scripture to the Scythians and neighboring peoples in this place. You, too, come with me and do the same."²¹ We do not know whether Vyshovaty preached the Socinian Gospel in the Left Bank Ukraine, but he did not remain in the Kievan Ukraine for a long time; in the following year, i.e. in 1644, he received a new appointment to inspect the Socinian communities in Volynia. Here he remained until 1648 and lived in Kyselyn, Berestsk, Halychany, Ivanychi and other places, consoling and encouraging his coreligionists who at that time were being severely prosecuted by the Catholic clergy. Once Vyshovaty himself was summoned to court for performing the divine service publicly in Rafalovka and barely escaped banishment from his native land. At this time he married Olexandra Rupnevska, the daughter of the Socinian pastor of Berestsk; Olexandra Rupnevska's sister had been married to a Volynian Socinian, Adam Hulevych-Voyutynsky. The marriage was celebrated in the village of Halychany, at the home of Olexander Chaplych. According to Vyshovaty's biographer, the wedding was performed in accordance with "the regular sacred rites of the Church." We can conclude from this that there existed

²¹ *Biblioth. Anitritinariorum*, p. 236.

a special wedding ritual among the Socinians. In 1649, Vyshovaty was appointed chief pastor of the Lublin district.

A trying period ensued for the local Socinians which coincided with Vyshovaty's withdrawal from the Ukraine. For a long time the zealous Catholics had viewed the growing success of the sect in the Ukraine with discontent and treated its chief patron, Yury Nemyrych, with open hostility. At the beginning of 1640, when Nemyrych attempted to obtain the post of the Kievan vice-steward (*podkomoriy*), he was openly denounced by the Kievan Bishop, Alexander Sokolowski, and by Ivan Tyshkevych, Kievan voyevoda and bailiff of Zhytomyr, who was well-known for his intolerance. Speaking in the interests of the Catholic Church, they objected to the post being given to such an atheistic Arian. However, the King did not consider their objections and granted Nemyrych the post. It was said that Nemyrych had vowed to accept Catholicism. According to custom, Nemyrych had to take a solemn oath before the Kiev *zemsky* court; but he preferred to perform this ritual in Zhytomyr in the bailiff's absence, while the reporting Little Diet was in session there. This Diet was made up almost exclusively of Socinians and its speaker (*marszałek*) was the well-known Samuel Prypkovsky. Conscious of the friendly atmosphere, Nemyrych indulged in a joke which caused him much trouble later. One of the Diet asked, "As a Socinian, will he take the oath according to the regular ritual in the name of the Holy Trinity?" Allegedly, Nemyrych blasphemously quipped that to attain his end, he was ready to swear not only in the name of three but even of four. This was reported immediately to the bailiff Tyshkevych, who protested and demanded that his protest be entered into the Diet's records. The speaker of the Diet, Prypkovsky, refused to carry out the bailiff's demand. Then Tyshkevych presented his complaint against Nemyrych and Prypkovsky to the Lublin Tribunal.²² Here, he also presented as evidence a work of Nemyrych which had passed from hand to hand in the Ukraine and which contained some horrible blasphemies ("a writing full of horrible blasphemies against our Lord"). The Tribunal took the entire affair seriously and appointed the Kievan Bishop to investigate the charge closely. Nemy-

²² See Tyshkevych's complaint in the *Kniga grodskaia zhitomirskaiia*, 1643, No. 16, p. 9.

rych realized the danger of his position and through his relative, Crown Referendary (*referendarz*) Wacław Leszczyński, a priest he succeeded in influencing the examining Bishop. He satisfied some of the Bishop's past grievances and gave him the hope that he would accept Catholicism. Satisfied, Bishop Sokolowski made known to the Tribunal and to the King his belief in Nemyrych's innocence. He considered the blasphemous expression against the Holy Trinity as untrue. As to Nemyrych's written work, the Bishop said that it was composed without the idea of offending the Catholic religion and his only purpose was to see how the Catholic theologians would reject such heretical deviations.²⁸ The withdrawal of these charges momentarily improved Nemyrych's position but infuriated his enemy, Yan Tyshkevych, who did not hesitate to accuse the Bishop publicly of his flattery of men and lack of zeal for the glory of God. The second affair of Nemyrych had a less happy outcome. At the same time as the accusation of blasphemy, Nemyrych was summoned to appear before the court for concealing Rakow Socinian pastors and scholars, the three brothers Stoinskis, and for organizing the new Socinian communities on his estates in the Zhytomyr district; in general, for propagating heresy. The prosecutors in the affair were: the Zhytomyr church warden, the priest Sebastian Žebrowič, and the noblemen, Nikolai Wyszpolski and Krzysztof Unitowski. There is no doubt, however, that the moving force of this whole action was Tyshkevych, the Zhytomyr bailiff. The Court summoned Nemyrych and the brothers Stoinskis. The eldest, Yan, immediately took refuge at Lyakhovtsi, where, as mentioned above, he met his fate. The two others sought safety in other places. At the beginning, in July, 1634, the Kievan town court investigated the matter but did not finish deliberations and therefore it was sent to the Lublin Tribunal. More than forty local noblemen were summoned as witnesses, many of whom were Socinians. Now there was nothing that could save Nemyrych from the severity of the Tribunal. His powerful connections in the Senate and at Court and even the personal sympathy of King Władysław could not help him. In 1646, Yuri Nemyrych was sentenced to pay 10,000 chervonets and

²⁸ See Bishop Sokolowski's letters addressed to Nemyrych and Leszczyński's referendum, *Kniga grodzk. lutskaia*, 1643, No. 2160, pp. 533-35.

ordered to close the sect's communities on his estates.²⁴ This fine was mentioned by the Polish dissidents in the Warsaw Diet of 1647 when they complained to the Government about religious persecutions.

At the same time an event occurred in Warsaw which dealt a new and severe blow to the Socinian sect in Poland. At the beginning of 1640, one of the most learned Socinian representatives, Jonas Schlichting, a former teacher at Rakow Academy, published a book about the Symbol of Faith: *Confessio fidei christianae*. This contained the most precise and complete exposition of the sect's teachings, primarily expressed by passages from the Bible. The Socinians expected a great deal from this book and therefore they published it at once in several languages. Schlichting's confession was indeed a great success; it circulated widely all over Poland and tempted the faith of many. There is evidence that it was extremely popular in Volynia and in the Ukraine, "to the great detriment of Christian souls."²⁵ The Catholic clergy could not forgive the author and in 1647, by a decision of the Diet, Schlichting's confession was burned publicly by an executioner, and the author, who had fled abroad, sentenced *in absentia* to a deprivation of his honor and confiscation of his property. The Diet also issued a decree which closed all Socinian schools and printing houses in Poland and forbade all Socinian works which were already printed. Also, it was announced that anyone caught printing such material, circulating or even storing such books, would be banished and his property confiscated.²⁶ This decree threatened the Socinians with serious consequences and gave their enemies a new weapon. However, its effect in Volynia and the Ukraine was not immediately perceived. We do not know whether Nemyrych carried out the Tribunal's decision to close the Socinian communities in Chernyakhov and on his other estates, but we do know that one of the Stoinskis (Krzysztof) soon reappeared in the Ukraine and in 1646 even

²⁴ *Kniga grodskaia zhitomirskaia*, 1643, No. 16, pp. 31-35, 45-46. *Dzieje kościołów wyznania helweckiego w Małej Polsce*, p. 285.

²⁵ Nicolas Cichowski, a Jesuit, bears witness to this. On many occasions he polemicized with Schlichting and his *Confession*. Jocher, Vol. II, p. 535.

²⁶ Stan Osvietsim's Diary, Department of Manuscripts, Institute of Ossolinski, Lviv, No. 224, pp. 978-979.

raided the estate of the Zhytomyr vice-bailiff, Krzysztof Cisowski.²⁷ In 1648 we find him in the service of Stepan Nemyrych. Together, they appropriated estates of other people throughout Volynia. In 1647, a new person, one of Vyshovaty's relatives, a certain nobleman, Benedict Vyshovaty, appears in Yury Nemyrych's service.²⁸ Hence it is obvious that the decrees of the Diet and the Tribunal did not frighten the Socinians in Volynia and the Ukraine very much. They apparently did not consider laying down their arms. However, the days of the sect's existence were numbered, although its enemies who desired its downfall did not foresee this. They looked to Warsaw and Lublin and hoped that the doom of the Socinians would be prepared there; it did not come from there and occurred sooner than they expected. On the Dnieper rapids and in the remote villages and homesteads of the Ukraine the spark of the people's anger glowed and suddenly burst into a terrible flame over the South Russian land and shook the foundations of Poland, a state ruled by the Catholic nobility. This catastrophe was not directed against the Socinians at all but rather against their enemies. However, in the fire of the people's passions, South Russian Socinianism met its auto-da-fé. As was said by the Ukrainian rebel leader, "the damp wood burns along with the dry."

XI.

As soon as the news of the Polish defeat at Zhovti-Vody and especially at Korsun' became widely known, a popular uprising spread over the entire Ukraine, Volynia, Podolia and Red Rus'; there were even repercussions in distant Belorussia. Everyone that was non-Russian and non-Orthodox or, rather, everyone that was socially above the masses, was gripped by fear and fled post-haste to Poland and Lithuania proper. The South Russian Socinians along with the nobles of other religions (including even the Orthodox) also tried to save their lives by flight, but many perished at the hands of the Cossacks. Many perished at the siege and capture of Starokonstantyniv by Khmelnytsky, where the Socinian

²⁷ *Kniga grodskaia zhitomirskaia*, 1646, No. 17, p. 226.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 1650, No. 19, p. 595.

and the other fleeing nobility had sought refuge. The same tragic fate befell the other Socinian communities in the ethnographically Polish territories of Lublin and Sandomierz. Andriy Vyshovaty escaped from there to the borders of Prussia. His biographer records the rumor that the Cossacks took special revenge upon the Socinians because of religious differences.²⁹ A modern scholar explains such behavior by saying that the Cossacks were convinced that the Socinians were "Arian heretics, iconoclasts and unbaptised."³⁰ We find it impossible to give credence to such a rumor or to consider such an explanation possible. What is true is that the insurgent peasants and Cossacks did not treat captured Socinians with mercy; but they acted as they did, not because they had some preconceived hatred against them but because they did not distinguish them from the other Polish or Polonized nobility. And it must be said that the majority of the South Russian Socinians, were Polonized. If the South Russian Orthodox nobility fled from the insurgents, then what could be said of the other groups? It is clear that in the popular consciousness and in the popular activity of that time, the socio-economic motive dominated everything else. The insurgents were scarcely aware of the religious beliefs of the Socinian nobility. In fact, later Socinian writers do not accuse the South Russian people of persecution of their sect; on the contrary, they always defend the Orthodox masses and consider Khmelnytsky's wars, which caused so much misfortune to the Socinians themselves, as nothing more than a just reward for Poland for her violation of the laws, for trampling upon civic and religious rights, and for encroaching upon religious freedom. The fact remains that the Cossack movement swept all the Socinian communities from off the face of South Rus'. Thereafter, they were never re-established there. All that remains for us is to investigate the fate of the more prominent individuals who belonged to South Russian Socinianism. Here, priority should be given to the highly interesting personality of the Kievan vice-steward

²⁹ Cosacci . . . imprimis in arianos (ut audiunt) ob religionem eis invisos saevientes. *Biblioth. Antitrinit.*, p. 241.

³⁰ *Trudy kievsk. dukh. akademii*, 1876, an article, "The Spurious Letter of the Polovcian I. Smera addressed to Prince Vladimir."

(*podkomoriy*), Yury Nemyrych, whose subsequent fate is not devoid of certain dramatic elements.

In the autumn of 1648, i.e. after the defeat of the Polish armies at Pylyavtsi, when Khmelnytsky moved toward Lviv and besieged Zamostye, the South Russian nobility began to return to their estates and to reconstruct them. Yury Nemyrych was among the first to return, accompanied by Krzysztof Stoinsky and Benedict Vyshovaty, his servants. Now Nemyrych had no time to attend to the affairs of the sect. He hurriedly organized a military detachment and attacked the Cossacks. Rumors began to spread in Warsaw that Nemyrych had joined Khmelnytsky and had handed him a secret order from the King's son, Jan Kazimierz, which requested Khmelnytsky's aid so that Jan Kazimierz might be elected King of Poland. For such assistance, Jan Kazimierz allegedly promised to meet the Cossacks' demands. It was even rumored that Khmelnytsky had made Nemyrych his "chief scribe." These rumors are interesting for one reason only: they indicate how suspiciously the Poles treated Nemyrych for his anti-religious and (as we shall see later) republican convictions. In reality, Nemyrych defended his fatherland sincerely and, one must assume, showed a striking military ability. For when the Kievan and Volynian nobility called a general levy in the following year to defend themselves against the Cossacks and the insurgent peasants, Nemyrych was unanimously elected commander-in-chief (*general'nyi polkovnyk*) of the levy. Two years later, the Kievan nobility pleaded with the King in the Diet to reward Nemyrych, who, according to their words, always "defended his fatherland with great glory and spent a great part of his funds for this purpose."³¹ But in 1655-57, when the Swedes invaded the very heart of the Polish kingdom and occupied both capitals, Poland found herself in such a difficult position that even her most ardent sons doubted the possibility of freeing their fatherland. One by one they joined the Swedish side, surrendering towns and even entire provinces without fighting. There was no desire to defend Catholic Poland among the Protestants and Socinians against whom the Catholic clergy was instigating the urban masses, fanning their fanatical enthusi-

³¹ *Arkhiv yugo-zapadnoj. Rossii*, Part 2, I, p. 357.

asm and blessing them even for pillaging the heretics' property. Therefore, they surrendered to the Swedish King Charles X, and with him sought security from the fanatics. Socinian writers themselves name the following South Russian Socinians who surrendered to the Swedes: in Volynia, the familiar patron of Kyselyn, Olexander Chaplych, and a certain Andriy Bratkovsky; in the Ukraine, the Kievan vice-steward, Yury Nemyrych, and his younger brother, Stepan, who at that time held the position of Kievan Cup-bearer (*podchashiy*).³² Probably at that time Nemyrych joined Khmelnytsky, with whom the Swedish King was allied. The latter started the war with the Poles on Khmelnytsky's urging, as is generally known. Later, following the inquiry of the Moscow Government, the Cossacks themselves pointed out that Nemyrych joined the Zaporozhian army while it was still under Bohdan Khmelnytsky. Socinian writers, however, say that the Hetman made Nemyrych a Cossack colonel. There is no doubt that the prominent name, the splendid education and Nemyrych's well-known experience in political affairs, at once secured him a leading place among the Cossack officers who surrounded the Hetman. Khmelnytsky, most probably, made frequent use of Nemyrych's services (e.g. in diplomatic relations with the Swedish King) and restored his previous rights to him, i.e. the ownership of his estates in the Poltava district along the rivers Vorksla and Orel. However, Nemyrych played a greater political role under Khmelnytsky's successor, Ivan Vyhovsky. While still under Khmelnytsky's control, the autonomous party began to grow in strength among the Cossack officers and the Orthodox nobility, who had joined the Cossack army. This party aimed at making Little Russia independent. Vyhovsky himself was the leader of the party, and strove to realize its aims, but Yury Nemyrych, Vyhovsky's right-hand man, was the soul and creator of the political program. While still in Holland, he became familiar with local republican concepts and conceived the idea of a federative union of republics. Now he decided to apply this idea to his new homeland. The conditions of the Hadyach agreement between Vyhovsky and Poland in 1658, which were composed by Nemyrych, are a complete expression of

³² *Biblioth. Antitrinitariorum*, p. 291.

this. According to this agreement, Little Russia united with Poland as an independent country under the name of "The Great Rus' Principality." It was entitled to its own supreme tribunal, its state officials, its treasury, its own coinage and its own army. Two academies with university rights were to be established, one in Kiev and the other in some suitable locality, as well as a great number of other schools with the guarantee of free education. Freedom of printing of books was also to be guaranteed. Nemyrych plunged into the realization of this grandiose political scheme with all his passionate nature, forgetting his previous sectarian enthusiasm in this new occupation. Long before this he had once again accepted the religion of his fore-fathers, orthodoxy,³³ so that he might naturalize himself completely in his new homeland. He even thought of inviting his former coreligionists who were oppressed in Poland to work for him. With this idea in mind he wrote a special proclamation addressed to all Polish dissidents and especially to the Socinians asking them to return to the Orthodox Church in order to unite with the free Cossack people and to enter the ranks of the good citizens of "The Great Rus' Principality." It might be supposed that this appeal by a former leading Socinian would produce a strong impression upon other Socinians. That this was so is evidenced by the fact that such a well-known authority of the sect as Samuel Prypkovsky, who was living in Prussia as an exile, was constrained to publish his answer to Nemyrych's proclamation.³⁴ Nemyrych, on the other hand, had no time for polemical dispute with the Socinian theologians; in the spring of 1659 he hurried

³³ The memory of Nemyrych's membership in the Socinian sect was not soon forgotten in Little Russia and it even reached Moscow but in a corrupted form. At the beginning of Vyhovsky's Hetmanate, when Nemyrych's name became familiar in the political affairs of the Ukraine, the Moscow Government questioned the Hetman's ambassadors: "Who is that Lutheran, Yury Nemyrych, serving in your army and why did the Hetman give him the cities of Kremenchuk, Perevolochno, Kishenka, Kobelya, Veliki, Sanzharov, and when did he give them to him and why does he keep a Lutheran in his army? . . . The Ambassador answered, "Yury Nemyrych, a Lutheran, is in our army but he entered it under the previous Hetman, the late Bohdan Khmelnytsky, and the present Hetman did not give him these cities . . . he regarded them as his previous property and wishes humbly to request them from the great Tsar . . ." Upon this followed the remark "The Hetman should not have this Lutheran in his army . . . and tell him to dismiss him from his army." *Akty yugozapadnoi Rossii*, Vol. VII, p. 204-205.

³⁴ This answer was published simultaneously in two languages, Polish and Latin, and it is mentioned in a list of Prypkovsky's works. *Biblioth. Antitrinitar.* p. 125.

to Warsaw with the Cossack ambassadors to attend a Diet which had been summoned to ratify the Hadyach agreement. There, Nemyrych made a lengthy speech which is noted by his Socinian biographer among his other works. The agreement was ratified; the King received Nemyrych politely and, at Vyhovsky's request, made Nemyrych a Chancellor of "The Great Rus' Principality." This "Principality," although a brilliant project, was not practicable. As soon as the ratification became known in Little Russia, the people rebelled against the Polish military units stationed in the Ukraine. Yury Nemyrych, who was a commander of one such unit, tried to pacify the mob, but was surrounded near the village of Svydovets (Chernihiv province, Kozeletsk district) and cut to pieces. Such was the unfortunate end of this man who was remarkable in so many respects.

Vladyslav Nemyrych, the younger brother of Yury Nemyrych and Ovruch bailiff, was also a Socinian. He, too, had received a good education, but his character was diametrically opposed to that of his older brother. He was weak, sickly and apathetic. He never proclaimed that he was a Socinian; it became known as a result of a dishonorable forgery in connection with his name committed by the Jesuits after his death. Kasper Niesiecki, a Jesuit himself, speaks of this forgery and, therefore, this evidence cannot be suspected of bias. The whole affair occurred as follows. Vladyslav Nemyrych died at an early age, being not more than thirty years old. On his deathbed he somehow fell into the hands of the Lublin Jesuits who succeeded in forcing him to renounce his Socinian errors and to agree to accept the confession and communion according to the Catholic rite. The sick man willingly confessed but hesitated to accept communion for a long time. Was he restrained by his previous Socinian ideas about the form of communion or did the Orthodox family traditions awaken in him? He only doubted the efficacy of the sacrament in one form and asked the Jesuit to give him some assurance that it would not harm his spiritual salvation. The clever Jesuit did not hesitate to satisfy the demand of the sick man and immediately gave him the following written certificate: "I, Michael Kiszarszewski, of the Jesuit order, certify before the Divine Majesty (*divinam Majestatem*)

that if the honorable Vladyslav Nemyrych should suffer any detriment before the Divine Judgment because of his acceptance of the Catholic sacrament in one form, which for centuries has been approved by the Church, then I accept this detriment upon my soul and will be ready to answer for it before the Divine Majesty together with my mother, the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church and with all believers. Given in Lublin, in the Jesuit College on April 11, 1653. Michael Kisarzewski."

Nemyrych did not offer any more opposition and, while dying, gave the command that he be buried with the certificate in his hands. Niesiecki (*Korona polska*, v. III, p. 359) relates the following: "Five days after his death, when the time came to lower his body into the grave which was in our Lublin Church, the casket was opened and besides the document in his hands another was found on his chest. It read as follows: 'I, Vladyslav Nemyrych, free the Reverend Michael Kisarzewski, priest of the Jesuit order, from the obligation which he took upon his soul, because through confession and the communion, which took place in accordance with the ritual of the Roman Catholic Church at the moment of my death, I obtained complete satisfaction through the infinite mercy of God, and absolution of all my sins at the last Judgment. This I hereby certify. Given in the Valley of Repentance, April 16, 1653. Vladyslav Nemyrych.' Both documents were entered in the record books of the Lublin Jesuit College by the rector, Father Orda, in 1653, for the sake of greater accuracy."

Stepan Nemyrych, another brother of Yury, is praised by the Socinian writers almost as highly as Yury for his ardent protection of the sect. During the Khmelnytsky uprising, he was still a very young man and, therefore, remained for a long time under the direct leadership of his older brother. In 1649, as a captain of the cavalry, he participated in the defense of the Kievan nobility against the insurgent peasants and, with his brother, surrendered to the Swedes. Apparently, following his older brother, he also joined the Zaporozhians. At the time of the Hadyach agreement, he received the post of the Kievan vice-steward which just then had been relinquished by Yury, who assumed a higher position — that of Chancellor of "The Great Rus' Principality."

Stepan Nemyrych remained on the most amicable terms with the Hetman, Ivan Vyhovsky, until the latter's death. In 1664, however, Stepan Nemyrych took one step which we do not dare explain for lack of sufficient evidence: in this year he sent his brothers' children, Yury's son, Fedir, and Vladyslav's daughter, Mariana, abroad to finish their studies, and soon afterwards, without the knowledge of the Government, he himself left the country and remained abroad for a long time.³⁵ For three years prior to his departure, the Polish Socinians were subjected to a general banishment from Poland and, after their arrival abroad, suffered great misfortunes, calamities, and deprivations before they succeeded in establishing themselves. Was not Nemyrych's unexpected departure somehow connected with this situation? Some basis for this supposition can be seen in the plea of the Kievan nobility to the Diet in 1665 to forgive Stepan Nemyrych "if he had transgressed against the King in any way" and to ask him to return to his homeland.³⁶ By Nemyrych's offense, we understand primarily his arbitrary departure and, perhaps, his violation of the Diet's rule which strictly prohibited giving any help to exiled sectarians. Evidently the plea of the Kievan nobility was favorably considered, because soon after we meet Stepan Nemyrych, first as castellan, and then as a voyevoda of Kiev. This in itself presupposes a rejection of Socinianism and an acceptance of Catholicism.

Of the Volynian Socinians, we have only fragmentary evidence about Olexander Chaplych, the owner of Kyselyn. Apparently his position during the turbulent period of the Cossack wars was in general similar to that of his school friend, Yury Nemyrych. Like him, he surrendered to the Swedes and then supposedly joined the Zaporozhian army.³⁷ At any rate there is no doubt about Chap-

³⁵ *Kniga grodskaia zhitomirskaia*, 1664-1666, No. 21, pp. 14 and 65.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

³⁷ In relation to this point we observe that the number of South Russian nobles surrendering to the Swedes and then joining Khmelnytsky was very large. This is apparent from the following paragraph attached to the Hadyach agreement, an addition which its authors considered necessary: "All penal sentences, confiscations, banishments, and processes, however advanced and at whatever court, should not apply to anyone who served in the Swedish army and then with the Zaporozhians. *Pamiatn. kievsk. komm.* Vol. III, Sec. 3, p. 326. Besides those persons named above, the following people belonged in this category: the former treasurer of Chernihiv, Prokop Vereshchaka, and the Chernihiv cornet, Havrylo Hulevich (a Calvinist).

lych's presence in Vyhovsky's army during the Hadyach agreement and participation in some form or other in the latter. When in 1659 the Warsaw Diet debated the ratification of this agreement, we find Olexander Chaplych's name among those advanced by Vyhovsky as deserving of reward.³⁸

We do not even find any mention of the other representatives of South Russian Socinianism in our sources. Evidently some of them died during the Cossack wars, some fled into the inner region of Poland and Lithuania, and some just left the stage. Thus, Khmelnytsky's wars can be regarded as the last period of the existence of the Socinian sect in South-West Rus'.

XII.

The epoch of the Cossack wars caused great misfortunes not only among the South Russian Socinians, but also among their Polish brethren. This was not only a result of the Cossack invasion of Poland, the banishment and extermination of the Socinians, and the rest of the nobility, but also of the terrible political calamities brought upon Poland by the Swedish, Russian and Cossack armies which caused a religious and political unrest in the population. These sentiments were exploited by the clergy for its own purposes. They preached publicly that the Divine Hand of Providence was punishing their fatherland for the lack of loyalty to the Catholic Church and for criminal connivance with its enemies—the heretics, the Protestants and Arians, who were pictured to the population as traitors to the fatherland and people who secretly sympathized with its enemies, the Swedes, also heretics. They pleaded for their extermination in the name of the Church and the fatherland. These were days of weeping and Divine wrath for the Polish dissidents. They were forbidden to perform their church services, to call meetings and assemblies, to keep schools and to print books; from all sides they were attacked and summoned to court

³⁸ *Pamiętn. kijevsk. kommisii*, Vol. III, Sect. 3, p. 328.

even on false denunciations. Prominent nobles were sentenced to heavy fines and people of lower birth were put to death. . . .

Meanwhile, through the machinations of the Jesuits, the allotted three year period, which was to allow the Socinians to settle their private affairs, was unexpectedly shortened to a year and July 10, 1660 designated as the final day of their sojourn in Poland. The purpose of the measure was to make things difficult for the Socinians who owned estates and needed a somewhat longer period of time to sell their property and to call in their loans. In this way they thought to force the Socinians to renounce their faith. The Socinians protested in vain against this new injustice and violation of the King's word; however, some Catholics sympathized with the Socinians, while others, either due to their fanaticism or in the hope of appropriating the exiles' property, exulted over their misfortune. New apostasies from the sect followed, but those who remained loyal began to sell their property hastily and cheaply and to prepare for the long and unknown journey. And soon the poor exiles began to leave their bitter homeland and to seek refuge in foreign lands: in Hungary, Transylvania, Silesia, Northern Germany, Prussia, Holland and England. They often met with new misfortunes on the road. For example, a party en route to Hungary, was robbed of all its possessions by the Emperor's soldiers at the instigation of the Poles. Wherever the exiles went the slander of their enemies preceded them and, therefore, they were poorly received in the majority of the European countries. Only in Hungary and Transylvania, where their coreligionists had lived for a long time, and in Prussia and in Holland, which at that time played the role of present-day Switzerland, did the Socinians find a peaceful refuge. By and large, the leading representatives and scholars settled in Amsterdam and named that city the *City of Rest*, which God had chosen for his faithful. Henceforward, Amsterdam and Cluj in Transylvania became the chief centers of the scattered Socinians. . . . During their exile their literature increased enormously. The most gifted representatives of the sect, such as Andriy Vyshovaty, Samuel Prypkovsky, the former Kyselyn pastor, Yakiv Hrynevych-Trembitsky, the brothers Krzysztof and Stanislaw Liubeneckis

and many others, contributed to its flourishing.³⁹ Free Holland, where the sect's scholars had settled and in which they enjoyed the greatest opportunity for activity, had been selected as their publishing center. The character of the times determined the major tasks of these Socinian writers. Their primary attention was directed towards an elaboration of the sect's history, its relations to other Christian denominations, and a description of its services to the Polish society and state. Along with this major research, attention was paid to collecting the documents and legends illustrating the history of the sect, and evidence of the activity of its major teachers, pastors and writers and a list of their work in print and in manuscript. Furthermore, the Socinians realized that they had to protect themselves from the disgrace connected with their exile and the accusations on the part of their enemies. That is the reason for the prevalence of polemical and apologetic works in their literature. Here, the Socinians attempt to justify themselves as sectarians and as citizens, they try to prove the injustice of their persecution, and to create sympathy for their misfortunes. . . . This lively literary activity did not abate until the end of the seventeenth century and continued somewhat less intensively during the eighteenth century. It is worth mentioning that the last Socinian writer known to us is a certain D. Nemyrych, most probably an offspring of the South Russian Nemyrychs. In 1695 he printed in Germany his French work entitled: *La Verité et la Religion en visite chez les theologiens en y cherchant leur filles la Charité et la Toleranse* in which he tried to prove that these higher Christian virtues are inherent in Socinian teachings. . . .⁴⁰

³⁹ The Socinian bibliographer, Sand, enumerates about thirty names of such scholars, Polish, German, Hungarian, English, Dutch and others, who pursued their scholarly work on Socinian subjects during this period. We have mentioned only the most prominent among the Polish Socinian exiles. Let us add that many of them wrote important scholarly works in the fields of philosophy, law and natural science, besides theological, historical and other works related to Socinianism. Thus, for example, Stanislaw Liubenecki published an important work on comets (*Theatrum Cometicum*, Amsterdam, 1667). This work was published in three parts and dedicated to Frederic III, the King of Denmark and Norway.

⁴⁰ A. Jocher, *Obraz bibliograficzno-historyczny literatury i nauk w Polsce*, Vol. II, pp. 304 and 582.

A LITTLE KNOWN FRENCH BIOGRAPHY OF YURAS' KHMELNYTSKY

ELIE BORSCHAK

There is a rare book by François de la Croix (1653-1713), entitled: *Mémoires du Sieur de la Croix, cyderant le secrétaire d'ambassade de Constantinople, contenant diverses relations très curieuses de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris, Claude Barleïn, 1684, 2 vol., 8°. These *Mémoires* had attracted much attention at one time, but by the nineteenth century this interest had subsided. Some doubted la Croix's authorship and ascribed the book to the Marquis de Nointel (1634-1686), the clever, intellectual French Ambassador to Constantinople from 1667, who was very familiar with contemporary Ukrainian affairs.¹ However, this cannot actually be proven. La Croix, for many years the secretary of Marquis de Nointel and an expert in Turkish and, particularly, Turkish-Cossack affairs, was the real author of these *Mémoires*. It is a known fact that, during the negotiations with the Poles at Zhuravno (1676), he was in the Turkish Headquarters. Upon his return to France, he used both the official documents of the Marquis de Nointel and his own material to write this interesting book. Four copies of the manuscript are preserved in the National Library of Paris² and one copy in the Prussian National Library in Berlin.

The chapter which is of particular interest to us is entitled: "Khmelnysky, Prince of the Cossacks."³ It is interesting because, except for some insignificant changes, this same chapter is filed in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Evidently la Croix first wrote his report on Yuras' Khmelnysky either for Ambassador Nointel or for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and then he used it for his own book. In all probability, la Croix based his information on primary sources, or, perhaps, on his participation in the

¹ For example, Count de la Borde in his book *Athenes aux XV, XVI et XVII siècles*, Paris 1854, Vol. I, p. 169.

² N.A.F. 10839; Fr. 6101-6102; N.A.F. 17-24.

³ Chmielnitski, Prince des Cosaques.

name of Nointel in the confidential negotiations of the Ottoman Court. To the surprise of all, these negotiations brought the son of Bohdan Khmelnytsky back on the political scene.

"After the death of Bohdan Khmelnytsky,* Prince of the Cossacks, who was killed in a battle with the Poles, George, his son, was elevated to his place by the people. He governed them so poorly that, fearing he would become the victim of the Poles⁴ as had his father, he took the cloth and assuming the name of Gidesi retired to the wilderness, accompanied by some Poles. En route, the Tartars attacked the Poles who saved themselves by abandoning their prisoner. The attackers took Khmelnytsky, flogged him, and then made a present of him to the Tartar Khan, who, judging from his physiognomy and his manners that he was not an ordinary man, made every effort to convert him to Mohammedanism. The solicitude and offers of the Prince availed nought and Gidesi continued firm until he was recognized by a slave of the Khan, a renegade Cossack, who had been a household servant during George's infancy. This man⁵ had no difficulty in recognizing him as the son of his old master despite his pseudonym and disguise, and even though he had spent several years in the land of the Tartars, where, at the cost of his religion and by his savoir faire, he had made a considerable fortune and gained the good will of the Prince. For this reason, George did not recognize his old servant. Nicolo or Hali, which was the Turkish name of the renegade Cossack, believed it would bring a special pleasure to his Prince to discover the birth and quality of his new slave, or, rather, Hali feared that the affection which the Khan had begun to show Gidesi would diminish the affection which, until then, the Khan had shown him. Therefore he told the Khan that the slave was called George and that he was the son of Bohdan Khmelnytsky. The latter's name was well-known in the land of the Tartars because of the enmity between the two nations.

"The Khan, who would have preferred this news to have been false in order to make use of Gidesi, had him summoned and, without informing him of the secret which Hali⁶ had told him, said that he was a spy disguised as a priest and that he was thus disguised in order to discover more easily what was taking place and that if he did not confess the truth then they

* In the original French text "Chmilinski," as it was spelled in the French of that time.

⁴ The emphasis put on the Polish role in the destiny of Khmelnytsky and his son is very interesting.

⁵ In the French of the XVII-XVIII century the expression "*renégat*" did not have the present-day derogatory meaning. It meant a Christian who had accepted Mohammedanism.

⁶ The Tartar name of the renegade Cossack who recognized Khmelnytsky.

would force him to confess with the whip. This was the treatment reserved for the *raias* (a name given to subjects of the Turkish empire who are not Mohammedans), and it seemed so cruel to the General, who was not used to such actions, that he could not resist this threat and frankly confessed his true status.

"The Khan, fearing that news of this capture would reach the Porte and cause him trouble, decided to send him to Constantinople. This he did immediately.

"Gidesi or George Khmelnytsky became a State prisoner and on his arrival in Constantinople was taken to the Seven Towers. He passed several years here in the most rigorous austerity and, soon, bored by the loneliness of a monk of the Eastern Church, he attempted to take advantage of the presence of some warships of the Most Christian King which had carried the Seigneur de Nointel, His Ambassador. These vessels, while waiting for the embarkment of his predecessor, had dropped anchor near the Seven Towers in order to help the flight of a number of miserable slaves who were continually coming aboard. Among them was the Chevalier de Beaujeu,⁷ who had been a prisoner in the chateau with Khmelnytsky. The escape of the Chevalier had been more fortunate than that of the Cossack, because he had been assisted by several long-boats of the vessels, which had waited for him at the foot of the wall.

"Since necessity creates industriousness, Gidesi saw no other means of deliverance except in flight. He learned through common knowledge that those vessels, which he had spied from his prison, were open and sure asylums for all because the Turks did not dare to board those vessels as they did several others. But he could not find anything to pierce the wall and he realized, at the same time, the need of an instrument to carry out his project.

"He had been held a prisoner so long that he was not guarded so strictly and was allowed to walk during the day in a small court at the foot of the tower in which he slept at night. A high wall, built on the rocks and circling the fortress, separated it and protected it from the ravages of the sea. As he was thinking of a means of carrying out his project, by chance he discovered a piece of iron behind a clump of wood. This was carelessly left by the masons who had lately been repairing the wall. He feigned sleep and, when no one was looking, he grasped the piece of iron and hid it in his straw bed. With this he raised two iron bars which held the grill of the cell window in place.

"When he made this opening, he did not have any cords to lower himself and there was no one to send him some as was done with the Cheva-

⁷ Is this Beaujeu not the same man whose real name was D'Aclerac, a French agent in Poland in the reign of King Sobieski, who devoted a whole chapter in his memoirs to the Ukraine? *Mémoires du Chevalier de Beaujeu contenant les voyages en Pologne, en Allemagne, en Hongrie* (1679-1683), Paris, Claude Barbin, 1698, in 12°, p. 479. Published in Amsterdam, 1700, 1722.

lier de Beaujeu, so he cut his straw bed into strips. He made them into a type of rope and attached it to one of the bars which was placed across the window opening. He was lowering himself when the rope proved too short and he fell so violently that the noise of the fall awoke a Bostangi, whose bed-chamber opened on this court. Thus, his flight was discovered by the gardener, but the prisoner scaled the wall and fell from the top of it onto the rocks, hurting his head. The shock of the blow, the fear, the darkness and the noise, which he heard on the other side, did not permit him to find a route of escape and he hid in the sea between two rocks.

"The gardener informed the castellan of the flight. The latter opened a small door which led to the sea, placed guards to cut off the crossing and detached others, who sought all night for him in vain with lanterns. They found him only at daybreak, half dead from his wound, his hands lacerated, battered by the waves and frozen by cold.

"They brought him in this state to the chateau where the governor beat him several times, after which he ordered him to be placed in another cell and chained hands and feet. Here he lived from the end of 1670 until 1677, at which time he was taken out by order of Kara Mustapha, Pasha, Grand Vizier, to replace Doroshenko.

"What a caprice of fortune! George, General of the Cossacks, had left his honors, his property and his country to lead the private and quiet life of a monk and had only found a disastrous slavery, iron and chains. He had endured this for ten years until this same fortune, tired of seeing him suffer, elevated him suddenly from the filth to the purple and, when he had least expected it, re-established him in the same office, which he had fled with so much trouble.

"In effect, Khmelnytsky confessed to the Patriarch that he expected death—which he had often hoped for—and that he believed that they had removed his chains by the Grand Vizier's order to take him to the rack. It was for this reason that he had received the news of his elevation and the honors bestowed upon him by the Porte with indifference. He even had some qualms at the decision to renounce his monk's habit and his lowly state, which he had grown accustomed to through the years, for (the office of) Prince, in which he foresaw new troubles. It was necessary, nevertheless, to accede to the urgings of the Patriarch and the interpreter, who told him that he could not disobey the orders of the Grand Seigneur without exposing the Greek Church to some insult.

"He was forced to put on secular clothes, which Mauro Cordato had procured, and they took him to the Kihaja⁸ of the Grand Vizier, who received him in a very agreeable fashion. He wanted to know of the events of his life and he told him that Heaven had taken care to preserve him and had destined him for something great, since, after having experienced

⁸ An executive secretary.

so many dangers, he was raised a second time and against his will to the office which he had abandoned. Henceforward, he must by his services and his faithfulness be prepared to recognize the goodness of the Porte and he must make every effort to lead an ungrateful people back to obedience.

"This discourse was accompanied by the gift of an accoutered horse, on which he returned to the lodgings which they had arranged for him. They added one hundred gold sequins for his expenses and a note of five ecus a day for his subsistence. After resting several days — which time was used to set up his outfit — he was presented to the Grand Vizier. The latter exhorted him to be faithful to the Porte and gave him a gold brocaded caftan lined with sable, four vests, two of satin and two of cloth, an accoutered horse and two hundred sequins. This minister augmented his daily pay by half and ordered a seal cut for him, which contained his name and his title: Hetman of the Cossacks. Thus, Khmelnytsky, who two days before had been chained, reduced to a morsel of bread, abandoned by the entire world, and had slept on a straw bed in a very dark cell without any hope of leaving, now, after this audience, lived in a beautiful palace, was honored, visited, and regaled by the Turks and all the leading Greeks, who during his disgrace had turned a deaf ear to his complaints and his entreaties. This made him reflect on the inconstancy of fortune and it bolstered his resolution to abandon his title only with his life.

"Khmelnytsky wrote a letter to the Cossacks in which he declared that he was prepared to go to the Ukraine. This letter or rather the manifesto of it — the original text is not extant — was signed and sealed by Khmelnytsky and sent throughout the Ukraine. The Ukrainian population received these letters with scorn. They said that the letter was a forgery, that the real General of this name had taken the monk's habit and had been killed in the land of the Tartars, or had been enslaved, and that this was a trap that the Porte had spread for them. . . ."

We shall interrupt la Croix's biography of Yuras' Khmelnytsky here to point out details which la Croix might have learned only from Khmelnytsky himself. It is entirely possible that Nointel's secretary, under orders from his superior, participated in the negotiations of the Porte and the Greek Patriarch, which brought Yuras' Khmelnytsky once more on the Ukrainian political scene. This is apparent from Yuras' Khmelnytsky's letter of August 17, 1677 sent to the French King Louis XIV from Constantinople.⁹ Here is the letter:

⁹ The archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turquie, Cor. Pol., 1677. An unknown person wrote this letter in French, but it bears the personal signature of Yuras' Khmelnytsky.

"Your Majesty,

I am honored to inform Your Majesty through Your Ambassador¹⁰ of the munificent reception arranged for me in this capitol and of the extraordinary honors shown me. Your Majesty will see from the treaty, which I handed to Your Ambassador at this court, how the Ottoman Porte has treated me and the Cossack Nation. I do not doubt that Your Majesty, conscious of the services which the Cossacks have rendered to Christianity, will rejoice in the happy events of my life. Your Majesty, the opportunity to gain the honor of your respect, regardless of the state of my affairs, will give me great satisfaction. Knowing Your magnanimity and good nature, Your Majesty, I expect such a kindness. With deep respect toward Your Majesty, I remain:

Georgius Gedeon Vitius Chmilinski, Prince de la Petite Ruthenie de L'Ukraine et General des Cosaques Zaporoziens. Constantinople, 7/17 aout 1677.¹¹

The treaty¹² mentioned in Yuras' Khmelnytsky's letter to Louis XIV is actually preserved in its Latin copy in the archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The English translation is as follows:

"The copy of the authentic treaty between the Emperor Sultan of the Ottoman Porte and His Majesty, Prince Gedeon Khmelnytsky, Hetman of the Cossacks and Prince of the Ukraine. We, Gedeon Khmelnytsky, Prince of the Ukraine, (Ucrainae Princeps), Hetman of the Zaporozhians, announce the following to everyone: After the series of calamities and miseries which we have experienced, we have liberated ourselves from the authority and domination of the Great Prince of Moscow and the Polish King and have renewed our full liberty (*libertati nostro plenarie restituti*). Following the example of Prince Bohdan Khmelnytsky, Hetman of the Zaporozhians and Our Father, we accepted the protection of the Sultan (here a lengthy title of the Sultan is given, E.B.). This protection was given to the Ukraine and her people in recognition of their immemorial rights and their freedom from the infamous oppression of the Moscow Tsar. Thus, the ancient inalienability of the Ukraine, which was renewed by the Lord's help, and her liberty, which had been usurped by the Moscow Tsar, are now accomplished facts. The entire population of the Ukraine will prosper under the High Protection of the Sultan. He will also protect the religion of our ancestors."

¹⁰ Nointel.

¹¹ The orthography of the time.

¹² This is a short resume of the treaty and its first printing.

Khmelnysky sent this letter and the text of the treaty to King Louis XIV through Nointel, who was probably the spiritual author of the investiture of the new prince of the Ukraine. This, of course, cannot be substantiated by documents, but on the basis of existing data one can at least prove Nointel's deep interest, or, more generally, France's interest in Ukrainian policy between the years 1677-1679. Therefore, many details about Yuras' Khmelnytsky in la Croix's *Mémoires* become clear to us. The *Mémoires* continue:

"On August 8, 1677 Khmelnytsky left Constantinople with great pomp, accompanied by a large retinue of Janizaries, Greeks and the envoys of the Sultan, all to the sound of drums. He passed through Wallachia and Moldavia, where the princes paid him great honors as a Prince and gave him gifts. When he reached the borders of the Ukraine, he wrote a circular letter to the Cossacks to inform them of his restoration. . . . He signed this letter with his own hand and stamped it with his own seal, which contained his name and title: Georgius Gedeon Vitius Khmelnytsky, Prince of Little Ruthenia, of the Ukraine, and General of the Zaporozhian Cossacks.¹³ At first the Cossacks found it difficult to accept this letter,¹⁴ for everyone in the Ukraine considered Khmelnytsky dead; nevertheless, they believed it and flocked to their old Hetman. They numbered 18,000 and on October 30, in the presence of Ibrahim Pasha,¹⁵ Prince Khmelnytsky reviewed his army. The Turks admired the Cossacks very much and showed new signs of the bounty of the Porte, which, as is the mode of all men, heaped flattery on those who were necessary to it."

Here la Croix's biography of Yuras' Khmelnytsky ends, but the final stage of Khmelnytsky's activity is known through the Warsaw correspondent of the *Gazette de France*, who on September 5, 1681 reported the following: "We received word from Constantinople that the Sultan has confirmed the Moldavian master¹⁶ and given him sway over the Ukraine, which had belonged to Yuras' Khmelnytsky. The latter was imprisoned in the Castle of the Seven Towers some time ago."

¹³ M. Kostomarov (XV, 291), using the Moscow Archives, describes Khmelnytsky's seal as follows: A rider with a mace in his hand; the horse's head is decorated with a feather and over it there is an apple with a cross and near the rider a man armed with a musket. On the seal there is an inscription: The Seal of the Little Russian Principedom.

¹⁴ See above.

¹⁵ A Commander-in-Chief of the Turkish Army who accompanied Yuras' Khmelnytsky.

¹⁶ Duka.

To conclude this article it is worthwhile to relate the diplomatic incident which occurred in Constantinople and which concerns both Yuras' Khmelnytsky and the French Ambassador, Marquis de Nointel. The latter describes the incident in a report to his government. "On July 6, 1678 the Polish resident at Constantinople, Hninski, visited the French Ambassador and complained of Yuras' Khmelnytsky's terrible pride; he, so to speak, not only rejects the authority of the Polish King in regard to the Ukrainian territory, which is due Poland by the Treaty of Zhuravno,¹⁷ but also corresponds with the King as his equal and calls him 'friend.'

Hninski presented a copy of Khmelnytsky's letter to King Sobieski as a proof of this statement. It seems that this letter, written in Latin and mailed from Bendery, has been published. However, to understand the complaint of the Polish Ambassador more precisely, it is worthwhile to reproduce Khmelnytsky's letter:

(After the title, E.B.) "We greet Your Most Serene Royal Majesty and wish You a long reign in Poland and the extension of Your Happy Kingdom. Simultaneously, by the will and order of the Serene and Unconquerable Turkish Emperor, Our Master and Lord of the Most Serene Porte, and through Sir Hubar, Colonel of Bratslav, we acquaint Your Royal Majesty with Our Friendship and ask Your Royal Majesty to carry out the points of the Treaty of Zhuravno, which had been concluded between the Turkish Emperor and Your Royal Majesty. We demand from Your Royal Majesty peace without future bloodshed, i.e., the removal of Your garrisons from Kalnyk and Nemyriv, abandoning of all Your military equipment, evacuation of all fortresses and villages which belong to us and in general removal of all the armies of Your Majesty from the Ukrainian territory, which belongs to us (except Povolocha and Bila Tserkva), as well as the withdrawal of all bailiffs and commanders. As is well known by Your Majesty, all of these demands had been accepted by Sir Kulmenski, voyevoda of the province (Hninski, E.B.). Thus, we only ask that these obligations be carried out.

"We remain the devoted friend of Your Majesty, Yury Gedeon Vitius Khmelnytsky, Prince of Little Rus' and Ukraine and Hetman of the Zaporozhians."

¹⁷ Zhuravno is a Galician town on the bank of the Dniester. Here, one deals with the Turkish-Polish Agreement concluded at Zhuravno on August 1-16, 1676. According to this the regions of Kiev, Bila Tserkva, Pavoloch and other parts of the Right Bank Ukraine remained a "Polish" Cossack possession; the region of Chyhyryn and Zaporizhzhya was transferred to Turkish control. Kamennets-Podil's'ky simply became a Turkish fortress.

What was the French Ambassador's answer to the Polish Ambassador's demarche? We find it in the report of the Marquis de Nointel to his government:

"I said to Sir Hninski that Khmelnytsky really has the title of Prince of the Ukraine and is an ally of the Porte. Therefore, he has the same right as the masters of Moldavia and Voloshchina to address the Polish King as "friend"; I also remarked that Khmelnytsky had written me, as the representative of the Very Christian King, a letter with a signature of "friend" in the same way as the Great Vizier writes to the King of France and Navarra."

In his answer, Nointel merely interpreted contemporary international law. In the works of Vicfort,¹⁸ an authority in the field of international law at that time, we read the following: "The sovereign signs his letters to another sovereign as friend (*ami*). The sovereign, who is under someone else's protection, can sign 'friend' in letters addressed to other sovereigns but not to his superior."

¹⁸ *L'Ambassadeur et ses Fonctions*, La Haye, 1680, livre II, part IV, paragraph 3.

THE ORIGIN OF THE PALEOLITHIC MEANDER*

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This work will contribute some material to the comparative studies of American and European primitive art, for it analyzes the ancient pattern of the meander ornament found in the Paleolithic settlement Mezhine¹ in the years 1909-1916. This settlement existed before the maximum of the second advance of Würm glaciation. The German geological school of Professor W. Soergel² gives the age of advance of W2 at about the 70th millenary before our era.

Interested in the origin of Paleolithic meander ornament, I have studied it in other cultures of European prehistory, the Neolithic and Eolithic periods, and worked out a terminology for my studies; I propose to use the term "rhythmographic" for such a complex of primitive art. This includes not only the "meander" ornament, but the spiral, the so-called endless pattern, geometric ornament and others, which were named by different researchers at different times. I consider the rhythmographic a separate branch of primitive art, younger than sculpture but older than ideographic gravure, the European development period of which occurs at the time of interstadial W2 — W3 and of W3.

The Mezhine settlement has provided sufficient material not only for a discussion of the origin of the meander ornament, but also for an understanding of the stages of the preceding evolution. Based on this material the following picture of the evolution preceding the appearance of the Mezhine meander is revealed.

In examining the fragments of various bones which were treated by scrapers, rather than by chisels, we always notice many shallow lines on the bone. They are not haphazardly arranged, running in different directions, but are more or less well ordered. It is obvious

* This article is an abridgment of part of the author's monograph on the Paleolithic settlement near the village of Mezhine in the northern Ukraine.

¹ E. A. Golomshtok, "The Old Stone Age in European Russia," *Amer. Philosoph. Society, New Series*, Volume XXIX, Part II, March, 1938, Philadelphia, 1938, pp. 335-355.

² W. Soergel, *Loesse, Eiszeiten und Paläolithische Kulturen*, Iena, 1919.

that a man holding a bone before him had scraped it many times in one direction and then in a different direction at a certain acute angle in relation to the preceding. No one would believe that this scraping had an esthetic aim. But in some places on finished, i.e., perfect Mezin specimens, we see similar lines ordered to such a degree that we must conclude that we have before us a primitive ornament; namely, incisions intended to arouse esthetic emotions in a spectator. The specimen represented on Table I, Fig. I, shows on its upper part little engraved figures. According to such authoritative experts of the West European Paleolithic Age as Abb. H. Breuil³ and E. Cartailhac, it represents the deformed figure of a woman. On the upper part of the figure there is an indecipherable engraving probably of ideographic content. In the middle of the figurine we notice an area of more or less triangular shape with rounded corners, circumscribed by a line; separate areas are shaded with still better ordered lines. The lines are of two types of more or less identical length and depth and at an equal distance from one another. Lines of one type cross lines of the other type at an angle of slightly less than 90°. These lines do not represent an ornament, however. In the opinion of researchers, this indicates the hairy cover of the genital triangle and, similarly, in the upper part they indicate a woman's hair. Similar lines but still better ordered are apparent on many Paleolithic spears. These are cut on the flat sides of the chisel-like points which fit into the lance. Undoubtedly, these lines were not visible since they were covered with resin, inserted in wood and then tied around. Similarly, short deep lines had been incised, not for decoration but with a utilitarian purpose, on the fragment of a mammoth rib found in the Paleolithic camp near Predmost in Moravia. This fragment⁴ had served as a file to smooth out certain soft materials — perhaps animal skins. The bone was polished and shined by constant use. We can observe a very important phenomenon on it.

³ N. Abb. Breuil, "Les subdivisions du paléolithique supérieur et leurs significations," *Congr. Inter. d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie préhistoriques*, Compte Rendu de XIV session, Genève, 1912.

⁴ Dr. Martin Kříž, *Výrobky diluvialního člověka z Predmosti*, Pravek, 1903, No. 2, Tabl. III, Fig. 1a.

Here, Table I, Fig. 2, there are incisions of two types, which were made to roughen the surface of a smooth bone. The lines are inclined in different directions but do not cross each other. They do not give the impression of a chess board, but they proceed by vertical, downward columns and the columns of the different types alternate. This incised bone is especially instructive for *lines of one type had been made deeper than the lines of the other type*. The difference in their depth is so great that, in applying this bone as a smoothing tool, lines of one type, which inclined from the right side downward to the left side, had been almost entirely smoothed out in some spots and, in some printed reproductions of this tool, instead of lines there are white spots. I went to Brno where this bone is located to study it and discovered that under a magnifying glass and under oblique light the lines were still visible.

We see, therefore, that on the specimens previously examined, the artist, while removing the unnecessary smoothness and without esthetic intention, cut the columns of incisions in a regular, rhythmical way. The incisions of the columns are always inclined toward the opposite side in relation to the lines of the neighboring columns. They always form an angle of less than 90° and, in most cases, the angle is 60° . On the last specimen, in trying to make the surface of the bone as coarse as possible, the artist put the columns of incisions one besides the other. Obviously, the roughness of a bone so incised is no less than that obtained by the older method, but the process of incision is much easier since it only required half the work that would have been needed in the crossed incision method. Such a method is widely used on the Mezine objects, but here we must admit a decorative purpose since the incisions are made on objects that can in no way be classified as working tools. The thin, narrow plates of the mammoth tusk with the little orifice at one end, used evidently as pendants, are decorated at the most with two such columns of incisions, which are inclined in different directions. They are only decorated on one side (Table I, Fig. 3). Wider plates for the same purpose carry three columns of incisions (Table I, Fig. 4) and some of the figures shown on Table I, Fig. 1 are sometimes abundantly covered on their convex back with

columns of incisions, reminding one of the engraved bone of Predmost (Table I, Fig. 2). In examining the number of lines in neighboring columns, we are convinced that the artist was not interested in his work. He did not try to make every line in one column correspond to the line in the other column. The artist did not yet have an idea of the so-called chevron or "*dent de loup*." The incisions in the columns are cut without any thought of the incisions in the neighboring columns, and we have an impression of chevrons or zigzags only because the incisions of one column obey the same rhythm as the preceding. But on some specimens, as shown on Table I, Fig. 4 and 6, the lines are lengthened so that they begin to reach the incisions of neighboring columns and, sometimes, for instance on the pendant, Table I, Fig. 4, one incision was joined to the other, forming a chevron, but the preceding or the following incision of the same column was not joined to its neighbor. Finally there are specimens which show that the artist already understood the idea of a chevron. The lines of neighboring columns are joined and, if there are two such columns, we have to deal with chevrons and, if there are several of them, we have a specimen with regular zigzag-like lines (Table I, Fig. 6 and 7). We observe in Mezine art the same phenomenon as in Predmost art, viz., the lines in adjoining columns are not of identical value; on one object the lines incline from the left downward to the right and are steeper than the lines which incline in the opposite direction. This indicates that the incisions were made by a right-handed artist. On some objects other lines are incised better and it is obvious that the master was left-handed. That incisions were made by a right-handed master is obvious from the specimen on Table I, Fig. 4. It was easier for the master to engrave the columns at the edges for there are two of them and, besides, every line goes downward steeper and, therefore, the columns occupy a narrower place than the column in the middle, which is formed of the lines inclined to the other side and is less steep than the lines on the side columns. Another phenomenon of great importance is observed on these simple specimens of decorative art of Mezine, which is also familiar to Predmost art. In engraving incisions arranged in columns either with the right or left hand, the master was also constrained to engrave the end of

the object or all of the object, which he held before him. In the case of the longer object, which we find in Mezine, the master held the end of the object with one hand and probably rested the other end on something more or less stable. Then, after engraving the object to the spot where his hand prevented further engraving, he grasped the object at the end which had already been worked, that is, the engraved first half of the object, and proceeded with the engraving of the part not yet touched. Thus, the master used the axis of symmetry of the second order as it is called in crystallography (Table I, Fig. 8) in his work. While the lines did not form chevrons, new, entirely incomprehensible combinations of incisions appeared (Table I, Fig. 5) in the place where the incisions of one engraved phase met the next phase, which usually took place near the middle of the object. We do not know whether the master observed this. Another thing occurred when the Mezine artist found the regular "*dents de loup*" or chevrons. Now, using a 180° rotation, the artist obtained very definite forms which were previously unknown. He continually studied and explored them and, finally by rotating them at 180° , mastered their formation, that is, mastered the use of the *axis of symmetry of the second order*.

Let us examine a little more closely all possible combinations of chevrons which were chanced upon by the artist: those which appear to be a function of the axis of symmetry of the second order and let us see how he used them. The simplest combination and the one which occurs most frequently is the one shown on the diagram, Table I, Fig. 15. It is formed by the meeting of two columns of chevrons, one from above whose chevrons have vertexes directed downward and the other whose chevrons have vertexes directed upward. At the meeting of these two columns of chevrons, no single complete chevron reached the point of junction: *vertexes of the complete chevron never meet at one point*. However, the sides of truncated chevrons of the upper and the lower columns do meet consecutively at the junction line, forming vertical chevrons whose sides form an angle of about 120° . The number of such chevrons may vary, depending upon the area occupied by a column of incisions and the number of truncated chevrons whose

sides reached the line of junction. On the diagram (Table I, Fig. 15), only two chevrons were truncated by the horizontal line of junction where the two columns or the two systems of chevrons met. Their sections formed vertical chevrons on both sides of the horizontal, i.e., the initial chevrons of two opposite columns. Where such a combination of whole and truncated chevrons occurs on the ornament (Table I, Fig. 9), we noticed four complete chevrons on the upper half of the ornamented area, the vertexes of which are directed downward. On their sides there are a greater number of truncated chevrons which, with the truncated chevrons of the lower system, i.e. of the chevrons whose vertexes are directed upward, form the vertical chevrons with obtuse angles at the vertexes. On the lower half of the ornamented area (Table I, Fig. 9), we notice the vertex of only one complete chevron, since the entire lower part of this specimen had been greatly damaged. But we can assume that the number of complete chevrons was not less. On the object (Table I, Fig. 10) we notice the same combination on the lower part. Here, both on the upper and the lower part, two chevrons are formed whose vertexes are directed straight toward the place where the two systems meet. Here the chevrons of different columns are most contiguous and, as we have mentioned, in all similar combinations their vertexes do not join, but six or seven truncated chevrons, which are located on both their sides, have the corresponding sides joined and form six or seven vertical chevrons on both sides of the complete chevrons of the upper and lower systems.

Thus, in the meeting of the two systems or columns of chevrons, as described above, there can arise and actually does arise only one combination. If the columns of chevrons meet on the ornamented field and are arranged so that their vertexes point to the ends of the ornamented object, then entire series of combinations arise. The simplest one is shown on the fragment of a pendant (Table I, Fig. 8). At the meeting of two sides of the chevrons a figure of an inclined parallelogram is formed. These newly formed parallelograms are always inclined, since the chevrons are asymmetrical and their sides are always of unequal length, as was seen above, and since the apex of every chevron is formed by the joining of

two lines at an acute angle of about 60° . In some cases, on specimens made by right-handed artists, they appear as on the pendant (Table I, Fig. 8). Its diagram is on Table I, Fig. 13. The chisel of the left-handed artist produces the figures shown on the diagram of Table I, Fig. 14. On these diagrams the letter (a) marks the chevron's sides, which were easy for the artist to engrave. Since both masters made an identical angle of about 60° , the angles at which the sides of the opposite chevrons met equals approximately 120° . The angle of 60° at the vertex of the chevron was quite possibly determined by the structure of the hand. Certainly this is the maximum angle: the maximum amplitude of the hand's motion between its greatest movement, now in ventral, now in distal direction, in relation to the constant position of the forearm.

The meeting of the chevrons only produces two figures: the right and the left skewed parallelogram. This form did not attract the attention of the Mezine artists to any great degree and it represents only 18% of all the forms originated by joining the ends of the chevrons' sides. They paid greater attention to what we called the "meander whirl." In various forms it represents 82% of all the forms originating in the joining of the chevrons' sides. Apparently this attracted the artist's attention and created in him esthetic feelings and emotions. In fact, the discovery of such an essentially simple combination of chevrons, repeated according to the principle of the axis of symmetry of the second order, gave birth to one link, one "whirl" of that ornament that has dominated mankind's attention from the Paleolithic Age to our time. If one has to measure the importance of some tool in human culture by the length of time which it is used by mankind, the first place in the field of esthetic acquisitions should be given to the meander design and its history is the history of the most important part of human culture for many thousands of years.

This form emerged as one of many possible combinations when the object engraved with chevrons was rotated at 180° . This form of ornament is found in Mezine art in great quantities with various defects and various ways of correcting them and this supplies

us with much material for a detailed study of its origin. Most of the specimens are from the mammoth tusk bracelet, which was found in fragments scattered about a ten square meter area. This bracelet (Table I, Fig. 12), although it has only small parts missing, had been broken even before its completion. It is black and covered with dendrites; its engraving is clear, neither worn nor effaced by use as are some other specimens. Above all, we notice two narrow strips on it: one crossing it on the upper part on the border of the area covered with zigzags (b) and beneath with meander whirls (c); and the other on the lower part of the area covered with zigzags (d) and on the border of the area of the meander whirls (c). We see clearly that the union of the chevrons' sides, which point in opposite directions, was not effected by the artist either in the upper or the lower section. The presence of these stripes with their incomplete engravings shows clearly that all the complicated ornamental designs on this specimen had originated by the joining of such chevrons. The artist's mistakes clearly show that he had not mastered the technique of the meander whirl.

Before considering the ornament of this bracelet, let us examine the types of meander whirl found on these and other specimens of Mezine art.

Similar to the two skewed parallelograms on the right and on the left, we have meander whirls of two types. A right meander whirl (Table I, Fig. 16) arises when the chevrons of the upper and lower columns approach one another so closely that the *right* side of the lower chevron joins with the right side of the upper chevron. The process of creating the central figure of the meander whirl can be compared to the following: Let us imagine that two men go to meet each other with outstretched arms. They do not take each other's palms with their right hands, but, reaching higher, they grasp each other by the shoulder. Their right arms form one line while their outstretched left arms hang in the air. If behind each of these men other men stand with outstretched arms, the first two men can take another pair by their right arms with their free left arms. The other two men with their free left arms can do the same in relation to the third pair, etc. Such a

method of contact can take place among men and is only limited by the length of their arms. However, in the case of chevrons, this can be done indefinitely. The left meander whirl originates in this fashion. Only here (Table I, Fig. 17), the combination of the first pair of the adjoining chevrons is effected by fusing their left sides. We can conclude that the most elementary meander whirl is one formed by joining *two chevrons only*, i.e., every zigzag formed of three lines. In the case of a left meander whirl (Table I, Fig. 17), it is formed from a zigzag similar to a letter N. More complicated whirls would arise if we add one more chevron behind every first pair of chevrons joined in the zigzag. Thus, from the first single meander whirl we could obtain double, triple, and so on, indefinitely. The artist who ornamented the bracelet was right-handed. We are convinced of this after examining every meander whirl on the bracelet. In the upper part (a) two rows have six meander whirls with three in each row. Of them 1, 3, 4 and 5 are right ones; 2 is a left one; the sixth is an abnormal one, to which we shall return later. In the following area of meander whirls (c) there are 12, four rows of meander whirls with three in a row. The first of these rows has been damaged. Here, by an oversight, two parts which do not correspond have been joined. This is quite obvious upon closer examination of the sides of the chevrons. But in view of the fact that the central meander whirls, i.e., zigzags formed by three lines, are all joined beneath the crack, they can be accepted as right meander whirls. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 12 are right ones. The 11th forms a left one. In the lower part (e) there are only five meander whirls in two rows, the third one in the first row being so damaged that it is hard to make out. Of these five meander whirls, the right ones are 1, 4, 5. Two and three, together with the 6th meander whirl of the first section and the separate meander whirl on the object, Table I, Fig. 10, form a special group, which we must examine separately. These meander whirls can be either right or left, as is shown on the diagram Fig. 18 and 19, Table I. They have the following peculiarity: If an artist after engraving one column of chevrons, turned the object at 180° and started working on the opposite column, then toward the end he noticed that the last chevron was so located that by joining it to the nearest

chevron a parallelogram could be formed, but there was no more space to engrave a nearer chevron to create a meander whirl. Desiring to create, as elsewhere, a meander whirl, he sought a solution. In a similar meander whirl of the first area, the sixth one, and in the third meander whirl of the last area, we notice superfluous lines which indicate that the master may have tried to change the design. However the following solution was found: the parallelogram remained incomplete because the sides of chevrons were joined as in Table I, Fig. 19. The artist united those sides that were to be joined if the chevrons were to be made closer to each other with additional lines. Such additional lines are very crudely sketched in Fig. 18 and 19. The artist joined the free sides of the chevrons with the sides of the following chevrons in a normal way. As a result, an entirely different meander whirl arises: not a triple-line zigzag but a complicated five-line figure. If in a normal case a triple-line middle meander whirl lies horizontally (Table I, Fig. 16 and 17), its corresponding figure lies in a *vertical position*. If the angles of the winding incisions, which correspond to the angles of the chevrons, were *acute*, then here they are complementary, 120° (180° minus 60°), i.e., obtuse. Such meander whirls are an anomaly in Mezine art. Although found in the ornaments of some specimens, they form only a small percentage. It is interesting to point out that, of all the ornamental figures created by joining the chevron sides, there are:

Horizontal right meander whirls (Table I, Fig. 16)	38%
Horizontal left meander whirls (Table I, Fig. 17)	21%
Vertical right meander whirls (Table I, Fig. 18)	5%
Vertical left meander whirls (Table I, Fig. 19)	18%
i.e., 43% of right, 39% of left, 59% of horizontal, and 23% of vertical.	

These figures indicate that for Mezine art the *horizontal meander whirls* were the most characteristic and most widely used. Of these, the *right forms* were more common than the left. Assuming that these figures indicate to a certain degree the relative number of right-handed and left-handed masters, it is obvious that the artists who made right meander whirls had to use vertical forms of the meander whirls in 5% of the cases to save the situation. Those who made left designs had to use **them**

in 18% of the cases. Previously, we considered each element of Mezine ornament separately. But few specimens were decorated with one element only. These elements were largely found in combinations which formed the so-called "surface covering designs" or "endless designs." Even on the specimen of Table I, Fig. 10 there is one meander whirl on the upper two thirds of the ornamented area and on the third part, the lower one, we notice the beginning of a different meander whirl. A transition from one meander whirl to another is properly represented on the ornamental element shown in Table I, Fig. 9. In fact, here we have the lower part of one meander whirl above and the upper part of the other meander whirl below. This ornamental form (Fig. 9), schematically represented in Fig. 15, shows how, in complicated ornamental combinations both on the bracelet, Table I, Fig. 12, and on the ornament of the specimen shown in Table I, Fig. 11, there is effected the transition from one meander whirl to another, be it in vertical or horizontal direction. Such a form properly represents the parts of two adjoining meander whirls, which, in their entirety, lie higher or lower, right or left, depending upon the dotted lines — horizontal or vertical — which we shall place on this diagram and which we shall consider the border between two meander whirls. At the same time these dotted lines, which intersect and divide the ornamented area into four parts, can be considered as the lines that separate four meander whirls. These move in opposite directions from the point of intersection of the dotted lines along the diagonals. Table II, Fig. 3 represents in a somewhat altered form the middle of the bracelet of Table I, Fig. 12, marked there with "C"; the reason for the change will be given later on. In this figure the dotted lines are drawn through all the contact points of the incisions. These dotted lines do not form a continuous line but short segments. Sometimes these segments intersect in a normal way at one point. Sometimes they do not intersect, but four of them unite to create a small parallelogram and in its center there is located the little line, the middle of those that form our initial meander whirl. Here it is apparent how the entire complicated design is divided by these lines into little areas of incisions which were similarly placed. There are only two kinds of areas, five lines inclined from right downward to the left and six

lines inclined from the left downward to the right. A combination in the order, 6 and 5 lines directed downward and 5 and 6 directed upward, always has a parallelogram between areas with a single incision; a combination of the areas in this order: 5 and 6 downward and 6 and 5 upward, does not have any such little parallelogram. The first combination forms meander whirls while the second does not. If we isolate four areas of incisions in the design shown on Table II, Fig. 3, with the middle little incision included in the dotted parallelogram (Table II, Fig. 1), and examine how the incisions join, we shall see an interesting picture. Let us take for a starting point the end of the third incision on the upper boundary of the upper left area (a). Now let us consider how this incision combines with the end of the other incisions and the last one with another — and so on indefinitely, i.e., until this broken line passes out of the ornamental field in the lower boundary of the section (c). Reaching the place indicated by an arrow, the exit of this line, we realize that not all incisions in these four areas were joined. In each area we notice lines that do not belong to what we call the *meander whirl*. We cannot therefore call the entire area formed by our four areas of lines a, b, c, and d the meander whirl. We shall only designate by this term *a broken line that is formed by the joining of the incisions* and, following which, *we reach the territory of these four areas* and then again go out. The combination of these four areas we shall subsequently designate as the *ornamental field of the meander whirl*. There remain free lines at the corners of this field that do not belong to our meander whirl. On the ornament of the bracelet not all of its ornamental meander fields are formed by the same number of incisions, but some are and some are not connected by their sides to whole or truncated chevrons. The upper part of the ornamental meander field, shown in Table II, Fig. 2, is formed by three whole chevrons and three truncated, and the lower part by four whole and three truncated.

Following the broken line, as in the preceding field, we discover that this line goes out at a different place, a different boundary of the meander field. Having examined ornamental fields of the meander whirls of this bracelet (Table I, Fig. 12), we find that they are of different designs. Here, the artist did not fol-

low the law of axis of symmetry of the second order strictly and, having sketched at one end of an ornamental meander field three whole and three truncated chevrons, he did not proceed after having rotated the object at 180° to engrave the same number of whole and truncated chevrons. Thus, abandoning rhythm and symmetry, the artist created this design but we do not know in what order. Whatever starting point we accept on the ornamental line and in whatever direction we follow it, we will discover that it proceeds in intricate and incomprehensible directions whether winding or unwinding. We notice that some of the meander fields on the bracelet are symmetrical, i.e., two of their halves present an identical number of whole and truncated chevrons and that this amounts to three in the above-mentioned cases; we have sketched on Table II, Fig. 3 an ornament following its contour on the bracelet and the number of the ornamental meander fields. Evidently these symmetrically arranged ornamental fields of meander whirls permit every meander whirl to join another meander whirl of the meander fields that are located diagonally above or below them. If we have a great number of such fields on an ornamental surface, their meander whirls form entire rows. Their position on the ornamental surface depends on whether the whirls are right or left ones and on the number of whole or truncated chevrons which enter the design of the field. The master, who engraved the specimen shown in Table I, Fig. 11, had fully realized this. Here, as we can see, an ornament was combined with the ornament of the meander fields embracing two whole and two truncated chevrons and rotated strictly according to the law of axis symmetry of the second order; the meander whirls here, therefore, form a regular series which incline in an opposite direction to that on the bracelet. We must next investigate the following: in what way and by what method did the Mezine artist connect the various ornamental fields of the meander whirl on the objects which he engraved. Here again the bracelet ornament gives an answer. Whether on simple designs of the Mezine ornament or on columns of incisions or, later, on the columns of chevrons, the artist always followed certain rules, moved initially by the nature of things and perhaps later by habit which became the lawgiver of art. The artist engraved the lines inclined in one or another direction

on all longer objects and always arranged them in vertical columns parallel to the longer axis of the piece. If there were several such columns (with a subsequent evolution, they gave rise to chevrons), they were likewise orientated on a longer specimen. If by gradually joining the sides of the adjacent chevrons the zigzag lines are formed, they lie naturally across the longer axis, i.e., parallel to the shorter axis of the object — if the term “parallel” can be applied to a zigzag line in its relation to a direct line. Here, we notice that the zigzag lines are not identical (some of them incline to the side favored by the artist, some are steeper, that is, carved deeper than others), and that the general direction of the zigzag line cannot run parallel to the transversal axis of the object. It always deviates from it upward or downward according to the individual artist, although not too noticeably. Therefore, after having engraved an ornamental field of the meander whirl, the only one the artist is able to handle (Table II, Fig. 5), he would engrave another and similar field near it, then a third one — in such a way that a new ornamental field is located in relation to the first one, not side by side, but where the axis of symmetry of the second order drawn through a point lying on the boundary between the first ornamental field and an adjacent field required it, i.e., just in the middle between the ends of the sides of the whole chevrons on this boundary. The resultant connection of two ornamental fields permits the building of new ornamental fields of meander whirls both above and below them at the place of their junction; every two adjacent areas of connected ornamental fields both above and below form such a truncated combination, one whole chevron and the side of the smallest chevron. It remains only to add one side of the smallest chevron (we have represented it diagrammatically in Table II, Fig. 6), and then to turn the entire ornamental field at 180° and add where necessary the whole and truncated chevrons which are lacking. A design could be prolonged endlessly by repeating such rotations and adding the sides of whole and truncated chevrons. The same could be done with less effort and more mechanically by another method: by engraving several meander fields (a) near one another, one could engrave below all of them a similar meander field according to the same principle that was

presented in the preceding case, i.e., according to the law of the axis of symmetry of second order. It would be an application of the ornamental pattern which we see on the specimen (Table I, Fig. 9) and on the diagram of Table I, Fig. 15. If under every ornamental field (Table II, Fig. 7) a similar row of new ornamental fields (b) is made, we will obtain the form that must have surprised the Paleolithic master still more than it surprises us. After engraving six ornamental meander fields and examining them, we discover that there are eight rather than six (c). We just have to add an incision at the center of each meander whirl which was unexpectedly formed. Perhaps at this stage of development of Mezone art there arose both in master and spectator, not only a feeling of esthetic delight occasioned by the lines symmetrically arranged, but something more. Certain designs formed ornamental fields of meander whirls which resulted in inclined rows. These unexpectedly at first and perhaps unnoticed by the artist, gave birth to some primitive artistic feelings. Regularity in arrangement of incisions, the preservation of regular rhythmic arrangement of chevrons and obedience to the axis of symmetry of second order, were stronger than his own wish. For instance, we notice on one specimen (Table II, Fig. 8) the artist's effort to engrave an isolated row of meander whirls. Examining it, we realize the artist's obvious failure to do it. The artist has to obey the laws of rhythm and symmetry; he is powerless to dominate them. He is able to arrange meander whirls only according to the same inclined and almost diagonally preceeding pattern, i.e. automatically in an endless design. In general, there are no such rows of meander whirls in Mezone art such as we would now engrave, i.e., parallel to one of the edges of the object we would like to decorate.

At this stage the sense of the Mezone designs is interrupted. We do not know what was achieved in the Paleolithic Age in this domain of its artistic or, perhaps, exploratory activity. We do not have any Paleolithic material related to the further evolution, either from neighboring or far-off regions. The difference between known designs of the spiral of the Paleolithic settlement, Arudy⁵,

⁵ Breuil, *op. cit.*, Fig. 263.

in France (younger than Mezine) and the Mezine designs, is so great that it is too early, because of the absence of intermediate links, to discuss the matter.

Summing up all we have learned from the Mezine material, we find that we have obtained considerable knowledge. In the first place this material clears the ground for a study of this branch of decorative art. We have discovered that the creation of a row of meander whirls is not necessarily connected with the classical Mediterranean world. True enough, in the classical cultures of ancient Greece and Rome we have to deal with horizontally arranged rows of meander whirls, but this does not change the situation. Explorations in the domain of classical decorative art have not given any satisfactory answer as to the origin of this type of ornament, while Mezine has in the highest degree. If, instructed by a Mezine master, we began to engrave ornamental fields of meander whirls with a greater or smaller number of whole and truncated chevrons than in Mezine art, we would have obtained not only all the known forms of meander whirls, but also some that had never been made before. It is a certainty that *meander is older than spiral*, and, therefore, the prejudice held by art historians that the meander originated from the spiral, which reacted unfavorably upon the study of art of other epochs and peoples, is finally eliminated. But the most important result is that Mezine art has shown that it originated as a *completely independent branch*. This art does not imitate anything in its designs, nor does it express any idea. However it shows in graphic form the understanding or feeling of rhythm and form among Paleolithic men and how they had become *acquainted with the axis of symmetry of second order as the first element of symmetry*. Our exploration of the Mezine art has shown that much of what we have conceived as the independent phenomena of decorative art has to be understood differently. As we have seen, meander designs are closely connected with the so-called "endless patterns" and were separated from them only later.

Thus, we can say that Mezine artistic designs have shown us the beginnings of a *new, hitherto unknown art in the history of our culture*. In this field mankind has created or discovered various forms of rhythm and symmetry. Properly speak-

ing, mankind even in the Paleolithic Age had the *beginnings of pure art*, where rhythm and symmetry existed in a most naked form with no concealed accessories. Assuming that there can be no real art without the design, rhythm and symmetry characteristic of it, the Mezine graphics are representative of this art in its purest form. Insofar as symmetry is essentially a notion connected with rhythm, whether dynamically or statically, and means a connection of rhythmical phenomena with certain planes or axis in space and lines and points on a surface as their projections, it would be proper to designate this independent art by a short term "rhythmographics." This art is akin to music; poetic meter is also close to it. Like this art, it uses two elements, longer or shorter sounds, while our art uses shorter incisions, more convenient to engrave, and longer, less convenient. It seems to me it is still closer to the dance. In fact, in the beginning it is the dance of a hand upon a smooth surface—a hand armed with a chisel—in order to eliminate (by only two kinds of incisions) unwanted or obnoxious smoothness of a tool. Then, subsequently, there arises a play, an amusement, a sport. As a competition, as a struggle for recognition from the spectators, new explorations in this field started. It is not surprising that this type of the Paleolithic art has remained unsurpassed and captivates spectators from all parts of the world. Even modern architects of the greatest centers of culture apply it.

TABLE I

1. Woman's figure (?) made of ivory*	Mezine, Ukraine
2. Bone tool made from mammoth's rib	Predmost, Moravia**
3. Segment of ivory pendant	Mezine, Ukraine
4. Segment of ivory pendant	" "
5. Ornament on an object of unknown purpose	" "
6. Segment of an ivory object	" "
7. Object of unknown purpose	" "
8. Segment of an ivory pendant.	" "
9. Ivory object of unknown purpose	" "
10. Ivory object of unknown purpose	" "
11. Ivory object of unknown purpose	" "
12. Ivory bracelet	" "
13. Diagram of right parallelogram***	
14. Diagram of left parallelogram	
15. Diagram of intermeander ornamental field	

* All these designs of the Mezine bone object have been prepared in the Th. Volkov Anthropological Laboratory at the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev.

** Križ, Martin, Dr., *Výrobky diluvialního člověka z Predmostí*, Pravek, 1903, No. 2, Table III, Fig. 1a.

*** All drawings have been made by the author.

16. Diagram of ornamental field of right horizontal meander whirl
17. Diagram of ornamental field of left horizontal meander whirl
18. Diagram of ornamental field of right vertical meander whirl
19. Diagram of ornamental field of left vertical meander whirl

TABLE II

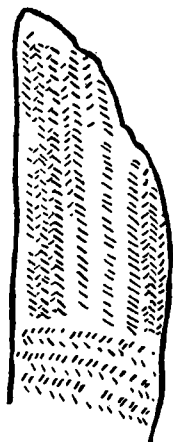
1. Diagram of the regular ornamental field of the right meander whirl (three complete and three truncated chevrons).
2. Diagram of the irregular ornamental field of the right meander whirl.
3. Part of the bracelet ornament which had been straightened out. Here, all the ornamental fields of the meander whirls are regular.
4. Diagram of the regular ornamental field of the left meander whirl (two complete and two truncated chevrons).
5. Three regular ornamental fields of the left meander whirls arranged one beside the other.
6. Three regular ornamental fields of the left meander whirls enlarged beneath by three similar fields. Each field has one incision added to it.
7. Three regular ornamental fields of the left meander whirls (a) with three identical ornamental fields at the bottom (b). Along the meeting line of these two ornamental fields, new ornamental fields are formed (c). One has to add the central incision to each of them in order to complete them.
8. Wedge from the mammoth's fang on which an attempt was made to design an isolated series of meander whirls. This object must be held in a vertical position.

TABLE I.



1

2



3



4



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9



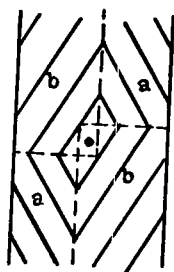
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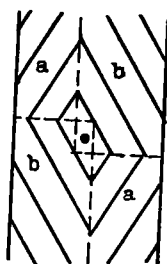
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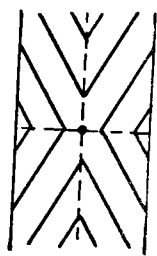
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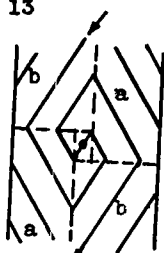
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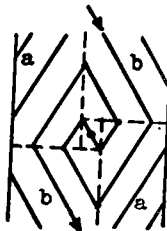
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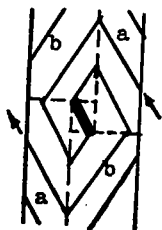
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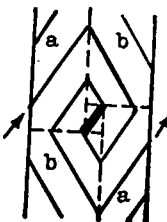
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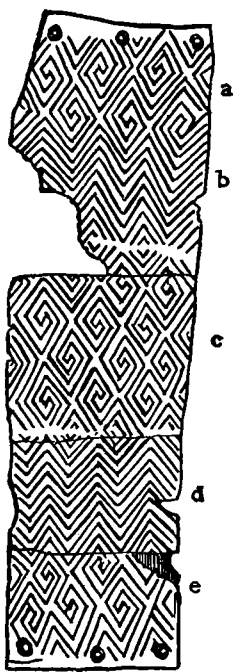
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18

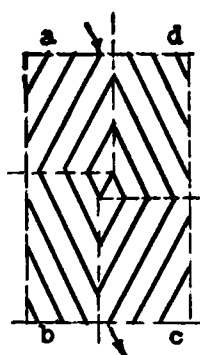


19

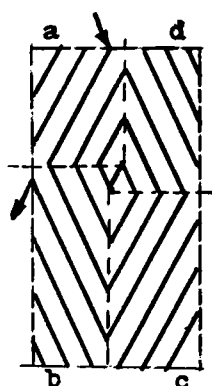


12

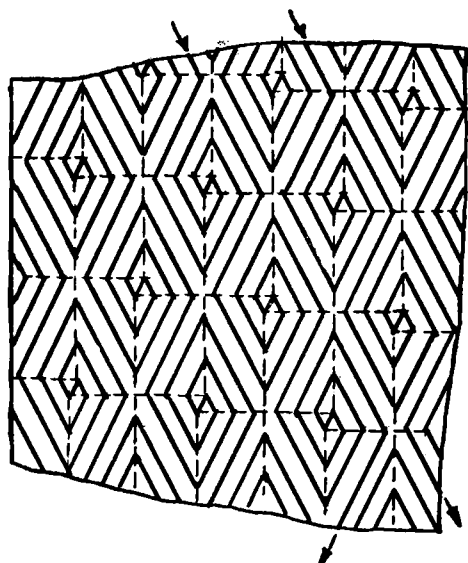
TABLE II.



1



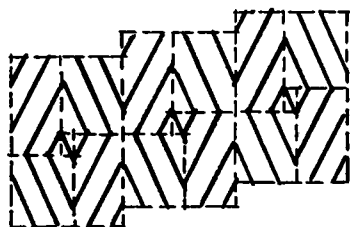
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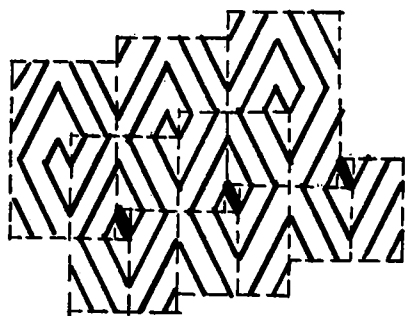
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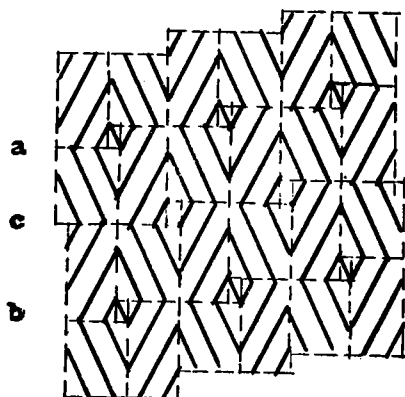
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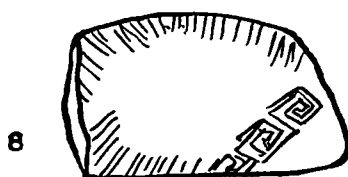
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8

SETTLEMENT PLANS OF THE TRYPILLYAN CULTURE

NEONILA KORDYSH

Preface

The discovery in the Dnieper basin at the end of the nineteenth century of the Late-Neolithic agricultural civilization aroused great interest and occasioned many polemics among scientists.

The first excavation was made by V. Khvoyko near the village of Trypillya in the Kiev district and it was from this village that the culture received its name, Trypillyan.

V. Khvoyko discovered the remains of clay structures. There was a layer of baked clay on these structures which contained the impressions of wood and twigs. These structures were usually located on loess plateaus and V. Khvoyko considered them to be the remnants of buildings used for cremation ceremonies. This was based on the fact that the uncovered structures did not contain the remains of oven or fireplaces, but much painted pottery was found which often contained burned bones. The arrangement of the excavated structures in a circle also supported his view that this was a sanctuary for the burial ceremonies.

This point of view was supported by many scholars, e.g., E. Stern, who excavated the Trypillyan settlement in the village of Petreny, Bessarabia province, in 1901-1902. However, other noted investigators advanced a different theory; F. Vovk (Th. Volkov), N. Bilyashevsky, A. Spitsyn, V. Horodzov and S. Hamchenko believed that the structures were simply dwellings.

Since these problems were open to dispute, modern archaeologists excavated many dwellings as well as complete settlements of the Trypillyan culture in the Dnieper, Southern Buh and Dniester basins in order to resolve them. The excavations were made in Kolomyyshchyna I, not far from the village of Trypillya, and Kharlep'ye in the Kiev district, the same region where V. Khvoyko discovered the first sites of that culture. These excavations continued for five years, 1934-1938. Thereafter, systematic excavations

took place in Kolomyyshchyna II and near the village of Volodymyrivka, Uman' district, in the South Buh basin, as well as in many other places.

In studying the remains of the Trypillian clan settlements, their way of life and husbandry, it was established that the clay structures were not buildings for ritual purposes, but dwellings of an elongated, rectangular shape which consisted of several rooms. The basic building materials were wood and clay. The floors of the houses were especially thick, built sometimes of several baked clay layers which protected the dwellings from dampness.

The articles found there — stone grinding mills, mattocks of deer horn or flints for soil cultivation, flint tools, clay spindle whorls, sinkers for fish nets, painted pottery of various shapes: jars for water, food storage and cooking, were typical of the dwellings. The houses of the settlements were usually arranged in a circle or several concentric circles on the loess plateaus and all of them were built radially towards the center. The problem of the settlement plans of the Trypillian culture is of great interest and their study yields important clues on the social and economic conditions of the ancient Trypillian communities.

I

Archaeologists often mention the round or oval form of Trypillian settlements and the fact of their location on plateaus. These observations were noted in their reports, which, however, rarely included drawings or even sketches of the layout of these excavated settlements.

There exist seven settlement plans drawn up by the archeologist V. Khvoyko during the excavations he carried out near the village of Trypillya,¹ the plan of a settlement situated near the village of Kolodyste (Zvenihorodka district)² and the plan of a Trypillian settlement excavated near the village of Lukashi

¹ *Trudy XI arkheologicheskogo s'ezda*, Moscow, 1901, Vol. I, pp. 755, 764, 769, 772, 778. *Zapiski russk. otd. russ. akheologich. ob-va*, Vol. V, Issue 2, p. 12.

² A. Spitsyn, "Raskopki glinianykh ploschadok bliz' s. Kolodistogo," *Izvestiia arkheologicheskoi komissii*, Issue XII.

in the Poltava district.³ Moreover, there exist the plans of two Trypillian settlements near the villages of Popudnya and Penyonzhkove⁴ and the plan of excavations near the village of Sushkivka⁵ (Uman' district), which also includes a topographical survey of the region.

These plans indicate the location of the various buildings but they do not show the actual contours of the structures, which are given only in the form of small squares or rectangles inclined towards one side without specifying their actual form and location with regard to the center of the settlement.

As a result of excavations of Trypillian settlements carried out during the last decades in the Ukraine, three plans of ancient settlements have been drawn: Kolomyyshchyna I, Kolomyyshchyna II near Trypillya (Kiev district), and the settlement near the village of Volodymyrivka (Uman' district).

Numerous archeologists have noted that these settlements were located on plateau ledges.

Publications dealing with excavations in the Trypillian region indicate that these settlements were always built on elevations bordering on rivers or brooks. Thus, the settlement near the village of Zhukivtsi (Kiev district) was situated on a plateau bordered on one side by the valley of the Sukha-Bobrytsya river and on the other side by a ravine through which flowed a brook. In the north and west the plateau leveled off to the steppe.⁶ The settlement near the village of Shcherbanivka (Kiev district) was also situated on a plateau, not far from the Krasna river. The region near the village of Verem'ye (Kiev district), where three ancient Trypillian settlements have been discovered, is hilly and rent by long and deep ravines through which brooks and streams flow.⁷

The Trypillian settlement on the estate of Sholudivka near the village of Khalep'ye (Kiev district) was situated on a plateau,

³ V., Shcherbakivsky, *Malyovana neolitychna keramika na Poltavshchyni*, 1923.

⁴ *Swiatowit*, Vol. XIV, pp. 40, 49.

⁵ *Trypil's'ka kul'tura na Ukrayini*, Issue I, p. 44.

⁶ *Trudy XI-go arkhheologicheskogo s'ezda*, Vol. I, pp. 768-769.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 778-779.

which bordered on the Sholudivka river on one side and on a landslide and a ravine on the other. Only a narrow strip of land connected the ledge of the plateau with the steppe.⁸

The settlement near the village of Sushkivka (Uman' district) was also situated on an elongated plateau ledge bordered on two sides by the rivers Umanka and Yatran.⁹

The settlement near the village of Tomashivka (Uman' district) was situated on a wedge-like promontory, between two ravines, and the eastern side of the promontory sloped toward the Yatran river.¹⁰

The ancient Trypillian settlement near the village of Yevminka (Oster district) was situated on the elevated ledge of a sand plateau on the left bank of the Desna river, bordering to the northwest on a rather deep ravine and connected northeastward with the plateau.¹¹

The settlement near the village of Lukashi (Poltava district) was located near the swamp in the river basin of the Nedra on an estate which sloped southward gradually.

The old Trypillian settlement near the village of Popudnya (Uman' district) had been built between two rather small valleys on a triangular plateau ledge (500 by 300 m.).

The ledge, on which the Trypillian settlement near the village of Penyonzhkove (Uman' district) had been excavated, also had a triangular form (800 by 500 m.). It was bordered on two sides by deep valleys, and on the third by flat country from which, however, two-thirds of it was divided by a small but steep ravine (see Plan 7). The report does not mention the presence of water in the valleys, yet we recognize small streams on the settlement plan. The plan of the ancient settlement near Popudnya does not contain any such reference.¹² (See Plan 4.)

The Trypillian settlement near the village of Kononchi and close to Rzhyshechiv (Kiev district)¹³ was also situated on a pla-

⁸ *Kоротке зvidomlennya VUAK za 1925 r., 1926, p. 34.*

⁹ *Trypil's'ka kul'tura na Ukraïni, Issue I, p. 34.*

¹⁰ *Kоротке зvidomlennya VUAK za 1925 r., p. 54.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.

¹² *Swiatowit*, Vol. XIV, p. 49.

¹³ *Zapiski russ. otdela russ. arkheolog. ob-va, Issue II, Vol. V, p. 12.*

teau ledge, which was surrounded on three sides by slopes and the valley of the Ros' river.

The Trypillian settlement near the village of Kolodyste (Zvenihorodka district) was located on a plateau ledge bounded on one side by a stream, Kolodyste, and on the other by a slope. This settlement had been destroyed to a large extent by a quarry. Structural remnants were also discovered along the rim of the quarry. Thus, the structures had been erected on this plateau ledge in the form of a circle consisting of one or in some places several rows of dwellings.¹⁴

The settlement discovered on the Bavki estate near the village of Kadiyivtsi was also situated on a corner ledge on the left bank of the Shvanets (Dniester river basin), bounded to the north by a deep valley and to the south by a ravine, through which flows a brook (tributary of the Shvanets).¹⁵

Another Trypillian settlement had been discovered near the village of Burakivka on a long elevated peninsula circled on three sides by the Shvanets river. To the southwest the peninsula borders on a deep valley, while the northeastern boundary is formed by a steep escarpment projecting over the river.¹⁶

Explorations carried out during the last years convinced us that the topographical situation of Trypillian clan settlements in the Dniester river basin is the same as in the Buh and Dnieper basins, i.e., it is typical of all these settlements that they are located on elevated places and plateaus.

Thus, the settlement near the village of Babyne had been built on a large plateau above a brook. The dwellings formed a circle, consisting of regular rows, one of which had 14 large dwellings.

The settlement of Darabany (Chernivtsi district) had been built on an elevation and was half-circled by a small brook, which flows through a deep ravine and empties into the Dniester.

The settlement of Polyvaniv Yar had been located on a cape

¹⁴ *Izvestiia arkholog. komissii*, Issue XII, p. 14.

¹⁵ *Korotke zvidomlennya VUAK za 1926 r.*, p. 128.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

(450 by 150 m.) bounded on two sides by ravines with brooks flowing through them.

Near the village of Volodymyrivka (Uman' district) the settlement was located on the elevated right bank of the Synukha river (left tributary of the South Buh) on a spot where the tributary, Bondarivka, emptied into the river from the right side, thus forming a tongue of land.

The settlements excavated on the estates of Kolomyyshchina I and Kolomyyshchina II near the village of Khalep'ye (Kiev district), were also located on plateau ledges.

The Trypillian settlements near the villages of Raiki (Berdychiv district),¹⁷ Borysivka (Lipovets' county, Kiev district)¹⁸ and Horodsk (Zhytomyr district),¹⁹ are also situated on plateau ledges, occasionally assuming the form of peninsulas (remainders of former plateau massifs), surrounded by ravines and river valleys. It is worth mentioning that in later times Slav castles were built exactly where these three Trypillian settlements had once been located.

Thus, the location on plateau ledges is typical of the ancient Trypillian settlements and proves that there was a tendency to build these settlements on elevated places, rather far away from big rivers but in the proximity of streams and brooks.

The exceptions, however, are the Trypillian settlement near the village of Lukashi (Poltava district), which is not situated on the plateau itself but on its slope, about 80 m. from a swamp, and the settlement on the bank of a small stream, Ivkovitsya, near the village of Khalep'ye (Kiev district).

The ancient Trypillian settlements were always built near a forest which is evidenced by numerous imprints of wooden beams found on walls and stoves and on the *val'ki* of the floors (pieces of baked clay mixed with chaff) in the ruins of Trypillian settlements. Since, at that time, tools and means of transportation were extremely primitive, an extensive exploita-

¹⁷ *Korotke zvidomlennya VUAK za 1926*, p. 72.

¹⁸ *Trypil's'ka kul'tura na Ukraini*, Issue I, p. 3.

¹⁹ "Materiyaly poliškoyi ekspeditsiyi 1936 roku," *Institut istor. materiyalnoyi kul'tury*, AN URSR.

tion of the forest was only possible if the woods were close to the settlements. It is difficult to determine the precise kind of wood found at that time in that region, but charcoal made of oak found during the excavations near the village of Sushkivka (Uman' district)²⁰ and in the ruins of the stove in dwelling No. 2 on the estate of Kolomyyshchyna I (see above), as well as charred remains of oak posts and imprints of acorns and of alder and willow leaves on the *val'ki* of the floors in the ruins of the dwellings No. 2 and No. 10 point to the existence of oaks, alders and willows in the forests near the ancient Trypillian settlements.²¹

The discovery of bones of wild beasts in the Trypillian settlements is also indicative of the proximity of woods. Thus, bones and antlers of deer and elks and tools made thereof, as well as bones of chamois and wild boar,²² were found during the excavations carried out in the Trypillian settlements near the little town of Trypillya (Kiev district). The bones of deer (*Cervus elaphus*) and elk (*Alces machlis*), as well as tools made of their antlers,²³ were found in the old Trypillian settlements near the village of Sushkivka (Uman' district). Bones of deer (*Cervus elaphus*) and roe (*Capreolus capreolus*) were discovered during the excavations on the estate of Kolomyyshchyna I near the village of Khalep'ye (Kiev district).²⁴ Numerous axes made of antlers as well as of bones of deer, roe, elk (*Alces alces*) and wild boar (*Sus scrofa*), were found during the excavations in the village of Volodymyrivka (Uman' district). Moreover, beaver (*Castor fiber*) bones were found in the settlement of Kolomyyshchyna.

The Trypillian settlements sometimes covered a rather extensive area. Near the village of Zhukivtsi (Kiev district), V. Khvoyko discovered a settlement composed of 29 dwellings and covering an area approximately 200 m. in diameter. The diameter of the Trypillian settlement near Verem'ye (Kiev district) was almost 500 m. The settlement on the estate of Taboryshche

²⁰ Is preserved at the Shevchenko All-Ukrainian Historical Museum in Kiev.

²¹ The coal was analyzed by the Institute of Historical Technology GAIMK and the Botanical Museum of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

²² *Trudy XI-go arkhеologich. s'ezda*, Vol. I, pp. 772, 774, 777 and others.

²³ *Trypil's'ka kul'tura na Ukraïni*, Issue I, pp. 65-66.

²⁴ Material of the Trypillian Expedition 1934-1937. Determined by I. Pidoplichka.

(Kiev district) covered an area of 205 by 295 m. Another settlement near Trypillya itself covered an area with a diameter of almost 2 km. The settlement near Lukashi (Poltava district) covered an area of 180 by 120 m. The old Trypillyan settlement on the estate of Kolomyyshchyna I near Khalep'ye (Kiev district) covered an area 170 by 200 m.; the Trypillyan settlement near Volodymyrivka (Uman' district) an area of 900 by 800 m.

The dwellings of each Trypillyan settlement were arranged in a definite pattern, the circle and the oval being the most typical. V. Khvoyko, in his reports on the excavations, has repeatedly stressed this particular arrangement of dwellings in Trypillyan settlements. He also reported that in the settlements near the village of Zhukivtsi (Kiev district) the dwellings were occasionally arranged in several rows, their outline, however, always forming an almost perfect circle. The center of the circle, which had a diameter of almost 200 m., contained six dwellings (see Plan 1 and 1a).²⁵

V. Khvoyko discovered near the village of Staiki (Kiev district) over 30 dwellings forming a regular circle, the few dwellings in the center of the circle being much larger than those on the periphery. Near Verem'ye a number of dwellings were discovered arranged in an almost perfect circle with a diameter of 500 m.²⁶

One of the settlements discovered near Trypillya (Kiev district) consisted of 30 dwellings and covered an area approximately 2 km. in diameter.²⁷

The dwellings of the Trypillyan settlement near Kolodyste (Zvenyhorodka district) were also undoubtedly arranged in a circle formed of one and sometimes two or more rows of structures.²⁸ (See Plan 2.)

We see from the plan of the Trypillyan settlement near the village of Shcherbanivka (Kiev district) that the settlement composed of 43 dwellings had the shape of an irregular circle (see

²⁵ *Trudy XI-go arkhеologich. s'ezda*, Vol. I, pp. 768-769. The plan was taken from the Archives of V. Khvoyko.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 785.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 791.

²⁸ *Izvestiia arkhеologicheskoi komissii*, Issue XII, p. 96.

Plan 3). The center of the circle was vacant, with the exception of two structures placed in the very middle.²⁹

The ancient settlement near the village of Popudnya (Uman' district) had more or less the shape of an irregular circle composed of two irregular rows of dwellings. The outer one did not close the circle while the inner row formed a closed circle with a structure in the center (see Plan 4).³⁰

The plan of the old Trypillian settlement near the village of Lukashi (Poltava district), consisting of 9 dwellings, shows that the settlement formed an oval (see Plan 5). A number of dwellings were discovered on the estate of Taboryshche (Kiev district) which were also arranged in the form of an oval.³¹

From the given description we can conclude that the Trypillian settlement near the village of Khalep'ye (Kiev district) also had the shape of a circle.³² (See Plan 6.)

In addition to the above-mentioned forms of Trypillian settlements, we also encounter settlements where the dwellings were arranged according to the shape of the plateau ledge.

Thus, for instance, the Trypillian settlement near the village of Penyonzhkove (Uman' district) was located along the edge of a narrow plateau ledge, faithfully repeating its contours (see Plan 7).³³ The plan of the settlement does not show any dwellings in the southern sector of the ledge bordering on the plateau. It is, however, difficult to form a clear opinion with regard to that as well as to the central sector of the settlement, since only 32 of its dwellings have been explored and at least 40 have remained unexplored.

The ancient settlement near Sushkivka belonged to the same type. It was located on an oblong plateau ledge (see Plan 8). Remains of ruined dwellings as well as intact ones, excavated in the years 1916 and 1917, show that they were built along the rim of the plateau and following its contours.³⁴

²⁹ *Zapiski russkogo otdela russkogo arkhelogicheskogo obshchestva*, Issue II, Vol. V., p. 12.

³⁰ *Swiatowit*, Vol. XIV, p. 40.

³¹ *Trudy XI-go arkhelogich. s'ezda*, Vol. I, p. 791.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 783.

³³ *Swiatowit*, Vol. XIV, p. 49.

³⁴ *Trypil's'ka kul'tura na Ukraini*, 1926, Issue I, p. 44.

S. Hamchenko writes in this connection that in the old Trypillian settlements on the Podillya "the dwellings had been arranged in concentric arcs, which were adapted to the topographical configuration."³⁵

The dwellings of the old settlement near the village of Balyky, not far from Rzhyschiv (Kiev district), formed a curve, following the northern, eastern and southern sides of the plateau outline. (See Plan 9.)

Except for a few structures, there were no dwellings in the vacant center space in all the above-mentioned settlements, which were built in the shape of a circle or oval or along the edge of the plateau ledge following its contour.

The plans of the Trypillian settlements in Volodymyrivka (Uman' district), as well as Kolomyyshchyna I and II (Kiev district), excavated during the last decades, also showed that these settlements were round or oval with their dwellings arranged in several concentric rows.

The ancient settlement near the village of Volodymyrivka (Uman' district), which was explored for several years, had been the largest of all those known to us. It covered an area of 900 by 800 m. and consisted of over 200 houses. The settlement was situated on an elevated plateau, the eastern edge bordering on the Synyukha river and the northern on a small brook, Bondarivka.

The settlement had the form of an irregular oval and consisted of five concentric rows. The houses were built most closely to each other in the eastern part of the settlement. It is evident that the houses were arranged in a definite pattern which formed several concentric circles. All the houses were built radially towards the center (Plan 10).

The ancient settlement of Kolomyyshchyna II had been situated on the high part of the plateau. The southern side leveled off sharply and bordered on a swampy ravine with a small brook flowing through it. The eastern and western slopes of that plateau were bounded by two small ravines. The settlement covered an area of 250 by 350 m. In 1939, nine dwellings had been dis-

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

covered, arranged in the shape of a slightly elongated circle. Moreover, another three dwellings were found in the center.

During one summer, archaeologists were unable to uncover all the dwellings whose total number was probably much higher.

All the discovered dwellings had an elongated shape and were located in such a manner that the axis of each coincided with the radius of the circle (Plan 11).

The systematical excavations of the settlement of Kolomyyshchyna I over a five-year period (1934-38), helped solve the problems of the clan settlement of the matriarchate period, its husbandry and the construction of buildings and their purpose.

Simultaneously, the topography and plan of that settlement were thoroughly studied.

Kolomyyshchyna I had been situated near the village of Khalep'ye (Kiev district), 1.5 km. southeast of Kolomyyshchyna II.

The settlement was situated on a plateau ledge between two small ravines. The plateau levelled off gradually to the west towards a rather deep ravine, Kolomyyshchyna, at the bottom of which, about 120 m. away from the settlement, flowed a brook. In the east, the edge on which the settlement was located expanded directly into the plateau. The distance from the settlement to the Dnieper was almost 3.5 km.

The old settlement of Kolomyyshchyna covered an area of 170 by 200 m. It formed an almost perfect circle consisting of 30 dwellings with another 8 structures in the center, which also formed a circular pattern. The diameter of the interior circle was 50-70 m. (See Plan 12.)

Moreover, a dwelling (No. 37) was discovered outside the excavated circle of the settlement, located in the northeastern sector of the settlement, 35 m. away from dwelling No. 27.

The discovery of this dwelling is rather indicative of the existence of a third row of dwellings along the northern, eastern and southern sides of the settlement, that is, from one edge of the ravine to the other. This assumption is confirmed by the discovery of still another dwelling (No. 40) near dwelling No. 37, which was found during archaeological explorations in 1946 in a trench dating back to the war period of 1943 on the territory of

the ancient settlement.³⁶ Dwellings in the western sector of the settlement were located so close to the rim of the plateau ledge that the existence of further rows of dwellings on that side is rather improbable.

The dwellings forming the exterior circle of the settlement were arranged in such a way that the direction of the axis of each dwelling coincided with that of the radius of the circle.

These dwellings were built in the form of oblong rectangles and were of different sizes, the largest being 21 by 6 m., the smallest 4 by 2 m.

The distance between the dwellings varied, too. The shortest distance (2-3 m.) was that between the dwellings No. 15 and No. 16 and between Nos. 21 and 28, while the distance between the dwellings No. 8 and No. 9 and between No. 16 and No. 25 was 30-32 m.

In general, the dwellings stood closer together in the southern sector than in the northern. The distance between the structures was about 5-10 m. in the southern and 14-20 m. in the northern sector.

Dwelling No. 8 in the northern sector of the settlement was located somewhat more to the south, thus breaking the circular shape of the settlement. The reason for this was a slight deviation of the ravine circling the northern part of the plateau ledge. There occurs another slight deviation of the ravine on the southwestern side of the ledge pushing in between dwellings No. 16 and No. 25, again breaking the circular shape of the settlement and transforming it into a kind of spiral.

The interior circle was composed of two dwellings measuring 22.6 by 5.0 m. and 14.5 by 5.5 m., respectively, and six greatly destroyed structures, measuring 2 by 2 m., 1 by 1.5 m. and 1 by 1 m. It should be mentioned that these latter structures greatly differed from the other buildings in this settlement. The floors or what was left of them were made of several rather thin layers of lightly baked clay without the addition of any vegetable matter. Each layer of clay was about 2-3 cm. thick, crumbled easily into small fragments,

³⁶ *Kratkie soobshcheniia o dokladykh i polevykh issledovaniakh instituta istorii material'noi kul'tury*, 1947, Issue XVII.

and was blackened by smoke on the bottom side. The clay was of a light yellow color. Each layer of such a floor was smooth on top, while the bottom layer showed no imprints of wood or splinters, thus indicating that it was spread directly on the ground.

However, floors made of rather massive layers of baked clay without the addition of vegetable matter but containing a certain amount of sand, were typical of the structures of the settlement of Kolomyyshchyna I. Each layer was up to 10-12 cm. thick, while the color of the clay varied from pink to light red. Underneath these layers of floor-covering there were always one or two layers of dark-yellow baked clay, composed of separate irregular pieces to which a great amount of chaff was added, the so-called *valki*. This layer of clay quite often showed imprints of a wooden foundation on its bottom side. In some cases, though, it was placed directly on the ground. All these layers formed a floor covering of considerable sturdiness.

In general, the *ploshchadki* (old name of the destroyed dwellings of the Trypillian settlements) of that kind are in a better state of preservation and make it possible to obtain a clear picture of the size and shape of the structure, while the ruins of the above-mentioned dwellings are nothing but fragments, without any definite contours, giving no clues as to the size and shape of the buildings. Nearby, small slaggy remnants of stove covering as well as handmills made of stone and fragments of pottery and animal bones were found.

Remnants of dwellings of the same type were also found in the exterior circle of the settlement, such as dwellings Nos. 5, 7, 12, 14, 28, 34, 38 and 39. Some of them, somewhat better preserved (Nos. 5, 7, 12, 14 and 28), measured 4.9 by 4.8 m., 8 by 3 m., 4 by 3 m., 7 by 4 m., and 6 by 4 m., respectively, and had the shape of a rectangle.

Remnants of such floors with stove fragments, pieces of pottery or intact vessels, stone handmills, animal bones and, occasionally, fragments of round sacrificial tables made of clay lying on them or nearby, were discovered underneath most of the dwellings of the settlement, with the exception of buildings Nos. 8, 10, 18 and 22.

These floors are usually preserved in the form of fragments and represent remnants of older dwellings of the settlement.

Thus, we evidently are confronted in the settlement of Kolomyyshchyna I with ruins of dwellings dating back to two different periods of its existence. It is difficult to determine the span of time separating these two periods, but it should be mentioned that the type of pottery found on the floors of the dwellings of both periods is the same.

The more ancient settlement of Kolomyyshchyna I was, as already mentioned, arranged in two circular rows of dwellings.

Later, the area covered by the dwellings was apparently utilized by the settlement dwellers of the following period according to their needs. New dwellings, with new floors, were erected over some of the old structures, such as, for instance, the structures of the exterior circle. Others were left intact, possibly those that were still well preserved, such as dwellings Nos. 5, 7, 12, 14 and 28. Among them, dwelling No. 7, which did not have a stove, was used as an annex to dwelling No. 6.

It is interesting to note that the area covered by dwellings dating back to the earlier period and located nearer to the edge of the ravine remained unused in the later period, with no new dwellings being built there (Nos. 34, 38, 39). However, the fragments of pottery, bones and handmills discovered nearby indicate that the remnants of these buildings were used for certain purposes connected with the economic activities of the inhabitants. On the other hand, new buildings were erected in the later period in an area previously unused (Nos. 8, 10, 18, and 22) under which no traces of earlier structures could be found.

With the exception of dwellings Nos. 1 and 2, the area of the small interior circle of the settlement was not used for building purposes. Thus, the vacant center plot was increased, while the outer circle of the settlement, probably due to an increase of the tribe population, was expanded beyond the limits of the original settlement. This assumption is supported by the discovery of dwellings Nos. 37 and 40, located outside the limits of the excavated settlement circle. The layout of the old settlement of Kolomyyshchyna I is typical of the old Trypillian settle-

ments; namely, dwellings arranged in a circle and the settlement located on an elevated plateau ledge, bounded on two sides by ravines and close to a brook.

II.

From what has been said so far about these Trypillian settlements, it can be seen that they were located, as a rule, on plateau ledges, in the proximity of woods, at a considerable distance from big rivers but close to streams and brooks. Such a location favored farming and cattle-breeding, the two occupations typical of Trypillian communities, while the nearby woods provided building material and fuel and induced hunting and the gathering of the fruit of the forest.

Archaeological explorations of Trypillian settlements have yielded many clues as to their type of farming. One should mention in this connection the discoveries of charred wheat and barley grains, imprints of wheat, barley, millet and rye grains, and chaff. V. Khvoyko discovered in the clay walls of the dwellings of a settlement excavated on the hilly Kyrylivska Street Nos. 59-61 in Kiev an admixture of chaff as well as imprints of wheat, rye, barley and millet chaff in the clay walls of the Trypillian dwellings.³⁷ He also found charred wheat grains there.³⁸

In the course of the excavations of a Trypillian settlement near the village of Krutoborodyntsi in Podillya, V. Khvoyko discovered a jar with charred wheat in the ruins of one of the dwellings.³⁹

While excavating a Trypillian settlement in Petreny (Bessarabia), E. Stern discovered a jar with millet (*Panicum*) or sorgo (*Sorghum*).⁴⁰

In the "valki" of the dwellings of a Trypillian settlement near

³⁷ Khvoyko, V., *Nachalo zemledeliia*, p. 2; *Raskopki 1901 go goda v oblasti tripolskoi kul'tury*, p. 24; *Drevnie obitateli sredniago pridneprov'ia*, Kiev, 1913, p. 19.

³⁸ Khvoyko, V., *Nachalo zemledeliia*, p. 2; *Kamennyi vek*, pp. 769, 789, 773, 777.

³⁹ Khvoyko, V., "Raskopki ploshchadok v sele Krutoborodintsakh," *Trudy Moskovskogo arkhеologicheskogo obshchestva*, Issue II, p. 10.

⁴⁰ Von Stern, E., *Doistoricheskaiia grecheskaia kul'tura na iuge Rossii*, p. 32.

the village of Stara Buda (Zvenyhorodka district), M. Yakismovich found an admixture of chaff and straw.⁴¹

V. Domanytsky discovered an admixture of wheat and millet, chaff and straw as well as of grains of a small-seeded millet-like cereal, while excavating a Trypillian settlement near the village of Kolodyste (Zvenyhorodka district).⁴²

S. Hamchenko found remnants of wheat, barley and millet grains as well as hemp seed in the excavated Trypillian dwellings near the villages of Krynychka and Korytne in Podillya.⁴³

A botanical analysis of the wheat and millet grains found in Trypillian settlements disclosed that most of the wheat grains belonged to the species *Triticum vulgare* L., and some to the species *Triticum durum*, while the millet grains belonged to the species *Panicum miliacum* L.⁴⁴

A botanical analysis disclosed in fragments of clay walls or the so-called *petchina* (remnants of destroyed buildings of the Trypillian culture) an admixture of large amounts of awn and spelts of wheat ears, more rarely of barley and millet ears and quite rarely of rye ears.⁴⁵

Numerous mattocks made of stone or horn, fragments of a sickle-like tool made of flint, a bone sickle made of the shoulder-blade of a steer or a cow, found in 1939 in the settlement of Kolomyyshchyna II (Kiev district), as well as a great number of handmills made of stone, confirm, on the one hand, the existence and development of farming and, on the other hand, the low level of farming methods.

Numerous finds of bones of domestic animals seem to indicate that cattle-breeding also existed in the Trypillian communities, playing at least as important a part in their economy as farming.

⁴¹ *Otchet imperatorskoi arkheologicheskoi komissii za 1936 g.*, p. 106.

⁴² A. Spitsyn, "Raskopki glinianykh ploschadok bliz' s. Kolodistogo," *Izvestiia arkheologicheskoi komissii*, Issue XII, pp. 94, 95, 105.

⁴³ *Otchet imperatorskoi arkheologicheskoi komissii za 1909 i 1910 gg.*, p. 178; *Trypil's'ka kul'tura na Ukraïni*, Issue I, p. 38.

⁴⁴ Established by the conservative A. M. Oksner of the Kiev Botanical Gardens. Fliaksberger, K., "Nakhodki kul'turnykh rastenii doistoricheskogo perioda," *Archiu istorii, nauki i tekhniki*, Leningrad, 1934, Issue II, p. 175.

⁴⁵ *Naukovi zapysky institutu material'noi kul'tury*, Books 5-6; A. Persydsky and O. Lypa, *Zlaky z budivel trypil's'koi kul'tury na Ukraïni*.

The paleontological analysis of the bones found in excavated Trypillian settlements revealed the existence of the cow (*Bos taurus*), the sheep, (*Ovis aries*), the pig (*Sus scrofa domestica*), the horse (*Equus caballus*), the dog (*Canis familiaris*) and the cat (*Felis catus*) in Trypillian settlements.⁴⁶

The importance of cattle-breeding in the economy of the Trypillian man is even reflected in his art. Numerous clay figures of domestic animals as well as paintings of animals and pottery decorated with animal designs, have been found during the excavations.

It is quite possible that the arrangement of the dwellings in circles or along the edges of the plateau ledge, while preserving a vacant or almost vacant center plot, can be traced back to the necessity of creating a kind of pen to protect domestic animals against beasts of prey. It is possible that, for the same reason, the settlements were surrounded with a stockade. The existence of a common center area as well as the absence of individual pens and stables next to the dwellings are indicative of the common ownership of the cattle.

Thus, each Trypillian settlement, whether arranged in circles or ovals or adapted to the contours of the plateau ledge, represented an organic whole, the individual dwelling being an integral part of this whole. They were not isolated from one another and did not have individual yards, but were indispensable, constituent parts of the settlement.

Even today we encounter examples of such a settlement pattern in pastoral tribes still living as a clan society. Thus, the Kaffir settlements are arranged in the form of a circle, the dwellings comprising stables. Each settlement as a whole is surrounded with a circular hedge of thorns.⁴⁷

In a similar way a Babembo (a Negro tribe) settlement forms a circle, with a vacant center which serves as cattle pen during the night. Each settlement is surrounded with a stockade. As a protection against enemies, the settlements are established in islands,

⁴⁶ Pidoplichka, I., "Do pytannya pro sviyski tvaryny trypil's'kykh poselen'," *Naukovi zapysky institutu istoriyi materiyal'noyi kul'tury*, 1937, Book 2.

⁴⁷ Rattsel', F., *Narodovedenie*, Spb., 1896, Vol. I, p. 120.

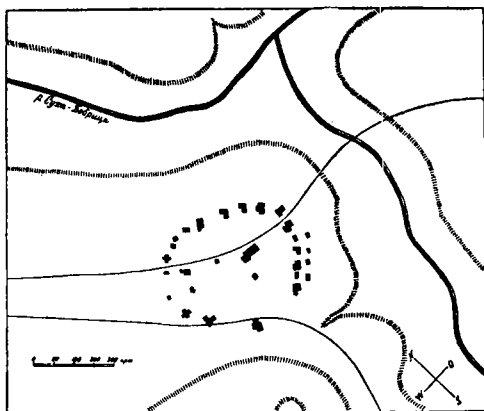
peninsulas, on elevated places, in river loops and on hills.⁴⁸ The Hottentot settlements are also built in a circular form, the dwellings standing close together. The center is vacant and serves during the night as a sheep pen.⁴⁹

This survey, thus, clearly indicates that the topographical arrangement of the Trypillian settlements as well as the choice of the building-sites were determined by the conditions of their essential economic activities and the needs of their clan existence. The establishment of the settlements on a high plateau, near water sources and woods, was dictated by the needs of farming, cattle-breeding and hunting, which played the most important part in the economy of the Trypillian communities. The arrangement of the dwellings in the form of a circle or an oval, with an almost vacant center plot, was induced by the necessity of protecting the settlement and, in particular, the cattle against enemy attacks.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 87.

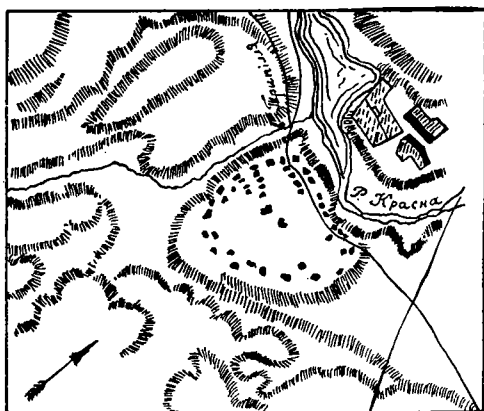
⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 744.

SETTLEMENT PLANS OF THE TRYPILLYAN CULTURE



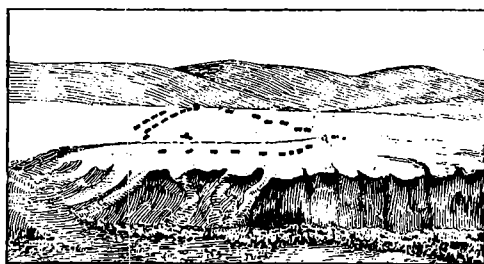
Plan 1

Plan of the Trypillian village in the vicinity of Zhukivtsi, excavated by V. Khvoyko.



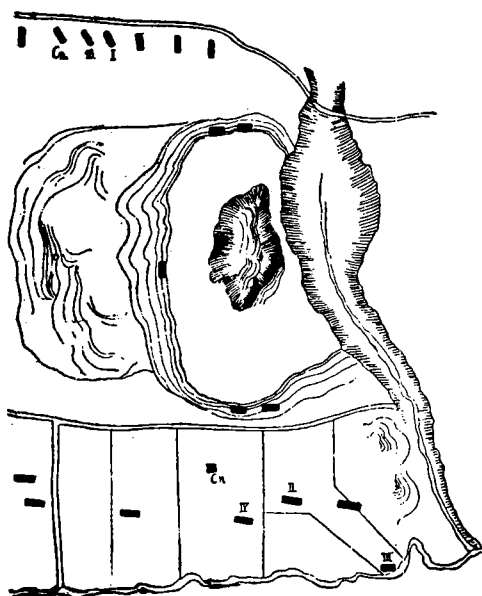
Plan 3

Plan of the Trypillian village around Shcherbanivka, excavated by V. Khvoyko



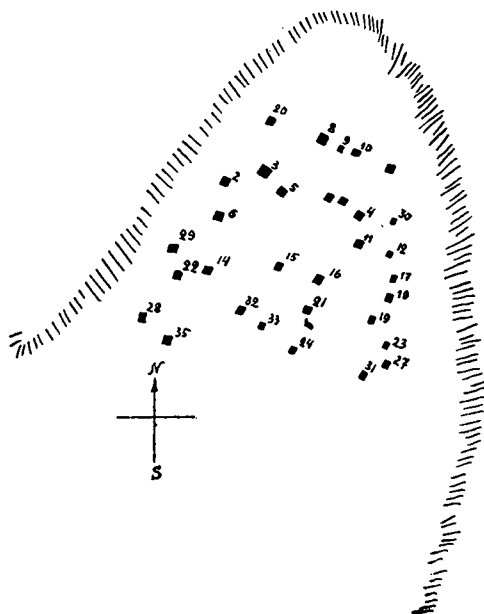
Plan 1a

Plan of the Trypillian village in the vicinity of Zhukivtsi, excavated by V. Khoyko.



Plan 2

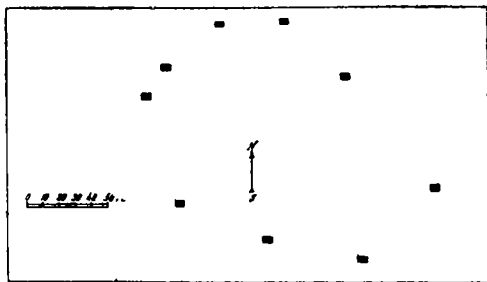
Trypillian settlement around Kolodyste, excavated by Spitsyn and O. Domanytsky



Plan 4

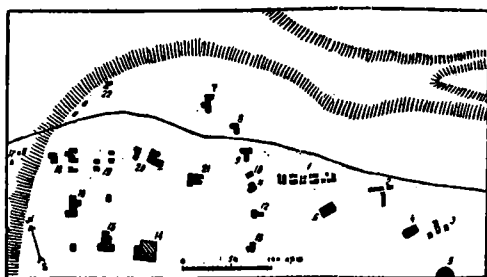
Plan of the Trypillian village around Popudnya, excavated by Marjan Himner.

SETTLEMENT PLANS OF THE TRYPILLYAN CULTURE



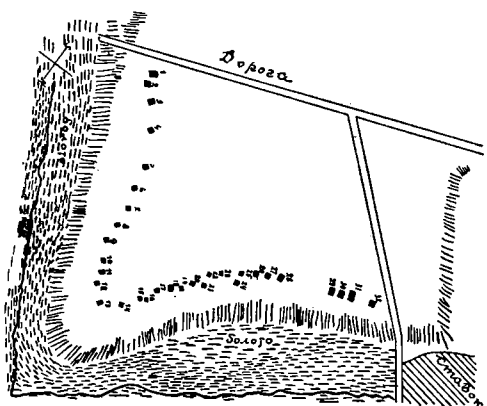
Plan 5

Plan of the Trypillian village around Lukashi, excavated by V. Shcherbakivsky.



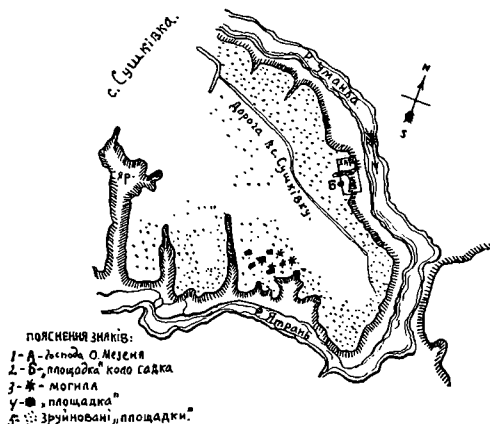
Plan 6

Plan of the Trypillian village around Khalep'ye, excavated by V. Khvoyko.



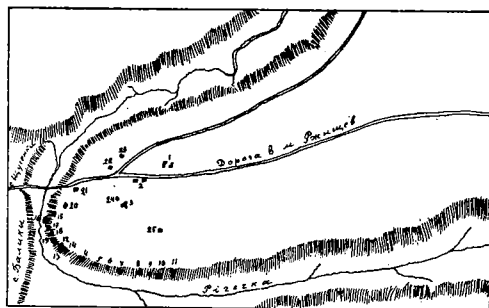
Plan 7

Trypillian village around Penyonzhkove, excavated by Marjan Himner.



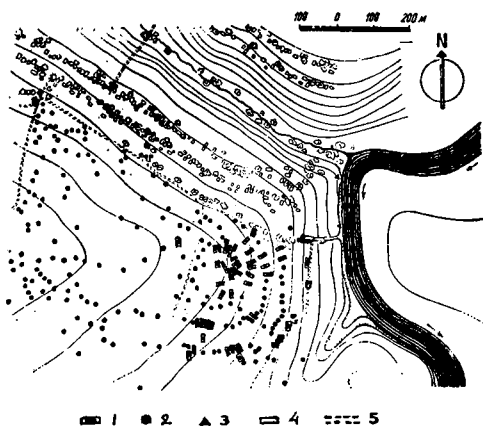
Plan 8

Trypillian village around Sushkivka, excavated by V. Kozlov's'ka.



Plan 9

Plan of the Trypillian village around Balykiy, excavated by V. Khvoyko.

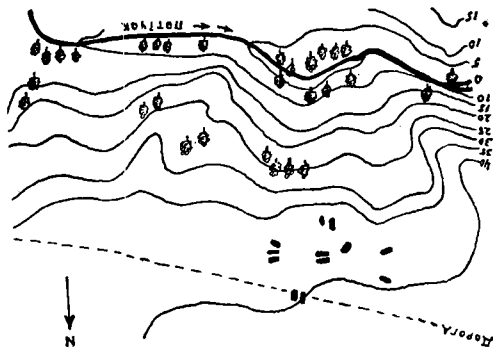


Plan 10

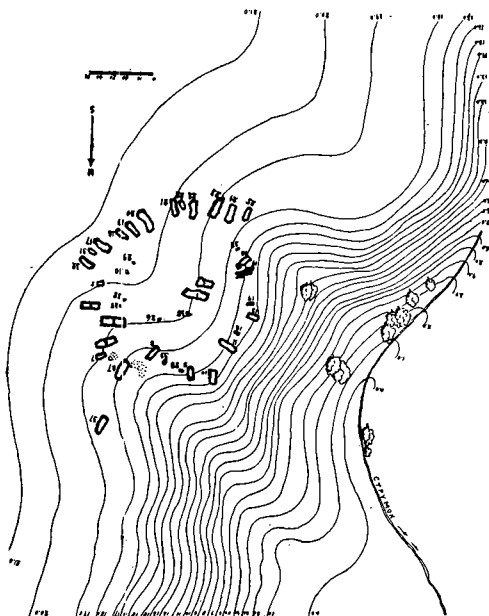
Trypillian settlement around the village of Volodymyrivka

Explanation: 1) Excavated dwellings, 2) Unexcavated dwellings, 3) Site of the late palcolith, 4) Current constructions of the village of Volodymyrivka, 5) Roads.

SETTLEMENT PLANS OF THE TRYPILLYAN CULTURE



Plan 11
Trypillian settlement, Kolomyyshchyna, II.



Plan 12
Trypillian settlement, Kolomyyshchyna, I.



Plan 13
Reconstructed Trypillian village, Kolomyyshchyna I.

UKRAINIAN FORESTRY

BORYS IVANYTSKY*

1. The Ukraine — A Country of Wooded Frontiers

Ukrainian forestry depends upon the natural reserves, i.e., the composition and the form of the forests. To a lesser degree it also depends upon those economic requirements which necessitate the change of certain Ukrainian landscapes by afforestation.

It is difficult to place the forests of the Ukraine in the context of the European woodland, because of their admittedly peculiar character. The Ukraine is crossed by various forests zones which make her a country of wooded barriers and frontiers. We find the floral elements of the south, west, east and even north in her forests. This is the net result of contemporary factors (orographic, climatic, geological, soil, biotic relations and influences), the historic layer of forest after the glacial period, and, perhaps, even the influences of primeval man.

The border-line position of the Ukraine is clearly attested by the limits of distribution of the main forest species.

Geographically, the Ukraine belongs to the Middle European countries whose major woody species consist of pine, spruce, fir, oak and beech. Other valuable species such as larch, ash, maple, elm and the more or less widespread hornbeam, linden, birch and aspen, play a secondary role and do not form massive woody areas. The pine (*Pinus silvestris*) is the most widespread conifer of the three mentioned in Europe. Its northern border crosses northern Scandinavia, Russia, Siberia and touches the limits of the woody flora. In Asia its eastern border reaches the Pacific Ocean. It is not found in the western part of Europe: it does not grow in England (except in the Scottish mountains), France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark and in northwest Germany. In Hungary and on the Balkan peninsula it is found exclusively in the mountains; it was probably forced out of the other places by the beech and the spruce during the warmer periods of the postglacial era.

The southern border of its mass extension crosses the Ukrainian

* This work of B. Ivanytsky has been edited and slightly abridged by P. Nikishyn, a former student of his.

territory in an east-west direction (with deviations either to the north or to the south) approximately along the line of Uzhorod-Lviv-Kremenchuk-Poltava-Kharkiv-Luhan'ske. From here it turns northeast to Saratov and then to the southern Ural mountains.

Within the range of its Ukrainian extension the pine is disjoined (there are breaks in its territory), but, on the other hand, there are insular areas behind the above-mentioned line (the pine woods on the river of Samara, not far from Sichelslav* and on the river of Dinets', around Izyum). The pine is relatively hardy as far as climatic and soil requirements are concerned; it grows in the continental climate and even on the sandy soils within the steppe areas of the Ukraine. Other species and other flora replace it on more fertile ground. It does not grow in the Ukrainian black soil region.

The extension of the spruce (*Picea excelsa*) is quite limited in the Ukraine. It requires winter cold and a certain climatic humidity. Its extension in Western Europe and in the warm ocean climate is more limited than that of pine and it is replaced by pine in poorer, more sandy areas. However, despite this, it forms the massive forests, often of almost pure composition, of the Middle European mountains and of their slopes. In the northern part of Europe it extends as far as the pine and reaches the limits of the woody flora. As the Siberian spruce (*Picea obovata*) it also crosses Siberia.

The limit of the spruce passes through Lviv forming the eastern frontier of the spruce mass extension. It passes through Lviv in a northwest direction and is interrupted by an areal break — a narrow strip without spruce — and then again develops into the great homogeneous northeast spruce area. Starting from Lviv, its southern border turns to the northeast, missing the Ukrainian area almost completely. Thus, in the Ukraine it is limited to a small number of islands in the province of Polissya.

There is a smaller amount of fir (*Abies pectinata*) in the Ukraine. Its eastern limit passes near Lviv. It is somewhat further toward

* Dnipropetrov'sk.

the west and almost parallel with the spruce border (toward the west from the line Lviv-Stanislaviv-Chernivtsi).

A little further east we find the beech (*Fagus silvatica*) which occupies all the warm and humid western part of Middle Europe and England. Its eastern border also parallels Lviv. In the Podillya province there are islands of birch which cross the Zbruch river.

The summer oak (*Quercus pedunculata*) reaches the most remote area of the Ukraine and over the greater part of Europe. Its northern border runs from northern Scotland across Scandinavia, Leningrad, the middle part of Russia and almost reaches the Ural mountains. Avoiding the dry steppes and the edge of the Crimea, its eastern border crosses the Caucasus and plunges into Asia Minor. From here, again avoiding the greater part of the Pyrenean peninsula, its southern border runs along the northern part of this peninsula. Its western border meets the Atlantic shore of Europe. The extension of this oak over all of Middle Europe from the humid Atlantic shore to the dry steppes of southeast Europe indicates its climatic hardiness. It grows in the comparatively cold western summer ($+14^{\circ}\text{C.}$ in July) and in the warm western winter ($+6^{\circ}\text{C.}$ to -8°C. in January); it also flourishes during the hot eastern summer (22°C. to 24°C.) and during the cold eastern winter ($-14^{\circ}\text{C.}^{\circ}$ to $-15^{\circ}\text{C.}^{\circ}$). It grows nicely in the 2000 mm. precipitation of the west and in the 300 mm. of the east. However, its continuous extent is broken in the southern Ukrainian steppes, and we find it only in the more humid ravines.

The eastern reach of the winter oak is also limited; in the Ukraine its border passes through the province of Podillya.

We see from this account that the eastern and the southern borders of the five major woody species of Europe pass through Ukrainian territory. The pine and the oak have the broadest expanse in the Ukraine, reaching the most remote areas of the eastern and the southern borders; they are curtailed on the left side of the Dnieper river only by the dry steppe. The rest, the spruce, fir, and beech, have their eastern limits in Galicia. Some of the spruce and beech islands beyond the eastern line of Galicia and Kholmshchyna suggest the possibility of their further, although limited, expansion.

Other woody species emphasize once more that the Ukraine is a country of forest borders. A little east of Lviv is the eastern border of the winter oak (*Quercus sessiliflora*); it passes not far from the Dniester river and runs parallel to it, crossing it somewhere near Kyshyniv. The hornbeam on the left side of the Dnieper also divides the Steppe from the Forest-steppe. Here it does not go beyond Poltava. From Poltava, its eastern border turns abruptly toward the southwest. Islands are found as far east as the Kharkiv region and as far southeast as the Dinetś region. The downy oak (*Q. pubescens*), the silvery linden (*Tilia argentea*), the wild service tree (*Sorbus torminalis*), bladdernut (*Staphylea pinnata*) are less extended, growing only in the province of Podillya. With the oak-mistletoe (*Loranthus europaeus*), they belong to the north Balkan province.

The sycamore-maple (*Acer pseudoplatanus*) and the cherry (*Prunus avium*) remain on the right side of the Dnieper river. The history of their gradual distribution in the postglacial period contains one explanation of this limited extension. The woody fastnesses (*refugium*), which had not been reached by the glacier ice, were responsible for this distribution. Such fastnesses were preserved in the middle and southern parts of Europe and partly in Ukrainian Podillya and, also, in the Dnieper river region.

The chief reason for the scarcity of wood in the Ukraine is her physico-geographical status: climate, the soil with its underlying rocks, and the relief. These factors, combined with the activity of man, determined the division of the woody landscapes of the Ukraine and today constitute the basic resources of Ukrainian forestry.

II. Forest Regions and Types of Forest.

If our review of the Ukrainian woods had to start on the western frontiers, then, immediately, we would deal with the Carpathian mountains, which are covered with an evergreen tent of sharp topped spruces. These are slightly mixed with beeches, which, in the larger areas, form pure woods or vie with the spruce cover. Both reach the higher limits of the forest flora. Here, however, conditions

do not favor their development, and they are replaced by the bushy grass. Dwarf pine (mountain pine), alder, juniper, rhododendron, and various other bushes protect the mountain slopes against erosion and prevent landslides.

Here and there bare *felseenmeers* are found which are seldom covered with birch trees. Their highest point of ascent in the Carpathian mountains is Hoverlya, 2,058 m. From here they descend slowly to the Black Sea. Sometimes, a little lower on the slopes, dense fir woods with light-grey bark are found. There are also mixed foliage woods (oak, ash, elm, maple and others). Here and there we also notice the giant sycamore-maple, which has a huge light-brown trunk.

Just as the spruce is predominant in the mountain woods of the Ukraine, so the oak dominates in the deciduous woods of the black soil region. There are two kinds of oak: summer or valley oak and winter or mountain oak. However, the latter did not reach far east, being confined to the province of Podillya. It thrives among and is tolerant of many other species such as the maple, ash, elm, linden, hornbeam, the sun-loving birch, aspen and, on damp grounds, the alder. It even thrives among the conifers on sandy river terraces, competing with the pine.

Here the major type woods consist either of horn-beam-oak (*Carpineto-Querceta*) or simply oak-wood (*Querceta*). Around the Zbruch river, as islands, the beechwood (*Fageta*) grows.

Despite its predominant position in the deciduous woods, in some places the oak lost this position because of man's interference. The hornbeam or some other less valuable species replaced it. The existence of the oak woods in Galicia and the eastern parts of the Podillya province are evidence of their mass extension in that locality. The huge deciduous woods (predominantly of oak) in prehistoric times makes Podillya province an historical part of the Middle European region or, more specifically, the Carpathian north Balkan province. In our times, this relationship is proven by the presence of beech, winter or mountain oak, silvery linden, wild service tree, cherry and oak-mistletoe.

The existence of some species such as the dwarf cranberry

(*Evonymus nana*), which belongs to the Central-Eurasian sylvan elements, beyond their original limits, permits us to regard Podillya province as a fastness (*refugium*) in which the preglacial woody vegetation was preserved.

The Forest-steppe area on the right side of the Dnieper river and all the Steppe was quite changed during the glacial period and, for this reason, belong to the Black Sea region.¹ Here, too, fastnesses are found, some of which cover the right bank of the Dnieper and Dinets' river basins.

The Forest-steppe mixture on the right side of the Dnieper river consists mostly of hornbeam and oak or pure oak wood. Along the Roś and Buh rivers, however, we find the huge oak-pine woods (*Querceto-Pineta*) and the hornbeam-pine woods (*Carpineto-Pineta*), although the pine already has ceased to dominate. Around Cherkasy and Chyhyryn, however, there are the large, ancient pine woods which form the most southern pine islands on the right side of the Dnieper.

Of the Middle European species, the cherry, bladdernut and the ivy still exist here and do not extend beyond the Dnieper. With the oak, the leafbearing woods make up the sylvan landscapes on the left side of the Dnieper river. However, the character of their arrangement is different because of the drier climate of the locality and its remoteness from Middle Europe. Another factor was the Podillyan wood fastness which was not destroyed by the glacier and which, during prehistoric times, formed the huge massive layer of leafbearing woods on the right side of the Dnieper. On the left side, however, they were unable to expand and were limited to the most suitable soil; thus, the deciduous woods were formed on the right and the pine woods on the left banks of the rivers.

Besides the riparian woods, the right bank, oak woods, and the left bank, pine woods, which are located on the sandy terraces and in the black sandy soil, there are complexes of leafbearing

¹ Basically it is a steppe country with huge woody landscapes in the northern part.

woods on the territories between the rivers, particularly within the area of the Kharkiv, Okhtyrka, Luben and Romen districts.

The hornbeam-oak woods, the pure oak woods (*Carpineto-Querceta* and *Querceta*), and the oak-pine woods (*Querceta-Pineta*) and still less frequently, the pure pine woods (*Pineta*), characterize the forests of the left bank of the Dnieper. It should be remarked that the hornbeam is limited primarily to the western part (Romen and Poltava) and in the east it exists in isolated islands.

The so-called Dinets' Forest-steppe constitutes a completely different section of the left bank of the Dnieper. This region is situated south of the middle part of the Dinets' river and occupies the Dinets' and Mariupil highlands, 360 m. high. It is subject to strong erosion. The system of rivers and deep valleys crosses the Dinets' highland and brings to the surface many outcrops of sandstone, limestone and chalk. Here the woods are heterogeneous, forming the so-called ravine woods. In the linden-oak wood (*Tilieto-Querceta*) and in the ash or pure oak woods (*Fraxineto-Querceta* and *Querceta*), the oak is the major species. In one case only is the oak mixed with the hornbeam, and it forms the hornbeam-oak woods (*Carpineto-Querceta*).

From the oak woods of Podillya province, which were once huge, to the rich mixed oak woods of the Forest-steppe, the oak flourished and even in the dry steppe became the basis of groves and glades. The steppe woods are primarily oak woods (*Querceta*) in ravines which expanded as a result of the erosion of the steppe surface. The oak mixes with elm, common maple, pear and various bushes. From the gorges the thicket reaches the steppe plateau and develops into groves and copses. Besides the oak woods on the left and right banks of the Dinets', there are also oak-linden woods (*Tilieto-Querceta*). There are rather large oak-pine woods (*Querceta-Pineta*) and linden-oak-pine woods (*Tilieto-Querceta-Pineta*) on the sandy terraces of the Dinets' and Samara rivers which penetrate into the steppe.

Oak can be found in the most southern part of the Steppe around Mykolayiv, where on the sandy terrace of the Buh river there are small groves of downy birch and oak. Sometimes small groves of elm (*Ulmata*) are seen in this area.

The riparian woods in the Dnieper flux, which in a broad swath extend from Verkhnyodniprovsk to the Black Sea — within 500 km. — constitute a peculiar wood formation. Besides willow, black poplar, white poplar, alder, oak, ash, elm, birch and the like appear here, thus forming the birch (*Betuleta*), alder (*Alneta*), elm (*Ulmata*), and elm-oak woods (*Ulmato-Querceta*).

In the major areas of the Ukraine — Galicia, Kholmshchyna, Subcarpathia, Polissya, Forest-steppe and even the Steppe, the striking landscapes of the bright, transparent, evergreen pine woods are seen. Only Transcarpathia and Bukovyna are short of conifers. Thus, pine woods are the most widespread species of the Ukrainian woods. They grow in the dry sands, in the moist, peaty swamps and in the fertile, black sandy soils. The pines cover the sandy lowlands of Galicia, the province of Polissya, and extend to the dry tops of the Polissyan postglacial dunes and then descend into the humid valleys. They run along the rivers and sandy terraces of the left side of the Dnieper until they reach the steppe proper. Around the Svyati mountains in the Kharkiv region, they even grow on the chalky ground and around Oleshky, along the Dnieper, they almost reach the Black Sea. Extreme indifference to the substance of the soil, great plasticity of the root system and climatic hardiness, make the pine the chief species growing on the poorer grounds of the Ukrainian forest borders and allow it to occupy one-third of the Ukrainian forest area.

The pine extends from Subcarpathia to the riparian sands of the Dinetś and from Polissya almost to the Black Sea, thus forming either the pure pine woods (*Pineta*) or the mixed oak-hornbeam-pine wood (*Querceta-Carpineto-Pineta*).

The pine and the oak are the basic sylvan species of the Ukrainian forest; the former occupies approximately one-third (33%) and the latter about one-fourth (23%) of the entire wood area. In the Carpathian mountains and in Subcarpathia, the major components are the spruce (32%) and the beech (18%), joined by the fir (15%). These three constitute about one fifth (20%) of the total wood area of the Ukraine. All other species occupy about the other quarter (25%).

A more detailed breakdown of the Ukrainian wood area is presented in the following table:

Geographical Localities

Species	Trans-Carpathia	Carpathian Mts. & Subcarpathia	Bukovyna	Polissya	Forest-Steppe	Steppe	Total
Pine	—	224	—	1950	421	21	2616
Spruce	141	399	230	24	2	—	796
Fir	21	181	—	—	—	—	202
Total Conifers	162	804	230	1974	423	21	3614
Oak	44	63	68	371	909	420	1875
Beech	328	205	—	—	29	—	562
Other Leafbearers	23	165	153	858	713	91	2003
Total Leafbearers	395	433	221	1229	1651	511	4440
Total Wood Area	557	1237	451	3203	2074	532	8054
% of							
Afforestation	50	33	43	25	10	4	15

(This table is based on the administrative data of the years 1930-1938.)

III. Conditions and Trends of Wood Cultivation

The diversity of the Ukrainian woods, the complexity and great detail of which can in no way be captured by a schematic enumeration of the landscape, necessitates a variety of methods for its cultivation.

The peculiarities of Ukrainian forestry, however, lie elsewhere. After all, in each major European country there also exist various types of woods which demand different methods of management. The peculiarity of Ukrainian forestry is closely connected with the existence of her forest borders. These indicate a natural limitation of forestry and, in some regions, a make-up that is completely unsuited to wood cultivation.

This fact controls the direction of Ukrainian forestry, which developed the forest-steppe and the steppe regions as its most characteristic feature.

Sometime ago it was said that forestry is the child of scarcity. Afforestation becomes a problem at the time of wood scarcity or fear of such a scarcity. Already at the beginning of the nineteenth century in the Ukraine, people were busy with a series of afforestation projects. Thus, from 1804 the Kharkiv landowner, H. Danilevsky, planted pine in the Dinet's quicksands and succeeded in cultivating about 1,000 hectares of wood. In 1805, the Novorosiysk* head-forester, Kholchevsky, prepared a plan to grow woody plants in the steppe, on the slopes, and in the lowlands. Efforts were made to develop woods in the Forest-steppe and the Steppe of the Poltava, Kharkiv, Katerynoslav and the Kherson regions; the oak, hornbeam and elm received special consideration; and in the damp areas, willows and poplars were planted; in the sandy areas, pine. In 1820, many afforestation projects were carried out in the military settlements of the Kharkiv region, where from 1821 to 1835 more than 2,000 hectares of land had been converted into coniferous and leafbearing woods. A series of other projects in the field of afforestation with native and foreign woods is found in various nineteenth century documents.

Thus, during the first half of the last century, the Ukrainian woods were cultivated under the specific natural conditions of the steppes and marginal steppe regions.

But the most revealing stage in the development of Ukrainian forestry is the systematic projects of steppe afforestation, which began in 1843. These projects met many failures, which, in their turn, forced their authors to carry out important soil, climatic and biological research. Nature corrected and limited the foresters' daring intentions which were to change the face of the steppe landscape. This resulted in a precise study of the relationship between wood and steppe and in attempts to find a suitable form and composition for the steppe wood. On the basis of G. Vysotsky's experimentations and of others, and from the practical experience of the afforestation

* As the southern part of the Ukraine was formerly called.

of the steppe, basic reasons were found for the steppe's natural wood limitations and specific forms of the steppe wood were established. It was noticed that the small amount of precipitation, the comparatively high summer temperature and great evaporation, do not supply the high steppe soil with sufficient moisture. The considerable depth of the subterranean water prohibits irrigation of the soil by capillary elevation of water. This creates a dead water table (Vysotsky) which is untouched by precipitation and which prevents the subterranean water from rising. During the dry years the insignificant moisture of the soil is not accessible to woody flora because of its hygroscopic connection with the ground, and therefore it can not feed the tree roots (dead water supply). It is also prevented from doing so by the great concentration of ground salts, which make the soil physiologically dry for vegetation.

The wood consumes a tremendous amount of the soil's moisture and therefore the moisture, which is enough for the young wood, cannot satisfy the twenty-five to thirty-five year old wood, whose root system reaches the dead water level. At this time the wood dries out.

Comparative studies of the soil-moisture of the black fallow soil and the wood and forest edges, showed that the greatest moisture is preserved in the ploughed fields and the least in the woods. The forest edges occupy a middle position, since they are wet sufficiently by the snow which is blown in from the fields.

The steppe climate does not provide the composite wood with a satisfactory amount of moisture and, therefore, the steppe wood is characterized by a sparsity and its trees by short trunks and wide crowns. To prevent the premature drying of such type of wood, it must not grow too old since its moisture requirement will increase. A gradual reduction of these trees serves to prevent this premature drying.

Thus, the general character of the steppe wood was established.

Many different species were tried out in the steppe: ash, maple, elm, white acacia, oak, linden and others. As a result, we found that the pure wood of the light-loving species with their thin crowns did not shade the ground and, therefore, perished under

the invasion of various grasses which dried out the soil. Thus, the white acacia disappeared. Because of its rapid growth and excellent technical qualities, it had been favored. The oak, which grows rather slowly in its youth, had been stunted by the elm species, which in their turn could not stand the noxious insects and many died or dried out.

The steppe afforestation projects provided an opportunity to clarify many aspects of the wood and wood-soil interaction. Special studies were made of the interdependence of the growth of wood and soil conditions, such as moisture, structure, chemical composition, relief, exposition, wind-direction, climate, influence of the weeds; the stability of particular wood species in respect to climate; salinization; and, finally, the phytosocial relations among wood types.

A knowledge of these factors helped to establish the two types of steppe wood: umbrageous and bushy wood. The oak constitutes the basic species in both groups. It is often joined by the maple and the ash. In the umbrageous wood the ground-protective role could be performed by the semi-shadowy species (linden, hornbeam, maple, wild apple, common pear and others) and in the bushy woods by various shrubs, gatteridge tree, yellow acacia, tartarian maple, hazel and others). Different types of combinations of the wood species were established depending upon the soil and the climate of the various regions of the Ukraine. It must be noted that in all cases of mixed planting a certain order of mixture exists. Thus, with the oak there is always the so-called urging species which perform this ground-protective role. Thus, Ukrainian forestry developed the wood landscapes of the steppe despite unfavorable natural conditions and tried to make them stable naturally. These efforts were not always successful and in some places unfavorable natural conditions were decisive obstacles in steppe afforestation. In some places, there are woods which are externally striking and in which the oak dominates. These are sufficiently shadowed by the bushy laurel. In some cases, however, these woods, as Vysotsky points out, show signs of dryness; their cambium dries up, their crowns grow thin, and, finally, they seem transparent and thinly leafed. Their foliage seems to move down from their

crowns and to cover their trunks. The portent of wood drying is the lichen's (*Xanthoria parietina*) appearance which makes the wood yellow-like. But in the ravines and gullies where a maximum of snow gathers, there are good oak woods which suggest a possibility of cultivating a high trunk husbandry in the form of permanent wood (*Dauerwald*) and with natural renewals (Vy-sotsky).

The most stable new wood formations in the steppe were those wood strips which were the accumulators of snow. As field protecting zones, they were of invaluable service to steppe agriculture. Because of that, they do not belong to wood production economy, but form one of the branches of meliorative forestry.

The specific and perhaps exclusive natural conditions of the Ukrainian steppe required specific forest techniques. Besides the cultivation of the ground protective young growth in woods and the introduction of undergrowth among the young, slow-growing oak woods, the peculiarities of the wood techniques in the dry climate of the Ukraine are in the accurate and thorough preparation of the soil, in careful weeding of the ground which is sometimes connected with the agricultural use, and in the careful selection and distribution of the woody species: undergrowing, protecting, covering, etc.

Artificial afforestation, application of methods of the "dry" wood cultivation, and the use of native Ukrainian and foreign wood species (American ash, light elm, Turkestanian elm, honey-locust, hickory, American bird cherry, mulberry, sumac, yellow acacia and others), make up the aspects of Ukrainian steppe forestry. Hence, an extremely thorough application of wood cultivation technique in the steppe would make the steppe-wood a reality. When compared to the basic goals of steppe-wood cultivation, such as the creation of the stable forms of woods, wood production is definitely of minor importance.

Better conditions for the woody flora exist in forest-steppe provinces. The woods of these provinces do not include the species of Middle Europe, i.e., spruce, fir, and beech. But the major species of the Ukrainian woods—oak and pine—find here all the necessary conditions for their development. It must be mentioned

that both steppe and forest features exist naturally in these provinces. Their wood limitation depends upon the composition of wood species, but the native wood types form entirely stable woods. Hence, the basic duty of Ukrainian forestry in these provinces, as well as in Polissya, is to preserve and to cultivate the most productive types of woods. The fertile soil and the warm summer of these provinces present an excellent opportunity for qualitative and quantitative wood production. The Ukrainian forest-steppe oak with its wide trunk and the Polissyan pine with its slender construction and tarry surface possess high qualities. Research in wood production carried out in the Chervono-Trostryanetsky Forestry in Kharkiv province indicated that the general production of wood can reach 8-10 and, sometimes, even 12m.³ annual increase per hectare, as against the average of 3-5 m.³ Besides the native species, the composition of these woods can be successfully increased by foreign wood species. In this respect, the fast growing and the smooth-trunked Siberian bladdernut is of special value.

The creation of the stable mixed woods, adjusted to all climatic and ground conditions, is here the basic feature of Ukrainian forestry.

In the steppe, Ukrainian forestry seeks stable woods types, which are adjusted to the natural conditions, and endeavors to create artificially what nature failed to create. In the wood-steppe regions and in Polissya, the interaction between the types of wood and the basic orographic, geological, and hydrological factors are carefully studied; an attempt is made to unite this soil and the wood in a natural harmony and to exploit and cultivate it with methods which will guarantee both soil productivity and better wood growth.

The introduction of wood typology into forest practice makes the Ukrainian different from the west European forestry. The great wood potentiality of the larger part of Europe and the easy cultivation of almost any wood species resulted in an almost arbitrary selection of wood species. The technical dexterity in wood cultivation, the rapid maturity, the demand for certain species and assortments, the simplicity of operation and the profit in pine and spruce woods, caused many artificial and, sometimes,

entire changes of wood composition in Middle Europe. Instead of wood as a phytosociological phenomenon, wood-producing farms appeared, which, without paying attention to soil qualities and their relation to the woody flora, utilized artificial wood cultivation. All this resulted in the appearance of the pure spruce woods which proved weak, short-lived and helpless against noxious insect destruction and a deterioration of the soil. In some cases, the woods originated from poor seeds of foreign origin, and they developed crooked trunks, bad technical qualities and extreme sensitivity toward climatic influences, diseases and insect attacks.

In Germany, a country which carefully worked out its wood cultivating technique, classic types and plans of wood normalization and forest legislation, a large amount of artificial and unstable woods are apparent, which in no way harmonize with the natural requirements. Today, the German forester-technician, deprived of necessary wood materials, seeks help in nature itself and starts with the easily seeded birch, asp and willow, which initiates the first phase of natural afforestation. In the places where he builds artificial wood farms, he has to find natural and stable wood types; in other words, he reverts to wood typology.

Many Ukrainian researchers, in seeking the natural interaction between wood and soil, have contributed to wood typology. Aleksi-yeu, Pohrebnyak, Kozhevnykiv and others, in seeking these natural interactions, reveal many facts concerning various types of woods, conditions of existence, renovation, interaction between wood and soil, interaction between soil and vegetation, production, methods of cutting and cultivation of wood. In their works, wood and soil are treated as a unique phenomenon and they are studied both dynamically and statically in their natural development and their economic utilization. The rules and instructions in respect to the wood cultivation and wood normalization, which in their turn regulate the direction and the technique of forestry, are made the basis of the wood types.

IV. Meliorative Forestry

The climate and the orography of the Ukraine are responsible for the development of a separate branch of Ukrainian forestry —

the so-called meliorative forestry. Its goal is to create woods not so much for their economic utilization, but rather to fill the wastelands of some parts of the Ukraine. These are woods of a protective character. The bare slopes of mountains, quicksands and gullies are not only non-productive grounds, but are also a dangerous part of the Ukrainian landscape. According to statistical data of 1929, there were in the Ukraine (frontiers of that date) 729,500 hectares of sand and 666,230 hectares of gullies — together, approximately one and a half million hectares. When the sands and gullies of the territories which had been annexed to the Ukraine in 1945 are added, then the general area amounts to two million hectares. A significant portion of this waste land must be reforested. This would definitely enlarge the small reserves of the Ukrainian woods.

The afforestation of sands and gullies had already been started in 1890, although on a rather limited scale. In the course of this work, however, the methods which suited the climatic and the local requirements were developed.

The technique of sand affixation depends upon the planting of willow. After the sand is affixed, pine or some other species are planted.

The technique of gully-afforestation is divided into two processes: affixation and afforestation. The duration and the complexity of gully-affixation depends upon the state of their development and the natural conditions of the neighboring locality, in addition to the technical means. This affixation is carried out with simple constructions (wickers, pegs, dams) and with concrete constructions. The afforestation takes different forms on the bottoms, slopes and edges. For this purpose the fast-growing and heavy-rooted species are generally used.

For the affixation of the mountain slopes, the spruce and similar mountain species are usually used; for the riparian woodless tracks, the osier is used.

The large mountain wasteland emphasizes the importance of Ukrainian meliorative forestry and necessitates a constant awareness of the problems.

V. Problems of Experimental Forestry

The problem of experimental forestry in the Ukraine does not vary from the basic trends and features of forestry in general.

Its major problems pertain to wood ecology, i.e., to the wood-soil interaction. These problems occur in connection with steppe afforestation and largely concern the hydrological, climatic and biotic wood factors as well as the internal action between wood species.

Soil research in Ukrainian woods had been confined to the following problems: relationships between wood, soil-moisture and underlying rocks (to 4-8 m. depth); relationship between wood and subterranean waters; snow covers in the woods, on the wood edges and in the fields; comparative research in the structure and chemical composition of the soil; processes of degradation of the soil; and the reaction of specific wood species to soil moisture and soil chemism.

Climatic research concerned primarily the interaction between wood and climate or, more specifically, the following meteorological factors: winds, their power and humidity, dry winds, changes of temperatures, light frost, precipitations in the woods and outside them, and climatic relationship between wood zones and the surrounding fields.

Research was also carried out on the problem of the influences of biotic factors, such as weeds, insects and mushrooms.

This research has been successfully conducted since 1890, i.e., since the expeditions of Professor Dokuchaev (and especially Vysotsky, Morozov, Ototsky), which continued until recent times (G. Makhiv and others), clarified many problems, e.g. the Ukrainian dry regions' natural wood limitations, character of the steppe wood composition and the wood influence upon the character of the steppe in general.

At the present time, research is being conducted at the Mariupil and Volodymyr Experimental Forestries.

Another series of experimental studies concerns the natural woods of the Ukraine, particularly, the pine woods and the oak woods. In this respect, it would be worthwhile to mention the names of two professors, Alekseyev and Pohrebnyak, who substantiated the

science of wood typology and classified the major types of Ukrainian woods. The studies of the Ukrainian woods had been conducted by a special expedition, which included many prominent men (P. Pohrebnyak, D. Vorobyov, P. Kozhevnykiv, V. Shmidt).

Dendrological studies has been confined to the Veselo-Tokovenska Dendrological Research Station, which covers about 150 hectares of land and which has over 200 native and foreign leaf-bearing and coniferous species.

Besides the research on the development of exotic species, attention is also paid to the problems of cross breeding, creation of new forms and the selection of the most stable species for the steppe wood and plain-steppe conditions.

Methods of cultivation, introduction of the exotic flora, care of wood, xylometric works, influences of pasture grounds and similar problems pertaining to wood economy, are also studied at the Chervono-Trostryanetsky Experimental Forestry and at other places.

In the field of special research, mention should be made of the studies of the cockchafer's biology and the method used to fight it. This research was conducted for a long time by Z. Holovyanko (Darnitsky Forestry).

Veselo-Bokovenkivska Dendrological Station and the park, which contains approximately 224 types of wood and bush species, conducted studies in the acclimatization of exotic species, their selection and genetics. The revision of certain findings of this experimental research took place on the model forest stations. Scientific research was conducted also by the Forestry Faculty, Forestry-Engineering Institutes of Kharkiv and Kiev.

In the late months of 1929, there was established the Research Institute of Forestry. For several years it worked as a section of the All-Union Research Institute of Forestry and Agriculture and Wood Melioration. It was only in 1933 that it was reorganized as the Ukrainian Institute of Forestry and Agriculture and Wood Melioration.

All this variegated wood research in the Ukraine clarified the specific problems of ecology and biology of the Ukrainian wood and made contributions to wood practice in general.

REVIEW ARTICLES

PROBLEMS OF THE UKRAINIAN LITERARY LANGUAGE

PANTELEYMON KOVALIV

The work of the Metropolitan Ilarion (Prof. I. Ohienko), *Ukraïns'ka literaturna mova* (The Ukrainian Literary Language), published in Canada in 1951 — especially the first volume, entitled *Hramatyčnyi osnovy literaturnoi movy* (Grammatical Base of the Literary Language), has stimulated our interest in some problems of the Ukrainian Language.

This book consists of the following chapters: I. Phonetics, II. Morphology, III. Orthography of Foreign Words, IV. Personal Names, V. Syllabication, VI. Capitalization, VII. Rules for the Use of the Hyphen, VIII. The Basic Difference Between the Ukrainian Literary Language and the Western Ukrainian Language, IX. The Current Ukrainian Literary Language, X. How to Write for the Masses, XI. Signs of Good Literary Language, XII. Index.

The author adheres to the principle that the Ukrainian people “must have only one literary language, one pronunciation and one orthography,” and in his preface he states that in publishing this book he wants to realize this principle and make it easy for everyone to learn the contemporary orthography and the fundamentals of the Ukrainian literary language.

Thus, the author intends the book to be an “informative textbook” for a broad strata of readers, and, with this in mind, the material is presented in a clear and concise fashion.

The author follows the generally accepted linguistic opinion that the base of the Ukrainian literary language was created “exclusively from the East-Ukrainian language (dialect, P. K.) and particularly the language of the Kiev and Poltava regions, i. e., from the language of our Eastern writers: Kotljarevskyj, H. Osnov'janenko, T. Ševčenko, M. Vovčok, P. Kuliš, M. Staryc'kyj,

B. Hrinčenko and others."¹ The author opines that this "East Ukrainian literary language is a common one, i.e. All-Ukrainian, the language of all branches of the Ukrainian people." On the other hand, "the literary language of Galicia, which continued to develop, contains many spiritual expressions which are not in the East Ukrainian language; here, the Western Ukrainian language greatly assists the literary one" (§408). There is no doubt that adequate words and expressions should be taken from the Western Ukrainian dialect for the benefit of the literary language.

The author fairly estimates the role of the Ukrainian writers and linguists, who "during recent years created the literary language" (more properly, completed its formation, P. K.) which today "competes for priority with the other Slavic cultural languages." No less justly, he states that this fact obviates the problem of the regional literary languages of Galicia, Bukovyna, Transcarpathia, America and Canada," because for all Ukrainians there is only "one All-Ukrainian literary language" (§408).

After these generalizations about the base of the Ukrainian literary language, let us focus our attention on separate problems presented in the work of Metropolitan Ilarion.

The first point which strikes our eye is the disagreement in terminology. The author uses the term "language" in places where, according to general usage, the term "dialect" is appropriate. Thus, it appears that besides the "literary language" there also exists the Western Ukrainian language (§408). The eighth chapter of this work is even entitled: The Basic Difference Between the Ukrainian Literary Language and the Western Ukrainian Language.² The same criticism applies to the term "people": "Western Ukrainian people" (§408).

¹ This question is once again treated by V. Čaplenko in his articles: "Dijalektna osnova ukrains'koï movy," *Samostijna Ukraïna*, 1951, No. 1, 4, 7 and in *Ukraïna*, Paris, 1951, No. 4, Yu. Šerech's work, *Halyčyna v formuvanni novoi ukrains'koï literaturnoi movy*, occasioned this discussion. It appeared in various publications, such as *Literaturno-naukovyj zbirnyk*, Hanover, 1946, *Ridne slovo*, 1946, No. 6, *Kalendar na 1947*, Germany and was finally published as a separate book by The Ukrainian Free University Press in 1949. Its author rejects the "traditional assertion that the Ukrainian literary language has a purely East Ukrainian base" and proves the heterogeneous East-West character of this language. Stepan Smal-Stotskyj's *Ukraïns'ka literaturna mova*, Ukraïna, 1928, Book 4.

² This was also pointed out by Y. Rudnyčkyj in his review "Pracja pro ukraïnšku literaturnu movu," *Novyj šljach*, 1951, No. 59.

In accordance with the orthographical form *chrest*, the author proposes to write: *chrestyty*, *chreščennja*, *chrestyny*, *chreščenyj* and so forth (§11), whereas academic orthography from 1929 in accordance with the historical development of the *ly*, *ry* clusters in open syllables,³ recommends the forms: *chrystyty*, *chryščennja*, *chrystyny*, *khrystytys'*, etc. Following the semantic principle (*uvodyty v chrest*), one could disregard the historical prerequisites and write: *chrestyty*, *chrestyny*, etc., but such an approach demands a thorough, professional discussion at some orthographic conference.

In the singular, dative, masculine, the author proves the usage (although rare) of *-u*, (*ju*) forms, especially in inanimate nouns, e.g. *stolu*, *telefonu*, *olivcu* along with the regular forms (*-ovi*, *-evi*, *jevi*), e.g. *stolovi*, *telefonovi*, *olivcevi* and the like (§72). In general, other grammars object to the form *-u*, (*ju*) except in cases where the sentence contains several nouns with dative cases following one another.⁴

The history of the Ukrainian language indicates that the *-u* (*ju*) forms are characteristic of old Ukrainian and that they were part of the declension which was made up of a large group of the masculine and neuter nouns with *o* stems. The forms *-ovi*, *-evi* are the old forms of a rather small group of nouns in *u* stems. In the merging of these two types of nouns, the preference was given to the second in Ukrainian and to the first in Russian. For this reason the *u* endings influences the Ukrainian language in some cases. In the Ukrainian literary language, the forms *-ovi*, *-evi* (*jevi*) are considered normal. Thus, common forms *stolovi*, *synovi*⁵ developed from the original forms *stolu*, *synu*. In connection with this, our author assumes the possibility of the restoration of the forms in *-u* (*ju*) for words designat-

³ See M. Hruns'kyj and P. Koval'ov, *Narysy z istorii ukraïns'koï movy*, Lviv, 1941, p. 44. Compare also I. Zelynskyj, *Ukraïns'kyj pravopys*, Krakow-Lviv, 1943, p. 15, *Pravopysnyj slownyk*, Lviv, 1941, p. 749; A. Orel, *Pravopysnyj slownyk*, Augsburg, 1946, p. 253.

⁴ See O. Synjavs'kyj, *Normy ukraïns'koï literaturnoi movy*, Lviv, 1941, p. 50; O. Panejko, *Hramatyka ukraïns'koï movy*, p. 67.

⁵ These two forms are only preserved in dialects. See K. Mychal'čuk, *Narečija, podnarečija*, (*Čubinskij VII*, No. 2, p. 531). O. Kurylo's review of Durnovo's work "Vvedenije v istoriju russkogo jazyka," *Zapysky istoričnofilolohičnogo viddilu UVAN*, XXI, XXII.

ing inanimate objects, and, therefore, the problem of the parallelism of both forms arises.

We agree with the author that the remnant of the old dual is the significant feature of the Ukrainian language and that it should be preserved in the literary language, if not in its entirety, then, at least, in the nouns of the neuter gender (*dvi vikni, try vidri*). This problem has been treated by Metropolitan Ilarion in a special essay, entitled "Dvijne čyslo v ukrajins'kij movy."⁶

Thus, the question of the dual in the Ukrainian language is still not definitely solved. It certainly deserves special consideration at a linguistic conference and some solution should be found which will be based on the realities of the living, popular language.⁷

As is known, the personal pronoun of the third person develops an *n* before its initial phoneme if preceded by the preposition. Thus, singular, accusative *joho*, but singular, genitive *do n'oho*; *jiji*, but *na nij* and so forth. Having stated this fact, the author writes the following: "But the literary language has also forms without *n*, e.g. *pryjšov do joho*" (§183).

It is true that in the works of some writers forms of the personal pronoun appear without *n*. Such cases are frequent in Ševčenko, but it does not follow that this should be accepted as the literary norm.

The Ukrainian language preserves the prepositional forms *vid* and *od* which are derived from the old *ot*. The first developed phonetically, *o > i*, and became a common form in the literary language. The second did not undergo this process and only changed its unvoiced consonant *t* into a voiced one *d* after the reduction of its hard vowel. But, in spite of this, we believe the normal form still remains *vid*. Sometimes the usage of these two forms is unjustly associated with the law of sound harmony, i.e., *vid* is used after the vowel and *od* after the consonant.

⁶ See the book review of Professor Karskij (*RFV*, LXV, 203) and that of Svencičkij (*Zapysky naukovocho tovarystva im. Ševčenka*, Vol. 96, p. 188-189).

⁷ The replacement of the dual by a form of compound significance, such as "dvoje sliv," is also one of the problems of the Ukrainian language and it has recently been studied in some detail in the work of Yury Šerech, *Probleme der Bildung des Zahlwortes als Redeteil in den slavischen Sprachen*, Lunds Universitets, Arsskrift, N. F. Aud. 1, Bd. 48, No. 2.

Also, in *The Dictionary of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR*, 1948, *vid* is accepted as a basic form, while *od*, it is said, is used less frequently (p. 363). The same principle is used by Holoskevych.⁸ For some reason, our author thinks that *od* (§243) should be considered as the norm.

The same contradictions exist in the case of the prepositional forms *zi* and *zo*. The author recommends the use of *zo* and not of *zi*, e.g. *zo mnoju* (not *zi mnoju*), *zo L'vova* (not *zi L'vova*), etc. In Ilarion's opinion, *zi* is the Western Ukrainian preposition. It is true that in the Western Ukrainian dialects and in the language of the intelligentsia *zi* became very popular and crossed the borders of literary norms, such, for example, *zi zakhodu*. Even in the grammar of V. Simovyč⁹ we read the following: "*Toj samyj zlučnyk spolučaje odnovartni rečennja zi soboj.*" This form and the form *zo* (used only in certain cases: *zo dva*, *zo try*, *zo zla*, etc.) have definite limitations in the literary language. In general, one uses the forms *z*, *iz*. *The Dictionary of the Academy of Sciences*, 1948, presents such forms: *z*, *iz*, *zi*.

Hence, it appears that this Western Ukrainian form assumed a normative character in the literary language, although somewhat limited. However, all this does not preclude the possibility of the forms *zi*, *zo* being equivalent if such equivalence is sufficiently substantiated. This is one of the dissimulative phenomenon of the Ukrainian language and requires a special study.

In the case of the personal names, our attention is attracted by the meanings of the preposition *v* and *na* before geographical terms. In Metropolitan Ilarion's opinion, the preposition *v* indicates "the space defined by the borders: *v chati*, *v dvori*." The preposition *na* indicates an indefinite space. We would deepen the semantic definition of these prepositions somewhat: the first is used for the idea of the middle, which contains in itself the concept of limitation (*žyvu v misti*, *sydžu v kymnati*) and the second has an indefinite idea (*pracuju na poli*, *vybih na vulycju*, *vyikhav na selo*).

We cannot agree that the preposition *v* before a geographical

⁸ H. Holoskevych, *Pravopysnyj slovnyk*, New York, 1952, p. 54.

⁹ Dr. V. Simovyč, *Praktyčna hramatyka ukraïns'koï movy*, Raschtat, 1918, p. 253.

term has an exclusive political significance as contrasted with the preposition *na*. We can present many examples proving the opposite, e.g., *v Halyčyni*, *v Besarabii* and so forth.¹⁰

Now let us take up the problem of syntax. Metropolitan Ilarion does not seek to present the grammatical and the syntactical system of the Ukrainian language. True, he devoted a separate chapter, entitled "Current Ukrainian Literary Language" with the subtitle "More Important Rules of Practical Syntax," but he dwells only on certain aspects of Ukrainian syntax such as: sentences, cases, parts of speech (he calls them word-groups), and vocabulary.

Metropolitan Ilarion justly observes that during its most prolific fifty years "Ukrainian linguistics has centered either on orthography or the use of apostrophe, while syntax remains untouched" (§486). This field really requires serious efforts and special research and the problems mentioned in this book should definitely attract attention.

He calls our attention to syntactical forms which constitute the basic peculiarity of the Ukrainian language, but which, in practice, are often replaced by forms which are not of a distinct Ukrainian nature. E. g. *ščo-to* and not *čym-tym* (*ščo dali v lis, to bil'she drov*), *ščob* and not *ščoby*, subjective genitive without preposition (*dojizdžaty mostu*), descriptive genitive and dative (*smijatys' z kohos' i smijatys' komus'*), dative of reference (*serce jij stukalo, kineč knyžci*), accusative as genitive (*kuplju voza*), genitive of time (*pohuljaty za molodoho viku*), instrumental of time (*cymy dnjamy*), degrees of comparison (*ščaslyvišu za mene, tychša niż bula, krašči nad usi*), prepositions (i.e. various prepositional expressions), imperative forms (*zhodimos', rozpočnimo*, and not *zhodymos', rozpočnemo*), and many others.

This book contains many examples which contradict the literary usage, e.g. objections to the excessive use of impersonal expressions in sentences (*prosyť'sja ne palyty* instead of *prosjať ne palyty*); to the use of the conjunctive word *cej, cja ce* instead of *toj, ta, to* in compound sentences (*til'kycej dostojnyj ščastja*,

¹⁰ See the *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U. S.*, No. 4 (6), p. 440.

chto borovsja za n'oho instead of *tiľky toj . . .*);¹¹ to the use of archaic, non-adjectival expressions with the dative form instead of the expressions that use the preposition *do* (*prydyuljatsja takym mašynam* should be *prydyuljatsja do takykh mašin*); and so forth (§473, 474, 475).

The use of the so-called *ablativus auctoris* is the next problem of interest to us. Metropolitan Ilarion is correct in stating that the Ukrainian literary language uses the instrumental after the participle in intransitive sentences only when the subject is inanimate (*chlopcja pobyto kyjamy*). It is worthwhile to add to this such forms as *vin pochvalenyj krytykoju* and *joho pochvaleno krytykoju*. Metropolitan Ilarion rejects both these forms; but only the second is impossible since it is an active construction and does not take the instrumental case of the active person. The instrumental can only be used for inanimate objects (*zrobleno ščoś čym* and not *kym*).

The passive form in the Ukrainian literary language, just as in other languages, continues to develop. For an idea to be expressed stylistically the active or passive form is sometimes needed, e.g. *vin, pochvalenyj krytykoju, buv duže zadovolenyj svoім tvorom*. The same sentence in its active form appears clumsy: *vin, ščo joho pochvalyla krytyka. . .*¹²

Our author is correct in stating that the predicative conjunction *je* is usually omitted in the literary language (*bat'ko dobryi, Kyïv-stolycja Ukraïny*), while the Western Ukrainian dialects continue to preserve it. This problem should be studied more. First, it should be added that this conjunction is omitted in the present tense; second, it is omitted when the predicative name stands in the nominative. If, however, the predicative name is in the instrumental (the sentence has a different meaning) then this conjunction is not omitted. Thus, the example *Kyïv je stolyceju Ukraïny* is literarily correct provided we think only of its temporary aspect (*u nas Kyïv je stolyceju Ukraïny a ne*

¹¹ P. Kovaliv, "Pro odnu syntaksyčnu anomaliju," *Ukraïns'ki visti*, 1948, No. 48.

¹² See O. Synjavskyj, *Normy*, § 167.

Charkiv). Metropolitan Ilarion considers such examples as Western Ukrainian and therefore non-literary.¹³

One of the important features of the Ukrainian language is the use of the genitive in the sense of the accusative (*distav podarunka*). Metropolitan Ilarion states correctly that this genitive is only characteristic of such masculine nouns which have an *a* ending in the genitive singular and designate "separate and independent objects" (§497). This question has been elucidated more explicitly in a special work published in *Ridna mova* (1933).

The whole problem is complicated by the fact that until now we do not have a clear distinction between the genitive endings *-a* (*-ja*) and *-u* (*-ju*). This also complicates the problem in respect to the accusative. At the present time we have the choices: *zakona* or *zakonu*, *žurnala* or *žurnalu*, *naķaza* or *naķazu*, etc. In the Ukrainian textbooks, the second form is considered as the norm (*zakonu*, *žurnalu*). The author, however, favors the first *zakona*, *žurnala*, and he would preserve the same form in the accusative, e.g., *protokōla pyše* instead of *protokōl pyše*, *kynuv instytuta* instead of *kynuv instytut*¹⁴ and so forth.

Thus, the final solution to the accusative form depends upon the solution of the genitive ending.¹⁵ Data on the current literary language does not indicate a wide extension of the use of the genitive ending for the accusative, especially in those cases where the genitive ending of the masculine nouns has been introduced into official orthography and orthographical dictionaries as a norm (*zakonu*, *pravopysu'ispytu*, etc.)¹⁶

¹³ See P. Kovaliv, *Buty čy ne buty*, Munich, 1947.

¹⁴ O. Synjivskij (*Normy*) accepts both forms as equal: *skinčyv universytet* and *skinčyv universyteta*.

¹⁵ This problem has been elaborated in Russian by Academician S. Obnorskij in his two volume work *Immennoe sklonenie v russkom jazyke*, Leningrad, 1927, Sb. ORIAS, No. 3. There is still no satisfactory treatment of this question in Ukrainian. On the historical aspect of this problem see M. Hrunskij and P. Koval'ov, *Istoriya form ukraïns'koï movy*, Kiev, 1931, Chapter "O-osnovy."

¹⁶ See *Ukraïns'kyj pravopys*, Kiev, 1946, p. 47; P. Oksanencko, *Ukraïns'kyj pravopys*, Augsburg, 1946; Y. Šerech, *Holovni pravyla ukraïns'koho pravopysu*, Ulm, 1945; Dr. Y. Rudnyc'kyj, *Ukraïns'kyj pravopys*, Prague, 1943; P. Kovaliv, *Ukraïns'ka literaturna vymova i pravopys*, Munich, 1946. Some cases arise in South-West dialects when nouns, which designate animate objects in the accusative, assume the nominative form (*sidaĵ na mĵ kĵn'*).

In the chapter "Adjectival Participles" (§503), the author raises many questions about the origin of some adjectives, which in his opinion should be treated as participles with the ending *-čyj*. In such a group he places the adjectives with suffixes *-lyvyj* (*minlyvyj*), *-l'nyj*, *-al'nyj* (*vyrišal'nyj*), *-nyj* (*žurnyj*), *-kyj* (*p'jankyj*, *stijkyj*), *-vyj* (*ljubyvyj*, *mstyvyj*).

We cannot be sure that the adjectival forms in such cases act as old participles with *-čyj* endings. Metropolitan Ilarion is somewhat hypothetical about some of them, e.g., *-al'nyj*, and assumes that they might be Polish borrowings. Moreover, the last form has a passive meaning (*čoboty nepromokał'ni*) in addition its active meaning. The author assumes that all adjectival forms are new and that the old language did not have any. It should be said that the Ukrainian language contains many valuable old forms which have not yet been investigated. The adjectival forms belong to these forms.

The adjectives of verbal derivation with the *-čyj* endings are of special interest to us. Metropolitan Ilarion stresses their wide use especially in the Ukrainian classics, where they are used as "figurative epithets," e.g., *ljubjači oči*, *zemlja rodjuča*, *vin takyj znajučyj*, etc.

The author states quite correctly that "the forms with *-čyj* endings cannot be used with verbal meaning since it would be against the spirit of the Ukrainian language" (§503). Here we regret that Metropolitan Ilarion did not point out when, and under what circumstance, the adjective with *-čyj* can assume a verbal meaning. He presented only a few examples: *skryky pospišajučych do domu* (Myrnyj); *Manfreda, proklynajučoho ljudej* (Nečuj); but in his opinion, these reflect, either the influence of Russian or of some old language.

In addition we would like to repeat our assertion expressed in the article "Ukraїnški aktyvni dijeprykmetnyky"¹⁷ that the verbal function of adjectives with *-čyj* endings depended upon their syntactical function. On this basis we can distinguish adjectives of verbal designation (e.g. *nesterpučyj*, *spivučyj*, *rodju-*

¹⁷ *Naši dni*, Lviv, December, 1943.

čyj)¹⁸ and adjectives of designating functions which have explanatory words (e.g. *ležačyj*, *ljubjačyj*, *utikajučyj*).

Metropolitan Ilarion's observations on constructions with the preposition *za* (*vpravy za systemoju likarja*, *za okremoju umovoju*), which contrast with the constructions with *po* (peculiar to Russian) and constructions with *pislja* (peculiar to Western Ukrainian dialects), are correct. The author considers the last one especially as non-literary. We wish to mention in connection with this such expressions as: *na moju dumku* (Russian: *po moemu mneniju*) which in the West Ukrainian version is: *pislja mene*. Such a form makes the meaning of the phrase obscure and incomprehensible.

We have said before that the preposition *v* and the nouns designating space indicate a space limitation, while the preposition *na* indicates spacial indefiniteness. This specific function of *v* is seen before the names of states "limited by their frontiers." Hence, one has to use *v Pol'sči*, *v Rosiji*, *v Franciji*, etc. The Ukrainian language for our author is no exception. Therefore, *v Ukraïni* and not *na Ukraïni*. Metropolitan Ilarion tries to prove this last idea by the fact that *v*, apart from its primary meaning, indicates an entirety, while *na* only a part. Hence, from the Russian or Polish imperial point of view one says: *v Rosiji*, *na Ukraïni*, *v Pol'sči*, *na Ukraïni*, meaning by this that the Ukraine is part of Russia or Poland. In Metropolitan Ilarion's opinion this "anti-national form *na Ukraïni* (§505) spread among the Ukrainians from the Russians and the Poles."

In reality, the form *na Ukraïni* has a deeper history than the form *v Ukraïni*. We have discussed this problem more explicitly in the article "Zvidky pochodyt' forma na Ukraïni," *Kyïv*, Philadelphia, 1951, No. I.¹⁹ Recent research and broad discussion on

¹⁸ Y. Šerech (*Participium universale im slavischen*, 8), O. Synjavs'kyj, and many other linguists, consider these adjectives as derivatives of the participle. We think that they have nothing to do with participles; they derive directly from the verbs and designate the quality of the object (being) which is expressed through its activity: *havkajučyj* (*sobaka*) has an attribute of *havkaty*, *kusjučyj* of *kusaty*, etc. Thus, methodologically, it would be wrong to consider these adjectives as derivatives of the participle.

¹⁹ See P. Kovaliv, "Nazva Ukraïna ta її pochodžennja," *Slovo istyny*, 1951, No. 4-5.

the origin of the name Ukraine have shown that the form *na Ukraïni* is a special form based on an old Ukrainian tradition and it is clearly attested by the historical dumas and the popular songs.²⁰

The author continually presents historical arguments — and especially arguments pertaining to syntax — which makes this book scientifically valuable, since the reader wants to know the historical base of certain forms or construction. This is especially important for the adjectival constructions, which in the Ukrainian language sometimes are influenced by neighboring languages. There are cases in which certain adjectival constructions are considered as foreign when historical facts prove the opposite, e.g., the expression of sorrow is conveyed by the use of the preposition *za* (*plakav za kym, žurytysja za kym*), but also by the old construction with the preposition *po* (*tužyty po komu, plakaty po komu*). In the *Hypatian Chronicle* for the year 1187 we read: *plakašasja po nem*; in the *Ihor Tale* (1187): *plačet'sja maty Rostyslavlja po unošy*.

On the contrary, the old form with the preposition *o* is not used any more in current literary language, although some older writers used it, e.g. Kotljarevskyj, *O bidach požuryvšys'*; Kobyljans'ka, *vin žuryt'sja o neji*. At the present time this form is archaic.

The words *žal'*, *žalkuvaty* may also mean complain, and in this case they require the preposition *na*. Traces of this are found in old literary monuments, e.g. Krechiv's'kyj Apostol: *Žaloba na Pavla*. There are also examples in the Ukrainian classics, e.g. *ni na koho ne žalkuju* (Ševčenko); *žal' na sebe* (Kotljarevskyj); *ne plačsja na moje hore* (M. Vovčok) and others (§507).

The expression *ženyty'sja z kym* also has historical foundation. It is very often replaced by the unreasonable Russian expression *ženyty'sja na komu*. Long ago this form was used with the instrumental but without the preposition: *oženyt'sja jeju* (Luke 16, 18).

In the chapter on syntax, Metropolitan Ilarion raises an important question which in practice creates some linguistic incon-

²⁰ See *Naša Mova*, Munich, 1947. No. 1.

veniences. This is the competition between the forms of the future tense and the forms of the imperative: *sjademo—sjad'mo, zrobymo—zrobimo, pidemo—pidimo*, and the like.

Hence, the question arises: what semantic criterion can be used to distinguish these two forms? In this respect, the author writes as follows: "Normally, the future tense is used in Ukrainian in its usual meaning, i.e. as a tense which expresses a future event, e.g. in Ševčenko: *i požnemo i v žytnycju soberemo*; in Svydys'kyj: *poradymos' z žinkoju i pobačymo*; in Myrnyj: *pidemo, ditej zaberemo, do nih upademo* (§508).

We believe that the competition of these two forms is based on the subjective feeling of the person who uses them. The form of the future tense is certainly a temporal form: we only state an event which will follow. The form of the imperative, on the other hand, expresses our feeling of desire and compulsion. But the imperative itself derives from the Indo-European optative. From this point of view, such examples as *pidemo, ditej zaberemo, do nih upademo* (P. Myrnyj), which Metropolitan Ilarion used as an illustration of the future tense, could—according to our emotional mood—be reconstructed as follows: *pidimo, ditej zaberimo, do nih upadimo*.

All this proves that the Ukrainian language does not use one or the other form mechanically, but bases its preference upon the psychological state. Therefore, it is little wonder that the same idea could be expressed subjectively in two forms.

We do agree with our author that to use the language creatively one cannot only rely "upon the popular idiom as the only source of lexical wealth." There can be new creations—especially in literary works—but they must stay within the limits of the language and should be comprehensible (§509).

The same rule concerns the phraseology. A popular language has a limited amount of expressions and they are insufficient for literary and cultural purposes. The literary syntax is always richer and more complicated than the popular one. Very often abstract thought requires more complicated means of expression than the popular language has. For example, the Ukrainian popular language does not have the forms of the *ablativus auctoris*,

while the literary language (as other literary languages) has it and uses it for stylistic nuances.

The last chapter of the book is devoted to "the signs of good literary language." According to the author there are five signs: accuracy, clearness, purity, richness, and sound harmony.

Thus we have completed the review of Metropolitan Ilarion's book and, in so doing, many problems of the Ukrainian literary language have been revealed. The value of the book lies in the fact that it covers almost all branches of the Ukrainian language and in addition many of its details. Metropolitan Ilarion presented a picture of the living linguistic organism and told us much about its ills and its remedies. Finally, the many problems that were raised in this book should become the object of further and more intensive studies of Ukrainian linguistics.

NEW SOVIET LITERATURE ON THE DECEMBRISTS IN THE UKRAINE

VOLODYMYR PORS'KY

The 125th Anniversary of the Decembrists' revolt was marked by the publication of several works in the USSR. Of course, these cannot be compared either in number or in quality with the tremendous amount of primary source material published in 1925-1926, commemorating the 100th Anniversary. This is especially true of those works which treat the problem of the Decembrists in the Ukraine. However, these recent publications do contain new and substantial material.

First of all, after a long interval, which was the result of the condemnation of M. Pokrovsky and his school, the ninth volume on the investigative and judicial problems appeared as part of the unique series: *Materiialy po istorii vosstaniia Dekabristov*.¹ This volume supplements the previous volumes IV, V, VI, published by A. A. Pokrovsky, which contained the depositions of the two most prominent leaders of the Southern Decembrist Society, P. Pestel' and S. Muraviov-Apostol, evidence of the members of the Society of the United Slavs, and material pertaining to the history of the Chernihiv Regiment's revolt in the Kiev province. In this new volume (IX), a complete text of M. Bestuzhev-Riumin's and M. Muraviov-Apostol's depositions is published for the first time. Both these cases are of primary significance for the clarification of the many problems concerning the history of the Decembrists in the Ukraine. And, to a certain extent, this was determined by the position and role of the two men in the Southern Society and in the uprisings. As is known, M. Bestuzhev-Riumin, a leading member of the board of the Vasyl'kiv group, which was one of the more active in the Society, was one of the leaders of the Chernihiv Infantry Regiment's insurrection (1826). In his testimony he gave precise data on the merging

¹ *Dela verkhovnogo ugolovnogo suda i sledstvennoi komissii*, Vol. IX, ed. by M. V. Nechkina. Prepared for publication by A. A. Pokrovsky and G. N. Kuziukov. Arkhivnoe upravlenie M.V.D., Gos. izdat. polit. lit., Moscow, 1950, p. 707. Facsimile on separate sheets, preface by Prof. M. V. Nechkina.

of the secret Society of the United Slavs with the Decembrists and on his negotiations with the Polish secret society concerning common action. Since M. Bestuzhev-Riumin was well informed on all political and ideological questions which were discussed by the Decembrists, his detailed testimony supplies us with valuable material which clarifies such particulars as: the constitutional project of the Decembrists, their knowledge of the feelings of the broad masses of society and of the soldiers, and, finally, their propaganda methods, and their revolutionary activities. No less important is the testimony of M. Muraviov-Apostol, who gave a detailed account of revolutionary events in the Ukraine from the beginning, or better, the pre-history of the uprising. It also contains important data on the negotiations with the Northern Society which brought about the coordination of their activities.

In addition to this very valuable archival publication, there are also two attempts to summarize previously published material on the history of the Decembrists. A three volume anthological publication of the Moscow State University elaborates the socio-political and philosophical views of the Decembrists.²

The second and a part of the third volume are devoted entirely to the Decembrists in the Ukraine. There are properly selected and systematized reprints of documents of the individual Decembrists. These are taken from separate publications and magazines; there are several pages from the notes of the Decembrist, N. Kriukov, taken directly from archival sources. The second volume contains material on the Southern Society taken from the various writings and testimony of P. Pestel' (*Russkaia pravda*), S. Muraviov-Apostol (*Pravoslavnyi katekhizm*), M. Bestuzhev-Riumin and others. The material is arranged in such a way that one chapter supplements another and, thus, a factual history and ideology of the society is presented. The third volume, the first chapter of which is devoted to the Society of the United Slavs, is largely made up of the investigative material and the correspondence. Here we

² *Izbranie sotsial'no-politicheskie i filosofskie proizvedeniia Dekabristov*, Moskovskii Gosudarstvennyi Universitet im. M. V. Lomonosova, Kafedra istorii russkoi filosofii, Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, p. 567; Vol. III, p. 466.

have fragments from the memoirs and testimony of I. Horbachevsky, the brothers P. and A. Borisov, and other active participants of this society.

Another attempt at an anthological compilation of material³ is of a different character. It deals with the Decembrists' literary activity and includes the works of the members of the Southern Society. It is true that in the chapter on journalism and literary criticism there are many ideological documents, e.g., *Pravoslavnyi katekhizm*, *Pravila soedinnenykh slavian*, and many others. In this anthology, we find a great number of reprints from rare publications which at the present time are forgotten or little known. This fact makes the book interesting and valuable. The scholarly commentaries of both anthologies are extremely useful as an informative textbook for the study of the Southern Decembrists.

Of the research works, we shall mention only one extensive monograph by the well-known expert and researcher of the Decembrists, Prof. M. V. Nechkina.⁴ This is a special study of the relations of A. Griboedov to the Decembrists and is based on an investigation of published primary source materials. One of the chapters is devoted to the "Kiev Meeting of Griboedov with the Southern Decembrists." For a long time Professor Nechkina has been a researcher of the Southern Decembrists, and now has solved one mysterious story connected with Griboedov's stay in Kiev. The purpose of his going to Kiev while en route to the Caucasus and the extent of his negotiations with the members of the Southern Society, are not explained by sources known to us. M. Nechkina's exceptional erudition permits her to pose a probable hypothesis. According to this, Griboedov's talks with the Southern Decembrists treated the possibility of the support or, at least, a tolerance of the insurgent Decembrists by the Caucasian Separate Army Corps, commanded by General A. Ermolov. Griboedov's sudden departure from Kiev is explained by M. Nechkina as being

³ *Dekabristy. Pochiia, dramaturgiia, proza, publitsistika, literaturnaia kritika*, compiled by V. Orlov, Gos. izd., khudozhestv. literatury, Moscow-Leningrad, 1951, pp. XVI-688.

⁴ M. V. Nechkina, *A. S. Griboedov i Dekabristy*, Second edition, A.N.S.S.S.R., Institute of History, published by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR Moscow, 1951, p. 624.

the result of his disagreement with the leaders of the southern conspiracy in a matter of tactics. The probability of this explanation of Griboedov's meeting with the Decembrists in Kiev would reveal an interesting page in the history of the preparation of the armed uprising. For the Decembrists, in marching to Moscow and Kiev, had to protect their rear from a possible attack by the armed forces stationed in the Caucasus.

BOOK REVIEWS

PMLA, Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, 1953, April (LXVIII, No. 2).

A bibliography of American works on East European languages and literatures, compiled by Alfred Senn, appeared in the latest issue of this well-known publication, pages 181-189. The bibliography is divided into four sections: I. General, II. Linguistics, III. Literature, IV. Folklore (apart from Slavic there are also Lithuanian, Rumanian, Albanian, Yiddish and Non-Indo-European sections).

The bibliography does not enumerate works being prepared this year for publication. This, of course, has both its good and bad aspects: on the one hand, the bibliography is not overloaded with titles of projected works which, in reality, may never be printed (for example, the great number of Ph.D. dissertations mentioned in the previous issues); and, on the other hand, the lack of such data makes it difficult to avoid a parallelism in elaborating the same topics. The material of this very useful bibliography is, however, neither complete nor clearly limited. Basically, the bibliography contains the works of scholars who, despite the place of publication of their works, are working in the U.S. or in Canada, and the works of scholars who do not reside in the States but who publish their works in America. As it now appears, the bibliography does not contain book reviews. Unfortunately, neither of these principles is consistently followed. First of all the bibliography does not indicate those many works of undoubtedly scientific character, which, due to the lack of other possibilities, appear in the Slavic papers, especially in the newspapers and various supplements to them. Mention should be made of the Ukrainian and Russian newspapers — also the Czech and sometimes the Polish and other Slavic newspapers — in which, from time to time, articles of a scholarly nature appear. Here I will point out only one example: the articles of Mrs. E. Dvoychenko-Markova on Russo-American relations. These deserve no less attention than the numerous other articles published in strictly scientific publications. The author of the bibliography includes, moreover, certain works of European scholars, unfortunately rather accidentally. Thus, on page 183, we find the work of the Swedish scholar, Knut-Olof Falk, on the names of the Dnieper rapids and on Constantine Porphyrogenitus, which was published at Lund. For some reason the author stresses the book's "extreme" significance which arouses a certain disagreement on my part. It is not clear just why this work was selected for the bibliography. Many articles written by authors who reside in Europe are included from the *London Slavonic and East European Review*. Some German works are also enumerated (A. Rammelmeyer and V. Setschkareff from *Zeitschrift f.*

Slav. Philologie, pp. 185-186). The reader's attention is especially called to the article on Dostoevskii and Belinskii. One wonders why some valuable German works were not included, such as, the *Etymological Dictionary* of M. Vasmer or the work of V. Setschkareff: *Die Dichtungen Gundoulícs und ihr poetischer Stil*, Bonn, 1952. For some reason, there is no mention of Yugoslavian works among which there are some of undoubted significance. (I presume that the author of this bibliography selects his material from works published on this side of the Iron Curtain.) There are only a few book reviews in the bibliography (it is true that it contains Šerech's review of Vinogradov's work on the Russian language, p. 183). Thus, there is no reference to Jacobson's review of Vasmer's Dictionary in the magazine *Word*, which is mentioned by the author. My review in the *Annals* is mentioned probably because it appeared under a different title. It also includes some dilettante reviews, for example, from the magazine *Kyyiv*. In exceptional cases, the bibliography presents a short resume of the book's contents, for example, that of Falk, but not always correctly. Thus, a remark is attached to Šerech's book on the Slavic numerals: "Mostly Russian and Ukrainian material," whereas the book has very little Russian material.

The Slavic section of the bibliography does not include some works mentioned in other sections, e.g. S. Benet's publication (p. 87), A. Lord's article on the South Slavic and Homeric epics (p. 89), the Polish fable recorded in Amsterdam, N. Y. by Mrs. Coleman (p. 88), G. B. Park's article on Milton's *Moscovia* (p. 120) and Glaetti's article on the relations of the German author, Th. Fontane, to Russia (p. 175). These are only accidental omissions which caught my eye and probably their number is greater. The same omissions and faults are present in other sections of the bibliography. In a bibliography which has only the author's index and which lacks a subject index such a fact is to be expected.

The distribution of the Ukrainian material is quite capricious. It is partly included in the Russian section, for example, works on Old Ukrainian literature. Falk's work, although it concerns the same material is rightly included in the Ukrainian section. By the way of errata, I point out the following: "Yagorsky" instead of "Yavorsky" (p. 181).

One regrets the fact that this issue does not have the numbers before each title, since this greatly facilitates the use of the index. It would be helpful to include the total amount of pages of each book.

Despite these shortcomings, this publication should be welcomed and its dissemination in Europe is desired, since their knowledge of American Slavic studies is more or less limited to the inadequate encyclopedia of Rouček.

D. Čiževsky

Catalogue des Imprimés Slavons des XVIIe, XVIIIe, et XIXe siècles, conservés à la Bibliothèque de l'Université Royale d'Uppsala, par Lennart Kjellberg, Uppsala, 1951, 4. Four unnumbered and 38 numbered pages.

The post war situation has created almost unsurmountable obstacles for studying old Slavic prints. The best collections of old prints are behind the Iron Curtain and the fate of some of them (e.g. in Koenigsberg, Breslau, and so on) is unknown. For this reason, the appearance of the above catalogue, which lists an extremely valuable collection of old prints in the library of the King's University at Uppsala, deserves special mention. This collection contains 256 prints, the overwhelming majority of which are East Slavic. Almost one third of these belong to the Ukrainian and Belorussian prints. Thus, there are thirty from Kiev, ten from Vilno, six from Chernihiv, six from Univ, four from Mohyliv, four from Kuteyno, three from Lviv, and one from Ostroh (a Bible from 1681). Some of the nineteen unidentified prints undoubtedly belong to the Ukrainian and Belorussian prints. Apparently the majority of these publications belonged to the Spavenfeld Collection and, following the owner's main interests, are of a liturgical character. In this collection, as well as in other collections, there are a considerable number of rarities. Besides the Ostroh Bible, already mentioned, there is the *Kievan Missal*, published in 1646 and 1652-53, *Synopsis* (1680), *Cheti Minei* of St. Demetrius of Rostow in both the Kievan and Moscow publications, *Dioptra* (Kuteyno, 1651), P. Berynda's *Dictionary*, Vilno *Catechism* of 1585, and the Lithuanian *Statutes* (Vilno, 1588). There are also valuable publications for Ukrainian studies among the prints from the Russian territory: volumes both of *The Sermons* and *The Psalter* of Symeon Polotsky, several works of Prokopovich and the like.

All the books are briefly described and in some cases reference is made to their bibliographical description in older literature. There is no doubt, however, that among the books of the Uppsala library there are quite a few still unknown to bibliographers. On this point the valuable article of D. A. Barnicot and J. S. Simmons is worth our attention; its title is: "Some unrecorded early-printed Slavonic books in English libraries," *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, 1951, II, pp. 98-118. This article describes nineteen *unknown* publications among which ten are from Vilno, (years 1596 to 1644), one from Mohyliv and one from Kiev (Calendar from 1629), three extremely interesting ones from Ostroh: a grammar from 1598, part of Patriarch Meletius Pigas' Epistle to Prince Konstantyn Ostrozky in 1598 and possibly a breviary from the end of the sixteenth century. The grammar contains the "Tale of How Saint Cyril the Philosopher Created the Alphabet . . ." The facsimile at the beginning of the text suggest that this "Tale" was work of the Monk Khrabr.

D. Čiževsky

Allan Ringheim, "Eine Altserbische Trojasage," *Publications de l'Institut Slav d'Uppsäl. IV*, Prague-Uppsala., 1951, 384 p.

Using the photostat of the manuscript preserved in the Sophia National Library (No. 381), the young Swedish Slavist has published a Trojan History. The publication itself gives rise to certain critical objections: the publisher has omitted supralinear marks which, of course, simplifies the technical process, but since there should be palatalizing marks over the consonants among these supralinear marks (this can be seen by comparing the facsimile with the text) such omissions make the publication deficient for the historian of the language. The description of the manuscript and its paleographic analysis did not lead the author to establish the date of the manuscript. And the author avoids this basic problem in his book.

Despite these shortcomings, the publication of the text and its German translation is useful to the literary historian. Unfortunately, the rest of the book could be improved. The commentary on particular sections of the text (pp. 115-133) is in some places valuable, but, on the whole, too much attention is paid to insignificant aspects and not enough to the more important parts. The linguistic analysis, (pp. 135-220) despite the author's knowledge of the modern works (e.g. of the Prague School), is impressive only as an accumulation of material. He does not give the general characteristics of the language or its style and he does not succeed in dating the text. The weakest point of the entire book is its historico-literary side (pp. 251-320). The author did not use the original manuscript, or, at least, a completely adequate text and still he makes the daring hypothesis: "The author of the Trojan History wrote his work from memory." Such an hypothesis is disproved by our knowledge of the Old Slavic novels as well as by those parallels from ancient literature (sometimes of great interest) which the author supplies in certain parts of the text.

Of course, one cannot regard this work as completely useless. However, its text and the German translation can only be used by literary historians and never by linguists. Its scholarly shortcomings limit its value to certain details.

D. Čiževsky

(Horace G. Lunt, ed., *Harvard Slavic Studies*, Vol. I, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1953. 396 pp.)

With this volume the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures at Harvard University begins a series of studies by qualified specialists on the literatures and intellectual history of the Slavs. The object of the series is broad: to "encompass the cultural problems of all the Slavic people through-

out their history, the interrelation of Slavic cultures and the mutual influences between the Slavs and the rest of the world."

In keeping with this purpose the first volume presents such diverse fields as: a formal study of the Slavic languages as a base of a comparative literature by Prof. Jacobson; an analysis of the influence of the Ihor Tale upon Old Russian literature by Prof. Solov'ev; Mickiewicz' religious philosophy (an attempt to explain his political behavior) by Prof. Weintraub; an historical resume of the Czechs on the eve of the 1848 Revolution by Prof. Odložilík; and several other articles. This is obviously a very broad scope and unless we bear in mind that the field of study of this series is to be "the cultural problems of all Slavic people" the inclusion of such varied subjects may create an impression of a lack of a well-defined central theme.

Prof. Jacobson's article "The Kernel of Comparative Slavic Studies" presents and resolves the problem of the "common denominator of Slavic literature." Previously, two main solutions were offered: that of the linguistic school (A. Meillet, J. Baudouin de Courtenay, N. Trubetzkoy) which maintains that language was the only factor common to all Slavs, and that school epitomized by Bruckner who saw the Slavs united by more or less psychological denominators. The former thesis prevailed and it is now a commonly accepted belief that language is the source of the similar literary patterns that have evolved.

Despite the differences in the Slavic languages, certain features remain constant (the etymological figures or words of identical root in which variation is achieved by change of suffixes). This constancy is reflected in literary forms which are common to all Slavic literatures, and an analysis and systematization of them furnishes a valid tool for a comparative study.

A Common Slavic patrimony created a common oral tradition. This, in turn, influenced the development, for example, of Russian poetry in the eighteenth century, which sought and found models in that tradition (e.g., the influences of folk poetry upon certain genres of Sumarokov and Trediakovski). As in Russia, so also in the other Slavic countries, the essence of the poetry is derived from the common tradition rather than being the artificial product of western literature, the influence of which, Prof. Jacobson states, is largely confined to "nomenclature and subsidiary particulars." This latter strikes me as an unfortunate generalization since many of the eighteenth century genres, which were influential indeed, arose independently of the Slavic oral tradition. I think specifically of the lachrymose comedy of the 1760's, the blank verse experimentation of Karamzin and the idylls of Sumarokov.

Prof. Čiževsky analyzes the text of Comenius' *Labyrinth of the World* to bring out the themes and their sources. It is not a study of the major themes, which have been adequately researched, but of themes which have been only slightly touched or completely neglected. Thus, the theme of "expelled Truth," which was inserted into the text at a later date, is rooted in the clas-

sical Greek idea of truth driven from the earth by human beings. In the Middle Ages this theme reappears in altered aspect: truth is pictured as a wanderer, ultimately rejected by man. Prof. Čiževsky analyzes other themes found in the *Labyrinth*, e.g., the speculum theme and the theatre theme, and comes to the same conclusion that many of them are grounded in both classical and old Christian literature.

Prof. Weintraub attempts to define in his essay, "Adam Mickiewicz, the Mystic-Politician," the peculiar logic that dictated Mickiewicz' political conduct. Mickiewicz was essentially a romantic-mystic: the former as a result of the romantic mood of his period and his own unique situation and the latter as a result of such diverse pressures as the Slavophile and Martinist influences and his own special Christian outlook.

Prof. Solov'ev's article "New Traces of the Ihor Tale in Old Russian Literature" continues the discussion of the influence of the Ihor Tale upon old Russian literary masters. He seeks to substantiate this influence upon *The Tale of the Destruction of the Russian Land*, and the *Zadonshchina* largely by the fact that both use similar epithetical constructions. The article seems more an introduction to a larger work for it is sketchy and it contains nothing "new."

On the whole this collection of articles is of a sufficiently high caliber to augur well for the series. The book contains valuable and illuminating articles on many subjects and is a fine contribution to American Slavic studies.

Henry M. Nebel, Jr.

OBITUARIES

BORYS IVANYTSKY

Borys Yuriyovych Ivanytsky, full member of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S., a scientist, pedagogue and a public man, died in Detroit on April 4, 1953.

Very active in the field of politics, he was elected a chairman of the Ukrainian National Council in exile in 1948.

The late Professor B. Ivanytsky was born on March 8, 1878 in the Sumy district of the province of Kharkiv.

He graduated from the Sumy Technical High School in 1896 and from St. Petersburg's Imperial Forest Institute in 1902. After graduation he was appointed by the Forestry Department to various positions in the forestries of the Chernihiv, Volynia and Kiev provinces.

During the years 1917-1921, at the time of the Ukrainian National Republic, he took an active part in organization of the Ukrainian state institutions and held a post in the Forestry Department of the Ukrainian Agricultural Ministry.

In 1919-1920, he was a lecturer on Forestry on the Agricultural Faculty of the Kamenets-Podil'sk University.

In 1921, he emigrated. Upon his initiative and with the assistance of the Ukrainian community in Czechoslovakia, Mr. M. Shapoval and others, the Ukrainian Husbandry Academy was founded in the city of Podebrady. In 1922, by decision of the Professors' Council, he was made a Professor of Forestry and elected a Vice-President. In 1926, he was elected Dean of the Agricultural Forestry Faculty and, in 1928-1935, he was elected first a Rector of the Ukrainian Husbandry Academy and later, after its reorganization as the Ukrainian Technical Husbandry Institute, he became its President.

In 1935-1939, Professor B. Ivanytsky lectured in the agricultural Lyceum at Chernytsy in Galicia. He wrote at this time his basic work: *Forests and Forest Economy in the Ukraine*.

During 1942-1944, Professor B. Ivanytsky lectured on forestry, forest geography and political themes at the Forstliche Fachkurse near Lviv. At the end of 1944 he left for Germany.

In Germany, in the city of Regensburg, Professor B. Ivanytsky in 1945 met a group of former professors of the Ukrainian Technical Husbandry Institute and was part of the delegation which met with the representatives of the American Military Government. They sought permission for the continued functioning of the Ukrainian Technical Husbandry Institute in Germany.

In this Institute, Professor B. Ivanytsky was the head of the scientific re-

search section. In 1947, he was elected a **President** of the Ukrainian Technical Husbandry Institute for the term 1947-1952.

For his prominent services in the field of forest economics and for his pedagogical and social activities, the Professors' Council bestowed on him a degree of Doctor *honoris causae* of the forestry sciences on May 16, 1947. In 1948, he was elected full member of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences. He was also a member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society.

Of Professor B. Ivanytsky's scientific works, we should mention his major ones: *Forests and Forest Economy in the Ukraine*, published in Warsaw, *Dendrology* in two parts, *Gymnaspermous and Deciduous Trees* and *Index of Trees and Shrubs*.

The Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences in the USA and the Ukrainian community of this country lost in the person of Professor B. Ivanitsky a distinguished scientist of Ukrainian forestry and a prominent public man.

STEPAN BARAN

Dr. Stepan Ivanovych Baran, President of the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian National Council and a member of the Ukrainian Free Academy died in Germany on June 4, 1953. As a prominent Ukrainian politician, journalist, economist-researcher, he was a brilliant representative of the generation of ardent fighters for liberation of the Ukraine, who flourished in the first half of the 20th century.

Dr. Stepan Baran was born of a farmer's family on January 25, 1879 in Galicia. While studying at the University of Lviv, he became deeply interested in political science. He studied the works of Marx and his followers thoroughly and became an ardent anti-marxist and an active participant in students' discussions. He played a prominent role in the struggle for the Ukrainization of the University of Lviv and took part in the peasants' uprisings. The latter awakened his interest in the agrarian question, and it remained one of the **main** fields of Dr. Baran's interests. Later, he performed some **research** in the statistics and economics of agriculture in Galicia. Receiving his Doctor's degree at the University of Lviv, Dr. Baran went to the University of Berlin where he attended the lectures of the prominent German scholars, Schmoller and Zimmer. Later, Dr. Baran studied at Vienna where he participated in the work of the Seminar on History of Eastern Europe under the direction of Prof. Ueberberger.

Returning to his native land, Dr. Baran was active as a lawyer and, simultaneously, as a politician of the Western Ukraine. He became one of the leaders of the National-Democratic Party, which played an important role in Galicia before World War II. In 1914, Dr. Baran became the secretary of the Main Ukrainian Council and in this capacity visited the Balkans in order to discuss the Ukrainian problem in Sophia and Constantinople.

In 1917, Dr. Baran became one of the promoters of revolutionary events in the West Ukraine. He played an important role in the November events, at which time the West Ukrainian Peoples' Republic was proclaimed. He was a member of the first cabinet of this Republic.

During the Polish rule in Western Ukraine, Dr. Baran continued his practice of law. He was well known as an able advocate in the political lawsuits of Ukrainians who were accused of Polish activities. He was also known as a defender of peasants' rights, even though they did not pay him for his legal assistance. In 1928, Dr. Baran was elected to the Warsaw Diet, where he remained until World War II. He was the author of many important measures brought before the Diet. Dr. Baran was most prominent in his fight against the persecution of the Orthodox Church by the Polish government in the Kholm region and in Poland in general. Although of Greek-Catholic faith, Dr. Baran was known for his tolerance of the Orthodox Church and the just defense of its rights.

After World War II, Dr. Baran became one of the most active founders of the Ukrainian National Council in exile, the co-author of its charter and, later, a member. After the death of Isaak Mazepa, the first President of the Executive Committee of that Council in 1952, Dr. Baran took his place and remained in this position until his death.

Dr. Baran was one of the most prominent Ukrainian journalists in Galicia. He performed research in the fields of economics and statistics and also worked on a history of the Ukrainian press. His most important publications are: *School Statistics in Galicia in 1848-1898*, *The Agrarian Question in Galicia*, and *Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, His Life and Deeds*.

Dr. Baran was an ardent patriot and a very active man whose tremendous energy, knowledge, and abilities were at the service of his people. The Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences, together with all Ukrainian people, mourn his death.

VOLODYMYR BLAVATSKY

Volodymyr Blavatsky, a member of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U. S., died in Philadelphia on January 8, 1953. He devoted all his life to the theatre; he was a highly talented dramatic actor, a producer and a researcher of the history of the modern Ukrainian theatre.

Volodymyr Blavatsky was born on November 15, 1900 in Kolomyia, Western Ukraine and educated at the Gymnasium there. When he was 18 years old, he started his artistic career. He played at the Ukrainian theatre "Besida" in Lviv, which was under the direction of Vasyl Kossak, and then in the theatre "Zahrava." These theatres had small incomes and existed only through the support of their idealistic members, who regarded

their services to art as the only goal of their lives. And V. Blavatsky was one of these.

In 1927-1928, Blavatsky lived in Kharkiv, where he played in the Theatre "Berezil," which was under the direction of Les' Kurbas. Upon returning to the Western Ukraine, he became the art director of Tobilevich's theatre in Lviv and later the director of the theatre "Zahrava." In 1939-1941, Blavatsky was chief director of Lessya Ukrayinka's theatre in Lviv and then director of the Lviv theatre. While an emigree in Germany, Blavatsky headed the Ensemble of Actors, which produced plays of Ukrainian and European repertoire.

Volodymyr Blavatsky, working in the Fine Arts Group, was an active member of the Ukrainian Academy. He worked on the history of the modern Ukrainian theatre in all its aspects and also on monographs of certain artists. In 1946-1947, while in Germany, Blavatsky edited the Ukrainian magazine *Theatre*, in which many of his own articles were published.

The sudden death of Volodymyr Blavatsky is a great loss for Ukrainian fine arts.

CHRONICLE

The Annual Meeting of the Academy, which was held on June 7, 1953, reviewed and approved the report of the President on the activities of the past year. Intensive work of the Sections continued during the year. From September 1, 1952 up to the day of the Annual Meeting, 14 plenary sessions of the Academy and 116 conferences of the sections were held. The *Annals* No. 2(4) and 4(6) were published in English. The Shevchenko Annual (1953) was published in Ukrainian and there were four publications by D. Čiževsky, D. Humenna, E. Piziur and Y. Tyshchenko. The Museum and the Library continued its work.

During the period from January 1 to July 1, 1953, the following lectures were delivered before the plenary sessions of the Academy:

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| 3 January 1953 | Lecture by Prof. Yury Lutsy: <i>Conditions and Perspectives of Ukrainian Studies in the U.S. and Canada.</i> |
| 21 February 1953 | Lecture by Guest-Speaker, Dr. Philip Friedman, (Columbia University): <i>Beginnings of the Jewish Settlement in the Ukraine and the Problems of the Khazars.</i> |
| 15 March 1953 | 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 the U.S.
Speakers: Professor P. Odarchenko: <i>New Opinions on the Poetical Skill of Taras Shevchenko.</i>
—Professor P. Kovaliv: <i>Shevchenko and Religion.</i> |
| 11 April 1953 | Lecture by Guest-Speaker, Dr. Jacob Shatsky (Yiddish Scientific Institute): <i>Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Galicia in 1848.</i> |
| 12 April 1953 | Conference in Honor of the Late Professor D. Doroshenko.
Speaker: Professor O. Ohloblyn: <i>In Memory of Professor D. Doroshenko.</i> |
| 26 April 1953 | Lecture by Guest-Speaker, Prof. Karl Menges (Columbia University): <i>Polovtsian-Slavic Relations.</i> |
| 6 June 1953 | Lecture by Professor Yury Šerech-Shevelov: <i>On the Methodology of the History of the Literary Language.</i> |

The following Lectures and Seminars were held under the auspices of the Sections of the Academy:

LITERARY AND PHILOLOGICAL SECTION:

- 31 January 1953 —B. Podolyak: *The Last Residence of V. Vynnychenko (Zakutok) and its History, 1934-1951.*
- 18 April 1953 Scientific Conference at Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
 Speakers: Professor M. Vetukhiv: *The Ukrainian Academy in the U.S. and Its Activity.*
 —Dr. I. Ševčenko: *Some Sources of the Theory—Moscow, The Third Rome.*
 —Professor D. Čiževsky: *On the Style of the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle.*
 —Professor Y. Šerech-Shevelov: *The Kievan Period of the Literary Activity of Teophan Prokopovich.*
 —A. Kardinalovska: *The Style of the Ukrainian Baroque Epigram.*

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION:

- 22 February 1953 —Professor O. Ohlobyn: *The Library of the Kiev Institute During the Twenties.*
 L. Bykovsky: *Ukrainian Scientific Institutes, 1940-1952.*
- 16 May 1953 Combined Conference of the Bibliographical and Historical Sections.
 Speakers: I. Svit: *Sources for the Study of the History of the Green Ukraine.*
 —Dr. S. Demydchuk: *The Author of Robinson Crusoe on the Swedish Campaign in the Ukraine.*

HISTORICAL SECTION:

- 21 March 1953 —Y. Tyshchenko: *Ukrainian Revolutionary Movements in 1914-1916; Its Reflection in the Records of the Tsarist Ochranka and Its Actuality.*
- 12 April 1953 —Professor A. Yakovliv: *On the Author of the "Istoriya Rusov."*
- 30 May 1953 —Dr. I. Ševčenko: *The Rebellion of Zelots (XIV c.) and the Problem of the Genoese Influences in Byzantium.*
- 6 June 1953 —Professor O. Ohlobyn: *The Problem of the Authorship of the "Istoriya Rusov."*

The Commission for the Study of Ukrainian History in the Inter-War Period (1918-1939):

- 28 January 1953 —Professor N. Hryhoriev: *Ukrainian-Russian Relations During the Period of Centralna Rada.*
- 14 February 1953 Combined Conference with the Historical Section.
Speaker: Dr. L. Sonevsky: *The Ukrainian Question in the Memoirs of the American Participants at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919.*
- 28 February 1953 —Professor N. Efremov: *Economics of the Kuban Region.*
- 14 March 1953 —J. Armstrong: *Slavic and Soviet Studies in Western Europe and the U.S.A.*
- 25 April 1953 —M. Luther: *Mykola Skrypnyk.*
- 9 May 1953 Combined Conference with the Literary Section.
Speaker: P. Holubenko: *Khvylyovy and Khvylovism.*
- 23 May 1953 Conference on: "1933, A Turning Point in the History of the Soviet Ukraine."
Speaker:—B. Polodolyak: *A New Period of the Bolshevik Policy in the Ukraine.*

ECONOMICS SECTION:

- 7 February 1953 —Professor T. Sosnovy: *The Problem of Housing in the Soviet Union.*
—Professor I. Zamsha: *Program of Studies of the Ukrainian Economy according to the Project of Professor V. P. Tymoshenko.*
- 14 March 1953 —I. Svit: *Gold Resources and Gold Exploration in the Far East- Green Ukraine.*

BIOLOGICAL SECTION:

- 31 December 1952 In Detroit, Dr. P. Birko: *On the New York Conference in Honor of Professor G. Makhov.*
—Professor M. Mishchenko: *On Experimental Neurosis in the Motor Sphere.*

- 24 January 1953 In Detroit, Professor M. Mishchenko: *Fascist Tendencies in Biological and Medical Sciences in the USSR*.
—Professor I. Rozhin: *Scholarly Activity of the Ukrainian Husbandry Institute during its Thirty Years of Existence*.
- 14 February 1953 In New York, I. Pallister, (Associate of the New York Museum of Natural History): *A Naturalist's Journey Across Yucatan*.
- 7 March 1953 In New York, Professor S. Krashenninnikov: *Observations on the Division of Infusoria, "Eudiplodinium neglectum" from the Stomach of the Moose Deer, "Alees Americana."*
- 10 May 1953 In Detroit, P. Bilanyuk: *Struggle among Weltanschauungen in Natural Sciences*.
—Professor F. Velykokhat'ko: *Creation of the Seasonal Race of Fishes and Its Significance for the Fishery in the Water Reserves*.
—Professor S. Krashenninnikov: *Ciliates in the Deer Stomachs (Cervus porcius)*.
—Professor F. Ukradyha: *Material for Substantiating the New Theory of the Kidney's Function*.
- 21 March 1953 In Detroit, Professor M. Mishchenko: *The Heart in its Psychiatric and Physiological Aspects, Experimental Neuroses in the Sphere of Animal Correlation*.
- 16 May 1953 In New York, Professor M. Vetukhiv: *Genetic Research on Population*.
- 13 June 1953 In New York, I. Pallister, (Associate of the New York Museum of Natural History): *A Naturalist's Journey to Peru*.

PEDAGOGICAL SECTION:

- 28 January 1953 —I. Krylov: *Anti-Religious Education in the Soviet Union*.

FINE ARTS GROUP:

- 24 January 1953 Conference in Honor of Professor V. Krychevsky.
Speakers: Professor S. Lytvynenko: *Recollections of V. H. Krychevsky*.
—Professor D. Horniatkevych: *The Artistic Accomplishments of Professor V. H. Krychevsky*.
—V. Pavlov's'ky: *The Last Years of V. H. Krychevsky*.

- 7 February 1953 Second Conference in Honor of B. Lepky.
Speaker: Lev Lepky: *Recollection of B. Lepky During 1899-1914*. The lecture was illustrated with pictures from Lepky's family album and a film of his funeral.
- 22 March 1953 Conference in Honor of Mykola Lysenko.
Speaker: Ihor Sonevytsky: *Ukrainian Popular Songs as Elaborated by M. Lysenko*.
- 5 April 1953 Under the auspices of the Fine Arts Group, an exhibition of the works of the Ukrainian artist Myroslav Radysh, was opened in the Ukrainian Literary and Art Club in New York.
- 3 May 1953 Conference in Honor of Professor Yukhym Sichynsky (Sitsinsky).
Speakers: Professor V. Prykhod'ko: *The Life and Activity of Professor Yu. Sichynsky*.
—Professor V. Sichynsky: *The Scientific and Museum Work of My Father*.
- 20 June 1953 —Professor D. Hornyatkevych: *Oleksa Novakivsky and the Lviv "Troyeziriyie."*

At the Conference of Slavists of the U.S.A. and Canada, which was held June 26-28 at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, the following lectures were delivered by the members of the Academy:

—Professor Y. Šerech-Shevelov: *"The Problems of the History of the Literary Language."*

—Professor D. Čiževsky: *"Some Problems on the Comparative History of the Slavic Literatures."*

Beside the above lectures, certain aspects of Ukrainian art were discussed by Professor Rudy, Wayne University, Detroit, Michigan, in his lecture: *"Polyphony in the Slavonic Popular Choir Songs."* The students' choir of Detroit sang typical songs to accompany the lecture.

A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

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

а	—	a	н	—	n
б	—	b	о	—	o
в	—	v	п	—	p
г	—	h	р	—	r
г'	—	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
н	—	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.

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