

# Precarious Planning of Translations into the Ukrainian at the Turn of the 1930s in the Context of the Soviet Canon Formation of Translated Literature

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*The practice of translation has become one of the pressing issues of Soviet culture.*<sup>1</sup>  
—Mykola Zerov, Review of *Iskusstvo perevoda*

**Abstract:** Based on an analysis of archival documents, this paper illuminates a part of Ukrainian history with which anglophone readers may be unfamiliar. This study, overall, makes the case that translation is in fact an integral part of Ukrainian cultural history, not merely an addition to it. This paper examines the typescripts of three lists of foreign literary works recommended for translation and publication in the early 1930s that the author recently found in the archives of the Hryhorii Kochur Literary Museum in Irpin: “Spysok tvoriv chuzhozemnykh literatur, shcho ikh bazhano pereklasty v pershu cherhu” (“A List of Works of Foreign Literature That Should Be Translated First”) along with its introductory note “Do sektora ‘Literatury i Mystetstva’” (“To the Literature and Art Section”); “Literaturna biblioteka: Proekt planu” (“Literary Library: Draft Plan”); and “Biblioteka suchasnoi svitovoi literatury: Prospekt” (“Library of Modern World Literature: Prospectus”).<sup>2</sup> This paper discusses both the bright and the dark sides of the planning of translations of texts into the Ukrainian: the analyzed lists, simultaneously, testify to the flourishing of the translation industry in Ukraine at the turn of the 1920s and 1930s and display the Bolshevik regime’s increasing suppression of freedom of choice in translation. The discussion focuses on the contents of each list (that is, choices of authors and works) from an anthropological point of view, exploring the reflection of the literary and cultural tastes and demands of early Soviet Ukrainian society as seen in the publishing

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<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise noted, all translations from the Ukrainian and the Russian to the English in this article are by the present author.

<sup>2</sup> I express my sincere gratitude to the director of the Hryhorii Kochur Literary Museum, Mariia Kochur, for the opportunity to work with the museum’s archives and for her permission to publish the materials discovered.

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plans of leading Ukrainian experts on world literature of their time. These publishing plans were later directed and limited by Soviet censorship on the eve of the mass political purges in the USSR.

**Keywords:** planning of literary translations; modern world literature; Soviet canon of foreign literature.

## I. INTRODUCTION

**T**he analysis in this paper adds new insights to the existing research on literary translation in Ukraine and fills lacunae in the wider field of translation studies in the Soviet and Eastern European contexts. To date, many of these studies have centred on literary institutions based in Moscow; thus, this paper contributes both to the Ukrainian branch of translation studies and, more broadly, to the international field of translation studies.

The content analysis in this paper focuses on typewritten and handwritten materials from the archives of the Hryhorii Kochur Literary Museum in Irpin (Kyiv oblast). The main documents under consideration are

- (a) “Spysok tvoriv chuzhozemnykh literatur, shcho ikh bazhano pereklasty v pershu cherhu” (“A List of Works of Foreign Literature That Should Be Translated First”) along with its introductory note “Do sektora ‘Literatury i Mystetstva’” (“To the Literature and Art Section”), compiled by Mykola Zerov (on behalf of the Cabinet [Department] for the Comparative Study of Literature at the Taras Shevchenko Scientific Research Institute)<sup>3</sup> and signed 31 March 1930;<sup>4</sup>
- (b) “Literaturna biblioteka: Proekt planu” (“Literary Library: Draft Plan”), compiled by Zerov (undated); and
- (c) “Biblioteka suchasnoi svitovoi literatury: Prospekt.” (“Library of Modern World Literature: Prospectus”), compiled by Volodymyr Derzhavyn and signed 16 March 1930.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> This institute was founded in 1926 in Kharkiv, with a branch in Kyiv, within the system of the People’s Commissariat of Education of the Ukrainian SSR (Narodnyi Komisariat Osvity USRR, or NKO USRR). The institute is currently known as the T. H. Shevchenko Institute of Literature of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

<sup>4</sup> Published in *Visnyk Kyivs'koho Natsional'noho Universytetu imeni Tarasa Shevchenka: Inozemna filolohiia* (*Bulletin of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv: Foreign Philology* [Kolomiyets, “Pershodruk” 6–12]).

<sup>5</sup> The second and third documents—Zerov’s “Literaturna biblioteka” and Derzhavyn’s

In presenting and exploring the archival documents central to this paper, the aim is to complement existing studies of the history of literary translation in the early Soviet context and to expand the study of translation ideology more broadly. Previous bibliographic works and publications most relevant to the topic of this research include the archival bibliographies of literary translations into the Ukrainian by Mykhailo Moskalenko<sup>6</sup> and publications by Taras Shmiher (2009 and 2021); Maksym Strikha (2006 and 2020); Oleksandr Kalnychenko and Iuliia Poliakova (2011 and 2015); Leonid Chernovatyi and V'iacheslav Karaban (2007); Lada Kolomiyets (2013; reprinted 2015); and Oryslava Bryska (2012 and 2019). The present research adds to the existing historiography on the planning of translated literature for publication by way of a descriptive analysis of archival documents and a microhistorical study of their socio-political contexts. Human agents (the compilers of translated libraries) are also examined, along with their cultural and ideological motivations.

In pointing out robust intellectual developments in the translation sphere in Ukraine that resisted Russocentric perspectives, this paper showcases innovative approaches not focused on the central cultural institutions in Moscow but rather offering a Ukrainian national perspective for the study of the ideology of translation in the early Soviet Union. The processes of the planning of publications in the field of literary translation are shown in the developments and interactions of research, teaching, and publishing interests, as well as in the visions and intentions of leading Ukrainian intellectuals in this field during the early Soviet period. The overall purpose of homing in on culturally important archival documents and the professional microhistories of their compilers is to incorporate the archival findings into the broader context of cultural, literary, and translation thought in Soviet Russia and Ukraine during the 1920s and early 1930s.

The typescripts studied in this paper and other typescripts by Zerov, Mykhailo Kalynovych, and Derzhavyn—who were the leading literary and translation scholars and university professors teaching literature and translation at that time—were later secretly kept by Ukrainian translator and Soviet dissident Hryhorii Kochur (1908–94) in his archives. These documents eventually became part of the fonds of a private literary museum that was opened after Kochur's death by his son and daughter-in-law in his

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"Biblioteka suchasnoï svitovoï literatury"—have not yet been published. They are being prepared for publication by the present author.

<sup>6</sup> In particular, the archival manuscript "Bibliohrafiia literaturnykh perekladiv na ukraïns'ku za 1920–1940 rr." ("Bibliography of Literary Translations into the Ukrainian for the Years 1920–40"), compiled by Moskalenko.

house in the town of Irpin; the museum was named the Hryhorii Kochur Literary Museum. Kochur managed to save many manuscripts from destruction—in particular, Zerov's handwritten notes on a lecture course on special methods of translation, *Metodyka perekladu* (Methods of Translation, 1932 [Zerov, "Ukrains'kyi Instytut"]), and poetic illustrations of courses in the Latin, German, Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian languages that had been written on disparate sheets of a student notebook. Along with the lecture-course syllabuses, Zerov's sporadic reflections on a variety of translation issues and his set-down quotations from the critical literature on translation of that time (all prepared to bolster specific topics and questions of the general and specialized methods of translation developed by him in his lectures) were kept by Kochur in a separate paper file for over half a century (Kochur, Archive).

Zerov was an outstanding figure of the "executed renaissance" (*rozstriliane vidrozhennia*) of the 1920s. He was a highly talented translator of classical Latin poets, a literary scholar, and an orator, as well as the leader of the Kyiv school of neoclassical poets—an informal group of five Kyiv poets, literary critics, editors, and translators who adhered to a classical idea of balance and harmony and paid special attention to the refinement of verse form and style in translation.<sup>7</sup> They became the main agents of literary translation, especially poetry, in the late 1920s to early 1930s. Zerov was arrested in 1935 on the typical charge of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" and sent to a special prison in the Solovets Islands, in the frigid north, where at the age of forty-seven, he was killed by firing squad as an "enemy of the people" in a forest range called Sandarmokh (in the region of Karelia) on 3 November 1937. In total, 289 prominent Ukrainian writers, dramatists, translators, educators, and public activists were executed at that site in a single day.

Kochur, a poet-translator, polyglot literary scholar, and public figure, advanced the neoclassical literary school introduced by Zerov,<sup>8</sup> who was Kochur's university professor at the Kyiv Institute of People's Education (now the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv) and his first and primary mentor in the field of translation. Kochur, as a student at the Institute of

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<sup>7</sup> I.e., Zerov (1890–1937), Maksym Ryl's'kyi (1895–1964), Oswald Burghardt (1891–1947; pen name Iurii Klen), Pavlo Fylypovych (1891–1937), and Mykhailo Drai-Khmara (1889–1939). The neoclassicists were key translators and stylistic editors during the national-revival decade of the 1920s.

<sup>8</sup> Zerov detailed his own views on the tasks of poetic translation in his 1928 article "U spravi virshovanoho perekladu: Notatky" ("In the Matter of Verse Translation: Notes" [analyzed in Kolomiyets, "(Re)translating" 84–88]).

People's Education in the early 1930s, received his first poetry-translation assignments from his professor of foreign literature Stepan Savchenko. Savchenko then showed the results to his colleague Zerov, whose virtuoso translations of classical Roman and French authors came to serve as models for emulation. According to Kochur's own recollections, Zerov warmly greeted and praised his student's first attempts at translating French poetry, having approved Kochur's participation in an anthology of French poetry planned for publication under the general editorship of Zerov and Savchenko (Kochur, "Z tvorchoï maisterni" and "Ne t'mariat'sia"). Today, Kochur is appropriately seen as a disciple and follower of Zerov in the field of artistic translation.<sup>9</sup> Kochur spoke about the role of Zerov and the literary circle of neoclassical poets in his own professional life: "They helped me to form—to become who I am. Their influence is undeniable" (Kochur, "Nepovtorne zhyttia" 132).

## II. THE CABINET FOR THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF LITERATURE AND ITS CO-OPERATION WITH THE LITERATURE AND ART SECTION OF THE STATE PUBLISHING HOUSE OF UKRAINE

At the end of the 1920s to early 1930s, artistic translation into the Ukrainian language began to develop rapidly—and in the long run, it was to gain even more momentum. This fact is evidenced not only by the availability of publications already at that time but also by the carefully drawn up

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<sup>9</sup> Kochur himself played a highly influential role in the formation of a Ukrainian school of translation in the post-World War II period. The Soviet authorities considered Kochur and his wife, Iryna Voronovych, "enemies of the people" and sentenced them to ten years in "correctional labour camps" (1943–53) and five years of deprived rights (under article 58 of the criminal code of the Ukrainian SSR). The couple was separated. As later became known, Hryhorii and Iryna were placed in different camps. One was located near the town of Inta (the camp called Intalag—an abbreviation of the Inta Corrective Labour Camp—which was a forced labour camp of the GULAG that existed between 1941 and 1948), and the other, near the town of Abez in the Komi ASSR (where the average annual temperature is about 25°F, and in winter, the temperature drops to -40°F and lower). Kochur, soon after his rehabilitation during the Khrushchev Thaw, found himself among those protesting against the further arrest of Ukrainian intellectuals, and as a consequence, he was expelled from the Writers' Union of Ukraine during a second wave of repressions in 1973. He continued to support the resistance movement in the 1970s and 1980s, as an embodiment of the powerful symbol of an "unwavering translator." His house in the town of Irpin, near Kyiv, became an "open university" (as it was called then) for younger generations of translators.

publishing plans for the release of translated literature into the general book market. More than one Ukrainian publishing house had such plans at the time. By and large, in pre-World War II Soviet Ukraine, the peak in the planning of book publications (including translated literature) as well as in the printing of planned books occurred in the first half of 1930.

The planning of translated publications was an important area in the field of translation management and publishing. At the turn of the 1930s, these issues were brought up in the Ukrainian SSR at the highest academic level—in particular, in the research and proposals of the Taras Shevchenko Institute. Founded in 1926 in Kharkiv by the People's Commissariat of Education of the Ukrainian SSR (Narodnyi Komisariat Osvity USRR,<sup>10</sup> or NKO USRR) as a structural unit of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, the institute (now the T. H. Shevchenko Institute of Literature of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine) was formally independent from the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union, which was formed in 1925 on the basis of the Russian Academy of Sciences (formerly, the Imperial Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences).<sup>11</sup>

"Spysok tvoriv chuzhozemnykh literatur," addressed by Zerov to the Literature and Art (Literatura i Mystetstvo, or LiM) section of the State Publishing House of Ukraine, contains more than 140 names of esteemed authors (from ancient times to the twentieth century inclusive) and over one hundred additional names. It was to be supplemented with separate lists of works by authors of Eastern and Slavic literatures. The task of translating such a vast number of texts was designed to fit into the so-called five-year plan announced by Joseph (Iosif) Stalin already in 1928. Alongside well-known writers, authors who could have been considered "forgotten" by then were also chosen for translation based on the fact that their works sounded ideologically "consonant," as Zerov puts it, either with their own times or with the 1920s to early 1930s (Zerov, "Do sektora" and "Spysok").

Accordingly, Zerov suggested for publication not only works of literature but also essays and (auto)biographic and journalistic texts that would have significantly expanded the genre diversity of Ukrainian translation if they had appeared in print. Interestingly, there was also a plan to publish primarily works that had not yet been translated into the Russian language. Thus, secondary status for the Ukrainian language in relation to the Russian was being rejected. Even more, Ukrainian was being given a primary position in

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<sup>10</sup> Later (from 1937)—URSR.

<sup>11</sup> From 1956, the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union included fourteen republican academies (the Russian Federation did not have its own academy).

this regard; Ukrainian translations of foreign works could be made directly from the originals, not through Russian intermediaries.

The scale (and the fact itself) of the scholarly planning of the publication of translated literature is particularly impressive given that such an extensive list of foreign authors for translation, first, was supposed to be supplemented with a separate list of works of the second half of the nineteenth century and a list of authors of Eastern and Slavic literatures and, second, was set to be realized through publication over the course of only a few years—scheduled for completion by the end of Stalin's five-year plan (1928–32). Thus, for the long term, translated literature was expected to be published in substantial volumes. However, it was to be guided by the overarching political process of the Soviet “psychoideology”<sup>12</sup> formation of the Ukrainian reading masses.

Oleksandr Bilets'kyi, the head of the Cabinet for the Comparative Study of Literature (Kabinet Porivnial'noho Vyvchennia Literatur) at the Taras Shevchenko Institute, and Cabinet members Aleksandr Leites and Zerov worked collectively and in close co-operation on the publishing plans for translated literature, although it was Zerov who compiled and signed the aforementioned list of works of foreign literature to be translated first and appended an introductory note addressing the LiM publishing section. The full text of the introductory note to the list, written by Zerov, can be found in appendix 1 (figure 1 presents a photo of the original; a transcript of the Ukrainian text and an English translation appear below figure 1).

What exactly was the LiM publishing section at the time that Zerov was addressing it on 31 March 1930 on behalf of the Cabinet for the Comparative Study of Literature? The existence of the section goes back to a decision of the NKO USSR adopted on 23 January 1919. It addressed the formation of a publishing bureau for the production of propaganda, popular science, and mass literature, as well as textbooks for dissemination by the Ukrainian Central Agency for the Supply and Distribution of Print Works. So, from the very beginning, the LiM section was a Soviet publishing house created primarily for propagandistic purposes—a fact that should not be dismissed.

At the beginning of May 1919, the Publishing Bureau (Vydavnyche Biuro) of the NKO USSR and some other publishing houses were transferred to the All-Ukrainian Publishing House (abbreviated as Vsevydav) under the All-

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<sup>12</sup> A fresh and popular term in Soviet criticism at the turn of the 1930s, “psychoideology” (*psykhoideolohiia*) was applied mainly to Western authors—with a negative connotation indicating the “bourgeois class” and, more broadly, any person representing a particular social class. For instance, it was frequently used by Derzhavyn in his book reviews and critical articles (see especially those reprinted in Kalnychenko and Poliakova, *Volodymyr Mykolaiovych Derzhavyn* 124, 141, 193).

Ukrainian Central Executive Committee (abbreviated as VUTsVK).<sup>13</sup> The editorial and publishing department played a central role in the activities of Vsevydav. It consisted of the main office (*kantseliaria*), the section of literary fiction—with subsections, or editorial offices, such as the office of Ukrainian literature, the office of Russian, foreign, and translated literature, and the office of Jewish literature; the section of popular literature; the section of scientific literature; the section of the periodical press; and the technical office. A great deal of organizational work was done to involve publishers, editors, and translators in new projects; and agreements were made with authors to purchase their works (both original and translated) for publication, as well as with reviewers and compilers. Works were printed by Vsevydav in the Ukrainian, Russian, and Yiddish languages.

On 18 August 1920, the Presidium of the VUTsVK approved regulations on the All-Ukrainian State Publishing House (abbreviated as Vseukrderzhvydav), which included the section of literary fiction. (On 26 April 1921, Vseukrderzhvydav was placed under the auspices of the NKO USSR.) On 30 August 1922, Vseukrderzhvydav was renamed the State Publishing House of Ukraine (abbreviated as DVU), and the section of literary fiction also moved there. Therefore, at the time that Zerov signed the list of translations recommended for the LiM section (that is, at the end of March 1930), the LiM was part of the DVU.

In addition to the DVU, in 1930 there were still co-operative publishing houses, such as Rukh, Chas, and Knyhospilka. There were also departmental, Party, and trade-union publishing houses (Proletar, Ukraïns'kyi Robitnyk, and others). The next reorganization of the publishing industry was carried out in August 1930: the DVU was merged with other publishing houses, and the State Publishing Association of Ukraine (abbreviated as DVOU) was created. The charter of the DVOU was approved by the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR (abbreviated as RNK USSR) on 13 November 1930.

The DVOU structure included standardized state publishing houses, such as the LiM publishing house. Thus, the publishing house of literary fiction, which had started its journey in 1919 as a section of the Vsevydav system, in 1930 gained relative independence within the DVOU following a series of reorganizations and transformations. However, very soon these reorganizations would seem insufficient for Communist Party officials. In

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<sup>13</sup> This was a representative body of the All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets. It was the supreme legislative, administrative, and executive controlling state power of Soviet Ukraine between sessions of the Congress of Soviets, which acted from 1917 until 1938.



order to bring the management of specialized publishing houses closer to corresponding people's commissariats, it was decided to liquidate the DVOU—by a resolution of the RNK USRR dated 21 March 1934. Control over specialized publishing houses was simultaneously transferred to several people's commissariats. With that, the LiM publishing house, specializing in literary fiction; the Radians'ka Shkola publishing house, specializing in pedagogical literature; the Mystetstvo publishing house, specializing in posters, portraits, and sheet music; and the publishing house specializing in children's literature remained within the system of the NKO USRR.<sup>14</sup>

The fact that Zerov included in the list for translation not only well-known works but also those by “forgotten” authors implies that a rethinking of the classical literary canon had taken place. It was his goal as the compiler of this list to add to the list of authors for translation on purely aesthetic grounds those authors whose works embodied important ideas—in tune either with their own historical times or with the modern era. In addition, an emphasis was placed on not duplicating Russian translations or duplicating them only in cases of necessity. The priority was to be given to works that either had not yet been translated into the Russian or were not available to the Russian reader owing to a limited print run and/or their scarcity on the book market.

Although (as noted above) such a position kept Ukrainian translation from occupying a secondary status through the rejection of the Russian as an intermediary language, it also called into question the idea of Ukrainian translation as completely independent from Russian translation. There was further uncertainty as to the independence of Ukrainian literary and cultural production in relation to the Russian inasmuch as the very existence of a Russian translation of a given work made potential Ukrainian translations redundant. And so, the refusal to publish Ukrainian translations of works that already existed in the Russian translation was a covert way of Russifying the Ukrainian reader. That said, this policy of refusal was put forward by Zerov with the stipulation that it could only be applied to literature echoing 1920s–early 1930s Soviet ideology. Therefore, the requirement to not duplicate

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<sup>14</sup> After the liquidation of the DVOU in 1934, the LiM publishing house functioned for a short while as a typical “independent” publishing house, and after that, as the Khudozhnia Literatura (Literary Fiction) state publishing house. From 1936, having merged with the Radians'ka Literatura (Soviet Literature) publishing house, it functioned as the State Publishing House for Literature (abbreviated as Derzhlitvydav), which until 1940 was part of the system of the NKO URSR; from 1940, it was subordinated to the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR (*Elektronnyi resurs*, entry 52).

translations into the Russian was encouraging rather than limiting when applied to fiction and journalism of the time.

All in all, the stylistic character and genres of the works included by Zerov in the publishing plan were determined by (apart from aesthetic values) factors such as the ideological value of a work and its correlation with the era of the turbulent 1920s; the interesting and useful contemporaneous lessons contained therein; and the absence of a translation of a given work into the Russian. The above factors may explain the appearance in Zerov's plan not only of lesser-known writers and belletrists but also of author-journalists. Thus, the plan significantly expanded the genre horizons of Ukrainian translation at that time. In this respect, considering the scope and magnitude of the general list of works of foreign literature to be translated first, the plan was distinctly innovative.

Drawing on the policy of the Cabinet for the Comparative Study of Literature, Zerov promoted and substantiated the idea of broad genre representation in the direct translation into the Ukrainian of non-fiction—(auto)biographic and journalistic genres, including essays, reports, and other publicistic works, that could have particular ideological value for modern readers. In this case, too, the intermediary presence of the Russian language in translations was absolutely excluded. This nuance was important for the development of the Ukrainian journalistic translation and for society as a whole, as from the very beginning of the 1920s, Moscow tried to “filter” newspaper materials for Ukraine, sending texts, including translations, for publication in the Russian. Interestingly, Tetiana Kardynalovs'ka, a language editor and translator of the Russian, wrote the following about her professional experience in the editorial office of the Ukrainian newspaper *Selians'ka pravda* (*Peasant Truth* [Kharkiv]) in the early 1920s: “All materials [for publication] used to come from Moscow in the Russian language and were translated into the Ukrainian” (Kardinalovskaia 97).

But the rule of direct translation that Zerov and his associates tried to establish was soon grossly violated during the campaign against “translator-wreckers.”<sup>15</sup> The Ukrainian language was given secondary status as a follower of the Russian language, including in the sphere of translations into

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<sup>15</sup> Accusations of “nationalistic wrecking in translation” were frequent in 1934–35. “Wrecking” (*shkidnytstvo*) meant the distancing of the Ukrainian language from the Russian at the grammatical, lexical, and syntactic levels. “Wrecking” in translation was equated to “wrecking” in any other sphere of Stalin's national economy. “The wreckers” (*shkidnyky*) were blamed for all small and big issues and failures in Soviet industry, collective farming, education, and even communal services (Kalnychenko and Kalnychenko).

the Ukrainian via the Russian. Thus, the field of translation, with its supposed artistic freedom and subjective procedures, was turned into a political arena of Soviet restrictions imposed on the professional activities of Ukrainian translators.<sup>16</sup> This new practice combined with the phasing out of the mandatory rule of direct translations would make conducting comparative-literature studies of the content of Ukrainian translations obsolete in the 1930s.

In general, the Cabinet for the Comparative Study of Literature headed by literary historian, theoretician, and translator Bilets'kyi also included prominent literary scholars of the day Ieremiia Aizenshtok and Leites as its staff members (about a dozen people in total ["V Instytuti" 374]). The Cabinet carried out a tremendous amount of work on the analysis and selection of literature for translation. In fact, this work started, and further developed, Ukrainian comparative-literature studies. Interestingly Zerov, an extraordinary literary connoisseur, is not mentioned among the Cabinet's staff members.

The creation of the Cabinet demonstrates that comparative literary-history studies emerged as a separate discipline in Ukraine in the 1920s and included the field of translation studies. The Cabinet focused its research activities on three subject areas that were considered to be highly important at that time: Russo-Ukrainian literary relations; translations into the Ukrainian of classic authors of world literature and the question of the impact of translations on Ukrainian literature; and the study of modern Western literary fiction ("V Instytuti" 374).

Notably, besides the Cabinet's activities in the 1920s, the idea of drawing up a strategic general plan for translators of world literature was partially implemented at that juncture by private and co-operative publishing houses, such as the Chas literary circle in Kyiv, the Rukh publishing house, the Knyhospilka co-operative publishing house, and others. By 1931, however, all private and co-operative publishing houses were either banned or turned into state-owned enterprises, and book printing passed into the hands of the state. Yet the most ambitious plan to publish all foreign classics and hundreds of works of modern and contemporaneous authors in the Ukrainian language was put forward by the Cabinet for the Comparative Study of Literature at the Taras Shevchenko Institute in March 1930. Such a grand plan with extensive lists of works of world literature recommended for translation required a comprehensive map of translation studies both as a science and as an educational discipline to assist in analyzing, typologizing, teaching, creating, and publishing translations.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> For more about these processes, see Witt, "Institutionalized Intermediates."

<sup>17</sup> Regarding the teaching of translation studies as a multi-faceted discipline by

While the heyday of comparative literature dates back to the 1920s, the comparative method started to be called idealistic and outdated, and even reactionary, already in 1930, when it came to be seen as contradictory to the “only scholarly method—the Marxist [approach]” (qtd. in Aleksandrova 9).<sup>18</sup> As Bohdan Kravtsiv admits, 1934 marked the beginning of the elimination of philological and comparative-history trends in Ukrainian literary criticism: “Owing to repressions and administrative pressure, not only were both of these areas and their activists destroyed but the entire field in which these scholars had worked was also eliminated” (qtd. in Aleksandrova 9).<sup>19</sup> As a consequence, further Soviet Ukrainian comparative studies as well as translation studies would be cut off from the wider international context and would be built mostly on the principles of a Russocentric doctrine of Russian-Ukrainian literary relations. These principles included the promotion of the dominating influence of Russian literary criticism on Ukrainian scholarship and the favouring of the Russian language as the intermediary language of translation—all of which has since substantially warped the norms of translation and the normative features of the Ukrainian literary language.

At the same time, certain historical parallels can be drawn regarding the formation of ideas about translated literature between Russian literary critics and writers and Ukrainian theoreticians and practitioners of translation. An intense polemic on the methods of translating foreign classics began in Bolshevik Russia at the end of the 1910s after the appearance of the *Vsemirnaia Literatura* (World Literature) publishing house in Petrograd in September 1918.<sup>20</sup> At that time, which coincided with the period of Pavlo Skoropads'kyi's Hetmanate (May-December 1918), there were a total of 169 publishing houses in Ukraine (Murakhovs'kyi 11). Judging from their plans, the

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professors Kalynovych and Zerov, see Kolomiyets, “Psycholinguistic Analysis”.

<sup>18</sup> Quote from Kyryliuk 335.

<sup>19</sup> Quote from Kravtsiv 238.

<sup>20</sup> The *Vsemirnaia Literatura* publishing house in Petrograd was founded under the auspices of the People's Commissariat of Education of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic (RSFSR). Its task was to translate and publish all foreign classics from the eighteenth to twentieth centuries inclusive. Accordingly, it was urgent to outline at least some recommendations for the translation of these works. Modern historians of translation link the beginning of Soviet translation thought with the emergence of this publishing house, and more precisely, with statements on translation skill/mastery by the prominent Russian poets Aleksandr Blok, Nikolai Gumilëv, and Mikhail Lozinskii, philologists Fëdor Batiushkov and Aleksandr Kornikov, and other members of the team of *Vsemirnaia Literatura* as well as those involved in its work (Azov).

intentions of the Cabinet for the Comparative Study of Literature were no less ambitious than those of the Petrograd Vsemirnaia Literatura editorial office.

On closer analysis, the LiM section as a constituent part of Vsevydav (founded in Kharkiv on 5 May 1919 [*Elektronnyi resurs*, entry 52]), to which the Cabinet directed its publishing proposals, had much in common with the Petrograd project of the Vsemirnaia Literatura publishing house (1918–24), created under the direction of Maksim Gor'kii (Maxim Gorky) one year earlier. Both projects pursued a variety of different objectives. Among them was, first and foremost, the transformation of translation from a pure art into a craft and science<sup>21</sup> and, second, the enlightenment of the broad Soviet masses (although many of the authors and critics contributing to the Vsemirnaia Literatura publishing house often expressed their doubts and joked about the issue).<sup>22</sup>

Generally speaking, the specific features and novelty of the Vsemirnaia Literatura project (as noted by Maria Baskina [Malikova]) seem to have been characteristic of the LiM project in Kharkiv as well:

In the institutional scope of its activities, Vsemirnaia Literatura went beyond publishing tasks, . . . and in particular, it was the first domestic school—not so much of translation . . . but of a new type of editorial work on translations, both new and old. An institute of editors—unprecedented in publishing practice—was created at Vsemirnaia Literatura. The editors had to scrupulously check a translation against the original based on new requirements for accuracy and supply the book with a preface(s) and notes. (Baskina, “Filologicheski tochnyi perevod” 11–12)

The new type of editorial work on translations mentioned by Baskina presupposed the wide engagement of recognized writers, literary scholars, and critics, not only as reviewers and compilers of books in translation but also as stylistic editors of new translations and reprints of older ones. It would be difficult, though, to fully agree with Baskina, who places Ukrainian and Russian translation scholars of the 1920s in a single group in her attempts to unify Leningrad, Moscow, and Kharkiv. She argues, “Perhaps it is possible to speak of an ‘anonymous community’ of philological translators

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<sup>21</sup> This express purpose was served by the brochure *Printsipy khudozhestvennogo perevoda: Stat'i F. D. Batiushkova, N. Gumileva, K. Chukovskogo* (*Principles of Literary Translation: Articles by F. D. Batiushkov, N. Gumil'ev, and K. Chukovskii* [Batiushkov et al.]). This brochure was among the recommended readings in the syllabus on the general methodology of translation *Metodolohiia perekladu* (Methodology of Translation) taught by professor Kalynovych at the Ukrainian Institute of Linguistic Education in Kyiv during the 1932–33 academic year (Kolomiyets, “Psycholinguistic Analysis” 147).

<sup>22</sup> See, for instance, in Kukushkina.

with a common habitus and an idea of translation as both an artistic and a philological task.” She goes on to say that this anonymous community “was concentrated mainly in Leningrad, Moscow, and Kharkiv, where there were strong institutional centres for the publication and study of translations” (Baskina, “Filologicheski tochnyi perevod” 6).

Indeed, Ukrainian translation scholars have tracked the methodological and theoretical developments of their Russian colleagues closely, and this interest has been mutual. For instance, Andrei Fedorov, speaking of translations “with a focus on a foreign language” versus translations “with a focus on the native language” in the famous book *Iskusstvo perevoda* (*The Art of Translation* [115–30; qtd. in Zerov, Review of *Iskusstvo*]),<sup>23</sup> refers to Derzhavyn’s fundamental article “Problema virshovanoho perekladu” (“The Matter of Verse Translation”) in the journal *Pluzhany* (*The Plower* [Kharkiv], 1927) and Derzhavyn’s classification of translations into analogous and homologous ones.<sup>24</sup> Zerov, in turn (especially in his review of *Iskusstvo perevoda*), following Kornei Chukovskii, advises Ukrainian translators to boldly use the lexical and stylistic synonymy of the target language. Zerov associates the avoidance of synonymy in translation with “insufficient virtuosity,” “short-sighted purism,” and a “fear of words” on the part of translators who unreasonably “suspect” the origin of some expressions to be from the Russian or from the Polish (Zerov, Review of *Iskusstvo*).

In general, Zerov, in his review of Chukovskii and Fedorov’s book, extends the writers’ demands of translators to those working in the Ukrainian-translation field as well:

[T]he requirements now placed on translators have grown immensely: a bad translation today is felt to be “a slander against the author” and “malicious damage that causes great harm to the broad masses of readers.” This is how the Russians see things, and this is how we have begun to think about it as well. Both the State Publishing House and Knyhospilka are involved in the organization of large translation libraries; they do not publish translated works without a responsible editor, and their ranks are being filled with qualified translators. (Zerov, Review of *Iskusstvo*)

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<sup>23</sup> The volume comprises two parts: the article “Printsipy khudozhestvennogo perevoda” (“Principles of Literary Translation”), written by Kornei Chukovskii, and Fedorov’s extended article “Priemy i zadachi khudozhestvennogo perevoda” (“Techniques and Tasks of Literary Translation”).

<sup>24</sup> Derzhavyn (1899–1964) was one of the best Ukrainian literary critics of his time, a comparative-literature and linguistics scholar, and a specialist in classical philology. He managed to emigrate from the USSR during World War II.

In this review, Zerov, at the point where he notes important Ukrainian figures in translation studies—namely, Derzhavyn, Hryhorii Maifet, and Iurii Savchenko—separately addresses the monograph by Ukrainian translation expert Oleksandr Finkel' *Teoriia i praktyka perekladu* (*Theory and Practice of Translation*), calling it an example of professional reading, or specialist literature.<sup>25</sup> As the author of the first fundamental monograph in Eastern Europe on the history and theory of translation, Finkel' was immediately referenced in the works of influential translation scholars in Russia, in particular by Mikhail Alekseev in 1931 (Alekseev 33). Alongside *Iskusstvo perevoda* by Chukovskii and Fedorov, Zerov included Finkel's *Teoriia i praktyka perekladu* in his list of required readings for his course on translation methodology *Metodyka perekladu* at the Institute of Linguistic Education; Kalynovych did as well in his course on the general methodology of translation *Metodolohiia perekladu* (*Methodology of Translation* [Kalynovych; see also in Kolomiyets, "Psycholinguistic Analysis" 147]).

Thus, the mutual interests and influences of Ukrainian and Russian translation experts were obvious. But there were also noticeable differences between the two that Baskina did not observe (Baskina, "Filologicheski tochnyi perevod" and "Novoe"). First, although Kharkiv remained the capital of Soviet Ukraine until 1934, the cultural and scholarly role of Kyiv was also highly important for the development of the Ukrainian school of translation at that time. For example, the Kyiv group of neoclassical poets and translation scholars led by Zerov played an enormous role in the translation processes of that period. Second, the dominant feature of the Ukrainian school of translation then was the active participation of its creators (Zerov, Derzhavyn, Finkel', Maifet, Ivan Kulyk, and many others) in the simultaneous processes of Ukrainization and national revival. This explains the particular importance, urgency, content, and scope of Ukrainian translation and publishing projects, such as the one developed by the Cabinet for the Comparative Study of Literature at the Shevchenko Institute. Translation has always been considered by Ukrainian humanitarian leaders and cultural agents to be an organic part of national literature and an instrument of nation building (see, for instance, Strikha, *Ukrains'kyi khudozhnii pereklad* and *Ukrains'kyi pereklad*).

The Petrograd Vsemirnaia Literatura project, which established (though to a greater extent simply declared) new norms of translation and editorial

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<sup>25</sup> Zerov reviewed *Teoriia i praktyka perekladu* in the journal *Zhyttia i revoliutsiia* (*Life and Revolution* [Kyiv], 1929), where he called the work "the first Ukrainian book devoted to the methodical exploration of the subject of translation" (Zerov, Review of *Teoriia*).



work, did not last long on its own, although its principles found wider practical application in the Academia publishing house (1921–37), which Baskina calls “the second key institution in the history of philologically accurate translation” (Baskina, “Filologicheski tochnyi perevod” 27). Meanwhile, the Ukrainian LiM publishing project turned out to be much more viable, evolving into a publishing house by the same name; later, in 1934, it was renamed Khudozhnia Literatura (Literary Fiction).

The third great difference between the Ukrainian and Russian branches of the early Soviet mapping of the translation field is that the lists of books proposed for Ukrainian translation were intended to present a more nuanced picture not only of Western European literature but of world literature in general. Thus, the Vsemirnaia Literatura catalog—the intellectual manifesto of the publishing house—focused on the Western European tradition from the eighteenth century (*Katalog*).<sup>26</sup> At the same time, the Cabinet’s list, for example, embraced literature from periods prior to the eighteenth century, including ancient literatures, Western European literature of the feudal era, and literature of the era of commercial capitalism, while also expanding its list of twentieth-century authors. In total, the list comprised 244 names (Zerov, “Do sektora” and “Spysoy”).

To be sure, the difference of more than a decade between the Vsemirnaia Literatura catalog and the Cabinet’s list for the LiM section allowed for the inclusion of new names in the latter. Vsemirnaia Literatura also subsequently released a catalog of its Eastern-literatures section (see in Liubimova et al.). The Cabinet had declared the need for a translation plan for Slavic literatures, which was already in the stage of development. Active work, moreover, was being carried out on the translation plan for Eastern literatures. The incorporation of Eastern and Central European and Slavic literatures would thus have expanded Ukrainian readers’ exposure to world literature.

Without denying the familiarity of Zerov, Derzhavyn, Kalynovych, and other Ukrainian professor-advocates of philologically accurate translation with Vsemirnaia Literatura’s detailed catalog of books proposed for

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<sup>26</sup> From 1919 to 1920 and 1922 to 1925, 242 book editions were published by Vsemirnaia Literatura (there were no publications in 1921). The vast majority were translations of literary works; there were two publishing catalogs (*Vsemirnaia Literatura* [World Literature] and *Literatura Vostoka* [Literature of the East]), the collection of theoretical works *Printsipy khudozhestvennogo perevoda* (Principles of Literary Translation; two editions), the collection of articles *Literatura Vostoka* (Literature of the East; two issues), the collection of articles *Ėkspressionizm* (Expressionism), and two works on Eastern culture—*Krit i Mikeny: Ėgeiskaia kul'tura* (Crete and Mycenae: Aegean Culture), by Boris Bogaevskii, and *Zolotoi telets* (The Golden Calf), by Francis de Miomandre. See Liubimova et al.



translation, it would be reasonable to argue that Ukrainian-translation scholars considered the Vsemirnaia Literatura project to be a point of departure rather than direct guidance in the mapping of the translation field for Ukrainian readers. The uniqueness of the tandem of Zerov and Derzhavyn lies in the fact that they were vastly informed and uniquely erudite, and they complemented each other to an ideal degree: Zerov's *ad fontes* orientation drew him to the fundamental core of literary history (Zerov, "Ad Fontes!"), while Derzhavyn's approach focused on contemporaneity. One should not underestimate, however, the undeniable role of direct contact and exchange of views between Zerov and Chukovskii, for example. Ultimately, the three Ukrainian lists under consideration here, together, created a more nuanced portrait (in relation to the Petrograd Vsemirnaia Literatura list) of Eastern European and Slavic literatures and of the freshest works at that point in Western European and American literatures, and they significantly expanded the view of world literature of the 1930s.

The stage of relatively free discussions came to a close in the early 1930s with the unification of publishing houses into a single state publishing corporation and, with that, the implementation of severe restrictions on publishing plans for the purpose of their careful coordination with the main state supervisory body—the Main Administration for Literary and Publishing Affairs (Holovne Upravlinnia v Spravakh Literatury i Vydavnytstv; abbreviated as Holovlit)—as well as with other censorship authorities.<sup>27</sup> That being the case, the politically motivated selection of texts for translation and political censorship of translations per se only intensified in the coming decades, especially during the period of the so-called mature socialism, after 1960 (Witt, Review).

### III. ON THE EVE OF THE UNIFICATION OF PUBLISHING BUSINESSES IN SOVIET UKRAINE: A DRAFT PLAN OF THE LITERARY LIBRARY SERIES

The "Literaturna biblioteka" document is not dated. The series draft includes four subseries: Svitove py'smenstvo (World Literature); Pys'menstvo narodiv SRSR (Literature of the Peoples of the USSR); Ukraïns'ke pys'menstvo (Ukrainian Literature), including the subdivisions (1) Pered Kotliarevs'kym (Before Kotliarevs'kyi), (2) Vid Kotliarevs'koho do Zhovtnia (From Kotliarevs'kyi to the October [Revolution of 1917]), and (3) Zhovten'

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<sup>27</sup> Holovlit started operations already in 1922. The agency continued functioning until 1991. It was a replica of the Main Administration for Literary and Publishing Affairs under the People's Commissariat of Education of the Russian Federation.

(October [Revolution]); and Serii krytychna (Critical Series). This draft was most likely created around the same time as “Spysok tvoriv chuzhozemnykh literatur,” as a plan for 1931. A list of works of foreign authors from the Svitove py'smenstvo subseries published in 1930 is presented in figure 2 (an English translation of the list appears below figure 2). One should note that not only the names of the translators but also the names of the editors, the authors of introductory essays, and the compilers of scholarly notes are mentioned.

Accelerating the publishing process was the fact that different Literaturna biblioteka subseries were being printed simultaneously by different publishing houses: the Svitove py'smenstvo subseries—by the Knyhospilka co-operative publishing house (this included collections and selected works of classic Russian authors); and the Ukraïns'ke pys'menstvo subseries—by the LiM publishing house.

The first section of “Literaturna biblioteka” describes the Svitove py'smenstvo subseries. There are twelve categories divided by country/author's region of origin (the contents of this entire section are set down in the English translation at the beginning of appendix 2). The compiler also added handwritten parenthetical comments to the Svitove py'smenstvo list regarding the availability of Ukrainian translations of individual works, which expressed the possibility of their being reprinted following a proper editing (next to certain individual works it was noted that the translation was “weak”). In general, mention is made of the existence of translations of about a dozen works on the list.

The second subseries in the draft plan—Pys'menstvo narodiv SRSR—is presented in full (with English translations and dates) below:

1. Russia: Aleksandr Pushkin, *Boris Godunov* [1825] and *Dubrovskii* [1832]; Mikhail Lermontov, *Geroi nashogo vremeni* [*A Hero of Our Time*, 1839] and *Demon* [1839]; literary prose by secondary writers of the 1830s–40s (as material to help contextualize the genre of [Taras] Shevchenko's tales written in Russian);<sup>28</sup> Nikolai Gogol', *Vechera na khutore bliz Dikan'ki* [*Evenings on a Farm near Dykanka*, 1829–32], *Mirgorod* [*Myrhorod*, 1832–34], *Peterburgskie povesti* [*Petersburg Tales*, 1833–42], and *Mërtvye dushi* [*Dead Souls*, 1842];<sup>29</sup> Aleksandr Gertsen, *Byloe i dumy* [*My Past and Thoughts*, 1855–62]; Nikolai Chernyshevskii, *Chto delat'?* [*What Is to Be Done?*, 1863]; Ivan Goncharov, “Slugi starogo veka” [“Servants of the Old

<sup>28</sup> A note added by the compiler.

<sup>29</sup> The compiler left a handwritten note, stating that all of the mentioned works by Gogol' are available in the Ukrainian translation.

Age," 1887]; Ivan Turgenev, *Veshnie vody* [*Torrents of Spring*, 1872];<sup>30</sup> Fëdor Dostoevskii, *Zapiski iz Mërtvogo doma* [*Notes from the House of the Dead*, 1860–62]; Aleksandr Ostrovskii, *Groza* [*The Storm*, 1859] and *Les* [*The Forest*, 1870]; Mikhail Saltykov-Shchedrin, *Povesti* [*Tales*]; Gleb Uspenskii, *Nravy Rasteriaevoi ulitsy* [*Manners of Rasteriaeva Street*, 1866]; and Lev Tolstoi, selected stories—"Tri smerti" ["Three Deaths," 1859], "Polikushka" [1863], *Smert' Ivana Il'icha* [*The Death of Ivan Il'ich*, 1886], and *Kholstomer* [also in the English as *Strider*, 1886].

This is where the list of works in the subseries ends. In other words, the literatures of the other peoples of the USSR were not included in the plan at all—which means that this subseries served as a cover for the promotion of Russian literature rather than serving the purpose of acquainting Ukrainian readers with the literatures of the various peoples of the Soviet Union as stated in the subseries title. It is most likely that other similar publishing-plan drafts containing a subseries called "Pys'menstvo narodiv SRSR" included only Russian literature too, or Russian literature for the most part. Presumably, this unwritten rule was also followed in the other republics of the USSR.

In the list of Russian authors included in the subseries Pys'menstvo narodiv SRSR, Nikolai Gogol' (Mykola Hohol')—whose works appear most frequently on the list and are marked as having already been translated—should be considered separately. Gogol' was mostly interpreted by Ukrainian critics of that time as a half-Ukrainian writer. Highly illustrative in this respect was the publication in the Ukrainian translation of a multivolume collection of the works of Gogol' *Tvory* (*Works*) by the Knyhospilka co-operative publishing house (and later, Literatura i Mystetstvo) during the years 1929–32, under the general editorship of Ivan Lakyza and Pavlo Fylypovych and with stylistic editing by Andrii Nikovs'kyi and others. The team of translators included the best Ukrainian stylists and writer-translators of the day, namely Ryl's'kyi, Zerov, Anton (Antin) Kharchenko, Serhii Tytarenko, Dmytro Revuts'kyi, and others (unfortunately, only three of the five planned books saw the light of day—volumes 1, 2, and 4). Derzhavyn, in his review of volume 1 of *Tvory*, calls the edition "an exemplary work of translated literature" ("zrazkovyi tvir perekladnoi literatury"). The critic specifies that from this book, Gogol' will appear before the mass Ukrainian readership not as a translated classic author but as a Ukrainian one on account of the highly scrupulous work of the translators and editors, who have guaranteed a "complete artistic success." Furthermore, Gogol' is defined by Derzhavyn as a

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<sup>30</sup> The compiler's remarks regarding the works of Goncharov and Turgenev indicate that the existing translations are "weak."

“Ukrainian classic,” whose writing style is rooted in Ukrainian culture and national tradition, most evident in his early writings (Derzhavyn, Review of *Tvory* 164, 166). In general, Gogol’s entire literary heritage was viewed by contemporaneous Ukrainian scholarship through the prism of the Ukrainian cultural field and Gogol’s place in it. Although Gogol’ used and developed the literary language of the Russian Empire, he remained an outsider within this empire.

The third subseries, titled *Ukraïns'ke pys'menstvo*, was structured on the basis of an obligatory ideological division into two historical periods: before the October Revolution of 1917 and after the October Revolution. But it was extremely positive that a collection was being assembled for the Ukrainian reading masses reflecting the complete history of Ukrainian literature—including ancient apocrypha, historical folk songs, school and *vertep* drama of the eighteenth century, verse literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the medieval work *Slovo o Polku Ihorevim . . .* (*The Tale of Ihor’s Campaign . . .*), as well as the works of the predecessors of Ivan Kotliarevs'kyi (1769–1838), the founder of the new Ukrainian literature—all in modern Ukrainian translation. As for contemporaneous Ukrainian literature, the titles planned for publication included not only the works of the glorifiers of the Bolshevik Revolution but also the works of authors whose names would later be banned, such as poets of Ukrainian symbolism, futurism, pan-futurism, and so on. The prose of authors from Western Ukraine was to be published in a separate volume. Contemporaneous prose authors from the “Ukrainian colonies,” that is, from the Ukrainian diaspora, were to be published in a separate volume as well.

The plan for the fourth subseries, titled *Seriia krytychna*, showed three categories: *Ukraïns'ka krytyka* (Ukrainian Criticism), *Ukraïns'ki avtory v krytychnykh otsinkakh* (Ukrainian Authors in Critical Evaluations), and *Z zakhidno-ievropeis'koï literaturnoi krytyky ta metodolohii* (From Western European Literary Criticism and Methodology). However, the final category remained empty, only containing a note that a detailed list of ten entries would be prepared soon. The category *Ukraïns'ki avtory v krytychnykh otsinkakh* overtly reflected the supremacy of Russian critical thought over Ukrainian thought, presenting Ukrainian literary phenomena in the evaluations of Russian critics first. The idea of the dominance of Russian political history and culture over the Ukrainian models, though, was not yet as outrightly asserted as it would be by the mid-1930s.

The original writings of Ukrainian authors as well as translated works in the *Literaturna biblioteka* series were published with scholarly introductions by authoritative literary experts. In addition, translated editions needed to undergo stylistic editing by recognized literary masters of the time (Zerov,

Ryl's'kyi, Nikovs'kyi, and the like). Some repeat editions of Ukrainian authors whose texts appeared to show distortions introduced by editorial policy in previous editions were subject to careful restoration by the stylistic editors as well.

The restorative work of the stylistic editor in 1920s–early 1930s editions of original/translated literature may best be illustrated, for instance, by a book that was published under the editorship of, and with an introductory article by, Zerov. This is an exemplary 1931 edition of the novel *Liuborats'ki* (earlier, *Liuborads'ki*), by Anatolii Svydnyts'kyi—a revised reprint of Svydnyts'kyi's original publication. The novel was first published in the Lviv magazine *Zoria* (*Star* [Lviv], 1886), and it appeared in the following year as a separate edition in the series *Rus'ko-ukraïns'ka biblioteka* (Ruthenian-Ukrainian Library), published by Ievhen Olesnyts'kyi. Zerov, in his introduction to the 1931 reprint of the novel, calls the first publication “very incompetent” and “overly sanitized and corrected,” claiming that “[t]he novel was subjected to domestic censorship, which thoroughly scoured its pages, systematically softening the author's dangerously harsh tone . . .” (Zerov, “Svydnyts'kyi i *Liuborats'ki*” xlv).<sup>31</sup>

By the mid-1930s, the practice of stylistically editing translations and earlier editions of original works during (re)publication (as in the above example with the novel *Liuborats'ki*) was essentially eradicated. The policy of accompanying translated and original works with lengthy scholarly articles and comments—typical in *Knypospilka* and *LiM* publications—was also looked down on: it was viewed as the ideological framing of a literary work. A notable example of an insightful scholarly introduction is “Chekhov po-ukraïns'komu” (“Chekhov in the Ukrainian”), by Ryl's'kyi, in volume 2 of the Ukrainian-language collection of Anton Chekhov's works *Vybrani tvory: Opovidannia* (*Selected Works: Short Stories*, 1930; circulated in four thousand copies). Librarians would later be forced to tear the article out of the book at the behest of Communist Party officials.

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<sup>31</sup> Discussing the corrections to, and deletions from, the text of the novel in its Galician edition, Zerov quotes an interesting observation by Ivan Franko:

Svydnyts'kyi's valuable novel *Liuborats'ki* could have been included in *Zoria* only with fairly significant omissions. Public censorship was ten times more severe for authors than prosecutorial censorship was, and the Lviv community faced terrorism by the provincial public, which, not knowing any literature other than the Polish-noble or the German sentimental, . . . was just waiting for the slightest reason to return an issue or cancel a subscription, and still castigate the editor. (qtd. in Zerov, “Svydnyts'kyi i *Liuborats'ki*,” xlvii–xlviii; quote from Franko 39)

If by the beginning of the 1930s, the mandatory mention of a translator's name in a translated edition (as is abundantly shown in figure 2) was already well established, later on, from the mid-1930s, this practice became not only optional but also undesirable. Starting from that time, translators were categorized collectively as anonymous non-persons. This trend was caused by mass repressions and the consequential removal of hundreds of names from literary circulation. The name of the editor came to the fore instead. But it was not a stylistic or scholarly editor charged with maintaining the high quality of a translation language, as we saw in the 1920s. The editor's new function, rather, came to be that of an ideological purifier and Russifier of the text of a Ukrainian translation being prepared for print.

#### IV. MODELLING A SOVIET LENS OF CONTEMPORANEOUS FOREIGN FICTION: A PROSPECTUS OF THE LIBRARY OF MODERN WORLD LITERATURE SERIES

The newfound archival materials on the planned publication of books, and specifically the lists of foreign works suggested for publication drawn up by Zerov, make a significant contribution to the history of Ukrainian fiction and non-fiction translation. Besides Zerov, other Ukrainian-translation scholars prepared similar lists with which to approach leading Ukrainian publishers. Their intention was to expand the translation repertoire of contemporaneous Ukrainian publishing houses with the works of foreign and Russian authors (works of the latter were introduced as literature of the peoples of the USSR, as can be seen in Zerov's "Literaturna biblioteka"). Of particular note is Derzhavyn's "Biblioteka suchasnoï svitovoï literatury," which is the third list of foreign literature for translation examined here.

What was so special about Derzhavyn's prospectus of modern world literature? First, it was unique in that it was devoted exclusively to the contemporaneous European and American (both North and South American) literary space, with most of the works proposed for translation having been published in 1929 (some were published in 1928, and only a few—a bit earlier). It was not just a plan for translating modern writings—the idea, in fact, centred on the newest writings of that time. The list is divided by country/geographical region: France, Germany, England, (North) America, Italy, Spain, Latin America (represented exclusively by Argentina), and Scandinavia. Each category has the following structure: author's surname and first name; title of the work, place of publication, and publisher in the original language; and year of publication. This is followed by the Ukrainian translation of the author's surname and first name, the title of the work proposed for publication, and a short abstract of the work. In Zerov's "Spysok

tvoriv chuzhozemnykh literatur,” many of the authors’ surnames and first names and the titles of their works are also presented in the original language, accompanied by contemporaneous Ukrainian transliterations as well as by brief annotations (one or two phrases) under individual works. However, in Derzhavyn’s prospectus, a uniform structure is maintained throughout the entire list, with each annotation in the form of an extended (mostly compound) sentence.

The beginning of Derzhavyn’s typescript “Biblioteka suchasnoï svitovoi literatury” is presented in figure 3. In his comment on the asterisk in the title, the compiler raises an important question regarding the availability of original editions to be used for translation. Derzhavyn’s remarks show that only a few original books were available in Kharkiv libraries or in the private collections of translators (in particular, Mykola Ivanov, a prolific Kharkiv translator, had some of the books in his possession). The rest of the titles—several dozen books—needed to be ordered from abroad. In general, the translation plan included a total of ten works by French authors; ten, by German; ten, by English; eleven, by American; six, by Italian; twelve, by Spanish; six, by Latin American (Argentine); and six, by Scandinavian (two from the Danish language; one, from the Norwegian; and three, from the Swedish).

The annotations to the works on the list clearly show the ideological framework within which Ukrainian translation was supposed to function. The structure was rooted in Marxist political economy and Bolshevik-propaganda theses. All of the annotations highlight the political and social orientations of the works, their class antagonism, and their revolutionary nature. Obviously, annotated lists such as this one were an important element in the formation of the Soviet canon of modern world literature—where proletarian literature and criticism were to occupy a central place.

The general trend in Derzhavyn’s prospectus is as follows: a considerable number of high-quality works are interspersed with narrowly political, “proletarian” belletristic writings. Social issues are highly exaggerated in the annotations and described in terms of “class” criticism of Western societies, social satire, and revolutionary ideas. Furthermore, even psychological Western prose finds a spot on this list owing to the freshly coined Soviet clichéd term “class psychoideology.”

For better illustration, the contents of the *Ameryka* (America) subseries from the list are provided in appendix 3 (information is presented in the English). The sections are united by the fact that they all contain a substantial amount of socio-historical (“realistic”) belle lettres; revolutionary-historical (“revolutionary-memoir”) prose; social and anti-imperial satire; and proletarian, industrial, and rural prose (as a sign of the international



“solidarity” of workers and “poor peasants”). The anti-war theme was also important, particularly anti-World War I prose, such as Ernest Hemingway’s legendary novel *A Farewell to Arms* (1929; naturally, the anti-war theme was welcomed only as a condemnation of “capitalist” wars). Derzhavyn’s prospectus also includes samples of anti-fascist writings. Psychological prose is noticeable on the list as well, and the specific characteristics of various genres are described. For instance, Leonhard Frank’s novel *Bruder und Schwester* (*Brother and Sister*, 1929) was annotated by Derzhavyn as “the last novel of the famous fiction writer (the author of [the collection of anti-war short stories] *Der Mensch ist gut* [*Man is Good*, 1917]), dedicated to the problems of sexual ethics; an example of a sophisticated psychological novel” (Derzhavyn, “Biblioteka” 10).

The Soviet canon of translated literature was formed as part of the general literary canon of the USSR, and it revolved around the selection and ideologically “correct” presentation of texts deemed to be mandatory and recommended for reading. Moreover, “correctly” selected and “persuasively” annotated foreign works that possessed “international” authority were supposed to be embedded in the very heart of the Soviet literary canon, with its futuristic intention of inciting a world revolution. The suggestions in “Biblioteka suchasnoï svitovoï literatury” completely fit into this Soviet paradigm. However, just the very act of translating the most up-to-date and, in the vast majority, aesthetically high-quality Western European literature into the Ukrainian—and even more, directly from the source language without the mediation of the Russian language—could be seen as “nationalistic wrecking” and dangerous for the Soviet system in the mid-1930s. Therefore, similar publishing plans and prospectuses were suppressed, or rather, they became truncated, and the focus shifted to verified Russian translations from which, ideally, Ukrainian translations were to be made—in such a way as to bring the Ukrainian language closer to the Russian. (With such a purpose in mind, previously published translations were thoroughly edited in the 1930s, and new translations were made relying on Russian language patterns.)

The goal of the rapid Russification of the Ukrainian language<sup>32</sup> and culture as a whole was facilitated by the liquidation of private publishing houses in the early 1930s and the rapid merger of all publishing houses in Soviet Ukraine into a single state corporation. As described earlier, in the section on the history of the LiM publishing house, the publishing industry was reorganized already in August 1930 by merging the DVU with other

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<sup>32</sup> For more details, see Kolomiyets, “Translation.”



publishing houses.<sup>33</sup> The DVOU was established; its charter was approved by the RNK USSR on 13 November 1930. On the whole, the DVOU included the following standardized state publishing houses: Radians'ka Shkola textbook publishing house; Derzhtekhvydav (State Technical Publishing House); Derzhavne Sil's'kohospodars'ke Vydavnytstvo (State Agricultural Publishing House); Proletar socio-economic literature publishing house; Molodyi Bil'shovyk children's and youth literature publishing house; Literatura i Mystetstvo publishing house; Derzhmedvydav (State Medical Publishing House); Na Varti publishing house of military and physical education; and Ukraïns'kyi Robitnyk publishing house of professional literature.

The year 1930—when the lists of works for translation examined here were created—formed the crest of the national revival, which promised the rapid development of Ukrainian literature, including translated literature, the rise of Soviet Ukraine to advanced cultural positions in the USSR, and a rapid urbanization and Europeanization of the rural Ukrainian population. The Moscow Bolsheviks did not want to allow for this at all, although initially, the Ukrainization policy was designed to involve rural dwellers in the socialist construction (Pauly). And so, they quickly curtailed the policy of Ukrainization—which existed now “on paper” only—and embarked on a campaign of mass terror and repressions against Ukrainian scholars, educators, writers, politicians, and anyone whom they obsessively suspected of “Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism.” The first victim was the pre-Revolutionary Ukrainian intelligentsia, which was put on show trial by the Bolshevik secret police in 1930 on a charge of belonging to what was, in fact, a fictitious organization—the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (Kalnychenko and Kolomiyets 156). Then, attention was turned to the unified Ukrainian orthography adopted for common use in Soviet and Western Ukraine and published in 1928.<sup>34</sup> Shortly thereafter, translators were targeted. In 1934, they began to be accused en masse of “nationalistic wrecking” (see, for instance Kahanovych) for not copying Russian language patterns in their translations (meaning that behind the veil of the officially promoted fight against literalism in the field of translation and the calls for

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<sup>33</sup> For more on this topic, see Bondarchuk, “Derzhavne vydavnytstvo Ukraïny” and “Derzhavne vydavnytstvo Ukraïny [DVU].”

<sup>34</sup> After the 3 April 1932 resolution of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party “On the Suppression of Nationalism in Ukraine,” the first Soviet orthography of the Ukrainian language, adopted in 1928, came under the scrutiny of ideologues of the new Soviet policy toward Ukrainian culture and language. In 1933, the milestone reform of the Ukrainian orthography of 1928 was put into question; this marked a reversal in Party policy, which was now aimed at de-Ukrainization.

creative translation, literalism actually flourished unofficially in direct translations from the Russian and in translations from the Russian when it was used as an intermediary language). Translation norms were further ideologized in the mid-1930s (Witt, “Arts”).

## V. CONCLUSION

The work on preparing translations for the general reader that was carried out jointly by Ukrainian literary scholars and book publishers in the late 1920s and early 1930s was one of the keys to the success of the Ukrainian national revival. The planning of translations made it possible to cultivate a high reading culture for the Ukrainian mass reader. Particularly valuable are the three extensive lists of literary works planned for translation and publication that were found by this author in the archives of the Hryhorii Kochur Literary Museum in Irpin. They have been analyzed in this paper through the methodological lens of descriptive, microhistorical, and cultural translation studies as evidence of the flourishing translation industry in Ukraine at the turn of the 1920s and 1930s. These sources, at the same time, reveal the increasing suppression by the Bolshevik regime of free choice in translation, and they serve as testimony of Moscow’s political and ideological pressures on the business of planning and publishing literary translations in early Soviet Ukraine.

When looking at the formation of the Soviet canon of translated literature, it becomes evident that the translation hierarchy imposed by the ruling Communist Party with increasing rigidity from the early 1930s<sup>35</sup> clashed with the interests of the Ukrainian national revival, which began in the 1920s. The publishing plans of translations into the Ukrainian at the turn

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<sup>35</sup> The priority of the texts to be translated was as follows: Translations of texts by contemporaneous Russian authors had to come first; then, works by other Soviet writers were addressed, but they were predominantly taken from versions with the Russian language acting as an intermediary. Next came translations of classic Russian authors (and sporadically, classic authors from other Soviet republics); during the 1930s, several Russian writers of the nineteenth century were iconized, with Aleksandr Pushkin at the top of the list (he became an icon of official Soviet literature). Authors from colonial countries were the third group to be translated. The so-called progressive Western authors (usually communists) occupied fourth place. And the final place belonged to those “bourgeois-intellectual” Western writers who, in the view of Soviet critics, had an outspoken revolutionary ideology. All other texts and authors were excluded from recommended translation (for more details, see Kalnychenko and Kolomiyets 153–55).

of the 1930s testify to the incredible scope of both fiction and non-fiction publications planned in the Ukrainian (see Zerov, “Do sektora,” “Spysok,” and “Literaturna biblioteka”; Derzhavyn “Biblioteka”). However, with the introduction of the Soviet canon of world literature, which had begun to form in the mid-1920s, and in light of the Russian model of linguistic purity (Azov 39–40) that was being superimposed by the Bolshevik Party onto the Ukrainian language in order to bring it closer to the Soviet Russian language, the undertaking of translations into the Ukrainian became a precarious endeavour already in the early 1930s.

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## APPENDIX 1: INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO “SPYSOK TVORIV CHUZHOSZEMNYKH LITERATUR”

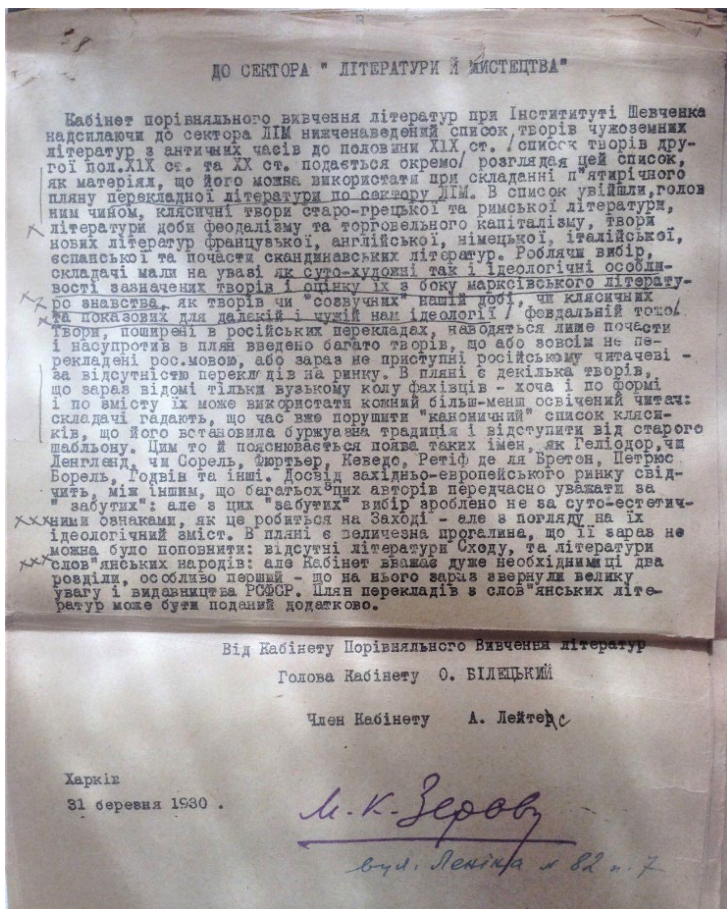


FIGURE 1. | Photo of the letter “Do sektora ‘Literatury i Mystetstva’” (see Zerov, “Do sektora”)—an introductory note to “Spysok tvoriv chuzhozemnykh literatur,” compiled by Zerov on behalf of the Cabinet for the Comparative Study of Literature of the Taras Shevchenko Institute, 31 March 1930. (Published with the permission of Mariia Kochur, director of the Hryhorii Kochur Literary Museum, Irpin.)

Below is the text from figure 1 (with slight updating):

До сектора “Літератури й мистецтва”

Кабінет порівняльного вивчення літератур при Інституті Шевченка, надсилаючи до сектора ЛіМ нижченаведений список творів чужоземних літератур з античних часів до половини XIX ст. (список творів другої пол. XIX ст. та XX ст. подається окремо), розглядає цей список як матеріал, що його можна використати при складанні п’ятирічного пляну перекладної літератури для сектора ЛіМ. У список увійшли, головним чином, класичні твори старогрецької та римської літератури, літератури доби феодалізму та торговельного капіталізму, твори нових літератур французької, англійської, німецької, італійської, еспанської та почасти скандинавських літератур. Роблячи вибір, складачі мали на увазі як суто художні, так й ідеологічні особливості зазначених творів і оцінку їх з боку марксівського літературознавства, як творів чи “созвучних” нашій добі, чи класичних та показових для [своїї доби та співзвучних] далекій і чужій нам ідеології (февдальній тощо). Твори, поширені в російських перекладах, наводяться лише почасти і насупротив у плян введено багато творів, що або зовсім не перекладені рос. [російською] мовою, або зараз не приступні російському читачеві—за відсутністю перекладів на ринку. В пляні є декілька творів, що зараз відомі тільки вузькому колу фахівців—хоча і по формі й по змісту їх може використати кожний більш-менш освічений читач: складачі гадають, що час вже порушити “канонічний” список класиків, що його встановила буржуазна традиція, і відступити від старого шаблону. Цим то й пояснюється поява таких імен, як Геліодор, чи Ленгленд, чи Сорель, Фюртьєр, Кеведо, Ретіф де ля Бретон, Петрюс Борель, Годвін та інші. Досвід західно-європейського ринку свідчить, між іншим, що багатьох з цих авторів передчасно уважати за “забутих”; але з цих “забутих” вибір зроблено не за суто естетичними ознаками, як це робиться на Заході—але з погляду на їх ідеологічний зміст. В пляні є величезна прогалина, що її зараз не можна було поповнити: відсутні літератури Сходу та літератури слов’янських народів, але Кабінет вважає дуже необхідними ці два розділи, особливо перший—що на нього зараз звернули велику увагу і видавництва РСФСР. Плян перекладів з слов’янських літератур може бути поданий додатково.

Від Кабінету порівняльного вивчення літератур

Голова Кабінету О. Білецький

Член Кабінету А. Лейтес

Харків

31 березня 1930.

М. К. Зеров

вул. Леніна, н. 82, к. 7

Below is an English translation of the text in figure 1:

To the Literature and Art Section

The Cabinet for the Comparative Study of Literature at the Shevchenko Institute has compiled for the LiM section and appended here a list of works of foreign literature from ancient times to the mid-nineteenth century (a list of works of the second half of the nineteenth century and of the twentieth century has been submitted separately). The Cabinet treats the aforementioned list as the basis for the formulation of a five-year plan of translated literature for the LiM section. This list includes primarily classical works of ancient Greek and Roman literatures, works of the feudal era and the era of trade capitalism, and new works of French, English, German, Italian, Spanish, and some Scandinavian literatures. The compilers, in making their choices, were directed by both the purely artistic and the ideological features of the selected works. They were also guided by evaluations of these works in Marxist literary criticism either as works “consonant” with our time or as classics representative of [their own time and “consonant” with by now] distant and foreign to us ideologies (feudal and so on). The works available in the Russian translation are only partially given; in addition, many works have been introduced into the list that either have never been translated into the Russian or are not presently available to the Russian reader owing to the absence of such translations on the market. There are several works in the plan that are currently familiar only to a narrow circle of specialists—although in terms of their form and content, they can be understood by any more or less educated reader. The compilers believe that the time has come to revise the “canonical” list of classic authors established by bourgeois tradition and to step back from old habits. This motive also explains the appearance [on the list] of names such as Heliodorus [Emesenus], [William] Langland, [Georges] Sorel, [Antoine] Furetière, [Francisco de] Quevedo, [Nicolas] Restif de la Bretonne, Petrus Borel, [William] Godwin, and others. The experience of the Western European market shows, among other things, that many of these authors should not prematurely be considered to be “forgotten.” But the choices from among these “forgotten” names were made not so much on purely aesthetic grounds, as we see being done in the West, but rather in terms of their ideological content. There is a huge gap in the plan that could not be filled right now: there are no [lists of] literature of the East or of the Slavic peoples, although the Cabinet considers these two categories to be genuinely necessary—especially the first one, which is now being paid great heed, as well, by publishing houses in the RSFSR. A plan of translations of Slavic literatures can be submitted as a supplement.

From the Cabinet for the Comparative Study of Literature  
Head of the Cabinet O. Bilets'kyi  
Member of the Cabinet A. Leites

Kharkiv  
31 March 1930

M. K. Zerov  
82 Lenin St., apt. 7

APPENDIX 2: FIRST SECTION OF “LITERATURNA BIBLIOTEKA” — WORLD LITERATURE  
SUBSERIES (PRESENTED IN THE ENGLISH; WITH ORIGINAL-LANGUAGE, NOT  
TRANSLITERATED, TITLES)

1. Literature of the ancient world and the Middle Ages: Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus* [*Oedipus the King*, first performed circa 429 BC]; Aristophanes, *Nephelai* [*The Clouds*, first performed 423 BC]; Euripides, *Bakkhai* [*The Bacchae*, first performed 405 BC]; and *La chanson de Roland* [*Song of Roland*, probably written between 1129 and 1165; published 1837].
2. France: Alain-René Lesage, *Le Diable boiteux* [*The Devil upon Two Sticks*, published 1707]; Denis Diderot, *Le Neveu de Rameau* [*Rameau's Nephew*, probably written between 1761 and 1774; published 1805]; Pierre-Jean de Béranger, selected songs [written in various years]; Stendhal [Marie-Henri Beyle], *Cronache italiane* [*Italian Chronicles*, written between 1829 and 1840; published in various years] and tales; Victor-Marie Hugo, the play in verse *Le Roi s'amuse* [*The King Amuses Himself*, first performed 1832] and the drama *Hernani* [first performed 1830]; Prosper Mérimée, *La Jacquerie: Scènes féodales* [*The Jacquerie: Feudal Scenes*, published 1828]; Alfred de Musset, *Lorenzaccio* [written 1834]; the Goncourt brothers [Edmond de Goncourt and Jules de Goncourt], *Les Frères Zemganno* [*The Zemganno Brothers*, 1879] (by Edmond alone); Jules Vallès, *L'Insurgé* [*The Insurrectionist*, written circa 1882; published 1886]; Pierre Hamp, one of the production novels; Henri Barbusse, *Le Feu: Journal d'une escouade* [*Under Fire: The Story of a Squad*, 1916]; Jules Romains, a novel; Étienne Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie* [*Travels in Icaria*, 1840]; and Romain Rolland, *Colas Breugnon* [1919].
3. England: William Shakespeare, *King Lear* [written between 1603 and 1606] and *The Tempest* [probably written 1610–11]; Laurence Sterne, *A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy* [1768]; Richard [Brinsley] Sheridan, plays; Lord Byron, *Manfred* [written 1816–17] and *Cain* [1821]; Walter Scott, the novel *Guy Mannering; or, The Astrologer* [1815]; William [Makepeace] Thackeray, *The History of Henry Esmond* [1852]; Charles Dickens, *A Christmas Carol* [1843]; William Morris, *News from Nowhere* [1890]; Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* [1865]; Robert Louis Stevenson, short stories; George Bernard Shaw, the play *Mrs Warren's Profession* [1893]; Oscar Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray* [1890]; Joseph Rudyard Kipling, *The Jungle Book* [1894] and *Barrack-Room Ballads* [published partially 1890; in full 1892]; Joseph Conrad, the novel *Typhoon* [1902]; Gilbert Keith [G. K.] Chesterton, a novel; John Galsworthy, *The Island Pharisees* [1904]; and Arnold Bennett, the

- novel *Anna of the Five Towns* [1902] (or something else from the Five Towns cycle).
4. America: Walt Whitman, *Leaves of Grass* [1855]; Mark Twain, *The American Claimant* [1892]; O. Henry, short stories; Frank Norris, *The Octopus* [1901]; Jack London, short stories; Theodore Dreiser, *The "Genius"* [1915] and another novel; and modern proletarian writers of America.
  5. Germany: Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Nathan der Weise* [*Nathan the Wise*, 1779]; Friedrich Schiller, *Die Verschwörung des Fiesco zu Genua* [*Fiesco's Conspiracy at Genoa*, 1873] and *Wilhelm Tell* [1804]; Adelbert von Chamisso, *Peter Schlemihls wundersame Geschichte* [*Peter Schlemihl's Miraculous Story*, 1814]; E. T. A. Hoffmann, selected writings; Franz Grillparzer, the comedy *Weh dem, der lügt!* [*Woe to Him Who Lies!*, 1838] and the tragedy *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen* [*The Waves of the Sea and Love*, 1831]; and Conrad Ferdinand Meyer, short stories.
  6. Italy: Carlo Gozzi, interludes; Vittorio Alfieri, selected works; Matilde Serao, selected short stories; Luigi Pirandello, selected works; Grazia Deledda, short stories; Sem Benelli, selected plays; and proletarian literature of Italy.
  7. Spain: Pedro Calderón [de la Barca], *El Príncipe constante* [*The Constant Prince*, 1629]; Lope de Vega, selected comedies; Miguel de Cervantes, selected works; Benito Pérez Galdós, a novel; Pío Baroja, a story; Miguel de Unamuno, a novel; and Jacinto Benavente, selected works.
  8. Portugal: José Maria de Eça de Queiroz, short stories.
  9. Belgium: Charles De Coster, *La Légende et les aventures héroïques, joyeuses et glorieuses d'Ulenspiegel et de Lamme Goedzak* [*au pays de Flandres et ailleurs; The Legend and the Heroic, Joyous, and Glorious Adventures of Ulenspiegel and Lamme Goedzak in the Land of Flanders and Elsewhere*, 1867]; and Camille Lemonnier, *La Fin des bourgeois* [*The End of the Bourgeois*, 1892].
  10. Poland: Juliusz Słowacki, selected works; Kazimierz Przerwa-Tetmajer, *Legenda Tatr* [*Legend of the Tatra Mountains*, 1912]; L[ucjan] Rudnicki, the novel *Odrodzenie* [*Rebirth*, 1920]; Henryk Sienkiewicz, selected stories; and Juliusz Kaden-Bandrowski, novellas.
  11. Czech Republic and Slovakia: Alois Jirásek, selected stories; Jaroslav Hašek, selected stories; Vladislav Vančura, selected stories; Karel [Matěj] Čapek[-Chod], *Turbina* [*The Turbine*, 1916]; Anna Maria Tilschová, *Haldy* [*The Heaps*, 1927]; and Peter Jilemnický, *Zuniaci krok* [*Resonant Steps*, 1930].



12. Bulgaria: Pencho [Petkov] Slaveikov, the poem *Kŭrvava pesen* [*Song of Blood*, written 1911–12; published 1913]; Aleko Konstantinov, *Bai Gan'ō* [*Uncle Ganio*, 1895]; Anton Strashimirov, the story “Krŭstopŭt” [“Crossroads,” 1904]; and Stoian Mikhailovski, selected works.

СВІТОВЕ ПИСЬМЕНСТВО		
Бальзак О.—Горіо. Перекл. В. Підмогильного. Ред. і вст. ст. С. Родзевича.	1 крб.	70 к.
Гамсун Кнут.—Бродяги. Ром. Портрет і передмова автора до укр. видання.	3 крб.	—
Гюго В.—Людина що сміється. Пер. М. Сагарди. Ред. і вст. ст. В. Петрова.	2 крб.	30 к.
Келерман Б.—Тонель. Пер. Горовой і Туркало.	(друкується)	
Лесков М. Вибрані твори. Ред. П. Филиповича.	1 крб.	50 к.
Меріме Проспер.—Коломба. Пер. В. Підмогильного.	1 крб.	—
Мопасан Г. Життя. Ром. Пер. Б. Козловського. Ред. і вст. ст. С. Савченка.	1 крб.	80 к.
Мопасан Г.—Любий друг. Ром. Пер. В. Підмогильного.	2 крб.	—
Мопасан Г.—Сильна як смерть. Ром. Пер. В. Підмогильного.	1 крб.	60 к.
Мопасан Г.—Монт-Оріоль. Ром. Пер. В. Підмогильного. Ред. і примітки проф. С. Савченка.	—	60 к.
Мопасан Г.—Пер і Жан. Ром. Пер. М. Дейнара. Ред. і примітки С. Савченка.	—	60 к.
Мопасан Г.—Наше серце. Ром. Пер. О. Косач-Кривинюк. Ред. і примітки проф. С. Савченка.	—	70 к.
Пушкін А.—Вибрані твори. Поезії, поеми, драмат. твори, проза в перекл. укр. поетів та письменників. Ред., вст. ст. і примітки П. Филиповича. Вид. 2-ге, доповнене.	2 крб.	50 к.
Фльобер Г.—Мадам Боварі. Перекл. О. Бублик-Гордон. Ред. і вст. ст. С. Родзевича.	2 крб.	—
Фльобер Г.—Салямбо. Ром. Перекл. М. Рильського.	1 крб.	25 к.
Франс А.—Корчма королеви. Педок. Перекл. В. Підмогильного.	1 крб.	60 к.
Шекспір В.—Гамлет. Перекл. М. Старицького.	2 крб.	—

FIGURE 2. | An advertising page with enumerated publications of the Knyhospilka co-operative publishing house in the Svitove py'smenstvo subseries, as presented in volume 2 of Chekhov's *Vybrani tvory* (1930 [see Chekhov 2: 240]).

Below is an English translation of the list of works in figure 2 (the names of foreign authors and works are given in original-language versions, not transliterated from the Ukrainian):

### World Literature

- Balzac, H[onore de]. *[Le Père] Goriot [Father Goriot]*. Trans. V. Pidmohyl'nyi. Ed. and introduction by S. Rodzevych.
- Hamsun, Knut. *Landstrykere [Wayfarers]*. Novel. Portrait and preface by the author to the Ukrainian edition.
- Hugo, V[ictor-Marie]. *L'Homme qui rit [The Man Who Laughs]*. Trans. M. Saharda. Ed. and introduction by V. Petrov.
- Kellermann, B[ernhard]. *Der Tunnel [The Tunnel]*. Trans. Horova and Turkalo (being printed).
- Leskov, N. *Izbrannye sochineniia [Selected Works]*. Ed. P. Fylypovych.
- Mérimée, Prosper. *Colomba*. Trans. V. Pidmohyl'nyi.
- Maupassant, G[uy de]. *Une vie [A Life]*. Novel. Trans. B. Kozlovs'kyi. Ed. and introduction by S. Savchenko.
- Maupassant, G[uy de]. *Bel-Ami [Dear Friend]*. Novel. Trans. V. Pidmohyl'nyi.
- Maupassant, G[uy de]. *Fort comme la mort [Strong as Death]*. Novel. Trans. V. Pidmohyl'nyi.
- Maupassant, G[uy de]. *Mont-Oriol*. Novel. Trans. V. Pidmohyl'nyi. Ed. and notes by Prof. S. Savchenko.
- Maupassant, G[uy de]. *Pierre et Jean [Pierre and Jean]*. Novel. Trans. M. Deinar. Ed. and notes by S. Savchenko.
- Maupassant, G[uy de]. *Notre Coeur [Our Heart]*. Novel. Trans. O. Kosach-Kryvnyiuk. Ed. and notes by Prof. S. Savchenko.
- Pushkin, A[leksandr]. *Izbrannye sochineniia [Selected Works]*. Poetry, poems, dramatic works, and prose in the translations of Ukrainian poets and writers. Ed., introduction, and notes by P. Fylypovych. 2nd expanded ed.
- Flaubert, G[ustave]. *Madame Bovary*. Trans. O. Bublyk-Gordon. Ed. and introduction by S. Rodzevych.
- Flaubert, G[ustave]. *Salammbô*. Novel. Trans. M. Ryl's'kyi.
- France, A[natole]. *La Rotisserie de la reine Pédauque [The Rotisserie of Queen Pédauque]*. Trans. V. Pidmohyl'nyi.
- Shakespeare, W[illiam]. *Hamlet*. Trans. M. Staryts'kyi.



APPENDIX 3: CONTENTS OF THE AMERICA SUBSERIES IN “BIBLIOTEKA SUCHASNOЇ SVITOVOЇ LITERATURY” (PRESENTED IN THE ENGLISH)

1. Anderson, Sherwood. *Hello Towns!* (1929)  
A new collection of short stories, stories, and essays devoted to the portrayal of the psychoideology of the American provincial bourgeoisie and intelligentsia;
  2. Wilder, Thornton. *The Bridge of San Luis Rey* (1928)  
An example of a sophisticated modern American psychological novel; it immediately achieved great fame in America and England;
  3. Hemingway, Ernest. *Men without Women* (1927)  
One of the best collections of short stories by the famous writer; it is very characteristic of the purely psychological modern American short story;  
(a) Hemingway, Ernest. *A Farewell to Arms* (1929)  
A war novel memoir based on the author's stay on the Italian front in 1917; it is marked by a great objectivity of description;
  4. Gilman, Mildred Evans. *Headlines* (1928)  
A collection of revolutionary-proletarian short stories and essays on the modern life of the American working class;
  5. Jones, Idwal. *Steel Chips* (1929)  
A social-domestic novel about the modern life of American industrial workers (highly recommended by Upton Sinclair);
  6. Loos, Anita. *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* (1926)
  7. Loos, Anita. *But Gentlemen Marry Brunettes* (1928)  
Regarding both novels: the humorous novels of Anita Loos are distinguished by their not profound but exceptionally funny portrayal of the specific negative features of the American bourgeoisie;
  8. McKay, Claude. *Banjo* (1929)  
The last novel of the famous Black American revolutionary writer; it centres mainly on reflecting the psychoideology of Black immigrant workers (in France);
  9. Knister, Raymond (editor). *Canadian Short Stories* (1929)  
An anthology of Canadian short stories and stories clearly reflecting the main currents of contemporary Canadian fiction;
  10. Odum, H[oward] W. *Wings on My Feet* (1929)  
A Black revolutionary war novel; it very vividly describes Black Americans' stay on the Western Front during the World War.
- (Derzhavyn, “Biblioteka” 11–12)

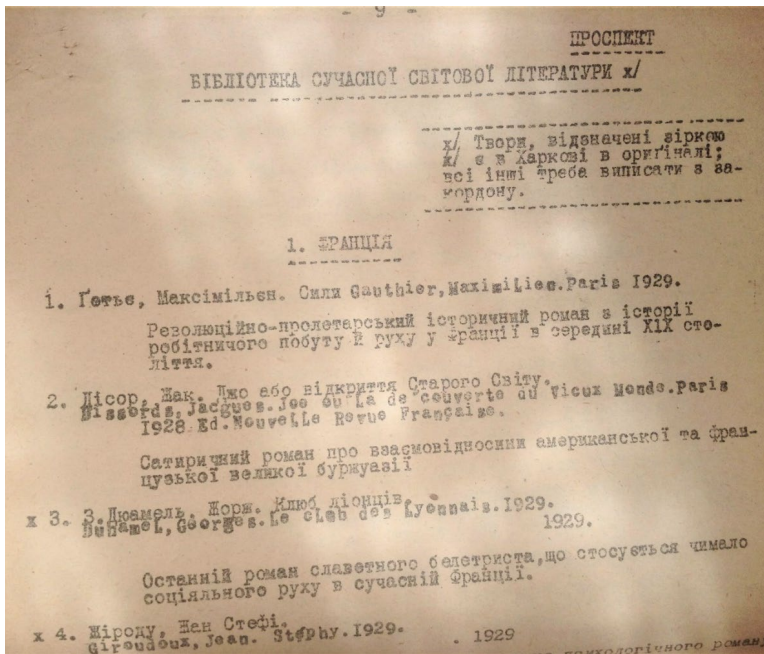


FIGURE 3. | Photo of the opening fragment of the typescript “Biblioteka suchasnoi svitovoi literature.” The following explanatory comment is given in relation to the asterisk in the heading: “Works marked with an asterisk (\*) are available in Kharkiv in the original; all of the others must be ordered from abroad” (Derzhavyn, “Biblioteka” 9). (Published with the permission of Mariia Kochur, director of the Hryhorii Kochur Literary Museum, Irpin.)