

Summary

The Vygotsky That We (Do Not) Know: Vygotsky's Main Works and the Chronology of their Composition

A. Yasnitsky

This paper summarizes a notably longer version the paper on Lev (1896-1934) written legacy that came out in the Russian-language *PsyAnima, Dubna Psychological Journal* (Yasnitsky, 2011b).

PROBLEM AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS. Given the immense popularity of Vygotsky nowadays, it is highly surprising to see the great discrepancies in bibliographies writings as manifested in different printed and archival sources (Lifanova, 1996; Luria, 1935a, 1935b; Murchison, 1932; Van der Veer & Valsiner, 1991; Vygodskaya, 1996; Vygotsky, 1934, 1956, 1960, 1982-84), none of which appearing ultimately and unconditionally correct. Therefore, this study posed two interrelated research questions:

(1) What are the most important written works of Vygotsky that represent his theory in its most developed and advanced form?

(2) ...ion?

DATA AND ANALYSIS. This study is deliberately focused on larger works such as published books and manuscripts of monographs chapters, created during the period of 1928-1934. Thus, it leaves out earlier and relatively immature work - such as the 1925-1926 manuscript *Psychology of Art* (first published in Russian in 1965), the book of 1926 *Pedagogical Psychology*, or the unfinished manuscript draft of 1926-1927 *Historical meaning of crisis in psychology* that, according to recent archival studies, was not apparently intended for publication by its author as a whole, but was later considerably revised and eventually published as several journal articles (Zavershneva, 2009). On the other hand, several later publications are only briefly discussed in this study, which include with the only exception of *Thinking and Speech* (1934) that is treated here at a considerable length posthumously published (such as *Foundations of Paedology*, 1934, 1935) and compilations of his papers (such as *Mental development of children in the process of learning*, 1935 or coedited volume *Mentally retarded child*, 1935, with I.I. Daniushevskii). The former group of sources is excluded from this study for

their author for publication original thought:

see (van der Veer & Yasnitsky, 2011).

This study explored two major categories of data. First, the meta-works such as (a) the dates of manuscripts submission to the publisher, of their approval by the censorship authorities, and of their final publication, (b) information about the publishing houses and the institutions that authorized these publications, (c) the contexts of publication and intended readership, etc. Second, in several most problematic instances the author analyzed the discourse of

FINDINGS.

First.

Man will make it his purpose to master his own feelings, to raise his instincts to the heights of consciousness, to make them transparent, to extend the wires of his will into hidden recesses, and thereby to raise himself to a new plane, to create a higher social biologic type, or, if you please, a *superman*

(emphasis added, Trotsky, 1925/2005). visionary proclamations, as evident in a number of quotes and programmatic statements in his writings (e.g., Vygotskii, 1926, 1926/2008), to lay out, in a general sense, psychology with regard to culture and the superhuman (Vygotsky & Puzyrei, 2007, p. 19) [in German translation [es ist eine Chance,] dem Aspekt der Kultur und des]. This project ultimately materialized as two books that came out in 1930: *Studies on the history of behaviour. Ape, primitive, child* (Vygotskii & Luria, 1930) and *Imagination and creativity in school age* (Vygotskii, 1930b). To their apparent disappointment, as it is evident from correspondence with his associates and collaborators, the outcome of the work did not meet high expectations, who self-criticized inconsistencies, and omissions -64; Vygotsky & Puzyrei, 2007, p. 26) that resulted from the lack of experimental studies done by the Vygotsky-Luria Circle (Yasnitsky, 2009b, 2011d), and, on the other hand, their inability to provide sufficiently convincing and comprehensive theoretical generalizations. Therefore, the outcome of the undertaking of psychology with regard to the two books for general reader that summarized the studies of other, mostly West European scholars was clearly an overall failure of what started as a highly ambitious and original project.

Second. Perhaps, the most unexpected, striking, and sensational discovery made in this study is the conclusion that such according to common opinion as *The History of Development of Higher Mental Functions* and *Tool and Sign in the Development of the Child*, in fact, were not considered as his seminal works by their author, who neither included them in his bibliographies of published works and unpublished manuscripts (cf.: Murchison, 1932; Vygodskaya, 1996) nor even intended to publish them, at least in their present form as they are known to us in Soviet publications of 1960s-1980s and their translations into English of 1970s-1990s. Furthermore, this study leads us to the conclusion about numerous both deliberate and incidental falsifications that took place during preparation of the texts for publication by the editors of the Russian six-volume -1984. Thus, *The History of Development of Higher Mental Functions* appears to have been constructed from two different -2 years and published in 1983 by the editors of the Soviet edition of Pedagogica Press as one theoretical work under the title that actually never (Vygotskii, 1983). In turn, on the basis of testimonies of the participants of the events of that time and the comparative analysis *Tool and Sign in the Development of the Child* we come to the conclusion that this work that we know very well by its Russian (Vygotskii, 1984) and English (Vygotsky, 1994) publications is a fake, or, in the words of Elkonon Goldberg, a , or, even more precisely, back-translation from an English translation of an earlier Russian text that had not preserved by the time of the preparation of Soviet six-volume publication (i.e. by the end of 1960s) (Goldberg, 2005, p. 99). The main evidence in support of this finding is the fact of numerous repetitions of considerable segments of Russian text, virtually identical in their content, but most frequently varying in their verbal expressions (see Kellogg & Yasnitsky, 2011; also footnote 20 in Van der Veer & Valsiner, 1994, p. 171). Such variations must have resulted from the poorly coordinated work of two (or even more) translators who made redundant translations of the text and, then, from the mistakes of integration of these segments into coherent whole that were presumably made by a highly unprofessional and careless editor of the volume. Finally, it is notable that the English text that served as the original for this back-translation has

ology), which suggests that first translation of the original Russian text was made in the interwar period, quite likely around 1930. On the other hand, this English text also reveals certain -1932, which might be explained by later

interventions and revisions that took place after 1930 when the original text was expanded and augmented with several newer paragraphs here and there, but not fully reconsidered, revised and rewritten as a whole. As a result, what is available to us now is a highly eclectic text that reflects

Therefore, in sum, we are safe to claim that such findings do not allow us to treat these two texts *The History of Development of Higher Mental Functions* and *Tool and Sign in the Development of the Child* works the way they were published in the six-volume collection by Pedagogika Press in 1980s. The same obviously applies to all subsequent translations of these two texts that were made from this Soviet edition, for instance the English publication of *Tool and sign* of 1999 (Vygotsky, 1984/1999).

Third.

and contributed to a better understanding of the place these works occupy within the corpus of As a result, this study suggests that we need to question and reconsider the set of his published books and book manuscripts that are traditionally considered as seminal and foundational. Also, the chronology of composition was somewhat revised and in several instances corrected (see Table 1).

most significant texts those texts that are traditionally presented as the most important and foundational in (for most recent critique of some of these see Miller, 2011) were in fact written before 1931 (the two exceptions are several chapters of *Thinking and speech*, 1934 and several fragments of *Tool and sign*, 1930-1932). Therefore, we realize that these texts do not quite represent the last and the most important and productive period -1934. On the other hand, we also realize that the most popular texts of Vygotsky that were in fact written in 1932-1934 give only a fragmentary and far from complete overview of his integral psychoneurological theory of bio-social and cultural-historical development that was emerging over the last period of his life.

Fourth.

an see that the paedological cycle of his works such as *Paedology of school age* (Vygotskii, 1928) and *Paedology of the adolescent* (Vygotskii, 1929, 1930a, 1931) were quite undeservedly downplayed and largely forgotten in the numerous contemporary scholarly works of post-Vygotskian scholars. Quite in contrast to the contemporary virtual oblivion of the author of these works and his closest associates considered them as important, often referred to these books, and included these publications in the bibliographies of his works. Also, one should keep it in mind that, cumulatively, the paedological books of Vygotsky constitute his largest text more than 700 pages that was authorized for publication by its author and was ultimately (cf. Table). Analysis of these works will help us better understand the growth of the theory of bio-social development that Vygotsky announced in his earlier programmatic works of mid-1920s. Given that his latest and, thus, the most mature text of this cycle was written not later than the end of 19

main paedological works it is important to include also his *more advanced works on paedology*: the for the courses that he typically taught at the Herzen Leningrad Pedagogical Institute in 1930s. Some of these stenograms and course notes were later published posthumously, most likely not proofread by the author, without his consent, and quite probably with editorial changes (Vygotskii, 1933-34/1984, 1934b, 1935a, 1935b, 1996, 2001; Vygotskii & Danyushevskii, 1935). For typical examples of editorial interventions and, for that matter, distortions of the meaning of the text in (Kellogg & Yasnitsky, 2011; Mecacci & Yasnitsky, 2011; van der Veer & Yasnitsky, 2011; Zavershneva & Osipov, 2010). Despite not ungrounded doubts in the authenticity and reliability of these posthumous publications,

they are the best what we currently have of the paedological legacy of the later integrative psychoneurological developmental theory of Vygotsky and, therefore, these sources should be most seriously taken into consideration.

Table 1.

The updated chronology of Vygotsky's books composition and publication
(italics indicate the works that were not published during Vygotsky's lifetime;
corrections in the chronology of Vygotsky's works that were introduced in this study are
emphasized, in bold characters)

Title	Date of publication/writing		Length (pp.)	Comments
	traditional	corrected		
<i>Istoriia razvitiia vysshikh psikhicheskikh funktsii</i> [The history of development of higher mental functions]	1930-1931 or 1931-1932	Not later 1930 (chapters 1-5) ¹	210 or 158 ²	Total text length of the Russian publication of 1983 323 pp.
		Not later 1929 (chapters 6-15) ³	165	
[Thinking and speech]	1934	Not later 1930 (ch. 2-5), spring 1933 - spring 1934 (Introduction, chap. 1, 6 7)	320	Chapter 5: an excerpt from <i>Pedologiia podrostka</i> [Paedology of the adolescent] (1931)
<i>[Tool and sign (manuscript)]</i>	1930	Not earlier 1931 , probably 1932		According to <i>Thinking and speech</i> (Vygotskii, 1934a, p. 323), there was also such English copy of the work: L.S. Vygotsky and A. R. Luria, <i>Tool and Symbol in the development of the child</i> (sent to -
Pedologiia podrostka [Paedology of the adolescent]	1929 and 1931 or	1929 (vol. 1, chapters 1-4)	68	Total text length of all three volumes of the book 504 pp.
		1930 (vol. 2, chapters 5-8)	104	The last, third volume completed not later than the fall of 1930
		1931 (vol. 3, chapters 9-16)	332	
Pedologiia vozrasta [Paedology of the school age]	1928	1928	218	
Etiudy po istorii primitiv, rebenok [Studies on the history of behaviour. Ape, primitive, child]	1930	1930	230	The book most likely completed not later than the fall of 1929

Fifth, and the last. *Thinking and speech* is typically presented as the last and most mature of his works, as some kind of summary of all his theoretical work and a scientific

¹ *psikhologicheskikh funktsii* [Investigation of higher psychological functions].

² In Soviet editions of 1960 and 1983 respectively

³ -1929 originally titled by its author *Is*
[The history of cultural development of normal and abnormal child].

testament to his students, followers and future generations of psychologists. Our study demonstrates that roughly half of the text of this book was written not later than 1930, and the whole book was presumably ready for submission to the publishing house by 1932. The second half of the book includes the texts that although, indeed, actually written in 1932-1934 do not reflect the last research program of the psychology of human consciousness, sense-making, and freedom that Vygotsky announced at the end of 1932, highly psychology with regard, was carried out by the members of Vygotsky Circle in *three different yet interrelated directions of empirical studies and theoretical generalizations*. These are:

(1) intensive **clinical and defectological** studies in Kharkov and Moscow that resulted in considerable convergence of psychological theory of Vygotsky-Luria with psychiatry, physiology,

(Toomela, in press; Yasnitsky, 2009a, 2009b, 2011d; Yasnitsky & Ferrari, 2008);

(2) **philological** (i.e. linguistic and literary) studies of language, thinking, and culture that, according to the contemporary nomenclature of scientific disciplines, are chiefly associated with semiotics, anthropology, and psycholinguistics (see, e.g., Bertau, 2008, 2011a, 2011b; Friedrich, 2005);

(3) convergence of the intellectualism of the earlier Vygotsky of his instrumental period of 1920s with the research on **affect, will and action in human "lifespace"** that was conducted by the members of the Berlin group of Kurt Lewin (Lewin, 1935, 1936) and were replicated and continued in the Soviet Union in 1930s by the scholars of the Vygotsky-Luria Circle (Yasnitsky, 2011a, 2012a, 2012b).

theory in its most mature form. It is already apparent that no single text of Vygotsky presents these three lines in

theory at a glance. Instead, what we have is a collection of brief notes, fragments, draft papers and unfinished works (Yasnitsky, 2010; Zavershneva, 2010a, 2010b, 2010c), partially published during the brief period of the Gold Age of Vygotskian psychology after his death in 1934-1936 (Vygotskii, 1933-34/1984, 1934b, 1935a, 1935b, 1936; Vygotskii & Danyushevskii, 1935) (on the "Gold Age" of the period of 1934-1936 see Yasnitsky, 2011c). In this situation there are two different yet interrelated options. First, we need meticulous historical work aimed at restoring and reconstructing

2. Bertau, M.-C. (2011a). *Anreden, Erwidern, Verstehen. Elemente einer Psycholinguistics of alterity*. Berlin: Lehmanns media.
3. Bertau, M.-C. (2011b). Language for the other: Constructing cultural-historical psycholinguistics. *e - [Activity Theory Journal of activity-theoretical research in Germany]*, 5, 13-49.
4. Clegg, J. W. (Ed.). (2009). *The observation of human systems. Lessons from the history of anti-reductionistic empirical psychology*. New Brunswick-London: Transaction Publishers.
5. Friedrich, J. (2005). Verwendung und Funktion des Dialogbegriffs im sowjetrussischen Diskurs der 1920er Jahre, insbesondere bei Jakubinskij und Vygotskij / The use and function of the notion of dialogue in the Soviet-Russian discourse of the 1920ies, especially with Yakubinsky and Vygotsky. In M.-C. Bertau (Ed.), *Sprache dialogisch denken Handeln dialogisch verstehen / Think about language dialogically Understand action dialogically*. In . Munich: Munich University.
6. Goldberg, E. (2005). *The wisdom paradox: How your mind can grow stronger as your brain grows older*. New York: Gotham books.
7. Kellogg, D., & Yasnitsky, A. (2011). The differences between the Russian and English texts of Tool and Sign in Child Development. Supplementary and analytic materials. *PsyAnima, Dubna Psychological Journal*, 4(4).
8. Lewin, K. (1935). *A Dynamic Theory of Personality*. New York & London: McGraw-Hill Book Company.
9. Lewin, K. (1936). *Principles of Topological Psychology*. New York & London: McGraw-Hill Book Company.
10. Lifanova, T. M. (1996). Polnaya bibliografiya trudov L'va Semenovicha Vygotskogo [Complete bibliography of the works of Lev Semenovich Vygotskii]. *Voprosy psikhologii*(5), 137-157.
11. Luria, A. R. (1935a). L.S. Vygotsky. *Character and personality*, pp. 238-240.
12. Luria, A. R. (1935b). Professor L.S. Vygotsky (1896-1934). *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, pp. 224-226.
13. Mecacci, L., & Yasnitsky, A. (2011). Editorial changes in the three Russian editions of Vygotsky's "Thinking and Speech" (1934, 1956, 1982): Towards authoritative and ultimate English translation of the book. *PsyAnima, Dubna Psychological Journal*, 4(4).
14. Miller, R. (2011). *Vygotsky in perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
15. Murchison, C. (Ed.). (1932). *The psychological register* (Vol. 3). Worcester, MA: Clark University Press.
16. 1934. Berlin: Lehmanns Media.
17. Toomela, A. (in press). There can be no cultural-historical psychology without neuropsychology. And vice versa. In A. Yasnitsky, R. v. d. Veer & M. Ferrari (Eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of cultural-historical psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
18. Toomela, A., & Valsiner, J. (Eds.). (2010). *Methodological thinking in psychology: 60 years gone astray?* Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, Inc.
19. Trotsky, L. (1925/2005). *Literature and revolution*. Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books.
20. Valsiner, J., Molenaar, P. C. M., Lyra, M. C. D. P., & Chaudhary, N. (Eds.). (2009). *Dynamic process methodology in the social and developmental sciences*. New York: Springer.
21. Van der Veer, R., & Valsiner, J. (1991). *Understanding Vygotsky: A quest for synthesis*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

22. Van der Veer, R., & Valsiner, J. (1994). *The Vygotsky reader*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
23. van der Veer, R., & Yasnitsky, A. (2011). Vygotsky in English: What still needs to be done. *Integrative Psychological and Behavioral Science*, 45(4), 475-493.
24. Vygotskaya, G. L. (1996). Kakim ob byl [The man he was]. *Voprosy psikhologii*(5), 122-133.
25. Vygotskii, L. S. (1926). *Pedagogicheskaya psikhologiya [Pedagogical psychology]*. Moscow: Rabotnik prosveshcheniya.
26. Vygotskii, L. S. (1926/2008). *Psikhologiya iskusstva [Psychology of art]*. Moskva: Labirint.
27. Vygotskii, L. S. (1928). *Pedologiya shkol'nogo vozrasta [Paedology of school age]*. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo BZO pri pedfak 2 MGU.
28. Vygotskii, L. S. (1929). *Pedologiya podrostka [Paedology of the adolescent]*. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo BZO pri pedfak 2 MGU.
29. Vygotskii, L. S. (1930a). *Pedologiya podrostka [Paedology of the adolescent]*. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo BZO pri pedfak 2 MGU.
30. Vygotskii, L. S. (1930b). *Voobrazhenie i tvorchestvo v shkol'nom vozraste. Psikhologicheskii ocherk. Kniga dlia uchitelei [Imagination and creativity in school age. Psychological essay. The book for teachers]*. Moscow: Gosizdat.
31. Vygotskii, L. S. (1931). *Pedologiya podrostka [Paedology of the adolescent]*. Moscow-Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe uchebno-pedagogicheskoe izdatel'stvo.
32. Vygotskii, L. S. (1933-34/1984). *Voprosy detskoj (vozrastnoj) psikhologii. (Neopublikovannye glavy i stenogrammy lektsii po pedologii 1933-1934) [Some issues of child (age) psychology. (Unpublished chapters and stenograms of lectures on paedology of 1933-1934)]*. In L. S. Vygotsky (Ed.), *Sobranie sochinenij* (Vol. 4. Detskaia psikhologiya, pp. 243-385). Moscow: Pedagogika.
33. Vygotskii, L. S. (1934a). *[Thinking and speech. Psychological investigations]*. Moskva: Gosudarstvennoe sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoe izdatel'stvo.
34. Vygotskii, L. S. (1934b). *Osnovy pedologii [Foundations of pedology]*. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo 2-go Moskovskogo Meditsinskogo Instituta.
35. Vygotskii, L. S. (1935a). *Osnovy pedologii [Foundations of pedology]*. Leningrad: Gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij institut imeni A. I. Gerzena.
36. Vygotskii, L. S. (1935b). *Umstvennoe razvitie detej v protsesse obucheniya [Children's mental development in the process of learning]*. Moscow-Leningrad: Uchpedgiz.
37. Vygotskii, L. S. (1936). *Diagnostika razvitiya i pedagogicheskaya klinika trudnogo detstva [Diagnostics of development and paedological clinic of difficult childhood]*. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo EDI.
38. Vygotskii, L. S. (1983). *Istoriia razvitiia vysshikh psikhicheskikh funktsii [The History of development of higher mental/psychic functions]*. In Vygotskii, L. S. *Sobranie sochinenii. Tom tretii. Problemy razvitiia psikhiki* (pp. 5-328). Moscow: Pedagogika.
39. Vygotskii, L. S. (1984). *Orudie i znak v razvitiu rebenka [Tool and sign in the development of the child]*. In Vygotskii, L. S. *Sobranie sochinenii. Tom shestoi. Nauchnoe nasledstvo* (pp. 5-90). Moscow: Pedagogika.
40. Vygotskii, L. S. (1996). *Lektsii po pedologii [Lectures on pedology]*. Izhevsk: Izdatel'stvo Udmurtskogo universiteta.
41. Vygotskii, L. S. (2001). *Lektsii po pedologii [Lectures on pedology]*. Izhevsk: Izdatel'stvo "Udmurtskii universitet".
42. Vygotskii, L. S., & Danyushevskii, I. I. (Eds.). (1935). *Umstvennootstalyj rebenok [Mentally retarded child]*. Moscow: Uchpedgiz.

43. Vygotskii, L. S., & Luria, A. R. (1930). *Etiudy po istorii povedeniya. Obez'yana. Primitiv. Rebionok. [Studies in the history of human behavior. Ape, primitive, child]*. Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo.
44. Vygotsky, L. S. (1934). *[Thinking and speech. Psychological investigations]*. Moskva: Gosudarstvennoe sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoe izdatel'stvo.
45. Vygotsky, L. S. (1956). *Izbrannye psikhologicheskie proizvedeniya [Selected psychological works]*. Moscow: APN RSFSR.
46. Vygotsky, L. S. (1960). *Razvitie vysshikh psikhicheskikh funktsij. Iz neopublikovannykh trudov [Development of higher mental functions. From the unpublished works]*. Moscow: APN RSFSR.
47. Vygotsky, L. S. (1982-84). *Sobranie sochinenii v shesti tomakh [Collected works in six volumes]*. Moscow: Pedagogika.
48. Vygotsky, L. S. (1984/1999). Tool and sign in the development of the child. In R. W. Rieber (Ed.), *The collected works of L. S. Vygotsky* (Vol. 6. Scientific legacy, pp. 3-68). New York, NY: Plenum Press.
49. Vygotsky, L. S. (1994). Tool and symbol in child development. In R. van der Veer & J. Valsiner (Eds.), *The Vygotsky reader* (pp. 99-174). Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
50. Vygotsky, L. S., & Puzyrej, A. A. (2007). Letters to students and colleagues. *Journal of Russian and East European Psychology*, 45(2), 11-60.
51. Yasnitsky, A. (2009a). Oчерк istorii Khar'kovskoj psikhologicheskoy shkoly: pervaya nauchnaya sessiya Khar'kovskogo gosudarstvennogo instituta i poyavlenie "Khar'kovskoj shkoly psikhologii" (1938) [An outline of the history of the Kharkov school: first scientific session of the Kharkov state pedagogical institute and the emergence of the "Kharkov school of psychology" (1938)]. *Cultural-Historical Psychology*(2), 95-106.
52. Yasnitsky, A. (2009b). *Vygotsky Circle during the Decade of 1931-1941: Toward an Integrative Science of Mind, Brain, and Education. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto.*
53. Yasnit
Journal of the Russian and East European Psychology, 48(1), 3-13.
54. Yasnitsky, A. (2011a). Izolyatsionizm sovetskoj psikhologii? Uchenye, "import-eksport" v nauke i vlast' [Isolationism of Soviet psychology? Scientists, "import-export" in science, and the power]. *Voprosy psikhologii*(6), 108-121.
55. Yasnitsky, A. (2011b). "Kogda b vy znali iz kakogo sora...": K opredeleniiu sostava i khronologii sozdaniia osnovnykh rabot Vygotskogo ["I Wish You Knew From What Stray Matter...": Identifying the set of Vygotsky's major oeuvre and determining the chronology of their composition]. *PsyAnima, Dubna Psychological Journal*, 4(4).
56. Yasnitsky, A. (2011c). Lev Vygotsky: Philologist and Defectologist, A Sociointellectual Biography. In W. E. Pickren, M. C. Wertheimer & D. A. Dewsbury (Eds.), *Portraits of pioneers in developmental psychology* (Vol. 7, pp. 109-133). New York: Taylor & Francis.
57. Yasnitsky, A. (2011d). Vygotsky Circle as a personal network of scholars: Restoring connections between people and ideas. *Integrative Psychological and Behavioral Science*, 45(4), 422-457.
58. Yasnitsky, A. (2012a). Izolyatsionizm sovetskoj psikhologii? Neformal'nye lichnye svyazi uchenykh, mezhdunarodnye posredniki i "import" psikhologii [Isolationism of Soviet psychology? Informal personal networks of scholars, international brokers, and "import" of psychology]. *Voprosy psikhologii*(1).
59. Yasnitsky, A. (2012b). K istorii kul'turno-istoricheskoi geshtal't-psikhologii: Vygotskii, Lurii, Koffka, Levin i drugie. [A history of cultural-historical Gestalt psychology: Vygotsky, Luria, Koffka, Lewin and others]. *PsyAnima, Dubna Psychological Journal*, 5(1).

-
60. Yasnitsky, A., & Ferrari, M. (2008). From Vygotsky to Vygotskian psychology: Introduction to the history of the Kharkov school. *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, 44(2), 119-145.
61. Zavershneva, E. (2009). Issledovanie rukopisi L.S. Vygotskogo "Istoricheskii smysl psikhologicheskogo krizisa" [Investigation of the original of Vygotsky's manuscript "Historical meaning of crisis in psychology"]. *Voprosy psikhologii*(6), 119-137.
62. Zavershneva, E. (2010a). The Vygotsky Family Archive (1912 1934). New Findings. *Journal of the Russian and East European Psychology*, 48(1), 14-33.
63. Zavershneva, E. (2010b). The Vygotsky Family Archive: New Findings. Notebooks, Notes, and Scientific Journals of L.S. Vygotsky (1912 1934). *Journal of the Russian and East European Psychology*, 48(1), 34-60.
64. from the Family Archive of Lev Vygotsky). *Journal of the Russian and East European Psychology*, 48(1), 61-90.
65. Zavershneva, E., & Osipov, M. E. (2010). Osnovnye popravki k tekstu "Istoricheskij smysl psikhologicheskogo krizisa", opublikovannomu v sobranii sochinenij L.S. Vygotskogo (1982-1984) [Main editorial interventions in the text of "Historical meaning of psychological crisis" published in the collected works of L.S. Vygotsky (1982-1984)]. *Voprosy psikhologii*(1), 92-102.