

**THE UKRAINIAN PROJECT IN SEARCH OF NATIONAL SPACE,
1861–1914**

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in

History

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Abstract

This thesis is a study of Ukrainian national territorialisation. Considering space as a crucial component of any national movement and nationalism as essentially a territorial ideology, in this project I scrutinise the process of Ukrainian nationalising of space of the Romanov and Habsburg Empires. I argue that Ukraine, as any other nation, was imagined and constructed even in its seemingly most stable and down-to-earth dimension, which is territorial. In treating this kind of construction process as a research problem I demonstrate how at the end of the nineteenth – beginning of the twentieth centuries vast, disjoined and divergent territories of the Romanov and Habsburg Empires were turned into one coherent Ukrainian national space and the territorial concept of the modern Ukrainian nation appeared.

As this is a study of a ceaseless process of constant negotiations and discussions between the main actors which aims at presenting a cohesive picture of Ukrainian national space construction, I studied both of its stages: *first*, how the Ukrainian activists of the nineteenth century tried to create an idea of what the national territory of Ukraine was and, *second*, how this idea was later brought to life and disseminated. This will give the reader an idea of space which is a social product and thus is subject to change. An important aim of the thesis is to argue that these discussions were not only *sui generis*, but were also closely entangled with other contemporary contexts: Russian imperial, Russian national, Little Russian, Polish, Romanian, Lithuanian, and Czech among others. Thus, in the end, in this way this study contributes both to Ukrainian and wider Eastern-European historiography.

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Abbreviations

ARGO – Archive of the Russian Geographical Society

ChOidr – Chteniia v Obshchestve istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh

CIUS – Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies

GARF – State Archive of the Russian Federation

(I)RGO – Imperial Russian Geographical Society

IR NBUV – Department of manuscripts of the National Library of Ukraine

KS – Kievskaiia starina

LNV – Literaturno-naukovyi visnyk

OR IRLI – Department of manuscripts of the Institute of Russian Literature

OR RNB – Department of manuscripts of the National Library of Russia

PSS – Polnoe sobranie sochinenii

RGIA – Russian State Historical Archive

TsDIAK – Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine

UAShch – Ukrainiis'kyi arkheohrafichnyi shchorichnyk

ZhMNP – Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniia

ZNTSh – Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva imeni Tarasa Shevchenka

Note on transliteration

A difficulty awaits anyone researching modern Central-European history regarding the spelling of names, toponyms and ethnonyms. Throughout the nineteenth century main regional actors and places were simultaneously identified in manifold ways in different languages and written in various orthographies and with several spellings. The majority of contemporary historians writing about this period of Ukrainian history in English use contemporary Ukrainian spelling to convey disputed concepts. In this dissertation I prefer to approach this question in a historical manner and render personal names situationally and depending on the context and political stance of the person in question. Thus a reader should not be confused seeing Mykhailo (Drahomanov) and Mikhail (Iuzefovich) sharing the very same page. Similarly careful attention was paid to various ethnonyms: I reserved “Ukrainian” only for those people, who shared this identity, but called them “Little Russians” if they chose another one. The same approach was used towards the place names: in the nineteenth century contemporary Kharkiv and Lviv were predominantly known as Kharkov and Lemberg; a situation which the representatives of national (and imperial) projects tried to change in their desired way. Thus in this work I provide all toponyms or hydronyms depending on the context. Needless to add that in quotes, footnotes and the bibliography I will transliterate all the above mentioned names as they were conveyed in the language the source was published in. Throughout the whole thesis I used the rules for transliteration from the Russian and Ukrainian languages as established by the Library of Congress.

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Introduction

– Now tell me, is it large, this country, Ukraine?
 – Yes, indeed. In Russia we call the following gubernias Ukraine: Kyiv, Podillia, Volhynia, Poltava, Kharkiv, Katerynoslav and Kherson, together with some districts of Lublin, Sedlets, Grodno, Minsk, Kursk, Voronizh, Tavria, Stavropol, Bessarabia and parts of the Kuban', Black Sea and the Don regions, and besides that part of Galicia, Bukovyna and Hungary in Austria. All of them constitute Ukraine.¹

The dialogue above was published in 1913 in a Kyiv newspaper and conveyed a conversation between a Ukrainian peasant and a village teacher. Such instruction was not unique in its kind: at the time all major Ukrainian periodicals, whose numbers had mushroomed after the long-awaited abolishment of the Ems decree in 1905, devoted their first issues to the clarification of what and where Ukraine was. A century later one may wonder why raise such an obvious doubt and answer it? Was it not yet common knowledge? If not, why not use an encyclopaedia or a map to get this information, why publish it in the press?

These are the questions which led me to write this dissertation. Although in the beginning of the twenty-first century one finds numerous maps of Ukraine clearly showing its borders, a century ago the situation was quite the reverse: instead of resolute certainty about its location one would experience doubt, hesitation, confrontation and scepticism. Ukraine? What is it? Where is it? Which territories belong to it? Do the same people live there? Do they speak the same language, profess the same faith and live according to the same customs? Finally, are they the same nation? In 1913 there was no consensus as to how to answer these doubts.

The Ukrainian story of national territorialisation provides us with an opportunity to address the wider subject of the relation between a nation and its territory. Is na-

¹ Hryhorii Nash, "Rozmovy z didom Danylom," *Maiak* 6 (1913): 6. In the course of the twentieth century not all of the indicated territories were included into the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and later into contemporary Ukraine; especially this concerns the parts of the Lublin, Sedlets, Grodno, Minsk, Kursk, Voronizh, Stavropol gubernias with the Kuban' and Don regions.

tional community fundamentally imagined by the kinship ties, common history and shared language, or is it largely conceived of as a social and political community based on common territory and on citizenship rights and laws, where individuals are free to determine their own nationality?² Classical theories of nations and nationalism argue that time is the most important factor in the process of nation-building: to legitimate itself as a nation it first has to “find its navel” and conquer its history.³ Ernest Renan most famously anticipated this approach by defining a nation as “a spiritual principle, the outcome of the profound complications of history,”⁴ meaning that nationalism *par excellence* is about acquiring a past. Consequently, historians have been considered as the most influential nation-builders.⁵ However, the first significant exploration of national concern about space, which made even Benedict Anderson reconsider the importance of national territory in the revised edition of his influential book, was written by Thongchai Winichakul only in 1988. In his study Winichakul examined the idea of national “geo-body” – a man-made territorial identification of a nation:

Geographically speaking, the geo-body of a nation occupies a certain portion of the earth's surface which is objectively identifiable. It appears to be concrete to the eyes as if its existence does not depend on any act of imagining. That, of course, is not the case. The geo-body of a nation is merely an effect of modern geographical discourse whose

² Anthony Smith, *Nationalism and modernism: a critical survey of recent theories of nations and nationalism* (London: Routledge, 1998), 8, 63, 92.

³ Ernest Gellner, *Nations and nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983); Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: five roads to modernity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992); Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *Invention of tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and nationalism since 1780: program, myth, reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). I omit here discussion of “constructivists” versus “the rest” among the students of nationalism, for I find it no longer relevant; suffice to say that while writing this dissertation on Central-Eastern European nationalisms I have completely embraced the equation of nationalism with the nineteenth century.

⁴ Ernest Renan, “What is a nation?” in *Becoming national: a reader*, ed. by Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 52.

⁵ A recent comparative study of Joachim Lelewel, Simonas Daukantas, František Palacký and Mihail Kogălniceanu and their writing of a national history as practising politics seems a perfect example of such an approach: Monika Baár, *Historians and nationalism: East-Central Europe in the nineteenth century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). Similar attempt on Ukrainian material see in: Serhii Plokhy, *Unmaking imperial Russia: Mykhailo Hrushevsky and the writing of Ukrainian history* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005).

prime technology is a map. To a considerable extent, the knowledge about the Siamese nationhood has been created by our conception of Siam-on-the-map, emerging from maps and existing nowhere apart from the map.⁶

Premodern societies, argued Winichakul, never lacked the knowledge and technology to conceive the surrounding space. Their territories were arranged according to a cosmic and sacred order, had overlapping frontiers, shared borders with neighbours, marking their holy territoriality by local shrines. However, according to Winichakul, in the nineteenth century under the influence of the British and French intrusion with their own spatial ideas, native Siamese geographical knowledge was displaced in three major conceptual and practical arenas: “boundary, territorial sovereignty, and margin.” In these arenas, transfer of modern European geography pushed out the indigenous conceptions and asserted itself as a new legitimate true knowledge in different ways involving diverse issues on every frontier of Siam; the modern geo-body of a nation emerged at the end of the nineteenth century in response to external claims.

During the last decades this study was followed by numerous surveys of national territorialisation in completely different historical contexts, such as Czechoslovakia,⁷ Finland,⁸ Germany,⁹ Hungary,¹⁰ India,¹¹ Lithuania,¹² Macedonia,¹³

⁶ Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam mapped: a history of the geo-body of a nation* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), 17.

⁷ Peter Haslinger, *Nation und Territorium im tschechischen politischen Diskurs, 1880–1938* (München: Oldenbourg, 2010).

⁸ Jouni Häkli, “Cultures of demarcation: territory and national identity in Finland,” in *Nested identities: nationalism, territory, and scale*, ed. by Guntram Herb and David Kaplan (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), 123–149; Anssi Paasi, *Territories, boundaries and consciousness: the changing geographies of the Finnish-Russian border* (Chichester: Wiley, 1995).

⁹ Guntram Herb, *Under the map of Germany: nationalism and propaganda 1918–1945* (New York: Routledge, 1996).

¹⁰ Irina Popova, *Nationalising spatial practices: Hungarians and the Habsburg Empire, 1700–1848* (PhD diss., CEU, 1999).

¹¹ Matthew Edney, *Mapping an empire: the geographical construction of British India, 1765–1843* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Manu Goswami, *Producing India: from colonial economy to national space* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

¹² Vytautas Petronis, *Constructing Lithuania: ethnic mapping in tsarist Russia, ca. 1800–1914* (Stockholm: Stockholm University, 2007).

¹³ Henry Wilkinson, *Maps and politics: a review of the ethnographic cartography of Macedonia* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1951).

Russia,¹⁴ Scotland,¹⁵ or Yugoslavia,¹⁶ testifying to the universality of the argument: none of these cases was *sui generis*. In the end, not long ago the idea was introduced into a codified guiding volume for any prospective student of nationalism, stating that “whatever else it may be, nationalism is always a struggle for control of land. [...] The ‘land’ [...] is intrinsic to the very concept of national identity.”¹⁷ Therefore to imagine a nation means firstly to differentiate it spatially,¹⁸ provide it with distinct shape,¹⁹ boundaries,²⁰ and landscape.²¹

It is with this general assertion of importance of space for nationalism that I approached the Ukrainian national movement of the second half of the nineteenth – beginning of the twentieth century. Some ten years ago Solomiia Pavlychko, one of the most well-known contemporary Ukrainian intellectuals, joked that in the modern period of its history Ukraine had been imagined by some writers in all of its dimensions except for, maybe, a geographical one.²² In contrast, by scrutinising a process of Ukrainian nationalising of space of the Romanov and the Habsburg Empires, in this dissertation I argue that Ukraine, as with any other nation, was imagined and con-

¹⁴ Alexei Miller, “The empire and the nation in the imagination of the Russian nationalism” in Idem, *The Romanov Empire and nationalism: essays in the methodology of historical research* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2008), 161–179; Mark Bassin, *Imperial visions: nationalist imagination and geographical expansion in the Russian Far East, 1840–1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

¹⁵ Charles Withers, *Geography, science and national identity: Scotland since 1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

¹⁶ George White, *Nationalism and territory: constructing group identity in Southeastern Europe* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000).

¹⁷ Robert Kaiser, “Geography,” in *Encyclopedia of nationalism*, ed. by Alexander Motyl. Vol. 1. (San Diego: Academic Press, 2000), 316.

¹⁸ Geoffrey Cubitt, “Introduction,” in *Imagining nations*, ed. by Geoffrey Cubitt (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 6, 10.

¹⁹ Nathaniel Smith, “The idea of the French hexagon,” *French Historical Studies* 6 (1969): 139–155; Eugen Weber, “In search of the Hexagon,” in Idem, *My France: politics, culture, myth* (Cambridge: Belknap, 1991), 57–71.

²⁰ Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: the making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Idem, “Natural frontiers revisited: France’s boundaries since the seventeenth century,” *The American Historical Review* 95 (1990), 1423–1451.

²¹ David Lowenthal, “British national identity and the English landscape,” *Rural History* 2 (1991): 205–230.

²² Solomiia Pavlychko, *Feminism* (Kyiv: Osnovy, 2002), 260.

structed even in its seemingly most solid and down-to-earth dimension, which is territorial. In treating this kind of construction process as a research problem, I tried in my work to investigate how vast, disjoined and divergent territories of the Romanov and the Habsburg Empires were turned at the end of the nineteenth – beginning of the twentieth centuries into one coherent Ukrainian national space and the territorial concept of the modern Ukraine appeared.

The idea of this dissertation originated under the influence of recent studies of mental geography: not only Edward Said's groundbreaking book of 1979, but also its numerous sequels about different parts of Europe and world as a whole,²³ going down to empires,²⁴ and even further to cities.²⁵ Mental mapping as defined by Roger Downs and David Stea, "is an abstraction covering those cognitive or mental abilities that enable us to collect, organise, store, recall, and manipulate information about the spatial environment. [...] A *cognitive map* is a *product* – a person's organised representation of some part of the spatial environment. [...] It reflects the world *as some person believes it to be*; it need not be correct. In fact, distortions are highly likely."²⁶ What do these distortions depend on? According to Downs and Stea, "in addition to age and experience, our perspectives on the world are coloured by the social group, region and

²³ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979); Andrei Cusco and Viktor Taki, *Bessarabiia v sostave Rossiiskoi imperii, 1812–1917* (Moskva: NLO, 2012); Iver Neumann, *Uses of the other: "the East" in European identity formation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999); Peter Davidson, *The idea of North* (London: Reaktion, 2005); Bernhard Struck, "Historic regions between construction and perception. Viewing France and Poland in the late 18th – early 19th centuries," *East Central Europe* 32 (2005): 79–97; Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: the map of civilisation on the mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994); Idem, *The idea of Galicia: history and fantasy in Habsburg political culture*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010).

²⁴ Jane Burbank, Mark von Hagen and Anatolii Remnev, eds., *Russian Empire: space, people, power, 1700–1930* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007); Anne Godlewska and Neil Smith, eds., *Geography and empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994).

²⁵ In this case there were some other sources of influence. The most famous book is: Kevin Lynch, *Image of the city* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000).

²⁶ Roger Downs and David Stea, *Maps in minds: reflections on cognitive mapping* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), 6.

nation that we identify with.”²⁷ This was the idea which made me think of nations as phenomenal spatial units and examples of ones imagination successfully or not brought into life, rather than as of primordially existing entities. If some scholars study regions and cities, why should not one study how a national space was imagined?

Traditionally, studies, including those mentioned above, have analysed travelogues, memoirs, histories, press materials, art works, toponymy, and photographs. However, the most important and effective representation of a nation’s territories have of course been maps themselves. “How could a nation resist being found if a nineteenth-century map had predicted it?” asked Winichakul?²⁸ According to him, in the nineteenth century mapping was no longer merely a conceptual tool for spatial representation, but became “a lethal instrument to concretise the projected desire on the earth’s surface. [...] It transformed human beings of all nations, people whose actions were heroic or savage, honourable or demeaning, into its agents to make the mapped space come true. Siam was bounded. Its geo-body emerged,” one which had never existed before.²⁹ Moreover, this space was also provided with a new temporal layer, was projected back into the past, and in such a way created a national continuum from the time immemorial.³⁰ Winichakul especially stressed this constitutive role of maps which were taken out of context:

[They] no longer represent the nation’s territoriality. Rather, they are signifiers which signify the map of a nation. They are signs of the map of a nation. They have meanings and values and can send messages because they refer to the map of such a nation, which has been loaded with the meanings and values of nationhood. In other words, the map of a nation becomes a signified. In the words of Roland Barthes, it becomes a metatext: is it has become an adequately meaningful sign in itself, not necessarily with a further reference to the territoriality of that nation. By signifying the map of that nation, these maplike signs can signify other meanings and values carried by the map. And in the reverse

²⁷ Downs and Stea, 24.

²⁸ Winichakul, 54.

²⁹ Ibid, 129–130.

³⁰ Ibid, 155.

direction, becoming a metatag, the map of a nation can generate values and meanings which have nothing to do with territory at all.³¹

Similar studies of the political usage of maps became especially widespread under the Foucauldian influence on the history of cartography. Until the end of the 1980s this discipline was dominated by empiricism and a strong belief into the self-evident character of maps. Inspired by postmodernists, John Brian Harley was the first historian of cartography to suggest that maps were not innocent representations of objective reality, but rather advertised ideological and political commitments of their authors with the aims of propaganda and domination; his analysis dealt not only with obvious cartouches, but even with the choice of projection for the selected map.³² As a result maps-power relations have become a whole new and separate field of scholarly interest: historians started to underline the “humanistic” aspect of maps and the need to study the context of their production and reception. It is now widely accepted that maps do distort reality.³³

To accompany a study of the mental map of the Ukrainian nation with a research of its cartographic representations and their modifications could be a fruitful approach for my thesis considering a practical absence of analytical works on Ukrainian cartography. Contemporary Ukrainian historians of cartography continue their traditional musings over early modern representations of “Ukraine” by the European mapmakers, paying crucial attention to Guillaume Le Vasseur de Beauplan’s legacy,³⁴ compile re-

³¹ Winichakul, 138.

³² John Brian Harley, *The new nature of maps: essays in the history of cartography* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

³³ John Fels and Denis Wood, *The power of maps* (London: Routledge, 1993); Mark Monmonier, *How to lie with maps* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); John Pickles, *A history of spaces: cartographic reason, mapping and the geo-coded world* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003).

³⁴ Mariia Vavrychyn et al., *Boplan i Ukrainia: zbirnyk naukovykh prats'* (Lviv, 1998); Mariia Vavrychyn, *Vidtvorennia Ukrainy* (Lviv, 2012).

productions of maps of “Ukraine” in the past³⁵ and compose bibliographies,³⁶ reducing the history of Ukrainian cartography of the nineteenth century to a mere (unfinished) catalogue of maps of contemporary Ukraine as drawn in the past. The only attempts to present some critical thoughts on Ukrainian modern cartography, as inspired by Harley, came recently from Steven Seegel, although neither of his works excels in analytical analysis. They mainly indicate the existence of some pictures depicting Ukrainian ethnographic territory, but do not provide any *history* or *meaning* of these representations.³⁷

On the other hand, to learn how Ukrainian national territory was invented in (mental) maps would tell only a half the story of the creation of national space. In my opinion, a decent study should continue the research and show how the ideas previously conceived by the rather small group of intellectuals were spread to a far larger audience. Therefore, as my aim is to present a *complete* picture of Ukrainian national space creation, in this thesis I will combine both of the approaches mentioned above by studying, *first*, how the Ukrainian activists of the nineteenth century tried to create the idea of what the territory of Ukraine was, together with its visual representation, and, *second*, how the idea created and the representation drawn were later brought to life and worked within a real space. This, I hope, will give the reader an idea of what the French geographer Élisée Reclus and the sociologist Henri Lefebvre called a “lived space”: space which is a social product and thus is a subject to change. In his book Lefebvre described all approaches mentioned above as a “spatial triad” of:

³⁵ Mariia Vavrychyn, Iaroslav Dashkevych, Uliana Kryshchalovych, *Ukraina na starodavnikh kartakh: kinets' 15 – persha polovyna 17 st.* (Kyiv: Kartohrafiia, 2004).

³⁶ Rostyslav Sossa, *Istoriia kartohrafuvannia terytorii Ukrainy* (Kyiv, 2007); Idem, *Kartohrafuvannia terytorii Ukrainy vid naidavnishykh chasiv do 1941 r.* (Kyiv, 2007).

³⁷ Steven Seegel, *Mapping Europe's borderlands: Russian cartography in the age of empire* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012); Idem, *Ukraine under western eyes: the Bohdan and Neonila Krawciw Ucrainica map collection* (Cambridge: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 2011).

a) Spatial practices which society performs with space (for instance, the construction of new roads), which he called “a perceived space”;

b) Representations of space, or how a certain society represents its spatiality (for instance, by maps or some topographical pictures), which he called “a conceived space”;

c) Spatial practices by which society represents itself (by churches, squares, specific buildings), meaning “space” as it is directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of “inhabitants” and “users,” which he called “a representational space.”³⁸

With this in mind, in my thesis I tried to explore simultaneously mental (b) and social (c) production of Ukrainian national space. Which method could be the most suitable for such analysis to allow me to present all these spaces at once? In my opinion, the most appropriate way to study the process of Ukrainian national territorialisation is to use a combined methodology of German and British historians of concepts: a careful contextual analysis (Reinhardt Koselleck) with an intense attention to individual authors (Quentin Skinner).³⁹ Among other things Ukrainian nationalism should necessarily be seen as a linguistic act, meaning not only the struggle for recognition of Ukrainian as a separate language, but the creation of a whole new political dictionary, where “Ukraine” is a typical basic historical concept imbued with meanings. Accordingly, one has to study this concept to understand contemporary political and social life. This could be achieved by avoiding *Gipfelwanderungen* and using as

³⁸ Henri Lefebvre, *The production of space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 33.

³⁹ My further thoughts are based on Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures past: on the semantics of historical time* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1985); Ibid, *Zeitschichten – Studien zur Historik* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 2000); Melvin Richter, *The history of political and social concepts: a critical introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Quentin Skinner, “Meaning and understanding in the history of ideas,” *History and Theory* 8 (January 1969): 3–53.

wide a range of sources as possible. Although I could not exclude the analysis of the oeuvre of such canonical figures as Mykhailo Drahomanov or Mykhailo Hrushevsky, in this thesis I try to combine it with original and attentive research of contemporary press, documents, dictionaries, memoirs and correspondence. Naturally, I have examined not only verbal sources, but also visual ones, i.e. maps, architecture and paintings.

Hence, my research questions were the following.

Firstly, by using both synchronic and diachronic analysis, semasiology and onomasiology, I attempted to study when the modern concept of Ukraine appeared. To be able to do this, I tried to investigate which words were used for its denotation and what was their semantic field, how they were related to each other and how their territorial content has changed over time. How pertinent were the old concepts? What were the asymmetric counter-concepts (*Gegenbegriffe*)? Did they have any temporal dimension? What were the relations between them and what were the continuities, alterations, and innovations?

Secondly, I wanted to study how the nation's boundaries were defined and marked when tying different parts of the nation together. What were the criteria used (natural, historical, linguistic, or ethnographic) and what was intentionally or unintentionally selected, stressed, omitted or invented in the attempt to treat all "Ukrainian" territories as a single national space? Did it imply exclusively Ukrainian belonging of these lands? Were they viewed as a part of some wider territorial configuration, such as an Empire or Slavic or anarchist federation?

My *third* set of questions came down to the individual level: who was the most "responsible" for the articulation of Ukraine's spatial dimension? How was the iden-

tity and loyalty of the creators and proponents of this space revealed through their work? How did these feelings merge into the loyalty to the Habsburgs / Romanovs or into universal models of their world-view (e.g., anarchism, socialism)?

Fourthly, I also wanted to pay attention to the question of what made this modern concept possible? What was the role of Empires in this process: did they indeed “breed” nations or, on the contrary, in every possible way oppose them? When, how and why did they start thinking of themselves in spatial terms? How did it coincide with national movements? In case of the Romanov Empire I was very much interested how this search for Ukrainian national space became entangled with the Russian nationalism and with attempts of both the Empire and the Russian national project to understand their own spatial limits.

In so far as the development of different technological and scientific innovations was embedded into the spatial practices, imperial or separatist, my *fifth* group of questions touched upon the interaction between science and politics. How did various sciences such as geography, history, anthropology, or ethnography enter political discourse, increased or diminished the chances of the political actors to establish their own vision of contested space?

In order to answer all of these questions and to present in the end the entire picture of Ukrainian national space creation, it would seem justifiable to carry out this research in the context of the whole “long” nineteenth century (1789–1914). However, my chronological framework is more limited: I concentrate specifically on the process of acquisition of territory by Ukrainian nationalists from the 1860s till 1914, from the first lively discussions and attempts to define Ukrainian national space, which started

in 1861–1862, until the beginning of the First World War, which caused considerable changes in the discursive practices of the engaged parties.

Considering the aim of the project – to present an entire picture of the creation of Ukrainian national space – and its wide chronological framework – 50 years – this thesis was immediately conceived as a synthetic one. To complete it I tried to escape the established distinction between history as seen through the perspectives of “science” / “politics” / “society” / “economy” / “ideas,” and strove for a fox-pie (according to Hugh Seton-Watson) universality. Additionally, from a horizontal perspective, I also attempted to break through a strict traditional demarcation of exclusively national history and tried to show how different ideas about Ukrainian national territory were developed, reflected upon and contested by various actors. Alexei Miller neatly emphasised the need for any student of such subjects to discern and then study the entanglement of different actors, which in most cases were more than just the two presented by traditional national narratives. This situational approach, as he called it, shifts the scholar’s attention from the actors *per se* to the process of their interaction, entanglement, and mutual influence.⁴⁰ Ideas about Ukrainian national space have not evolved in a vacuum and obviously great attention necessarily has to be paid to the Polish and various Russian sides as the main contenders for the disputed areas. Furthermore, although relying on mostly English-language literature, I will also mention some other (for instance, Hungarian or Romanian) strokes of the general picture, which are usually absent from it.

Have not historians touched upon all of these questions before? Some of them have recently discussed the problem of Ukrainian territorial imagination: Volodymyr

⁴⁰ Alexei Miller, “The history of the Russian Empire: in search for scope and paradigm” in Idem, *The Romanov Empire and nationalism*, 18.

Kravchenko analysed the regional history of Kharkiv,⁴¹ Andrii Zaiarniuk and Serhii Iekelchuk tried to study Ukrainian national sanctification of space by the creation of some Ukrainian national *lieux de mémoire*.⁴² Particular mention should be made of an important work by Serhii Bilenky who wrote three chapters of his book on how the Poles, the Russians and the Ukrainians spatially imagined their national communities in 1830–1840s.⁴³ However, the way he prescribed a clear “Ukrainian” identity to the majority of the analysed “Ukrainian” authors (such as Iurii Venelin or Nikolai Kostomarov) together with some teleological notes leaves one in doubt about the correctness of the methodological approach of his research and therefore about his, in my opinion, dubious conclusion: “Thus almost all districts of contemporary Ukraine appeared on the mental maps of the nineteenth century insiders as more or less united. Nineteenth century Little Russia / Ukraine / South Russia, with some reservations, equaled Ukraine as we know it.”⁴⁴

The small number of these works highlights a relative weakness of Ukrainian modern historiography: there are only few thoughtful studies of Ukrainian nineteenth century in general. It seems that contemporary Ukrainian history writing develops mainly in two ways: it either produces commonplace works drawing on the same great names and trying to bring their ideas into some (mythical) coherence and a solid sys-

⁴¹ Vladimir Kravchenko, *Kharkov / Kharkiv: stolitsa pogranich'ia* (Vilnius, 2010).

⁴² Serhii Yekelchuk, “Creating a sacred place: the Ukrainofiles and Shevchenko’s tomb in Kaniv (1861 – ca. 1900),” *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 1–2 (1995): 15–32; Andriy Zayarniuk, “Mapping Halychyna: constructing the Ukrainian national space in Habsburg Galicia,” in *Identität – Kultur – Raum: Kulturelle Praktiken und die Ausbildung von Imagined Communities in Nordamerika und Zentraleuropa*, ed. by Susan Ingram, Markus Reisenleitner und Cornelia Szabó-Knotik (Wien, 2001), 123–139.

⁴³ Serhii Bilenky, *Romantic nationalism in Eastern Europe: Russian, Polish, and Ukrainian political imaginations* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2012), 17–103.

⁴⁴ Bilenky, 78. Under teleology I mean such statements as, for instance: “For some reason Markevych did not include the province of Volhynia in his geographical version of Little Russia”: Bilenky, 77.

tem⁴⁵ with a *post hoc* logic teleologically looking for the forerunners of their own contemporary ideas in the past,⁴⁶ or simply safely publishes primary sources for studying the period.⁴⁷ Although such activity presented new students of Ukrainian nationalism with a chance to use the precious memoirs and correspondence of Ievhen Chykalenko, Petro Stebnytsky, Mykhailo Hrushevsky, Mykhailo Drahomanov, or Serhii Iefremov in a more available form, one still feels a desperate lack of analysis of this work. In the end, a fifty-year-old remark of Ivan Lysiak-Rudnytsky that Ukrainian history of the nineteenth century remains one of the least explored periods of its history, alas, continues to hold true.⁴⁸

My knowledge of modern Ukrainian history started to develop under the influence of Oleksii Tolochko's engaging story about how short and a long version of Ukrainian history were created in the nineteenth century; his beguiling and convincing narrative taught me that it was possible to write about Ukrainian history of the nineteenth century in a compelling manner.⁴⁹ I also learned a lot from David Saunders' and Paul Bushkovitch's explorations of the relations between St. Petersburg and Moscow

⁴⁵ For instance, a recent example of describing Kostomarov by distinguishing between an early and "real" Kostomarov and late Kostomarov, not "Kostomarov" any more, can be found in David Saunders, "Mykola Kostomarov (1817–1885) and the creation of a Ukrainian ethnic identity," *Slavonica* 7 (2001): 7–24. According to the author, a "real" Kostomarov "in order to survive ... had to hide the leaf of his Ukrainophilism in the forest of his activity in general. He put forward the opinions to which he was most deeply committed only in the brief periods when he thought it was safe to do so. The implication of this interpretation is that, at heart, Kostomarov was a deeply committed Ukrainophile" (page 9). Although at the same page Saunders agreed that "this is a view to which, in public at least, Kostomarov himself objected strongly," he still preferred to think that Kostomarov had maintained a hidden Ukrainian agenda until the last days of his life.

⁴⁶ A recent instance of "finding" a forerunner to Ukrainian *fin-de-siècle* political activists in the eighteenth century see in: Roman Szporluk, "Mapping Ukraine: from identity space to decision space," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 33/34 (2008–2009): 441–452; Idem, "Mapping Ukraine: from identity space to decision space," *Il mestiere di storico* 1 (2009): 19–29. Even earlier "finding" see in: Frank Sysyn, "'Otchyzna' u politychnii kul'turi Ukraïny pochatku XVIII stolittia" *Ukraïna Moderna* 10 (2006): 7–18.

⁴⁷ Numerous publications by Inna Starovoitenko related to Ievhen Chykalenko are a nice example of such a tendency.

⁴⁸ Ivan Lysiak-Rudnytskyi, "Struktura ukraiïns'koï istoriï v 19 stolitti," in Idem, *Istorychni ese*. Vol. 1 (Kyiv: Osnovy, 1994), 193.

⁴⁹ Oleksii Tolochko, "Kyievo-Rus'ka spadshchyna v istorychnii dumtsi Ukraïny pochatku 19 stolittia," in *Ukraïna i Rosiia v istorychnii retrospektyvi*, ed. by V. Verstiuk et al. Vol. 1 (Kyiv, 2004), 250–350.

intellectuals and the newcomers from the southern gubernias.⁵⁰ My ideas of the circle around the journal *Osnova* and the Ukrainian movement of the 1860s were largely formed after I became acquainted with the meticulous studies of Viktor Dudko and Johannes Remy.⁵¹ The story of the Polish-Russian confrontation for the Right Bank of the Dnipro cannot not be better told than it was by Daniel Beauvois.⁵² Based on archival materials of the Russian Geographical Society, the book by Fedir Savchenko remained my indispensable source on the history of the Ukrainian movement in Kyiv in the 1870s.⁵³ Dimitri Von Mohrenschildt already tried to relate Mykhailo Drahomanov to socialists and anarchists,⁵⁴ while Mark Bassin pointed to the application of geographical determinism by the leftists.⁵⁵ Decent biographies of Nikolai Kostomarov and Mykhailo Hrushevsky by Thomas Prymak made it easier to write the relevant

⁵⁰ Paul Bushkovitch, "The Ukraine in Russian culture 1790–1860: the evidence of the journals," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 39 (1991): 339–363; David Saunders, *The Ukrainian impact on Russian culture, 1750–1850* (Edmonton: CIUS, 1985).

⁵¹ Viktor Dudko published around forty articles on "Osnova"; two of the largest are: Viktor Dudko, "'Karakozovs'ka istoriia i dolia arkhivu 'Osnovy'," *Ukraiina moderna* 16 (2010): 199–226; Idem, "Poltavs'ka hromada pochatku 1860-kh rr. u lystakh Dmytra Pyl'chykova do Vasylia Bilozers'koho," *Kyivs'ka starovyna* 2 (1998): 155–178; Johanness Remy, "The Valuev circular and censorship of Ukrainian publications in the Russian Empire (1863–1876): intention and practice," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 49 (2007): 87–110.

⁵² Daniel Beauvois, *Bytva za zemliu v Ukraini 1863–1914: poliaky v sotsio-etnichnykh konfliktakh* (Kyiv: Krytyka, 1998); Idem, *Rosiis'ka vlada ta pol's'ka shliachta v Ukraini, 1797–1830* (Lviv, 2007); Idem, *Shliakhtych, kripak i revizor: pol's'ka shliakhta mizh tsaryzmom ta ukraiins'kymy masamy, 1831–1863* (Kyiv, 1996).

⁵³ Fedir Savchenko, *Zaborona ukraiinstva 1876 roku* (Kharkiv–Kyiv, 1930).

⁵⁴ Dimitri Von Mohrenschildt, *Toward a United States of Russia: plans and projects of federal reconstruction of Russia in the nineteenth century* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University, 1981), 131–165.

⁵⁵ Mark Bassin, "Geographical determinism in *fin-de-siècle* Marxism: Georgii Plekhanov and the environmental basis of Russian history," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 82 (1992): 3–22.

chapters of my work.⁵⁶ John-Paul Himka's,⁵⁷ Iaroslav Hrytsak's,⁵⁸ Jan Kozik's,⁵⁹ Markian Prokopovych's⁶⁰ and Ostap Sereda's⁶¹ studies of Galicia almost complete the list of thoughtful scholars who have dealt with its history in the period which is the subject of my work. However, the main impetus for my writing and an example of what a proper history of Ukrainian nineteenth century should be was a book by Alexei Miller on "the Ukrainian question" in the Romanov Empire in the nineteenth century.⁶² His careful analysis of various actors engaged in discussions about the Ukrainian movement both in capitals and in provinces became a methodological and scholarly template for this thesis.

My work was conceived as a historical one with a complete understanding of the danger of *post hoc* thinking and anachronistic presentations of the past. Furthermore, in this study I would like to underline the unpredictability of the process of construction of the Ukrainian national territory. According to Iurii Lotman, a historian's look into the past from a current point of view already deforms its history: "Looking from the present backwards we see a single chain of already accomplished events; looking

⁵⁶ Thomas Prymak, *Mykhailo Hrushevsky: the politics of national culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987); Idem, *Mykola Kostomarov: a biography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996). See also Plokhyy, *Unmaking imperial Russia*.

⁵⁷ John-Paul Himka, *Galician villagers and the Ukrainian national movement in the nineteenth century* (London, 1988); Idem, "Hope in the tsar: displaced naive monarchism among the Ukrainian peasants of the Habsburg Empire," *Russian History* 7 (1980): 125–138; Idem, "The construction of nationality in Galician Rus': Icarian flights in almost all directions," in *Intellectuals and the articulation of the nation*, ed. by Ronald Suny and Michael Kennedy (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 109–164; Idem, "The Greek Catholic church and nation-building in Galicia, 1772–1918," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 8 (1984): 426–452; Idem, "Young radicals and independent statehood: the idea of a Ukrainian nation-state, 1890–1895," *Slavic Review* 41 (1982): 219–235.

⁵⁸ Iaroslav Hrytsak, *Prorok u svoi vitchyzni: Franko ta ioho spilnota, 1856–1886* (Kyiv, 2006).

⁵⁹ Jan Kozik, *The Ukrainian national movement in Galicia, 1815–1849* (Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1986).

⁶⁰ Markian Prokopovych, *Habsburg Lemberg: architecture, public space, and politics in the Galician capital, 1772–1914* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2009).

⁶¹ Ostap Sereda, *Shaping of a national identity: early Ukrainophiles in Austrian Eastern Galicia, 1860–1873* (PhD diss., CEU, 2003).

⁶² Alexei Miller, *The Ukrainian question: the Russian Empire and nationalism in the nineteenth century* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2003).

into the future we single out in this present a beam of equiprobable possibilities.”⁶³ To paraphrase this famous scholar, instead of presenting the story of Ukrainian national territory taking into account the final result and to project it teleologically onto the distant past by running a one-way railway (where the only counter-option to this “progressive” ride along the tracks is derailment),⁶⁴ in this thesis I would like to try to stress the uncertainties and doubts of this process of choosing from a number of possibilities standing on the crossing of several potential ways further.

Nowadays Ukraine might be compared to Bruno Latour’s blue-yellow box,⁶⁵ or Harry Collins’ ship in a bottle,⁶⁶ readily taken for granted not only by average people, but also by scholars.⁶⁷ Many of my respected predecessors confidently asserted this self-evident existence of “Ukraine” throughout the centuries, essentialising its territory in what in the English historiography is called a “Whiggish” way – “a history of the winning side, valuing the past only where it matches, or approaches, the present, and all but ignoring the ‘failures’, ‘dead-ends’ or paths not taken, except where they stand as salutary reminders of the extent of human folly, nurtured by arrogance or fash-

⁶³ Iurii Lotman, *Nepredskazuemye mekhanizmy kul'tury* (Tallin, 2010), 47–48. See also Idem, *Semiosfera* (St. Petersburg, 2010), 12–148.

⁶⁴ For one of much more numerous examples see: Iurii Levenets', *Teoretyko-metodolohichni zasady ukraiïns'koiï suspil'no-politychnoiï dumky (druha polovyna 19 – pochatok 20 stolittia)* (Kyiv, 2001). For author's reflections on unity of Ukrainian territories since Kyivan Rus' see pages 416–439.

⁶⁵ Bruno Latour, *Science in action* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), 1–21.

⁶⁶ Harry Collins, *Changing order: replication and induction in scientific practice* (London: Sage, 1985), 5–6.

⁶⁷ See, for instance, Ihor Stebelsky, “National identity of Ukraine,” in *Geography and national identity*, ed. by David Hooson (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1994), 233–248. Ukrainian historians continue to essentialise national territory and describe its changing borders over the past centuries. See, for instance: O. Hurzhii, *Ukraiïns'ka kozats'ka derzhava v druhii polovyni 17 – 18 st.: kordony, naselennia, pravo* (Kyiv, 1996); F. Steblii, ed., *Istorychni peredumovy vozz'iednannia ukraiïns'kykh zemel'* (Kyiv, 1989). Both are extremely anachronistic books which at the same time remain the only studies dealing with the problem of borders of the Hetmanate in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For a more nuanced story see Zenon Kohut, “Mazepa's Ukraine: understanding Cossack territorial vistas,” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 31 (2009-2010): 1–28.

ion...’’⁶⁸ On the contrary, this thesis historicises the concept of “Ukraine,” questions and investigates it, trying to reveal all the controversies around it, before it was coloured, closed and labelled (and put into the bottle), and to avoid populating the narrative with the “heroic ‘pioneers’ and prophets, praised for being ‘ahead of their time’”⁶⁹ for already thinking in the framework of a coherent national Ukraine at the end of the eighteenth century, or even earlier. Unlike our contemporaries carrying a map of Ukraine in their hands, the main protagonists of this thesis did not have such maps; they used different images and had no idea of what their map of Ukraine would look like.

This introduction is followed by two groups of ten chapters. In this way I wanted to embrace both stages of construction of national space: imagining and disseminating. In this study I argue that at first the idea of Ukrainian national territory appeared in minds of intellectuals, who discussed it among themselves publicly or privately. They then turned their unmanifested geographical visions and mental maps into manifested ones and created its visual cartographic representations. But this process did not stop here, for its aim was to win the support of a wider audience. Therefore this previously *conceived* and *perceived* space had to be turned into a *lived* space: the ideas previously imagined by a narrow group of intellectuals were propagated wider, turning the idea of national space from an impersonal concept into a more familiar notion, intimate and local, penetrating the territory previously mentally created by them, trying to reach and influence a wider audience. These two stages do not necessarily

⁶⁸ Ben Marsden and Crosbie Smith, eds., *Engineering empires: a cultural history of technology in nineteenth-century Britain* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), viii. George Stocking summarised “the sins” of such a history, written “for the sake of the present” as “anachronism, distortion, misleading analogy, neglect of context, oversimplification of process” – Quoted by David Livingstone, *The geographical tradition: episodes in the history of a contested enterprise* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), 5.

⁶⁹ Marsden and Smith, viii.

follow each other in strict chronological sequence, but rather coexist: discussions on where a national space was do not stop after drawing a map, or publishing a geography textbook, but rather to the contrary: attempts to spread previously created knowledge among a wider audience might give impetus to even more intensified debates and a rethinking of the conception of national space.

Hence the first, introductory, chapter of the thesis provides a background for further analysis by surveying spatial relations and conceptions in the Romanov and Habsburg Empires in the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries. This period brought considerable geopolitical changes in the region not only after the partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but also after the Russian-Turkish wars and the Austrian occupation of Bukovyna. Trying to digest their newly acquired territories, both Empires introduced new visions of this space by imposing new administrative order and inventing new provinces, at the same time trying to evaluate their territory qualitatively and quantitatively by organising the first scientific expeditions into the area.

The period of 1840s–1863 was the time when the first Ukrainian political organisations appeared both in the Romanov and the Habsburg Empires, the first Ukrainian journal was published in St. Petersburg, and the first maps of Ukrainian ethnographical territory, both manuscript and published, were produced in Prague, St. Petersburg, Kyiv, and Lviv. Thus in the second chapter I argue that this was exactly the time, not earlier, when the first active discussions of where Ukrainian national space was started, involving a wide range of actors from St. Petersburg and Moscow to Prague. Not only did they begin in this period, but they also brought about the

emergence of a cognitive map of Ukrainian national territory, which was vividly manifested in the articles of *Osnova* journal, published in St. Petersburg in 1861–1862.

The third chapter is concerned with geography and the attempts of Ukrainian national activists to employ science as an instrument to know where exactly Ukrainian national space was and to turn the previously conceived Ukrainian national map into a perceived one by creating its “scientific” map. Here I discuss mainly the ethnographic-statistical expedition to the South-Western region of the Romanov Empire led by Pavlo Chubynsky (1869–1870). Previously neglected by scholars, it was in my opinion of utmost importance for the construction of a Ukrainian national space because of the ensuing map, published in the seventh volume of its “Proceedings.”

Considering his overall importance for the Ukrainian movement of the nineteenth century and numerous misinterpretations of his political standpoint, in the fourth chapter I carefully analysed the geographical ideas of Mykhailo Drahomanov. By examining this previously unexplored part of his scholarly interests I try to provide a new reading of his political ideas and argue that his interest in geography and Ukrainian national space, including his travels to Galicia and Carpathian Ruthenia, was caused not by his alleged nationalism, but rather his anarcho-socialist ideas. Moreover, it was this interest in geography which could have inspired his visions of future federal reconstruction of the Russian Empire.

The fifth and concluding chapter of this section studies how the national territory of Ukraine obtained its temporal dimension with the “History of Ukraine-Rus” by Mykhailo Hrushevsky, one of the popularisers of a special neologism coined by Volodymyr Antonovych to underline the historical continuity between Kyivan Rus’ and Ukraine, and a national unity between the (Russian) Ukrainians and the (Austrian)

Ruthenians. Contrary to my predecessors, I suggest we should shift attention from Hrushevsky to Antonovych, who, in my opinion, was a more important actor in this process.

In the second part of the thesis I examine the ways the Ukrainian activists of both Empires at the end of the nineteenth – beginning of the twentieth century tried to localise their previously conceived and perceived ideas of a nation into concrete places. It is in this part of the thesis that I try to make a step forward from the research of mental maps, discussed in the previous chapters, and enter the realm of specific actions. I would like to argue that in the *fin-de-siècle* period and especially after 1905 the Ukrainian nationalists in different ways actively tried to disseminate and to internalise their visions of a Ukrainian national space among a wider audience, turning it from an impersonal concept into a more familiar notion, intimate and local. A nation does not only possess shape, territory, boundaries, surface, landscape, and environmental conditions as imagined by a small group of people; it is not only about “shape or detailed knowledge, layered in often complex ways with topographical, geological, demographic, administrative, historical, and onomastic information,”⁷⁰ which I try to investigate in the first section of this work. It is also about localising all of this into concrete places, marking national space on the ground, turning its vast, open, unrestricted and abstract space into a familiar and practiced places.⁷¹ In this part of the the-

⁷⁰ Geoffrey Cubitt, ed. *Imagining nations* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 10.

⁷¹ In this thesis I use both as they are defined by Yi Fu-Tuan, meaning that “‘space’ is more abstract than ‘place.’ What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value. [...] The ideas ‘space’ and ‘place’ require each other for definition. From the security and stability of place we are aware of the openness, freedom, and threat of space, and vice versa. Furthermore, if we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place”: Yi Fu-Tuan, *Space and place: the perspective of experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 6. There are numerous other attempts to differentiate “space” from “place” (one of the most famous, by Michel de Certeau, is the opposite one), the closest one to Tuan was given by Edward Casey. See his main work: Edward Casey, *The fate of place: a philosophical history* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

sis I argue that in the second half of the nineteenth century and especially at the turn of the century, Ukrainian national activists were actively trying to appropriate and to disseminate their vision of a Ukrainian national space for a wider audience by employing different mechanisms, at the same time subverting not only its sense of belonging to the Romanov and Habsburg Empires, but also to other nations (Russian, Hungarian, or Polish). Naturally, when speaking of “various mechanisms” one has to remember that the representatives of the Ukrainian project could not rely on state support of their activity and thus could not use school, textbooks or state support of their monuments.

Therefore, in the chapter six I try to provide a general introduction to this aspect and to examine all attempts of the Ukrainian public sphere to disseminate the idea of a Ukrainian national space through newspapers, journals and popular books after 1905.

Chapter seven is devoted to the involvement of the arts in politics. First, I study the most obvious technique, used all over nineteenth-century Europe, which meant creation of what contemporary historians call *les lieux de memoire*: the erection of appropriate monuments and the demolishing of ones opposed to the chosen ideology. The construction of symbolic places, marking space as belonging to some ideological entity (Empire or nation or anything else) by means of architecture, sculpture, artificial hills, trees and other means was a widespread practice in the nineteenth-century Romanov and Habsburg Empires. However, if memorial politics in Galicia and Lviv has been studied to a greater or lesser extent by historians, the story of the creation of monuments in Kyiv or Poltava has not been clearly told yet. Therefore my ambition in the first part of this chapter is to analyse discourses and tensions which arose around such places, primarily in the Romanov Empire, but also to link them with discussions in the Habsburg monarchy. Here I discuss how Ukrainian national activists tried to use

monuments to mark space as nationally Ukrainian: firstly by creating a symbolical “Ukrainian Mecca” of Taras Shevchenko’s grave near Kaniv, then by their attempts to “hijack” a monument to Kotliarevski in Poltava and to destroy a monument to Pushkin in Kharkiv. The second part of this chapter deals with one example of Ukrainian invented traditions, namely the attempts to develop a Ukrainian national style in architecture and to signify the surrounding space as Ukrainian by the erection of specific buildings. By studying the recruitment of architecture “to grant the aura of a glorious past to even the most recently contrived national boundaries,”⁷² I scrutinise the project to “revive” a traditionally “Ukrainian” style of architecture, trying to make those buildings “speak the language of nationalism.”⁷³ Finally, inspired by Peter Burke’s important book on how a historian should study images⁷⁴ and Christopher Ely’s examination of how educated Russians started to admire their natural and “meagre” nature, turning it into a national landscape,⁷⁵ I tried to examine the attempts to spread the idea of Ukrainian national territory by painting “typical” Ukrainian national landscapes.

Chapter eight studies the most immediate practice of disseminating the idea of a Ukrainian national space through schooling. For the most part of the long nineteenth century the Ukrainian activists of both Empires were mainly fighting for the introduction of the Ukrainian language into schools and universities. As I show in this chapter, geography was also one of their burning concerns, especially after 1905, when the first textbooks on Ukrainian geography were published. Here I mainly concentrate on

⁷² Barry Bergdoll, *European architecture, 1750–1890* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 139.

⁷³ Adolf Alofsin, *When buildings speak: architecture as language in the Habsburg Empire and its aftermath, 1867–1933* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006).

⁷⁴ Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: the uses of images as historical evidence* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001).

⁷⁵ Christopher Ely, *This meager nature: landscape and national identity in imperial Russia* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2002).

the pedagogical journals, *Uchytel* [Teacher] and *Svitlo* [Light], published in Lviv and Kyiv, examining their ideas of teaching Ukrainian national geography in schools. Great attention is also paid to the figures of Sofia Rusova and Stepan Rudnytsky, the authors of the first school geography textbooks in the Ukrainian language.

Chapter nine deals with national travel and tourism. Mobility and communication undoubtedly play a significant role in the scenario of uniting spatial units: they facilitate the creation of mutual perceptions and contacts between the different members of an imagined community and in the end turn its various social, linguistic, and cultural groups into a united nation. Inspired by Karl Deutsch and bearing in mind that tourism does not always create a greater sense of belonging to an often multiethnic homeland, but might also contribute to a greater sense of difference and threaten the supposed coherence of a nation-building project,⁷⁶ in this chapter I try to examine travel writings related to the Ukrainian national movement and answer the question of whether Ukrainian national activists tried to promote national travel between the different parts of their nation.

I conclude the whole work with chapter ten and a discussion of how the Ukrainians tried to internationalise their cause and spread the idea of their national territory abroad. Surprisingly, despite numerous claims that a Ukrainian passive foreign policy of 1917–1923 was one of the factors which hindered the creation of a Ukrainian national state after the First World War,⁷⁷ this question has not been dealt with by my predecessors, although my research reveals that Ukrainian national activists put a great emphasis on making the European and Russian intellectuals informed

⁷⁶ Anne Gorsuch and Diane Koenker, eds. *Turizm: the Russian and East European tourist under capitalism and socialism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 10.

⁷⁷ See, for instance, O. Pavliuk, “Dyplomatiia nezalezhnykh ukrains’kykh uriadiv (1917–1920),” in *Narysy z istoriії dyplomatiії Ukraïny* (Kyiv, 2001), 388.

of their aspirations. Contrary to the existing scholarship I argue that getting the world acquainted with Ukraine as a separate territorial entity was on the agenda of the Ukrainian activists and was actively pursued by them not only on the eve of the First World War, but long before 1914.

David Harvey agreed with Henry Lefebvre that we have to refuse to see materiality, representation and imagination as separate worlds and deny the particular privileging of any separate realm over the other, while simultaneously insisting that it is only in the social practices of daily life that the ultimate significance of all forms of activity is registered.⁷⁸ I hope that in the end I have presented a complete picture of how the Ukrainian activists not only imagined Ukraine, but also how they tried to deepen their idea of Ukrainian national space into a number of local national places, stepping beyond a mere enumeration of monuments erected, books written, buildings built or paintings painted.

⁷⁸ David Harvey, "From space to place and back again: reflections on the condition of postmodernity," in *Mapping the futures: local cultures, global change*, ed. by Jon Bird et al. (London: Routledge, 1993), 23.

Part 1. Imagining Ukraine (1840s – 1890s)



Ievhen Turbats'kyi, *Do zemliakiv* [To the compatriots] (Lviv, 1903) (postcard)
 Source: V. Iatsiuk, *Shevchenkivska lystivka iak pamiatka istorii ta kultury, 1890–1940*
 (Kyiv: Krynysia, 2008), 186.

Chapter 1. Rus', Ukraine, Little Russia: New territory for the Empires after the partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

Hail to you, a wisdom lover,
 Czech the Slav!
 For you did not allow our truth to drown
 In the German abyss.
 Your Slavonic and new sea will be full because of this,
 And your boat will leave a port
 Under the wide sails and a good helm,
 Will sail into the boundless sea, in the wide waves.
 Hail to you, Shafaryk,
 Forever and ever!
 That you brought to one sea
 All Slavonic rivers!
 Taras Shevchenko, *Ieretyk*, 1845

The end of the eighteenth century brought considerable geopolitical changes in the spatial panorama of East-Central Europe. In 1772–1795 the lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were partitioned between the Russian, Austrian, and Prussian states. Simultaneously, in 1775, in the aftermath of the Russian-Turkish war, the Russian Empire obtained access to the Black Sea and Crimea, whereas Austria occupied the historical Moldavian province of Bukovyna. Finally, in 1812 after the Treaty of Bucharest the Russian Empire won the territory between the Dniester and the Prut-Danube Rivers from the Ottoman Empire and called it Bessarabia.

Territories which came under control of these two Empires were populated predominantly by the Orthodox people, known in different places under different names. As was shown by Natalia Iakovenko, by the beginning of the eighteenth century local intellectuals used to call the territory east of the Dniro River *Little Russia*; the term reserved for the territory populated by the Orthodox people to the west of the Dniro was *Rus'*. At the same time, both of them were also occasionally and colloquially

called by the “reserve” name of *Ukraine*.¹ However, there existed another *Ukraine*, around Kharkov, known by that name in the documents produced in Moscow since the mid-seventeenth century.² An important common characteristic of this huge area, as everywhere in early modern Europe, was uncertainty and fuzziness in knowledge about its territorial extent: as was shown by Peter Sahllins and confirmed on the Russian material by Mikhail Krom, early modern states were not territorial in the modern sense of the word, they did not have a central administration ruling all of the subjected territories in a unified fashion, but rather consisted of separate disjointed provinces which claimed owed allegiance to the person of the monarch.³ The same situation held true for the Habsburg Empire: “Down to the eighteenth century Habsburgs conceptualised their territories in dynastic or personal terms. For them the state meant the *casa habsburga* rather than any unified, centrally administered territorial configuration, and they developed their government accordingly.”⁴

Territory to the east of the Dnipro, its Left Bank, since the mid-seventeenth century had fallen under the control of the semiautonomous administrative part of the Muscovite Tsardom known as the Hetmanate, which was ruled by the Cossack gentry, who were emancipated from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1649. Colloquially Cossack intellectuals called it *Ukraine*, located it on both banks of the Dnipro,

¹ Natalia Iakovenko, “Vybir imeni versus vybir shliakhu: nazvy ukraiins’koi terytoriii mizh kintsem 16 – kintsem 17 stolittia,” in Idem, *Dzerkala identychnosti* (Kyiv: Laurus, 2012), 9–43. An earlier English version of this article is available as Natalia Yakovenko, “Choice of name versus choice of path: the names of Ukrainian territories from the late sixteenth to the late seventeenth century,” in *A laboratory of transnational history. Ukraine and recent Ukrainian historiography*, ed. by Georgiy Kasianov and Philipp Ther (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2009), 117–148.

² Kravchenko, *Kharkov / Kharkiv*, 34–35.

³ Mikhail Krom, *Mezh Rus’iu i Litvoi: zapadnorusskie zemli v sisteme russko-litovskikh otnoshenii kontsa 15 – pervoi treti 16 v.* (Moskva: Kvadriga, 2010); Sahllins, *Boundaries*.

⁴ James Vann, “Mapping under the Austrian Habsburgs,” in *Monarchs, ministers, and maps: the emergence of cartography as a tool of government in early modern Europe*, ed. by David Buisseret (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 153.

notwithstanding the current territorial spread of the Hetmanate, and considered it as the Cossack fatherland, which they owed their loyalty and obedience.⁵

However, after the battle at Poltava in 1709 the secular and clerical elites of the Hetmanate made a complete change in their political orientation. Linguistically this turn was carried out by a native of Kiev, Teofan Prokopovich, who suggested they should substitute *Ukraine / Little Russia* as the supreme object of loyalty of Little Russian people for *Russia*, lowering the former to the status of a native country and a place of birth [*rodina*], at the same time raising the latter to the status of their new fatherland [*otechestvo*], calling former *Little Russians* simply *Russians*.⁶ However, this undertaking did not bring any conceptual clarity and in both local and imperial texts of the eighteenth century one still finds *Cherkasy* [Cherkassians], *Malorossiiskogo kraia liudi* [people of Little Russian country], *Zhyteli Maloi Rossii* [inhabitants of Little Russia], *Malorossiiskii narod* [Little Russian nation] populating both banks of the Dnipro. The unity of both people (Great- and Little Russian) was not perceived as an ethnic one either. Therefore the Cossack leader Ivan Mazepa, who supported Charles XII and tried to rebel against Peter I, was condemned as a traitor to his King (protector of old privileges and freedoms of *Ukraine / Little Russia* and their defender against the Poles and the Tatars), his fatherland, his Little Russian people and his Orthodox faith.⁷ By the end of the eighteenth century, popular assertions of the beginning of the cen-

⁵ Sysyn, 7–18.

⁶ Serhii Plokhy, “The two Russias of Teofan Prokopovych,” in *Mazepa and his time*, ed. by G. Siedina (Alessandria: Edizioni Dell’Orso, 2004), 333–366.

⁷ *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*. Vol. 7,1 (Petrograd, 1918), 157; Vol. 8,1 (Moskva, 1948), 241–242, 248; Vol. 8,2 (Moskva, 1951), 784. Similar changing and synonymic usage of lexicon of the second half of the seventeenth century (*Rus' / Russia / Littlerussia / Ros' / Little Russia / Little Russia / Littlerussian Ukraine / Ukraine; Russians / Muscovites; Rus' / Littlerussians / Orthodox / Ukrainian people / Littlerussian people / Littlerussian Ukrainian people / Rus' people*) see in two authors of post-1709 Cossack chronicles, H. Hrabianka and S. Velychko: Grigorii Grabianka, *Deistviia prezel'noi i ot nachala poliakov krovavoi nebyvaloi brani Bogdana Khmel'nitskogo* (Kiev, 1854); Samuil Velichko, *Letopis' sobytii v Iugo-zapadnoi Rossii v 17 veke*. Vol. 1–3 (Kiev, 1848–1855).

ture Cossack chronicles that Great and Little Russias were different lands, populated by the different people and united only under one king, gained new prevalence in the works of the eighteenth – beginning of the nineteenth centuries representatives of the Cossack elites, entering the imperial nobility.⁸ The latter tried to use these arguments in their negotiations with the authorities in St. Petersburg to assure themselves a noble status in the Russian Empire.

At the same time, already in 1674, an unknown monk from the Kievan clergy wrote *Synopsis* – a historical study which not only united the Hetmanate and Muscovy by their common religion and dynasty, but also presented the population of Little and Great Russia as the same people. The author called this united nation a *slavenorosskii khristianskii* [Slavonic Rus' Christian], or a *pravoslavnorossiiskii* [Orthodox Russian] nation.⁹ Although at this time it was only one particular idea of ethnic unity of Little and Great Russias and their people among other versions of their relationship, by the mid-nineteenth century this textbook had run to thirty editions and become the most popular historical work in the Russian Empire of the time.¹⁰

Still, such ethnic considerations did not play a major role in the end of the century partitions of Poland. While it was surely known in St. Petersburg that the territories on the Right Bank of the Dnepr were populated by the Orthodox people of some close relation to the Russians, the partitions were justified by references to “the his-

⁸ This was the general idea of, for instance, Semen Divovych and his work *Razgovor Velikorossii s Malorossiei* (1762), when “Little Russia” explained to “Great Russia” that they were nothing more than the “adjacent countries,” that it voluntarily switched over to the coreligionist tsar and provided him with “important services,” and therefore deserved gratitude and fair treatment on the side of “Great Russia”: Nikolai Petrov, “Razgovor Velikorossii s Malorossiei,” *KS* 2 (1882): 313–365; “Istoricheskoe izvestie na kakom osnovanii Malaia Rossiia byla pod respublikoiu Pol'skoiu,” *Ukraiins'kyi arkhеоhrafichnyi zbirnyk* 1 (1928): 147–161; “Vozrazhenie deputata Poletiki na nastavleniia Malorossiiskoi kollegii gospodinu zhe deputatu Dmitriiu Natal'inu,” *ChOIDR* 3 (1858): 71–102.

⁹ Hans Rothe, ed., *Synopsis, Kyiv 1681: Facsimile mit einer Einleitung* (Köln: Böhlau, 1983).

¹⁰ Zenon Kohut, “Pytannia rosiis'ko-ukraiins'koi iednosti ta ukraiins'koi okremishnosti v ukraiins'kii dumtsi i kulturi ranniomodernoho chasu,” in Idem, *Korinnia identychnosti* (Kyiv: Krytyka, 2004), 144; Miller, *The Ukrainian question*, 21–22.

torical rights” of the Russian Tsars over these territories (Figure 1.1), the main criterion in delineating the borders for the Russian diplomats (and for the Austrian diplomats as well), the most important of whom were of Little Russian origin, was to secure the safety of the future borders and ensure ease of communication in the future constellation.¹¹ Catherine’s main aim lay in governing “a well-ordered state,” without any “anachronistic” remains of the archaic structures. Thus in 1764 she instructed Prince Viazemski, who was to become a procurator-general, about the desired policy in the western borderlands:

Little Russia, Livonia and Finland are provinces governed by privileges confirmed to them. To destroy these by abolishing them all at one would be highly improper. To call them foreign, however, and to deal with them on this basis is more than mistake, and can accurately be called stupidity. These provinces, and Smolensk too, must be brought by the smoothest means to the point where they Russify and stop looking like wolves at the forest.¹²

The next procurator-general, Petr Rumiantsev, was to perform this task by taking definite action: drawing detailed maps, counting local population, improving roads and establishing an effective postal network. Thus in 1765 he held the first and the most famous of numerous descriptions of these territories newly administered by the Empire.¹³ As a result of his activity, in 1764 the institute of Hetman was abolished, in 1775 the Cossack stronghold on the Dnepr was destroyed, and finally in 1781 the Hetmanate was formally dissolved and ten Cossack regiments were turned into three imperial *namestnichestva*; in 1796 they were united into one Little Russian gubernia, while Kiev was detached from it and became the centre of the Kiev gubernia, this time on the Right Bank of the Dnepr. In 1802 Little Russian gubernia was divided into the

¹¹ Petr Stegnii, *Razdely Polshi i diplomatiia Ekateriny Vtoroi* (Moskva, 2002), 87, 276.

¹² Quoted by Saunders, *The Ukrainian impact*, 16–17.

¹³ Various descriptions of new administrative units at the end of the eighteenth century were published as: *Opysy Kharkivs'koho namisnytstva kintsia 18 st.* (Kyiv, 1991); *Opysy Kyivskoho namisnytstva 70–80 rokiv 18 st.* (Kyiv, 1989); *Opysy Livoberezhnoi Ukrainy kintsia 18 – pochatku 19 st.* (Kyiv, 1997).

Chernigov and Poltava gubernias.¹⁴ Cossack elite “with no apparent resistance exchanged their heavy swords and colourful Cossack garb for the rapier, the powdered wig, and the provincial imperial uniform”; local peasants became serfs, local Cossacks became regular imperial troops.¹⁵ These changes were not necessarily resented by the locals. According to David Saunders, “while the integration of the Empire meant the loss of Ukrainian institutions and social forms, it provided Ukrainians with new outlets. Once in St. Petersburg, Ukrainians showed in a variety of ways how an understanding of the south could contribute to the complexion of the Empire as a whole.”¹⁶ Especially after the new imperial Charter of Nobility, when Russian noble status became attractive and no longer demanded any obligatory state service, the former Cossack leaders “abandoned Tatar and Polish dress, began to speak, sing and dance to the Russian tune.”¹⁷

Saunders persuasively demonstrated that as the imperial government needed human resources, this created innumerable chances for educated Little Russians, who actively embarked on the Great North Road to the imperial capital. These “creeping Little Russians” [*malorossiiskie prolazy*] (after Aleksandr Pushkin) flooded various offices in St. Petersburg and even caused a certain distress among the Great Russians for their “jumping into princes.” Looking upon the world from St. Petersburg rather than from Hlukhiv, Kyiv or Poltava, they started to proclaim themselves more Russian

¹⁴ Mykola Vasylenko, “Terytoriiia Ukrainy 17 viku,” in Idem, *Vybrani tvory*. Vol. 2 (Kyiv, 2006), 370–371.

¹⁵ Zenon Kohut, *Russian centralism and Ukrainian autonomy: imperial absorption of the hetmanate, 1760s–1830s* (Cambridge, 1988), 218; Saunders, *The Ukrainian impact*, 18.

¹⁶ Saunders, *The Ukrainian impact*, 5. In this way one intellectual of the beginning of the nineteenth century in every possible way praised the changes in the Hetmanate under Catherine II. See: “Zamechaniia k Maloi Rossii prinallezhashchie,” *ChOIDR* 1 (1848): 1–55. The same ideas were expressed, for instance, by S. Kochubei – see Bohdan Hal’ and Hanna Shvyd’ko, “‘Mysli moi o krae siom...’: S.M. Kochubei i ioho zapysky pro Malorosiiu,” *Skhid–Zakhid* 6 (2004): 101–128.

¹⁷ V. Gorlenko, “Iz istorii iuzhno-russkogo obshchestva nachala 19 veka,” *KS* 1 (1893), 54. English translation by Saunders, *The Ukrainian impact*, 11.

than the Russians themselves, even though they never escaped the pull of or lost sight of the south.¹⁸ Simultaneously, at the end of the seventeenth – beginning of the eighteenth century *Malorossiiany* / *Malorossiitsy* / *Malorossiiantsy* / *Malorossy* entered the Russian language in the typical early modern geographical, not ethnic, meaning of people who came from *Ukraine* / *Little Russia*.¹⁹ All of these concepts were used to denote the population of the Left Bank of the Dnipro, united with the Great Russians by a common sovereign and religion, but in no way by a common ethnic or historical background.

However, not all members of the former Cossack elite became unconditional imperial servants. Even after losing their autonomy they still “cherished its memory.”²⁰ It seems that during this period the majority of the Hetmanate’s elite retained the position of the author of *Istoriia Rusov* [History of the Rus’], the most famous “Who? Where? When?” text of Ukrainian history. Its author followed the traditions of the Cossack chronicles of the beginning of the eighteenth century and quite consciously juxtaposed two different people (*Rusy*, *Rusnaky*, *Roksolany*, *Rosy* contra *Moskovyty*, *Moskhy*) who had different origins and populated different territories.²¹ Nevertheless, these noblemen even being predominantly melancholic about their former privileges and rights did not try to doubt the Tsar’s right to rule over them and remained loyal to the Empire. Seeing themselves as the last debris of society and

¹⁸ These are exactly these Little Russians, prominent and outsiders, whose story tells David Saunders: Saunders, *The Ukrainian impact*, 41–252. See also: Stephen Velychenko, “Empire loyalism and minority nationalism in Great Britain and Imperial Russia, 1707 to 1914: institutions, law, and nationality in Scotland and Ukraine,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 39 (1997): 421.

¹⁹ For examples see *Slovar’ russkogo iazyka 18 veka*. Vol. 12 (St. Petersburg, 2001), 35, 49.

²⁰ Saunders, *The Ukrainian impact*, 20.

²¹ *Istoriia Rusov ili Maloi Rossii* (Moskva, 1846), 2–3. On *Istoriia Rusov* see: Serhii Plokhy, *The Cossack myth: history and nationhood in the age of empires* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). Plokhy argues that *Istoriia Rusov* was “an attempt on the part of the descendants of the Cossack officer elite to negotiate the best possible conditions for their incorporation into the empire”: Ibid, 6.

country, who would soon disappear, they thought similarly to Oleksa Martos, who doomingly noted in 1812 when visiting Hetman Mazepa's grave in Moldavia:

Mazepa died far away from his country, whose independence he defended... After his expulsion from Little Russia, its inhabitants lost their sacred rights, which Mazepa had defended for so long with great enthusiasm and patriotic ardor. He is no more, and the name Little Russia and its brave Cossacks have disappeared from the list of nations who, although small in numbers, are yet famous for their way of life and their constitution. Now rich Little Russia is reduced to two or three provinces. That this is the common destiny of states and republics, we can see from histories of other nations.²²

Martos was a typical Little Russian officer of the Russian army, who, like many of his contemporaries, preferred to use new career possibilities which opened for them both in the capital and in the regional imperial institutions. In 1834 one of his contemporaries even called St. Petersburg “a colony of educated Little Russians. The whole bureaucracy, all the academies, all the universities are full of our fellow-countrymen, and when appointments are being made the Little Russian attracts special attention as *un homme d'esprit*.”²³ Some of these newcomers, like Petr Zavodovski, Dimitri Troshchinski or Aleksandr Bezborodko, even managed to occupy the highest positions in the imperial hierarchy.

Paul Bushkovitch argues that the other, Russian, side in 1790–1850 generally maintained an “overwhelmingly philo-Ukrainian” attitude towards the *Little Russians* / *Ukrainians*, under which their local patriotism and cultural loyalty to the Empire were not perceived in an antagonist way.²⁴ In his analysis of the main “thick journals” of various political opinions of the time, Bushkovitch defined two periods in the Rus-

²² Kohut, *Russian centralism*, 275. Even seventeen years after the partitions of Poland Martos still did not conceive Little Russia as something larger than those three gubernias.

²³ Saunders, *The Ukrainian impact*, 64.

²⁴ Unproblematic perception of Little Russia as a constituent component of a couple of a local native land and a wider fatherland was mentioned, for instance, by Mykola Markevych (“Fatherland is higher than the native land; the latter is only a part of it; but whose soul does not have a native land, he does not have a fatherland as well” – this was an epigraph to his book: Nikolai Markevich, *Obychai, pover'ia, kukhnia i napitki malorossiian* (Kiev, 1860)), or by Panteleimon Kulish (“Love towards one's native land is the best foundation of one's love to the fatherland”: Panteleimon Kulish, *Zapiski o Iuzhnoi Rusi*. Vol. 2 (St. Peterburg, 1857), vi).

sian attitude towards the *Little Russians / Ukrainians*. During the first (1800–1830), “a relatively subordinate place was given to Ukrainian matters in the Russian press, as indeed to all Slavic, ethnographic, or internal Russian matters.” The educated public of the time discussed mainly the problems of army and state, not of ethnic groups. The most important periodical of the time was *Vestnik Evropy* [Herald of Europe], published by Karamzin and led by his idea that “everything national was nothing when compared to human; the main task was to be humans, not Slavs.” Therefore its followers were interested in Little Russians only as individual instances of some general problems. This is why, according to Bushkovitch, *Vestnik Evropy* was the first to publish speeches of one of the leaders of the Left Bank Cossack gentry, Vasili Poletika, on patriotism, for they could serve as examples of virtue and enlightenment for the nobility of the whole Empire: “The gentry were well-educated, virtuous, and patriotic, conserving local patriotic traditions, yet participating in the all-Russian patriotism of the Empire. The peasants too were ideal peasants, industrious, deferential, and pure in personal morals, in all ways superior to Russian peasants. Nature itself collaborated, for the gentler Ukrainian countryside provided a pseudo-Italian backdrop to this paradise of virtue and sentiment.”²⁵ According to Bushkovitch, the same friendly attitude was typical for other journals, liberal and conservative alike, only with some difference in the degree of interest.

Nowhere was such attitude better revealed than during the scandal with Nikolai Polevoi’s review of the second edition of “History of Little Russia” by Dmitri Bantysh-Kamenski in 1830. In his critique Polevoi asserted that Little Russians were “ours,” Imperial Russian, but added that they were not “us,” Great Russians: “Al-

²⁵ Bushkovitch, 346–347.

though until now Little Russians profess the Greek faith, speak a special dialect of the Russian language and belong to the political structure of Russia, their nationality is not Russian.”²⁶ This even provided grounds to Volodymyr Kravchenko to define Polevoi as a modern Russian exclusive nationalist.²⁷ In my opinion David Saunders was more correct in his assessment of this statement. By situating Polevoi in the wider context of imperial historiography and intellectual debates, Saunders suggested we should treat Polevoi’s words as yet another example of how “the principal intellectual debates of the day were being conducted on the basis of Ukrainian data.” According to Saunders, Polevoi “was merely using Ukraine as a weapon in a greater battle: the battle with Karamzin over ‘statist’ versus ‘populist’ history.” Polevoi objected principally to Bantysh-Kamenski’s book because it concentrated mainly on political rather than people’s history. And as, in Polevoi’s view, Little Russian society was so different from that of Russia, was “not us,” its history could not be presented “purely in terms of political developments”; “what annoyed Polevoi about Bantysh-Kamenski was that it was ‘all old hat, all Karamzinian’.”²⁸

It seems that the only nationalist effort of the time to change the meaning of the concept of the *Little Russian* in the first half of the nineteenth century was the program text of the Southern Society of Decembrists (which was active on the territory of the Right Bank of the Dnepr), *Russkaia Pravda* [Russian Truth]. Written by Pavel Pestel and being radically different from Nikita Muraviev’s federative program of the Northern Decembrists, it was discussed and accepted as the program of the Southern

²⁶ Nikolai Polevoi, “Malorossiiia; ee obitateli i istoriia,” *Moskovskii Telegraf* 17–18 (1830): 86, 229.

²⁷ Volodymyr Kravchenko, “Nikolai Polevoi i ‘zvychnaia skhema ‘rus’koi’ istorii’,” in Idem, *Ukraina, Imperiia, Rosiia* (Kyiv: Krytyka, 2011), 363.

²⁸ Saunders, *The Ukrainian impact*, 187–188.

Society during the convention in Kiev in 1823. According to the author, Slavs of the Romanov Empire were divided in the following way:

1) Actually the so called Russians, living in the Great Russian gubernias; 2) the Little Russians, living in the Chernigov and Poltava gubernias; 3) the Ukrainians, living in the Kharkov and Kursk gubernias; 4) The people of Kiev, Podolia and Volhynia gubernias, who call themselves the *Russnaks*, and 5) The White Russians, living in the Vitebsk and Mogilev gubernias.²⁹

In Pestel's vision of the Russian future this diversity was to disappear: all these people allegedly spoke the same language, had the same faith and the same civil system as in the Great Russian gubernias. Therefore, the main aim of the future Russian state was a complete assimilation of the Little Russians and the White Russians, which made *Russkaia Pravda* the first and the most radical project in turning the Romanov Empire from the pre-modern dynastic state into a "one and indivisible" nation, designed in Russia in the nineteenth century:

There is no true difference between the categories constituting the Indigenous Russian People, and the small shades of difference should be merged into one common form. Thus it is resolved as a rule that all the people who live in the Vitebsk, Mogilev, Chernigov, Poltava, Kursk, Kharkov, Kiev, Podolia and Volhynia gubernias are to be considered as true Russians and not to be separated from these latter by any special names.³⁰

It is complicated to assert how popular such views were in the first half of the nineteenth century. Apart from Pestel's book I have not found any similar texts. On the contrary, and among other things due to the romantic "discovery" of Little Russia in many "sentimental travelogues" by travellers from Great Russia, until the 1830s educated Russians developed a lasting stereotype: territory to the Left Bank of the Dnepr was conceived largely as a Rousseauistic world (Arcadia,³¹ South, "our Italy"³²) populated by virtuous and enlightened noblemen and industrious and virtuous peasantry.³³

²⁹ "Russkaia Pravda," in *Vosstanie dekabristov*. Vol. 7 (Moskva, 1958), 138.

³⁰ Ibid, 139.

³¹ Baranovskii, *ili kharakternye ocherki chastnoi zhizni malorossiian*. Vol. 1 (Moskva, 1835), 20.

³² Ivan Turgenev, *Nakanune. Otsy i deti* (Moskva, 1979), 11.

³³ Bushkovitch, 341–349. On "sentimental" travels to Little Russia see: Volodymyr Sypovs'kyi, *Ukraiina v rosiis'komu pys'menstvi* (Kyiv, 1928), 17–57.

Bushkovitch underlines that “anti-Ukrainian views were extremely hard to find, the most existed was a certain scepticism about the literary status of Ukrainian, generally assumed, however, to be a language, not a dialect.”³⁴

History was conceived in a similar way, as a part of all-Russian patriotism. For instance, for his “almost official” “History of Little Russia” of 1817 Bantysh-Kamenski was promoted to the rank of *statskii sovetnik*.³⁵ On the other hand, the attempts to privatise the past were greeted with irony by the Little Russian intellectuals of the time:

No, do not teach me, anyone, where exactly Russia is! – exclaimed aged Trokhim Mironovich, remembering the years passed. – I argue and contend that among us, in Little Russia. A proof: when the Russians were still the Slavs (I do not remember, read it somewhere), they had excellent meads and drank them only. When some people wanted to drink mead, they came to the Slavs. In Great Russia they cannot brew such mead as among us, in Little Russia: therefore, we are the genuine Slavs, renamed after that as Russians.³⁶

At the same time the author of the first grammar of the Little Russian language, published in 1828, Alexei Pavlovski, described Ukrainian as only one of many regional dialects of Russian, providing at the same time “examples of words and styles of composition that the Russians might find attractive and introduce into their own language.”³⁷ All of this probably gives scholars firm ground to assert that closer to the mid-nineteenth century territories on the Left Bank of the Dnipro turned from being the contested borderland into being a part of the imperial core.³⁸

However, after the 1793–1795 divisions of Poland, the Romanov Empire incorporated other territories on the Right Bank of the Dnipro, also colloquially known as *Ukraine*. Until the late 1830s Russian intellectuals largely perceived this area, popu-

³⁴ Bushkovitch, 348.

³⁵ Saunders, *The Ukrainian impact*, 183.

³⁶ Quoted after: S. Zubkov, *Russkaia proza G.F. Kvitki i E.P. Grebenki* (Kiev, 1979), 121.

³⁷ Saunders, *The Ukrainian impact*, 158–159.

³⁸ Mikhail Dolbilov and Alexei Miller, eds. *Zapadnye okrainy Rossiiskoi imperii* (Moskva: NLO, 2006), 59.

lated by approximately 7,000 Polish landowners and 3,000,000 mainly Orthodox peasants, as a part of Poland.³⁹ As late as 1866 one traveller promised his readers “who noticed some vague mention of Volhynia and Podolia” to get them acquainted with the latter, “the land of the Ruthenians, who did not know what they were; their fatherland was their house, left from their fathers; the Poles were lords, the *Moskals* were soldiers, the Russians were *katsapy*. In Viatka, Tomsk, Kaluga people talked more about Kiev, they knew it better, even if just from the religious side. Here you would not see any pilgrims, telling stories about Kiev.”⁴⁰

Similarly to the Russian attitude to the territories on the Left Bank of the Dnepr, this Right Bank Ukraine was conceived as Polish Arcadia, paradise lost, the land of Polish Romantic myth and exoticism, at the same time firmly connected in the Polish imagination with central Poland.⁴¹ Its landscape was marked as Polish by the Polish Catholic crosses along the roads,⁴² columns with inscriptions “the end of Poland,”⁴³ small palaces surrounded by parks, which fascinated all the travellers coming to the region.⁴⁴ Simultaneously, in the first half of the nineteenth century Polish institutions (mainly from Vilna) organised here a whole range of topographical, ethnographical,

³⁹ My knowledge of the situation on the Right Bank comes mainly from the meticulous studies by Daniel Beauvois. See footnote 52 of the introduction.

⁴⁰ I-tov, *Podol'*. *Iz zapisok proezhzhego* (Kiev, 1866).

⁴¹ Daniel Beauvois, “Mit kresów wschodnich czyli jak mu położyć kres,” in *Polskie mity polityczne XIX i XX wieku*, W. Wrzesiński, ed. (Wrocław, 1994), 93–105. I am grateful to Łukasz Mikołajewski for his help with this reference.

⁴² V. Shulgin, *Iugo-Zapadnyi krai v poslednee dvadtsatipiatiletie, 1838–1863* (Kiev, 1864), 11–12.

⁴³ Beauvois, *Shliakhtych, kripak i revizor*, 263. This one was located in the village Iahorlyk in Potocki's estate.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 262–263.

statistical, botanical, philological and archaeological-cultural expeditions, trying to prove the Polishness of this area.⁴⁵

Not surprisingly, “Poland” became the stock designation of these lands both for the authorities and the intellectuals of the capitals. For instance, in 1805 during the debates about the language of instruction for a new Kiev gymnasium: Russian or Polish, one of the most highly ranked Little Russians, Minister of Education Petr Zavadovski, was in favour of Polish.⁴⁶ Similarly, while criticising the plans of Aleksandr I to enlarge the territory of the Kingdom of Poland in 1819, Nikolai Karamzin used the historical arguments, but not those of the ethnic composition of this region.⁴⁷ Even some decades later, in 1859, Ivan Aksakov’s *Parus* [Sail] published a correspondence from Zhytomyr as “A letter from Poland.”⁴⁸ Only after the failed Polish uprising of 1830–1831 did there appear numerous studies about the local Ukrainians / Little Russians, which had to combat Polish claims for this territory.⁴⁹ At that time Mikhail Maksimovich published his second collection of folk songs (1834), Bantysh-Kamenski wrote the second and the third editions of his “History of Little Russia” (1830, 1842), Izmail Sreznevski worked on his “Zaporozhian antiquity” (1833–1838) and Nikolai Markevich published his own “History of Little Russia” (1842–1843).

⁴⁵ Lev Bazhenov, *Podillia v pratsiakh doslidnykiv i kraieznavtsiv 19–20 st.* (Kamianets’-Podil’s’kyi, 1993), 13–33; Oksana Ostapchuk, “Izmenenie gosudarstvennykh granits kak faktor formirovaniia iazykovoï situatsii na Pravoberezhnoi Ukraine v k. 18 – pervoi polovine 19 v.,” in *Regiony i granitsy Ukrainy v istoricheskoi perspektive*, ed. by Leonid Gorizontov (Moskva, 2005), 80. Some of the titles which were published: W. Marczynski, *Statystyczno-topograficzne i historyczne opisanie gubernii Podolskiej z rysunkami i mappami* (Wilno, 1820–1823); A. Przezdziecki, *Podole, Wolyn, Ukraina. Obrazy miejsc i czasow* (Wilno, 1840–1841); *Starozytna Polska pod wzgledem geograficznym, historycznym i statystycznym* (Warszawa, 1843–1846); T. Stecki, *Wolyn pod wzgledem statystycznym, historycznym i archeologicznym* (Lwow, 1864).

⁴⁶ Saunders, *The Ukrainian impact*, 31.

⁴⁷ Dolbilov and Miller, 91–92.

⁴⁸ S. Gogotskii, *Neskol’ko slov o iugo-zapadnoi Rusi* (Kiev, 1859), 2–4; Mikhail Dragomanov, “Evrei i poliaci v iugo-zapadnom krae,” *Vestnik Evropy* 4 (1875): 172 fn.2.

⁴⁹ Bushkovitch, 349–361.

Yet another place of importance in this context was Kharkov and its gubernia. Formerly a borderland territory populated by the Cossacks who escaped the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the mid-seventeenth century, this area had a strong regional identity. Its relationships both with the neighbouring Hetmanate and the rest of the Empire were not easy as this territory felt quite distinct in comparison to both neighbours, and the local nobility, loyal to the Empire, felt themselves superior to the constantly suspicious elites of the Hetmanate. Whereas the Right Bank Ukraine got its “Ukrainian” name from the Polish perspective as its eastern border areas, Kharkov Ukraine was the western borderland area of the Muscovite state. Therefore it had its own identity, it was not included into the Hetmanate Cossack vision of their ideal fatherland, which they were to serve and protect, and was almost never mentioned in the texts produced by the Hetmanate intellectuals. The only “Ukrainian” administrative unit appeared here when in 1765 the Sloboda-Ukrainian gubernia was established. Volodymyr Kravchenko pointed to two important processes which brought this “uncertain” province in between of the Left / Right Bank Ukraines and its northern neighbours closely to the southern gubernias. The first one started when Kharkov became a centre of fair trade for the “Ukrainian” gubernias. The second important development was due to the process of imperial territorialisation: in 1831 the formerly Little Russian gubernia was divided into the Poltava and Chernigov gubernias. After this Kharkov became the centre of the Little Russian general-gubernia, which moved there from neighbouring Poltava in 1835. In this way a formerly “Ukrainian” centre officially became a centre of Little Russia,⁵⁰ although its regional discourse survived and even in 1841 Hryhorii Kvitka explained to Andrei Kraevski that “we, locals of the

⁵⁰ Kravchenko, *Kharkov / Kharkiv*, 30–161.

Sloboda area, did not constitute Little Russia,” while underlining ethnocultural differences between the Little Russians and the Sloboda Ukrainians in other places.⁵¹

Despite recent attempts to overcome a “Russocentric view of Gogol” and maintain that Gogol’s Ukrainian nationalism “ran stronger than is commonly assumed” and ideas that the question of his identity might presumably be solved if one considers his different attitude to self-identification during different periods of his life,⁵² at the moment it seems that his words to Aleksandra Smirnova in 1844 symbolically summarised this period in the best possible way not only for him, but for the majority of the Little Russians:

I will tell you that I myself do not know what soul I have: *Khokhol* or Russian. I only know that I would grant primacy neither to a Little Russian over a Russian nor to a Russian over a Little Russian. Both natures are generously endowed by God, and as if on purpose, each of them in its own way includes in itself what the other lacks – a clear sign that they are meant to complement each other. Moreover, the very stories of their past way of life are dissimilar, so that the different strengths of their characters could develop and, having then united, could become something more perfect in humanity.⁵³

While Gogol and those like him were trying to understand where they belonged, the only person who spoke of internal unity of the territories from the Carpathians to Kharkov Ukraine was a Hungarian Ruthenian, Iurii Venelin, who in 1830s was trying to persuade the audience of his texts that the population of this area spoke the same “Southern Russian” language.⁵⁴

However, in contrast to Gogol’s hesitations of the time, it was precisely in the 1840s that the difference between the two “natures” of the great writer were for the

⁵¹ Kravchenko, *Kharkov / Kharkiv*, 144–145.

⁵² Edyta Bojanowska, *Nikolai Gogol: Between Ukrainian and Russian Nationalism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007). The author suggests that Gogol’s Russianness was caused by his imperial non-national patriotism, whereas until 1836 Gogol’s attitude towards Ukraine was definitely nationalistic. Moreover, the scholar asserts that it was exactly his Ukrainianness that determined Gogol’s cultural identity, and, probably doomed Gogol’s civic project of Russian nationalism.

⁵³ Nikolai Gogol, *PSS*. Vol. 12 (Moskva, 1952), 418–419. English translation by Bojanowska, 2.

⁵⁴ Saunders, *The Ukrainian impact*, 227.

first time described spatially as a map by a Czech Slavist spurred the first debates between intellectuals on what the territorial relationship between the Great and Little Russians was. In the 1840s Pavel Josef Šafařík provided the next generations of intellectuals with an initial spatial framework for such discussions. It is quite symbolic that the first person to provide a visual image of unity of population from Lemberg to Kharkov was an outsider.

Pavel Josef Šafařík was born on 13 May 1795 in a small village in Slovakia. After his studies in 1815 he moved to Jena, where he got acquainted with the latest intellectual European vogue, Romanticism. Coming back first to Novi Sad and then to Prague he became a celebrity among the Slavonic intellectuals for his works on Slavonic languages and literature, which he wrote under the influence of his German teachers. Even if Taras Shevchenko's praise of Šafařík for bringing together "all Slavonic rivers" was more wishful thinking on the part of one of numerous Slavophiles of the day, Šafařík's works, which were widely disseminated, especially in the Russian Empire, indeed contributed to the growing interest in knowing different Slavonic peoples.⁵⁵ Among other things and most importantly for this thesis, they contributed to knowing them spatially and advancing their first political programs.

Šafařík had already started to write about the territories populated by different Slavonic peoples and those around them during the Serbian period of his life. In his 1826 "Geschichte der Slawische Sprache und Literatur," published in German (partly because of financial interest: books in German sold better) he described different Slavonic languages, trying to point out their most characteristic features, together with

⁵⁵ In Prague Šafařík was a local celebrity, whom it was a must to meet for any Slav coming there (almost like in Aleko Konstantinov's *Baj Ganjo*). See, for instance: Nikolai Stankevich, *Perepiska, 1830–1840* (Moskva, 1914), 111.

the habitat of their mediums. In what concerned the Eastern Slavs, he clearly stated that the Russian language consisted of three dialects [*Mundarten*]: Great-, Little- and White Russian, and the territory of the Little Russian dialect, according to him, stretched from the Don River to Galicia, was populated by 10,430,000 people and had Kiev as its main city. At the same time the author acknowledged that its Galician, Bukovynian and Northern Hungarian dialects, despite being a form of Little Russian, still remained a *terra incognita* for him.⁵⁶

In 1842 Šafařík published his most renowned and popular work, “the golden book” of the Slavs (according to Josef Jungmann) – his *Slovanský Narodopis* [Slavonic ethnography], which brought him fame as the Slavonic “awakener.” The book (or rather map, *Slovanský Zeměvid* [Study of Slavonic countries] (Figure 1.2), accompanied by the text) was a remarkable success: it immediately sold out, with a new edition coming out the same year and the third one in 1849. Translations into Polish (Wrocław, 1843) and Russian (Moscow, 1843) followed shortly, although Šafařík lambasted the Polish edition as a fabrication for it did not include the map.⁵⁷ Zdzisław Niedziela suggested that the Polish version of *Narodopis* may have had no resonance in Poland, especially in comparison to other Slavs (notwithstanding the author’s personal sympathies towards the Polish uprising of 1830–1831⁵⁸), precisely because of the map’s absence. In my opinion, another possible reason could have been Polish reliance on historical arguments while promoting their national rights rather than on ethnic ones.

⁵⁶ Paul Joseph Šafařík, *Geschichte der Slawischen Sprache und Literatur* (Prag, 1869), 138–141.

⁵⁷ V. Francev, *Korrespondence P.J. Šafařika*. Vol. 1 (Praha, 1927), 65–66.

⁵⁸ Zdzisław Niedziela, “Problemy Polskiej recepcji dzieł P.J. Šafařika w okresie romantyzmu,” in *Pavol Jozef Šafařik a Slavistika: zborník príspevkov z vedeckej konferencie*, ed. by Petrus Pavol (Martin, 1996), 74. At the same time Lavrov praised the Czech edition only, characterising Russian one as worth something only because of the map (which was an original Czech one) – Ibid, 89ff. About Šafařik’s attitude to the Polish uprising see Hana Hynková, “O významu Šafařikova ‘Slovanského Narodopisu’ pro slovanskou ethnografii,” in Petrus, 185.

The *Narodopis* received its greatest acclaim in Russia, especially in Slavophile Moscow. Karel Havlíček Borovský, who stayed there in 1843–1844, mentioned that “Moscow became the first city in the world where students studied works by Šafařík” and that there “Šafařík was better known than in Prague, though he himself never thought that his book, merely known in Prague, would become a textbook 250 miles away from it.”⁵⁹ As was acknowledged by the leading Russian scholars of the time, before Šafařík its own Slavic population had remained virtually unstudied in Russia.⁶⁰ While writing his book and drawing his map Šafařík encountered an almost complete absence of information and thus had to rely on his active correspondence, demanding relevant data not only from such famous people as Petr Keppen (who started to organise Slavic studies in Russia after his visit to Prague in 1823 and who later lobbied for Šafařík’s election as a member of the RGO) and Mikhail Pogodin, asking them for books and maps together with their own explanations, but also from lesser known figures such as M.I. Kashtorski, N.N. Murzakevich, N. Pavlishchev, and M.M. Kiriakov on the matter of, for instance, the structure of the population in the Kherson and Ekaterinoslav gubernias.

Likewise, Šafařík’s idea of the Little Russian language and the people who spoke it was predominantly based on his correspondence with three intellectuals. The first two were the Galicians, Ivan Vahylevych and Iakiv Holovatsky, who were asked to send Šafařík some information on the Carpathian dialects by Pogodin. In 1836–1839 they stayed in constant touch with Šafařík, informing him about local dialects, the Boiko people, delineating the border between the Ruthenians and the Poles and the

⁵⁹ A. Mylnikov, *Pavel Shafarik – vydaiushchiisia uchenyi-slavist* (Moskva–Leningrad, 1963), 88.

⁶⁰ When Šafařík asked Pogodin about the character of Little Russian and White Russian grammars, the latter, allegedly “turning red,” answered that “this question has not been paid attention by us yet”: *ZhMNP* 9 (1835): 548.

Ruthenians and the Romanians, stressing that the latter were not autochthonous populations of Bukovyna.⁶¹

His third and undoubtedly the most important informant on Little Russian matters was an antiquarian Ukrainophile from Moscow, Osyp Bodiansky, who at the time was publishing many old Cossack manuscripts, including the already mentioned *Istoriia Rusov*. He also got acquainted with Šafařík via Pogodin in 1836. Corresponding with the Czech scholar, Bodiansky tried to persuade him of the separate nature of the “Little Russian” language, which, in his opinion, was as equally old as Great Russian.⁶² He immediately corrected Šafařík’s earlier presentation of its territory (in the “Geschichte der Slawischen Sprache”), pointing out that, in his opinion, the Czech scholar had to exclude the Orel, Riazan and Tambov gubernias from the list of the Little Russian gubernias. Furthermore, he drew Šafařík’s attention to the fact that the area of the Southern Rus’ language began not in the middle of Galicia but in the Carpathian Mountains, arguing that the Ruthenians who lived in north-eastern Hungary spoke Little Russian or one of its dialects:

The Southern Rus’ people occupied a large space for themselves; their fatherland is not smaller than the fatherland of the Northern Rus’ people; their quantity is not smaller than that of the latter; their history has had much more action and life than the history of Rus’ people in the North. What is the reason for this? The reason is that in the South people acted with its whole mass, while in the North – only with their Tsars. Hence, but also depending on the way of life, climate and nature, are the songs of the Little- and Great Russians.⁶³

On the other hand, Russian scholars, who, as I mentioned, were immensely interested in Šafařík’s works, supplied him with more than just the relevant data he needed to compile the map and the book. Pogodin also assisted Šafařík in another important aspect, namely a financial one (causing T.N. Granovski’s biting remark that

⁶¹ Francev, *Korrespondence P.J. Šafaříka*. Vol. 2 (Praha, 1927), 936–944.

⁶² Francev, *Korrespondence*. Vol. 1, 13.

⁶³ Ibid, 14. Bodiansky humorously remarked that this dialect may have been the authentic language of the Little Russians for the settlement of the Southern Rus’ had been conducted from Carpathians and from behind them.

Šafařík existed on “secret donations from Pogodin”⁶⁴), and in 1839 even lobbied for financial help for him from the Minister of Education, Sergei Uvarov, and the Russian Academy of Sciences – five thousand roubles – which in 1842 were supplemented by an additional five hundred silver roubles to enable Šafařík to finally publish *Narodopis* (money were transferred to Prague again via Pogodin).⁶⁵

As was stated by the author in the preface, he wrote his book with the idea that “if a nation which acknowledged the importance of a native language for its own spiritual life, simultaneously despised and abandoned it, trying commit suicide, it violated the eternal laws of God.”⁶⁶ In the following pages Šafařík thoroughly described the borders of every Slavonic tribe, with short remarks on every language and the most important data about its literature (remarking that his main aim is ethnographic, and not linguistic). The clear-cut scientific borders between different Slavonic people must have impressed his contemporaries in view of the unclear ideas about them on existing ethnographical maps by F.A. O’Etsel’s or Heinrich Berghaus. Moreover, and even more importantly for his contemporaries, Šafařík did not simply describe the borders, or show them on the map with green lines, he also transcribed the names of towns and villages in the forms that were allegedly used by the dominant ethnic groups on that territory.

According to him, the Slavonic language was generally divided into two groups of vernaculars [*govory*]: south-eastern and western. The south-eastern one was further divided into three languages [*rechi*]: Russian, Bulgarian and Illyrian. The Russian *rech* was then divided into three dialects [*narechiia*]: Great Russian, Little Russian and Be-

⁶⁴ T.N. Granovskii i ego perepiska. Vol. 2 (Moskva, 1897), 332.

⁶⁵ Francev, *Korrespondence*. Vol. 1, 60fn.

⁶⁶ Pawel Josef Šafařík, *Slowanský Národopis* (Praha, 1842), 4.

lorussian. The contemporary meaning of the word *narechie* need not be misleading, for Šafařík also defined Polish, Czech and Slovakian as *narechiia*; the author was therefore highlighting their separate nature.

The territorial scope of the Little Russian *narechie* (Figure 1.3), which at the time remained unknown to many people around,⁶⁷ covered the Kyiv, Volhynia, Chernihiv, Poltava, Kharkiv, Katerynoslav, Kherson, Tavriia and Podillia gubernias, parts of the Voronezh gubernia, the territory of the Black Sea Cossacks in the Russian Empire; parts of the Podliasskaia and Lublin gubernias in the Kingdom of Poland; Pere-myshl, Zhovkva, Zolochiv, Ternopil, Bereziv, Sambir, Sianok, Stryi, Stanislaviv, Kolomyia, Chortkiv, parts of the Reshiv, Iaseni, Novo-Sandecz and Chernivtsi districts in the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria and Bukovyna; biggest parts of Bereg, Ungvar, Ugocz and Marmarosh komitats in the Kingdom of Hungary. All the time throughout his book Šafařík used “Little Russian” for denoting this language and territory, claiming that “Ukraine” is just a regional name, though a well known one in comparison with Lemkos, Boikos and Hutsuls. According to him, the total number of the Little Russians was 13,144,000: 10,370,000 in Russia and 2,774,000 in Austria (2,149,000 in Galicia and 625,000 in Hungary). Of these, 10,154,000 were Christians of the Eastern Rite and 2,990,000 Greek Catholics (2,774,000 in Austria and 216,000 in the Kingdom of Poland).

Although Bodiansky criticised Šafařík in a rather lengthy letter in April 1842 for underestimating the number of Little Russians (since, according to him, the Little Russian gubernias were the most populated in Russia and altogether had around

⁶⁷ As he wrote on 30 April 1842 in one of his letters: “My work aims at those who until now have not known even the name of the Little Russians; and there are enough of such people around” – Francev, *Korrespondence*. Vol. 1, 145.

twelve million people, so that taken together with those living in Galicia and Hungary their number would rise to fifteen – sixteen million),⁶⁸ he immediately wanted to translate the book into Russian (and was even urged to do so by the author himself). By 1843 his translation had already appeared, first as a series of articles in Pogodin's *Moskovitianin* and later as a separate book, accompanied by a map in the Czech language.⁶⁹ This Russian translation became important not only for the intellectuals of the Russian Empire, but also of other areas, for instance in Galicia; as Bodiansky wrote to Pogodin, "they were waiting specifically for the Russian translation since the Czech language was known there to the same extent as in Russia."⁷⁰ In the end the overall print of the map ran to around 3,000.⁷¹ Although some copies were coloured extremely badly, the border between the Russians and the Ukrainians in some places was not shown,⁷² and the majority of Russian editions lacked any maps at all, the book caused a real sensation among the leading intellectuals of the time who immediately started to debate some of its statements.

Roger Downs and Robert Stea argue that after a map is encoded and produced (the first stage of the mapping process), it is followed by the process of its reading or decoding.⁷³ As a whole, the reception of Šafařík's book was very positive and its author was highly praised. For instance, it was admired by Izmail Sreznevski precisely for the author's reliance on local dialects (his own problem with it was Šafařík's singling out of a "Belorussian" dialect as separate, although "it did not have any single

⁶⁸ Francev, *Korrespondence*. Vol. 1, 53–54.

⁶⁹ *Moskovitianin* 1 (1843): 141–202; 2 (1843): 424–459; 3 (1843): 95–129; 4 (1843): 405–440; 5 (1843): 116; Pavel Iosif Shafarik, *Slavianskoe narodopisanie* (Moskva, 1843).

⁷⁰ P. Lavrov, "P.I. Shafarik i O.M. Bodianskiy," *Pis'ma P.I. Shafarika k O.M. Bodianskomu* (Moskva, 1895), xxxv.

⁷¹ Josef Hůrský, "Vznik a poslání šafaříkova slovanského zeměvidu," in Pavel Josef Šafařík, *Slovanský národopis* (Praha: ČSAV, 1955), 234.

⁷² Hůrský, 227 fn.21.

⁷³ Downs and Stea, 63.

peculiarity which would not repeat itself somewhere in Great Russian, and its vocalism is the same as in Southern Great Russian”).⁷⁴ In the end this study became a normative reference for anyone dealing with Slavonic history well until the beginning on the twentieth century.⁷⁵

However, a critical discussion started around Šafařík’s decision to use “local” names of different localities on his map, which were sent to him by his correspondents. In Galicia Poles were “angered that [the geographical names] of the old Polish lands in Rus’ were not given in Polish,”⁷⁶ probably opposing Šafařík’s usage of, for instance, “Lviv” not “Lwów,” “Żytomyr” not “Żytomierz,” or “Peremyśl” not “Przemysł.” Yet, even more heated debate unfolded in *Moskovitianin*. It started from a passing remark from Maksimovich, a Little Russian himself, to Pogodin that he was surprised to find the names of “Pereiasliv,” “Vasylkiv,” “Pivtava,” and “Perekip,” whereas their normative spelling was “Pereiaslov,” “Vasilkov,” “Poltava,” and “Perekop.”⁷⁷ “What’s the need in such an excessive and artificial Little Russianism?” he asked Pogodin. According to Maksimovich, during his last nine years of stay in Little Russia he had never met even a common person who would use such names. Maksimovich agreed that changing the letter “o” into “i” could be explained by Šafařík’s love of Little Russian pronunciation, but stated that in this way one faked the folk colouring and enforced it, at the same time not representing it in the way it existed in reality. According to Maksimovich, the guilty person was the one who advised such

⁷⁴ See his review in *ZhMNP* 38 (1843): 1–30.

⁷⁵ For instance already in 1907 I. Iagich in his discussion of the “Statistical–ethnographical review of the Slavs” by T. Florinski criticised the latter and brought Šafařík’s work as a great example of a scholar, without “any political or national fervour”: *Putevye zapiski I. I. Sreznevskogo iz slavianskikh zemel’* (St. Petersburg, 1895), 271–272.

⁷⁶ Kozik, *The Ukrainian national movement in Galicia*, 146.

⁷⁷ Mikhail Maksimovich, “Otryvok iz pis’mo o malorossiiskikh sobstvennykh imenakh,” *Moskovitianin* 2 (1843): 629–630.

“provincial over-salting” to Šafařík and he asked Pogodin to recommend Šafařík that he change “i” into “o” in the next edition of his map.⁷⁸

In his reply the “guilty person,” Bodiansky, transferred this discussion to a European scale. According to him, the problem of choice between different versions in proper names was a stumbling block for almost all European languages: some of them used folk “raiments,” some respected the property rights and did not touch them; others used both ways. Bodiansky, who wrote his response anonymously, did not speak in favour of these options; still, in his opinion, if someone purposely wanted to show to the audience what their local name was, this approach had to be supported, for “the voice of people was the only source one had to draw one’s information from.” Therefore there was no need to blame Šafařík’s “advisor.” In his opinion, as far as those names were possessive adjectives, they should be written in the way possessive adjectives were written by Little Russians, hence “Kharkiv” and not “Kharkov.” Everywhere in the land of Little Russians, “from the Don to the Sian Rivers, from the Pripet to the Black Sea” the change of “o” into “i” was the rule, which became different only outside the territory of the Southern Rus’ people. In the end Bodiansky accused Maksimovich of being not a proper Little Russian and not speaking the language well:

Do not impose different names of these localities on us, this already dead and irrevocable antiquity, which was used once upon a time but is precious for us only in memories. We want to follow the voice of the people, the only lawmakers for the language. But why does Maksimovich do this being a Little Russian, a publisher of their songs and an ardent lover of everything native? To be able to make an unmistakable judgement on such a matter it is not enough for one to be a local; one has to grow up with its people, to become imbued with it through and through, study it with the village common people... And what can one say if he was bred amongst another people, even of a kin kind and studied the native language through the books and thin collections of folk songs? These Little Russians are trying to look literate and speak their barbarian language. Such bookish Little Russians really use “o” instead of “i,” giving birth to yet another ugly child of their insane imagination and language studies... And “Perekip” is simply either a

⁷⁸ N., “Gospodinu vozvoditeliu k obshcheslovenskomu korennomu zvuku,” *Moskovitianin* 5 (1843): 249–258.

misprint, or a mistake of the maker of a map itself, not his advisor, for the map also has “Konotop,” not “Konotip.”⁷⁹

The reply to Bodiansky followed in the eighth issue of the journal; now it was written by some anonymous author from St. Petersburg. He expressed his surprise at the article of “Mr. N.,” who defended the names used “by the Prague scholar” instead of using those proposed by the former professor of Kiev University, at the same time seriously suggesting that the common folk along the country roads behaved “in a Prague way.” According to the author, “in Ukraine common folk never said ‘Pivtava,’ otherwise the name of ‘Natalka Poltavka’ would be totally different as well.”⁸⁰ And if some literate people say so, they are either “over-salted,” as Maksimovich mentioned, in the expression of their “*khokhol* provincialism,” or simply do not understand the matter.

Maksimovich, annoyed by the anonymous accusations, put an end to this discussion by writing a second, this time, special article.⁸¹ Here he once again objected to such spelling as a typical one for the locals since he himself had come across it for the first time on Šafařík’s map and suggested that he had complete credibility in claiming what the real names for the cities in Little Russia were. In his opinion, the correct way to say the name of one of the towns would be “Pereiaslav,” but in Little Russia both literate and illiterate used “Pereiaslov.” Therefore locals did not speak in the way that Šafařík used for his map; some of them did, but not everywhere in Southern Rus’. According to Maksimovich, any Little Russian who advised Šafařík to use “i” for all toponyms of South-Rus’ lands, was a “superfluous” and “artificial” one. “Very often one might hear Russian pilgrims calling Kiev or Poltava ‘Keef,’ ‘Platava,’ but are these

⁷⁹ N., “Gospodinu vozvoditelii k obshcheslovenskomu korennomu zvuku,” 245–257.

⁸⁰ “Ot Mr. N’ misteru N,” *Moskovitianin* 8 (1843): 472–474.

⁸¹ M. Maksimovich, “O malorosiiskom proiznoshenii mestnykh imen (Ob’iasnenie otnosiashcheesia k Shafarikovoi slavianskoi karte),” *Moskovitianin* 10 (1843): 455–468.

names really Great Russian ones? Occasionally some locals say ‘Pivtava,’ ‘Pivtavtsi’, but only to mock those people, who push their folk accent to the limit and speak not the Little Russian language, but some vulgar one,” pointing out that “Poltava” was used not only by the literate Little Russians.

Why does the Southern Rus’ appear for the first time on the ethnographical map with this extra-folksy voice, in such a provincial way? A Cossack looks good in his red wide trousers and dipped into tar. But only during a fair, only in a novel. The same about “Pivtava,” “Pereiasliv,” “Perekip” – these names are valid only for a theatrical stage or a novel, but not for a Slavonic Map, prepared by Šafařík. I am absolutely determined to ask him to get rid of this innovation in the names of South-Russian localities, and to write them always with “o,” as it is written around the whole of Southern Rus’.⁸²

Although in his work Šafařík used the term “demarcation line” (instead of an “ethnic boundary”) and used a “typical folk architecture” as a criterion to show the borders of different Slavic tribes,⁸³ his internal “Ukrainian” readers paid utmost attention exactly to the supposedly “ethnic boundaries” of the Ukrainian people. In 1847 Panteleimon Kulish addressed Bodiansky and asked him for its translation, underlining his need of getting the map.⁸⁴ In 1848 Iakiv Holovatsky wrote to Karl Zap that this book was an apotheosis of Šafařík and Czechs, who were the first who “discovered our people among the people and ‘Zeměvid’ made the world acquainted with our fifteen million people.”⁸⁵ Not surprisingly, the same year Holovatsky used Šafařík’s book as a reference point during his political speeches in revolutionary Lviv.

In 1858 there appeared plans to publish a “more vivid and more attractive” alternative to Šafařík’s *Narodopis* by the circle around the Slavophile journal *Russkaia beseda* [Russian Conversation]. Its probable author, Aleksandr Gilferding, complained to Mikhail Raevski in Vienna that the Russian reading public did not know who the

⁸² Maksimovich, “O malorosiiskom proiznoshenii mestnykh imen,” 465, 468.

⁸³ P. Kushner, “Etnicheskie territorii i etnicheskie granitsy,” *Trudy Instituta etnografii* 15 (1951): 11–12.

⁸⁴ Panteleimon Kulish, *Tvory*. Vol. 1 (Kyiv, 2005), 143.

⁸⁵ Kyrylo Studyns’kyi, “Pavlo Iosyp Shafaryk i ukraintsi,” *Nasha kul’tura* 7 (1935): 5–6. I am grateful to Oksana Vynnyk for her help with this reference.

Slavs were while reading about them, and asked Raevski for the most recent Austrian statistical data and their most recent ethnographical map.⁸⁶ Still, even as late as in the 1870s Šafařík's book and map remained the normative source for discussion on where Ukrainians lived and how numerous they were. For instance, in 1872 Ivan Rudchenko from Zhytomyr complained to Meliton Buchynsky that they still lacked a decent description of their land. "Shakhvaryk counted us once and told us that you had three million and we had twelve million; and from that time almost forty years have passed, and we still are three and twelve, as if we do not propagate, or as if we are dying! There are plenty materials to compile a description, but it is scattered in various places."⁸⁷

It seems legitimate to ask if there was an idea about some ethnographical unity between the different territories populated by the Ukrainian speaking people before Šafařík. The only answer I found was provided by Roman Szporluk, who referred to one of the descriptions commissioned by the Russian government on the Left Bank of the Dnepr in 1780s. According to Szporluk, it was the author of one of these, Ivan Pereverzev, who in his "Topographical description of Kharkov namestnichestvo," published in Moscow in 1788, for the first time wrote about the historical and ethnocultural unity of "the Ukrainians" around Kharkov, of the Left and Right Bank Ukraines and Galicia, despite their differences in language and religion.⁸⁸ In particular, Pereverzev wrote:

⁸⁶ *Zarubezhnye slaviane i Rossiia: dokumenty arkhiva M.F. Raevskogo* (Moskva, 1975), 127.

⁸⁷ Kyrylo Studyns'kyi, *Halychyna i Ukraïna v lystuvanni 1862–1884*. Vol. 1 (Kharkiv–Kyiv, 1934), 172–173. This thought was continued by Rudchenko in his 1873 article in *Pravda*, where he complained about the absence of such territorial description of where Ukrainians lived: Ivan Bilyk, "Perehliad literaturnykh novyn," in *Istoriia ukrains'koi literaturnoi krytyky ta literaturoznavstva*. Vol. 2 (Kyiv, 1998), 22–23.

⁸⁸ Roman Szporluk, "Mapping Ukraine: from identity space to decision space," 448–451. His suggestion in affirmative way was related by Volodymyr Kravchenko (Kravchenko, *Kharkov / Kharkiv*, 133–136).

The inhabitants of Southern Russia are separated from one another by distance, by alien government, by different ranking systems, by civic customs, by speech, some even by religion (the Union), but when they come to worship in Kiev, from the Volga and the Don in the east and Galicia and Lodomeria in the west [...] they look at each other not as foreigners but as men of the same stock [*odnorodtsa*].⁸⁹

In my opinion, however, the aim of this passage was the author's intention to write the local history of Kharkov Ukraine into the wider context of the Romanov Empire and show his potential readers that the population of these areas was still "Russian." Therefore Pereverzev's text reminds one more of the already mentioned Kievan *Sinopsis* and its ideas of *slavenorosskii narod* (this formula is even directly used by Pereverzev in his "Description") and an emphasis on the role of Kiev in the history of Russia.⁹⁰

While discussing the impact of Šafařík's *Zeměvid* on the Lithuanian national movement, Vytautas Petronis called it "pre-nationalist" or "raw" material, suitable for the usage of many others, which may be true in the Lithuanian case. However, considering the most active involvement of Bodiansky and Holovatsky in its preparation along with the subsequent discussions of which letters to use for the toponyms, for the Ukrainians *Zeměvid* might rightly be called already fully nationalist material. It could already carry a clear meaning for the Ukrainians as for all the Slavs contributing to their spatial awareness about their respecting territories: the "Ukrainian" part of it was not just creatively read, but even written by people involved in the Ukrainian national movement. In the six years after the initial publication of *Narodopis* the formula of

⁸⁹ *Opysy Kharkivs'koho namisnytstva kintsia 18 st.* (Kyiv, 1991), 18 fn3. English translation by Saunders, *The Ukrainian impact*, 224.

⁹⁰ Similarly teleological tone was used by Timothy Snyder who wrote that "the novelty of the Kharkiv revival was not its attention to Ukrainian culture, but rather its association of Ukrainian culture with the Ukrainian lands," while in reality the activists of Kharkov revival did not know where the "Ukrainian lands" were; for them "Ukrainian" meant Kharkov gubernia only. See: Timothy Snyder, *The reconstruction of nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569–1999* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2003), 121.

“fifteen million Ukrainian people” was for the first time spelled out: in 1848 in Lviv as a part of the political program of the Supreme Ruthenian Council.

Figure 1.1. Medal in commemoration of the annexation of “the South-Russian territories” to the Russian Empire in 1772 and 1793

Source: Pompei Batiushkov, *Volyn'. Istoricheckie sud'by iugo-zapadnogo kraia* (St. Peterburg, 1888), 237.



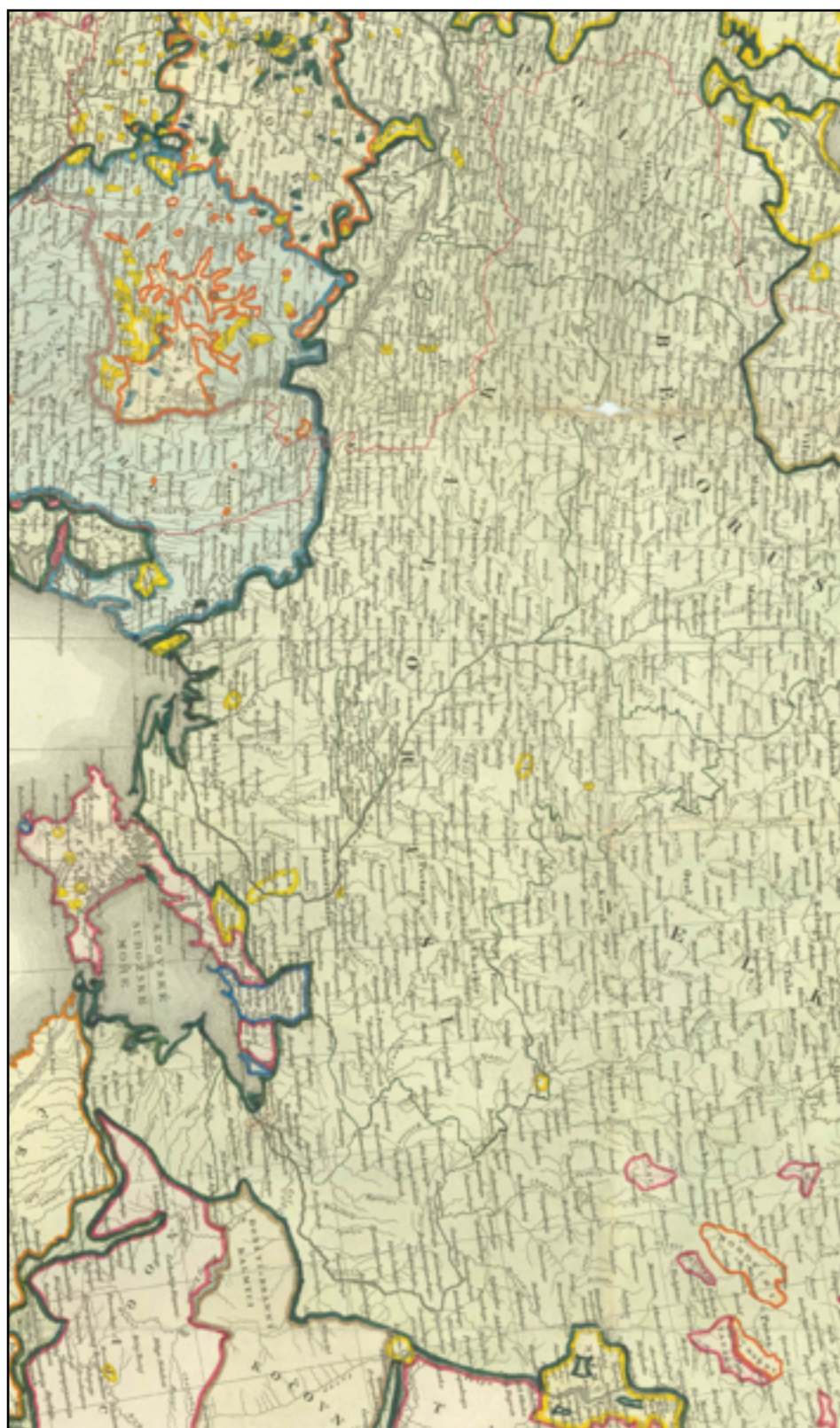
Figure 1.2. Pavel Josef Šafařík, *Slovanský Zeměvid* (Praha, 1842)
[Study of Slavonic countries]

Source: Pavel Josef Šafařík, *Slovanský Národopis* (Praha, 1842).



Figure 1.3. Pavel Josef Šafařík, *Malorusi*
[Little Russians]

Source: Pavel Josef Šafařík, *Slovanský Zeměvid* (Praha, 1842), fragment.



Chapter 2. The land of fifteen million people and the Ukrainophiles of 1840s – 1860s: Emergence of the idea

Ukraine will become an independent republic of the Slavic union. Then all the peoples, pointing to the place on the map where Ukraine is delineated, will say: Behold, the stone which the builders rejected has become the cornerstone.
Mykola Kostomarov, *Knyhy buttia Ukrainiis'koho narodu*, 1840s

We, the Galician Ruthenians, belong to the great Ruthenian nation that speaks one language and counts fifteen million people, two and a half of whom inhabit the Galician land.
Proclamation of the Supreme Ruthenian Council, 1848

Let neither the Great Russians, nor the Poles claim as their own the lands which are populated by our people!
Nikolai Kostomarov, *Ukraina*, 1860

There is a peculiar journal, which, it seems, is published in Petersburg, named *Osnova*, which is to be followed strictly; I was told that in one of its issues the borders of Little Russia were delineated very broadly.
Sergei Urusov in a letter to Aleksandr Tolstoi, 1861

Since the mid-1830s a new imperial policy was implemented in the Western borderlands of the Romanov Empire. The Polish uprising of 1830–1831 led to the first attempts on the side of authorities to integrate these territories more firmly: a hitherto Polish Ukraine was to become the South-Western region of the Romanov Empire. The influence of the Poles in the area was to be undermined by the abolition of the Lithuanian Statute and the spread of the Imperial laws (1840); by the introduction of the Inventory laws (1847–1848) which determined the peasant corvée at the expense of landlords; by the foundation of the Archeographic Commission (1843) and the Kiev Archive of Early Records (1852) which were aimed at proving historically the Russian character of this territory; and even by the removal of Catholic crucifixes and chapels from crossroads, which symbolically signified the region as Polish.¹ However, in the long run, one of the most important outcomes of the new viewpoint on the Western

¹ V. Shulgin, *Iugo-Zapadnyi krai v poslednee dvadtsatipiatiletie, 1838–1863* (Kiev, 1864), 11–12, 175–176. As another author observed, both crosses and chapels reappeared at the end of the 1850s: M. Chalyi, *Zapiski Ukrainitsa vremeni polskogo vosstaniia* (Kiev, 1869), 16–17. Daniel Beauvois described all these measures in details in his already mentioned books. See footnote 52 of the introduction.

borderlands was a transfer of both the university from Vilna and the lyceum from Kremenets to Kiev in 1834, together with the foundation of new gymnasia in Rovno, Kiev, and Kamenets-Podolski: all of them immediately became focal points of depolonisation and breeding centres for a new generation of regional intelligentsia.

One of the teachers recruited to the Right Bank of the Dnepr to educate (and Russify) local Poles was Nikolai Kostomarov. A native of the Voronezh gubernia, he studied history at Kharkov University in 1830s. There, in the atmosphere of general disposition towards the study of common people among the local intelligentsia, he became acquainted with the works of Pavlovski, Maksimovich, Sreznevski, Metlinski, Gulak-Artemovski, Kotliarevski and Shevchenko, and “was struck and then carried away by the sincere beauty of Little Russian popular poetry. I had never suspected that such elegance, such depth and fresh feelings could be found in the creations of the [common] people who were so close to me and about whom I unfortunately knew nothing.”² Whilst still a student Kostomarov decided to study the life of the common people rather than those of dynasties or state administrators, as was in vogue in the Russian Empire under the influence of Nikolai Karamzin. Folk songs were to become his main sources for this endeavour.

Kostomarov agreed to accept a position of gymnasium teacher in Rovno after the successful defence of his dissertation in 1843. From his correspondence of the period one can see that as a graduate of Kharkov, he viewed Volhynia as a region distinct from his place of study. His students in Rovno were mainly Poles and the most visible people around him were Jews. Regarding common folk, he “had many opportunities to be convinced of how impoverished and downtrodden the people of Volhynia were.

² Prymak, *Mykola Kostomarov*, 8.

After he left that area, Russian landowners, in comparison with Polish ones, seemed almost human...³ This dissimilarity of Volhynia to Kharkov Ukraine was felt even conceptually: during his departure to Rovno his mother and a crowd of his Kharkov friends came to see him off, wishing him “to find happiness in another country,”⁴ and in 1843 he sent a letter from Rovno to Sreznevski in Kharkov with “the best and sincerest regards [...] from the remote Volhynia to my darling Ukraine.”⁵

Coming from the Left Bank, Kostomarov seemed confident of which names to use: his “Ukraine” was located in Kharkov, considered as its capital not only by the locals, whose almanacs of the 1830s–1840s bore such names as *Ukrainskii vestnik* [Ukrainian Herald], *Ukrainskii almanakh* [Ukrainian Almanac], or *Ukrainskii sbornik* [Ukrainian Anthology], but even by people from abroad, such as Vissarion Belinski.⁶ At the same time, as I mentioned in the first chapter, the territories of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth on the Right Bank of the Dnipro had colloquially been called “Ukraine” (especially the Kiev gubernia) since the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Thus in 1844 Kulish could write to Shevchenko that he left “for Ukraine,” meaning the Kiev gubernia,⁷ yet the very same year he could excuse himself before Pogodin for not answering his letter since he had spent his holidays not in Kiev, but “in Little Russia,” meaning the village of Motronovka of the Chernigov gubernia.⁸

I would like to argue that it was Left Bank Little Russians coming to the Right Bank after the 1830s to depolonise this territory who spread the concept of Ukraine to the both sides of the Dnepr. Since the 1830s “Ukraine” as a name for the land popu-

³ Prymak, *Mykola Kostomarov*, 25.

⁴ Nikolai Kostomarov, *Istoricheskie proizvedeniia. Avtobiografiia* (Kiev, 1990), chapter 3.

⁵ “Lysty Kostomarov do Sreznevs’koho,” in *Kharkivs’ka shkola romantykiv*. Vol. 3 (Kharkiv, 1930), 333.

⁶ Vissarion Belinskii, *PSS*. Vol. 7 (Moskva, 1955), 87.

⁷ Kulish, *Tvory*. Vol. 1, 37.

⁸ *Ibid*, 33.

lated by the peasants speaking the Little Russian / Ukrainian language, had slowly started to spread to the other side of the Dnepr. The translation of Beauplain's "Description of Ukraine" (1832), "Ukrainian folk songs" by Maksimovich (1834), "Ukrainian chronicle" by Sreznevski (1835), *Ukraina* [Ukraine] by Kulish (with a stress in the title, pointing to its "correct" reading) (1843), along with numerous smaller articles, extended the scope of the concept of "Ukraine" to the Right Bank.⁹ One could feel an important difference in a new usage of the old wineskin: in the 1830s – 1840s the concept of "Ukrainian" was brought to the Right Bank by the populist intellectuals of the Left Bank as a part of a simple syllogism to undermine its Polish meaning. In other words the territory of the Right Bank of the Dnepr was considered the same as "Ukraine" on its Left Bank, and therefore as a part of Russia not Poland. Šafařík's *Narodopis* was immediately used by them to give scientific weight to their claims. For instance, in his "Story of the Ukrainian people" (1846) Kulish presented to his readers

a Slavonic people, different from our North-Russian common people by their language, clothes, customs and manners. This is the Southern Russian people, or the Little Russians. Not all of Southern Russians live in Russia. This tribe inhabits Galicia and is also spread across other countries of the Austrian Empire. The South-Russian language is spoken by thirteen million people of the Russian and Austrian states; therefore among the Slavic tribes, the Southern Russian tribe, after the Northern Russian one, is the most numerous.¹⁰

Although Kulish did not use the concept of "Ukrainian" in his text, maybe because of probable censorial prohibitions,¹¹ his choice of it for the title of the book about people from Galicia to Kharkov was quite significant. It seems that the idea of being a

⁹ Izmail Sreznevskii, "Vzgliad na pamiatniki Ukrainskoi narodnoi slovesnosti," *Uchenye zapiski Moskovskogo universiteta* 10 (1834): 134–150; Idem, "Zholkevskii i ukraintsy," *Syn Otechestva* 2 (1835); "Istoricheskoe obozrenie Ukrainy," *Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 140–143 (1840).

¹⁰ Panteleimon Kulesh, *Povest' ob ukrainskom narode* (St. Petersburg, 1846), 1–2.

¹¹ On 5 September 1854 Amvrosii Metlinski complained to Kulish that his collection of songs "Folk South-Russian songs" of 1854 was not allowed for publication, since some songs take place "in 'Ukraine,' and 'Ukraine,' as Matskevich says, was not allowed": V. Danyliv, "Do istoriï ukrains'koi etnografii," *Zapysky Ukraïns'koho naukovoho tovarystva v Kyïvi* 4 (1909): 44.

“Ukrainian” became so pervasive that at least privately, in 1846, Kulish reproached Kostomarov: “Why do you say that you are not a Ukrainian? [...] I could not love you as much as I do if I did not regard you as Ukrainian. Can you possibly reject a name so precious to us?”¹² Naturally, all the above mattered only for the intellectuals. In his travelogue from 1856 Kulish nicely described how the common folk referred to themselves:

Finally I reached Cherkasy – a town after which ancient Greatrussians used to call all their southern tribesmen Cherkasy. When this opinion asserted itself is unknown; however, it is remarkable that illiterate inhabitants of Little Russia have never adopted the name of Cherkasy for themselves, the same name as that used for the Russians. The Little Russian common people will answer a question of “Where are you from?” in this way: From such gubernia, but they would not find another answer to the question “Who are you? Which people?” only “We are just people and that is it.” “Are you Russians?” – “No.” – “Khokhols?” – “How can we be Khokhols?” (Khokhol is an abusive word and they reject it.) “Little Russians?” – “What are these Lilisuns [*Marosiane*]? We cannot even utter it.” (Little Russian is a bookish word and they do not know it.) In a word, our fellow-countrymen, though allowing others to call them Rus’, Cherkasy or whatever else, call themselves only people and do not appropriate any proper name for themselves.¹³

In a year after his move to the Right Bank, in 1845, Kostomarov managed to get transferred from provincial Rovno to the regional capital and the seat of the Governor-General, Kiev. Here he became acquainted with many local intellectuals who were also keen on the idea of studying common people (Little Russians / Ukrainians) and working for their common good. Nevertheless, under the general mood at the university at that moment this desire was not at all limited regionally or nationally. The underlying cause of the circles around Kostomarov was to create a federal Slavic unity, similar to that of the ancient Greek republics or the United States of America. With this idea in mind, around 1845–1846 some representatives of the Kiev intelligentsia created a secret society – a clandestine Cyrillo-Methodian Brotherhood, named after the famous Slavic enlighteners. Kostomarov was the author of its main program documents, the statute and the “Books of the Genesis of the Ukrainian people.”

¹² *Kyrylo-Mefodiiivs'ke tovarystvo*. Vol. 1 (Kyiv, 1990), 269.

¹³ Panteleimon Kulish, *Zapiski o Iuzhnoi Rusi*. Vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1856), 235.

Whereas the former proclaimed the union of all the Slavs (“the Southern Russians, the North Russians with the Belorussians, the Poles, the Czechs with the Slovaks, the Lusatians, the Illyro-Serbs with the Croats, and the Bulgarians”¹⁴) as the aim towards which all the members of the organisation should aspire, the latter endowed “Ukraine” with the role of all-Christian saviour and messiah:

Ukraine will rise from her grave and again will call to her brother Slavs, and they will hear from her call, and the Slavic people will rise, and there will remain neither tsar nor tsarevitch, nor tsarina, nor prince, nor count, nor duke, nor Excellency, not Highness, nor lord, nor boyar, nor peasant, nor serf, neither in Great Russia, nor in Poland, nor in the Czech lands, nor among the Croats, nor among the Serbs, nor among the Bulgars. And Ukraine will be an independent republic in the Slavic union. Then all the peoples, pointing to the place on the map where Ukraine will be delineated, will say: Behold, the stone which the builders rejected has become the cornerstone.¹⁵

These main texts by the “brothers” remained in the secret police archive and were not widely disseminated until the end of the century; the Brotherhood remained a limited group of Kievan intellectuals, arrested almost at the outset. However, according to Alexei Miller, the term “Ukrainophilism,” popular for a long time afterwards, was coined exactly during the police investigation of this case. A 1846 report to Nicholas I stated: “In Kiev and Little Russia Slavophilism turns into Ukrainophilism. There young men with the idea of Slavonic unity unite their ideas of reviving the language, literature and luck of Little Russia reaching even the dreams of returning a former freedom and the Hetmanate.”¹⁶ At the same time, the program statements of the Brotherhood were vague about practical matters and did not contain any clear territorial visions of their authors. What was this “Ukraine” they wrote about? Was it the

¹⁴ *Kyrylo-Mefodiiivs'ke tovarystvo*. Vol. 1, 150–151.

¹⁵ Ibid, 169. Translation by George Luckyj, *Young Ukraine: the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius, 1845–1847* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1991), 98–99.

¹⁶ Miller, *The Ukrainian question*, 53.

territory of the Kyiv and Poltava gubernias, where the action of the most Taras Shevchenko's poetry took place,¹⁷ or was it Kostomarov's Kharkov Ukraine?

One might assume that as its populist members were related to the university they surely knew and highly praised the work by Šafařík (and used it in their own writings; see the example above about Kulish and Shevchenko's verse in the epigraph to the previous chapter) and therefore imagined their "Ukraine" as located on both banks of the Dnipro. This hypothesis is proved by some of their documents, confiscated by the police. For instance, in his appeal "Brothers Ukrainians" Kostomarov not merely stipulated the idea of a Dnipro Ukraine, vaguely expressed in Cossack chronicles, but also added a national sound to it, addressing a far wider audience than his predecessors: "This, our brothers Ukrainians on both sides of the Dnipro, we offer for your consideration. Read it carefully and let everyone ponder on how it should be achieved and perfected."¹⁸ Similarly, although no clear borders were indicated in the project of the future Slavic federation of one of the younger members of the Brotherhood, Heorhii Andruzsky, one of its states was to be "Ukraine with the Black Sea Land, Galicia and Crimea."¹⁹ (Even though one can only guess what his reasons were for uniting Ukraine with Galicia and Crimea, most probably his "Ukraine" was also situated on both banks of the Dnipro.)

Approximately at the same time Šafařík's description of Little Russian territory spread across the Russian-Austrian border and was for the first time used in a public political statement which clearly proclaimed the existence of a wide territory popu-

¹⁷ One can find only one mentioning of Lviv and none of Galicia, Bukovyna, or Carpathian Rus' in his works: *Slovnyk movy Shevchenka*. Vol. 1 (Kyiv, 1964), 388, 322. Shevchenko mainly described the territory which he travelled himself, a quadrangle between Kyiv – Chernihiv – Poltava – Katerynoslav. See the map of his travels in Hr. Tysiachenko, "Taras Shevchenko na Ukraïini," *Rada* 50 (2 March 1914): 2.

¹⁸ *Kyrylo-Mefodiiivske tovarystvo*. Vol. 1, 170–172. Translation by Luckyj, *Young Ukraine*, 100.

¹⁹ *Kyrylo-Mefodiiivske tovarystvo*. Vol. 2 (Kyiv, 1990), 570.

lated by the same “Ruthenian” people. It appeared in 1848 in Lemberg in the Austrian province of Galicia which by that time had a mixed population of Ruthenians, Poles, Jews, and Germans; however, in twelve of its eastern districts, Eastern Galicia, Ruthenians constituted 71% of the general population. At the time the concept of “Ruthenian” was exclusively a religious one: in the 1840s one of the most important local intellectuals, Iakiv Holovatsky, declared that “a person in Galicia usually calls himself a Ruthenian only if he professes Greek Catholicism; as soon as he changes his faith to the Latin rite, which often happens at the moment, he ceases to be a Ruthenian and is called a Pole.”²⁰ The space the local Ruthenians associated themselves with was a cultural space of *Slavia Orthodoxa*, which was metaphysical and vague in territorial terms.²¹

Was Galicia with its Ruthenians thought of as a part of some larger entity at the time? Maybe, of Russia? On the one hand, Ruthenian churchmen had visited Moscow regularly for donations and charity since at least the seventeenth century. However, although the Galician Uniate Church had been subordinated to the Kiev metropolitan since the fifteenth century, in 1808 a Galician metropolitanate was created, thus removing all the remaining the links between Kiev and Galicia.²² The only institution of the time which linked Galicia to Russia seems to have been the Russian army which crossed Galicia in 1799, 1813–1814 and later in 1849, and which had a lasting effect on peasants. Russian rule in the Ternopol district in 1809–1815 for a long time seem-

²⁰ Kozik, *The Ukrainian national movement in Galicia*, 17. At the same time, many Greek Catholic priests did not know Ruthenian language and did not know how to pray in it, using Polish for private matters: Ibid, 25–26, 51. This explains why already the second meeting of the Supreme Ruthenian Council, on 2 March 1848, underlined not only the need to use a “Ruthenian” language in its publications, but also to speak in Ruthenian “between themselves” during the meetings: *Holovna Rus’ka Rada, 1848–1851: protokoly zasidan’ i knyha korespondentsiii* (Lviv, 2002), 19.

²¹ Sereda, *Shaping of a national identity*, 28.

²² M. Vozniak, “Episody kulturnykh znosyn halyts’koi i rosiis’koi Ukrainy v 1-i polovyni 19 v.,” *Zapysky Ukrainiis’koho naukovoho tovarystva v Kyiivi* 13 (1914): 54.

ingly remained etched in the memory of the local population. Generally Russian soldiers enjoyed some popularity among the Ruthenians and some of them even made headlong careers for themselves in St. Petersburg or Kharkov after being recruited there as university professors.

According to Svetsitsky, this was the case with Ivan Orlai and Iurii Venelin, who for the first time informed the wider Russian reading public about the existence of “Carpathian Rus’,” populated not by the Poles as contended by some Russian authors, but by the Ruthenians. For instance, Venelin in his writings purposely emphasised that the Hungarian Rus’ was of the same origin as the Kievan, Volhynian and Galician Rus’; in his opinion all of them were equal and indispensable for each other, losing much by being separated from each other; the all-Russian idea seemed the most important for him.²³ In the 1820s Russian scholars started to visit Galicia. The first one to come to Lemberg on the way to Vienna was Petr Keppen in 1822, but the most important traveler was Mikhail Pogodin, who came to Lemberg in 1835 and then established his connections with local intellectuals, supplying them later with (Little Russian) books and allowances and publishing their articles in *Moskovitianin*.²⁴ One of the results of such trips were numerous articles in the Russian press about Carpathian Rus’,²⁵ and according to Svetsitsky, when in 1839 Ministry of Education sent

²³ Ivan Svetsitskii, *Obzor snoshenii Karpatskoi Rusi s Rossiei v 1-i polovine 19 v.* (St. Petersburg, 1906), 9–45. And not all-Ukrainian, as was recently contended by Serhii Bilenky; not at all did he consider himself a “Ukrainian” in any sense of the word, but purely Russian: Bilenky, 28, 76.

²⁴ Iakov Golovatskii, “Velikaia Khorvatiia ili Galitsko-karpatskaia Rus’,” *Moskovitianin* 6 (1841): 213–232; 12 (1841): 457–467.

²⁵ One of the most important texts was published by Maksimovich in his *Kievlianin* in 1841 and 1850. In 1841 he published a second volume of his almanac *Kievlianin*, which contained an article on “Red Rus’ verses”, where its author asserted that “it (Red Rus’ – AK) is close to Kiev because of the people and their blood unity: the native people of the Red Rus’ is the same as in Kiev; the same Rus’ language sounds beyond the Dnestr, as around the Dnepr; the same language is used in the song which is heard in the Carpathians and in the Ukrainian steppes and the Black Sea shores.” Another interesting material was published by Maksimovich in the third issue of *Kievlianin* in 1850. It was an article by Aleksandr Deshko, “a native Carpathian Ruthenian, who moved to Russia six years before.” The language was the main criterion for the identification of the Carpathian Ruthenians as “a branch of the South-Russian people,” who lived “along the Carpathian Mountains and their valleys from the Moldavian-Transylvanian border through seven komitats of the Hungarian kingdom.”

Petr Preis to the Slavic lands for research, it even specified that “among other things he as a Slavonic scholar had to pay special attention to the vernacular of the Ruthenians, which was so important for the Little Russians.”²⁶ On the other hand, as early as in 1839 in his letter to Maksimovich, Denis Zubrytsky expressed his opinion that “the Russian people from the shores of the Tisza River in Pannonia to the shores of the Volga, from the shores of the Vistula to the Russian Sea [...] are the native people of this area.”²⁷ Concepts that the Ruthenians used in their correspondence with Russian scholars were the “Southern Russians,” “Little Russians,” or “Ruthenians.”

What about Poland? Polish intellectuals of the time developed a separate “Ukrainian” school in literature, representatives of which stated that Galicia was inhabited by two branches of a single nation which spoke different but mutually intelligible dialects and were to merge in the future. However, according to Kozik, it was these exact ideas that brought young Ruthenians to realise their separateness from the Poles: Ivan Mohylnytsky in his article “Treatment of Ruthenian language” seems to be the first one to state unequivocally that the Ukrainian language was distinct from Polish and Russian and to insist that it should be recognised as an entirely independent tongue.²⁸ In 1843 Levytsky published an anonymous article where he criticised the Russian scholar Stepan Shevyriov for considering the Ruthenian in Galicia to be a “Polish-Ruthenian language.”²⁹ At the same time under the influence of Little Russian writers such as Kotliarevski, Pavlovski, Lukashevych and Maksimovich, young aspiring Ruthenian intellectuals understood that it was possible to create literature of their

²⁶ Svetsitskii, *Obzor snoshenii*, 77. In 1839 Metlinski applied for funds for such a research trip to Galicia to enrich his dictionary of Little Russian.

²⁷ Vozniak, “Episody kulturnykh znosyn,” *Zapysky Ukraïns'koho naukovooho tovarystva v Kyïvi* 14 (1914): 94.

²⁸ Kozik, *The Ukrainian national movement*, 33.

²⁹ *Ibid*, 100.

own in the language of the common people and that this language was quite similar to the one used by Kotliarevski and in Maksimovich's folk songs collections.

Thus, could the Ruthenians have conceived themselves as a part of Little Russians? Little Russian intellectuals of the time were particularly interested in Carpathian Rus'. For instance, the author of the first grammar of the Little Russian language, Platon Lukashevich, was amazed to find that even common Galician villagers managed to preserve folk songs about Cossacks and knew more about their history than the Little Russians themselves:

He is proud of the great deeds of Ukraine as of his own. He is glad about their [Cossacks'] success and dreams about the "Cossack adventures." Read attentively Galician songs, how young Red Russian [that is, Galician] when he wants to make an impression on the young ladies says that he is a Cossack from Ukraine and a Cossack "by origin," in one song a mother describes to her daughter the wealth of Ukraine and Cossacks and warns her to love not the enemies-Poles but the Cossacks, in the other song a girl dies due to the love to her beloved "Cossack," and in the third one a wife threatens her husband that she would leave him and go with children for freedom to Ukraine, in the fourth the funeral of a Cossack is described.³⁰

According to Kozik, Svetsitsky and Vozniak, this "Little Russian" direction of thought was the most prevalent tendency among young Ruthenians of the time. In the 1830s a dozen Greek Catholic seminarians from Lviv formed a circle of "Ruthenian Trinity" and tried to reproduce Ukrainian peasant speech in their writings.³¹ However, these Polish-Ruthenian discussions were complicated by the generational divide among the Ruthenians themselves: older church leaders were quite suspicious of the younger seminarians who attempted to work out new Ruthenian literature in the language of the common people: their free thinking "had undermined the foundations of

³⁰ Quoted from Sereda, *Shaping of a national identity*, 52. However, as rightly underlined by Sereda, "these opinions were conjectured out of the Romantic and anti-Polish moods of the authors. How accurately the local oral tradition was rendered by the Romantically-inspired collectors of the folklore, and how much was fabricated, edited or added to the songs collected is still to be studied. [...] Taking into account other folk records from the first half of the nineteenth century, one may assume that songs about Cossacks were known in Galicia in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, but the image of the Cossack was rather of a free and subversive warrior than of an idealised national historical hero": Ibid, 53.

³¹ Kozik, *The Ukrainian national movement in Galicia*, xiv.

religious belief.”³² Leaders of Greek Catholic church insisted on retaining the Church Slavonic (or Slavoruthenian) language, which was unintelligible to the common folk, and suppressed the publications of the “Trinity.” The “Trinity’s” main work, *Rusalka Dnistrova* [Dnister Mermaid] was published in Budapest in 1836 with a date of 1837 as the members of the “Trinity” hoped in this way to outwit the Ruthenian censor in Lemberg. Notwithstanding the difficulties, in all their works young poets and populists proclaimed the unity of Carpathian Ruthenia with Little Russia. They found a reliable source for such statements in Šafařík’s *Narodopis*. In 1848 Holovatsky in his work on the Southern Russian language quoted the Czech scholar’s data on population and the precise boundaries of it according to the first edition of *Narodopis* of 1842, echoing his conclusion: “The Southern Rus’ (the Little Russian or, as we say, Ruthenian) language stretches over both slopes of the Carpathians, over all of Southern Russia on both sides of the Dnieper, from the Ondava and Poprad Rivers in Hungary and Wierpz in Poland to the middle of the Don, indeed as far as the Kuban River in the Caucasus, from the estuaries of the Dniester and Dnieper Rivers, from the Black Sea as far as the Pripet and not far from the sources of the Desna, Seim and Donets Rivers.”³³

Therefore when in May 1848 Ruthenians created their political organisation to emancipate themselves from Polish claims, it seems that Šafařík’s *Narodopis* was the main source for their proclamation to the Ruthenian population of the province. Similarly to Šafařík, it broke through the existing imperial borders and proclaimed the existence of a united “Ruthenian nation”:

We, Galician Ruthenians, belong to the great Ruthenian nation that speaks one language and counts fifteen million people, two and a half million of whom inhabit the Galician

³² Kozik, *The Ukrainian national movement in Galicia*, 46–48.

³³ Ibid, 112.

land. This nation was once independent and equal in glory to the most distinguished nations of Europe. It had its own perfected language, its own laws and princes, it was flourishing, prosperous and powerful.³⁴

Contrary to the Ruthenians of the Habsburg Empire, in Russia the first lively discussions of what Ukraine was, interrupted by the arrests of 1847, could resume only with the new Tsar and liberalisation of the overall political situation. Former members of the Cyrillo-Methodian Brotherhood found a way to bring their ideas into the wider audience in the beginning of the 1860s, when the amnestied Brethren came to St. Petersburg and started to publish a journal called *Osnova* [Foundation]. From its first issue the circle around *Osnova* was paying careful attention to the territory inhabited by the Ukrainian people.

In its program the editor of *Osnova* pointed out that the new publication would be dedicated to the “life and nature of the Southern region.” Among other things, the third point of its program was ethnography, and the fifth – “physical geography, natural history and medicine, as applied to the South-Rus’ area.” A separate section of the journal was devoted to “regional news,” and another was to inform the readers about “everything worthy of attention in literature and the arts concerning the South-Rus’ people, and providing all those people studying the South-Rus’ area with a chance to follow what is published on this matter in Russia, Poland and abroad,” having in mind nature, economics, and culture of “this country.”³⁵ Already here, in the program, the editor tried to provide a preliminary definition what he meant under this, noting that the “country which will be studied by *Osnova* is predominantly inhabited by the South-Rus’ people. Although in Bessarabia, Crimea and the Don region the predominant population is not South-Russian, the editors have included these territories as

³⁴ Kozik, *The Ukrainian national movement in Galicia*, 195–196.

³⁵ *Osnova* 1 (1861): 6.

well for they do not have their own periodicals, and also because they have immediate industrial and trading connections with other South-Rus' lands."³⁶ Considering that the local "geography, natural wealth, climate and soil conditions and their influence on the people's way of life, occupation and health rarely have been a subject of efficient scrutiny and remained little known to the science,"³⁷ together with the insufficient number of similar materials, the editor encouraged the readers to send him their own articles, which could help to make the country known better.

He started to accomplish this task himself already from the first issue of the journal where he included an article by Mykhailo Levchenko about "the places of living and the local names of the Ruthenians." Not much is known about this author except the fact that in 1849 he took part in the Hungarian campaign of the Russian army. In 1855 his recollections of it were published in Pogodin's *Moskovitianin*, indicating the habitat of local Ruthenians and showing how powerful Šafařík's map was for his contemporaries:

Entering into a conversation with this old woman I discovered that all the inhabitants of this and neighbouring villages were Little Russians, or, as they are called here, Ruthenians, but they were so Magyarised that only old men remember their native language [...] Meeting with the Ruthenians in this area surprised me a lot and even more so since they were not indicated here on the ethnographical map of the Slavs by Šafařík.³⁸

In 1861 Levchenko was able to publish his ideas of where "the Southern Rus', Little Russian people, or, more exactly, the Ruthenians lived" in *Osnova*. According to him in Russia they constituted a continuous mass in the Poltava, Kharkov, Volhynia, and Podolia gubernias; also in the Land of the Black Sea Cossacks, as well as in parts of Chernigov, Kursk, Voronezh, Ekaterinoslav and Kherson; in the Tavria, Lublin and

³⁶ *Osnova* 1 (1861): 1. A total number of population of this area was determined as fourteen million: "Ob'iasnenie neudoboponiatnykh slov, soderzhashchikhsia v pervoi knizhke 'Osnovy'," *Osnova* 1 (1861): 1.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 5.

³⁸ B. Luginskii, "Vospominaniia o pokhode v Vengriiu v 1849 godu (zapiski pekhotintsa)," *Moskovitianin* 3 (1855): 71.

Grodno gubernias; in the Bessarabian region; the Kingdom of Poland; Azov *grado-nachalstvo*; in Galicia, Hungary, and Bukovyna; on the Volga; in Siberia; behind the Baikal and in Dobrudzha.³⁹ What seems important for my conceptual history is that according to Levchenko, “the Ukrainians” were only the inhabitants of the Kiev gubernia, which “was called Ukraine.”⁴⁰ In one of its later issues *Osnova*, in reply to Levchenko, declared that the latter sent them a draft of a larger text, a larger national territorial description under the title “Ruthenian family.” This text remained unpublished and in June 1861 Levchenko asked Bilozersky to return him his manuscript.⁴¹

Still, some months later *Osnova* published a more detailed and profound continuation of the article by Levchenko as series of “Short geographical description of the region, populated by the South-Rus’ (the Ukrainian or Little Russian) people.”⁴² Here in a more confident and even scientific way its author pointed out that “the country inhabited by the Southern Rus’ people (the Ukrainians, the Little Russians) occupies a part of Eastern Europe. It extends from the west to the east for 20° of longitude, i.e. from 38 till 58° of East longitude, which was more than 1,800 verst. Its biggest length from the North to the South is 900 verst, i.e. from 44° 30” to 53° 45” of the North latitude. After looking at the borders of the Southern Rus’ the readers should notice that this area has a very different shape and was a part of two states: Russia and Austria; the smaller part of it (one-fourteenth) belonged to the latter.”⁴³ He then thor-

³⁹ Mikhail Levchenko, “Mesta zhitel’sstva i mestnye nazvaniia rusinov v nastoiashchee vremia,” *Osnova* 1 (1861): 263–266.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 264.

⁴¹ *Osnova* 7 (1861): 34; OR RNB, F. 608, Op. 1, No. 5017: 1–2.

⁴² I.M., “Kratkoe geograficheskoe opisanie kraia, naselennogo iuzhnorusskim (ukrainskim ili malo-rossiiskim) narodom,” *Osnova* 5 (1861): 39–58. The next two parts were published under a changed (and a more official) title “Kratkoe geograficheskoe obozrenie iuzhnorusskogo kraia,” *Osnova* 7 (1861): 120–138; *Osnova* 11–12 (1861): 12–25.

⁴³ I.M., “Kratkoe geograficheskoe opisanie,” *Osnova* 5 (1861): 39.

oughly described the borders of his Ukraine in the remaining text. As this article summarised,

the space of the territory inhabited by the Ukrainians cannot be defined for sure, but approximately it is more than 10.870 square geographical miles, out of which 1.650 miles are possessed by Austria in Galicia, Hungary and Bukovina. In all of this space there are 14,300,000 inhabitants speaking the South-Rus' language. Therefore in its space Ukraine or Little Russia is larger than France for 1,000 square geographical miles, and in the absolute population is smaller than Spain by two million people.⁴⁴

The rest of the text dealt with the nature of this territory, its mountains and plains, rivers and lakes, forest and steppe zones, soils and natural resources, and paid attention to the problem of complicated communication between its different parts as one of the misfortunes of the area:

The area which we describe is not rich in roads, which are so necessary for the development of industry: the whole space has only one railroad, which is opened to passengers; this is a road from Krakow via Lvov to Chernovtsy; it passes through Austrian Galicia and Bukovina. In our South-Russian limits, the railroad exists only in the mind... All Southern Rus', with an exception of Galicia and the Lublin gubernia, has very few settled highways – at the same time the blessed chernozem because of its softness is very inconvenient for the movement of weights in the rainy weather, to the extent that the carts are plunged into it up to the axles, and the wheels, carrying the dirt with them, enlarge to twice their size. Waterways almost do not give hopes for change: the winding current of the Dnestr, its rapids as well as on the Bug and the Dnepr, their changing fairways as well as in the Don River, together with the shallow waters of their estuaries will for a long time remain considerable hindrances to navigation. The only hope remains for the building of land roads, i.e. railways and highways.⁴⁵

It was exactly the spatial position of the Ukrainians that was considered by another prolific *Osnova* author, Kostomarov, as one of the main factors which distin-

⁴⁴ I.M., "Kratkoe geograficheskoe opisaniye," *Osnova* 5 (1861): 41.

⁴⁵ I.M., "Kratkoe geograficheskoe opisaniye," *Osnova* 7 (1861): 122; *Osnova* 11–12 (1861): 25. The topic of roads was confronted later by the other authors, who, for example, in the articles "Pochtovye ekipazhi" and "Parokhodstvo po Dnepru" were telling stories about the appearance of a new connection between Kiev and Moscow and between Kiev and Ekaterinoslav (*Osnova* 3 (1862): 136–137, 140). Besides, the absence of railroads was pointed out by the author of "*Sovremennoi russkoi letopisi*," who wrote about the danger of appearance of railways in Romania, which would allow the latter to cheapen the delivery of grain to the Danube and the markets (*Osnova* 5 (1862): 11), and also M. Daragan, who warned that "until we will not lay a railroad in the south, Little Russia will remain an almost isolated country, without any means to carry goods" (M. Daragan, "Posle poezdki na iug," *Osnova* 10 (1861): 112–113). On the other hand, in one of his articles Lev Zhemchuzhnikov pointed to the dangerous integrating role of railways, when he wrote that "you, rebelling against Peter because of his forceful transformation, you act according to his system. In the same way you lay roads, according to your personal judgement and cabinet thinking; you want to lay the railroad from Moscow to Kiev: railroad at any price! [...] He thought of a common people as of an unresponsive material, and you respect common people, you protect his rights and are ready to use his last means (if you have them in your disposal) to tie the *khokhols* non knowing anything and not asking them to yourself with the help of a railroad" (Lev Zhemchuzhnikov, "Zamechaniia o narodnykh pesniakh," *Osnova* 2 (1862)). Similar topics were discussed under the light of his *khutor* philosophy by Kulish ("Lysty z khutora," *Osnova* 1 (1861): 316).

guished them in the course of their history from their neighbours in the north. In his “Thoughts on federative foundation of the ancient Rus” he stated, quite along the lines of the reigning geographical determinism of contemporary science, that the “geographical position of the country and circumstances which formed the way of life of the Eastern Slavs created for a long time a combination of unity and coherency of land with the separate character of its parts and peculiarities of life in each of them. [...] The Russian land was too big for a quick creation of a one-state-like body out of it; the tribes which populate it, were too diverse to merge fast into one people.”⁴⁶ He continued that

neither geography, nor climate favoured the disappearance of their nationalities. Climate and quality of soil supported local peculiarities. Different occupations and different life-styles were demanded by the fields inhabited by Polians: fertile and at the same time more prone to the attack of enemies than the forests of the Drevlians and the swamps of the Dregovich. Another influence on the organism and inclinations of the people is the warm and healthy climate of the Ulich rather than the cold and flat climate of the Rostov and Suzdal lands, or the damp climate of the Krivichi’s fatherland. The space inhabited by all of these tribes was too big, and the means of communication were too long and troublesome. Thick forests, impassable swamps and wide stepped separated them from each other. Masses of people knew each other too little; everyone had either negative or hostile opinions of the neighbours and for a long time preserved them.⁴⁷

In about ten years some of these deterministic ideas of Kostomarov would be further developed by one of his younger readers, Mykhailo Drahomanov.

Apart from publishing articles describing Ukraine, or providing news from all of its “corners,” *Osnova* also turned this imagined map into a work in progress, literally creating it with the help of its correspondents. In this way, for instance, Dmytro Pylchikov from Poltava sent a letter to Bilozersky on 5 August 1861, where he pointed out that in the Ukrainian language the name of the Vorskla River in the nominative case should end with “o,” not with “a,” for “this was the way the local people called it

⁴⁶ Nikolai Kostomarov, “Mysli o federativnom nachale v Drevnei Rusi,” *Osnova* 1 (1861): 121.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 121, 123–124.

[...] Probably, Russian geographers of the last century, spelling Ukrainian ‘o’ as ‘a,’ had remade it into Vorskla.”⁴⁸

At the same time the detailed description of the territory and its population pointed to the problem of other people populating it. In this way, for instance, Oleksandra Kulish in her description of the trip around Nizhyn directed the attention of her readers to the contrast between the Jews “with a suspicious expression on their faces, looking frowningly, small, with the head sunk between their wide shoulders,” who were selling spirits, and “our countrymen... of a very pleasant outlook, with a basket with two pots of milk and warm bread.”⁴⁹ In his turn Kulish noted that “when one passed around a hundred verst from Kyiv and was coming closer to Volhynia, one would immediately notice that the foreign country had begun, different from our side.”⁵⁰ Hence the integration of the Ukrainians on “their” land led to the exclusion of the “Others.” In 1860s these “Others” with whom one could compare ones identity and territory were the Jews.

However, for *Osnova*, the most important opponent to fight with over the territory remained the Poles with their aspirations for the Right Bank of the Dnipro. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, Polish scholars had started to take an active part in the scientific contestation for this territory since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Thus the Ukrainian activists who started their own spatial discussions only in the 1840s, encountered by the 1860s an already prepared opponent. One of *Osnova*’s con-

⁴⁸ Viktor Dudko, “‘Poltavs’ka hromada’ pochatku 1860–h rr. u lystakh Dmytra Pylchykova do Vasylia Bilosers’koho,” *Kyivska starovyna* 2 (1998): 164, 176. In another place of the journal the editors called for collecting folk names of different plants: “Priglasenie (do direktora Zemledelcheskoi shkoly i redaktora zhurnala ‘Sel’skoe khoziaistvo’),” *Osnova* 5 (1861): 61, ft1.

⁴⁹ A. Nechuiiviter, “S dorogi,” *Osnova* 2 (1861): 188–197. See similar thoughts on the Jews in H. Barvinok, “S Volyni,” *Osnova* 1 (1861): 282–292; F. Nelesta, “Posle poezdki na Volyn’,” *Osnova* 9 (1862): 38–59; A. Shymanov, “O puteshestvii po Ukraine,” *Osnova* 1 (1862): 76–78.

⁵⁰ P. Neobachnyi, “Znaidenyi na dorozhi lyst,” *Osnova* 2 (1861): 233. The text itself was dealing with 1847 and the author’s trip to Europe via Volhynia.

tributors was outraged to read in a textbook by J. Bankowski that the Polish “navigable rivers were the Vistula, the San, the Neman and the Dnepr; remarkable cities: Varshava, Vilno, Krakov, Lvov, Poznan, Kovno, Minsk, Zhitomir and other. [...] And all of this occurred in public!”⁵¹ Similar texts claiming the “Polish” character of Galicia and Right Bank Ukraine were repudiated in the pages of *Osnova* by Kostomarov, Antonovych, and Rylsky,⁵² who pointed out that “until they renounced their Polish name and their papism, [...] until they called themselves Ukrainians in our meaning of the word, until that time in the eyes of the people they would remain strangers, foreigners, in a word – aliens, and our destinies would not be their destinies.”⁵³

Enjoying the help of their powerful ally – an imperial administration which at this time became interested in the depolonisation of the South-Western region of the Empire⁵⁴ – the Ukrainian activists unconditionally announced: “The house is ours and you are foreigners here.”⁵⁵ Renouncing all historical arguments, Kostomarov summarised their position in the following way:

⁵¹ S. Pogarskii, “Mysli iuzhnorussa,” *Osnova* 7 (1862): 15.

⁵² Nikolai Kostomarov, “Pravda poliakam o Rusi (po povodu novoi stat’i v *Revue Contemporaine*),” *Osnova* 10 (1861): 100–112; Idem, “Otvét na vykhodki gazety *Czas* i zhurnala *Revue Contemporaine*,” *Osnova* 2 (1861): 121–135; Vladimir Antonovich, “Moia ispoved’,” *Osnova* 1 (1862): 83–96; Idem, “Chto ob etom dumat’? Pis’mo redaktoru iz Kieva,” *Osnova* 7 (1861): 7–13; Faddei Ryl’skii, “Neskol’ko slov o dvorianakh pravogo berega Dnepra,” *Osnova* 11–12 (1861): 90–99.

⁵³ Panteleimon Kulish, “Poliakam ob ukrainsakh,” *Osnova* 2 (1862): 80–81.

⁵⁴ This is why it is not strange that on the pages of the third issue of the journal in 1861 there appeared an article by the Head of the Kievan commission for the study of ancient acts, Mikhail Iuzefovich, where he wrote that “it had been some time that the Polish journals abroad started to publish some articles with a clear aim to persuade the common opinion of Europe that the Western-Russian region to the Dnepr was the Polish region, and that the name of Rusin absolutely did not mean a Russian man, but was a regional name for a Pole, as was Mazur, Krakovian and Velikopolianin, encroaching in this way upon the historical and ethnographical truth.” Then the author denied the political character of the Commission and assured in its respect towards the “Polish nationality” and decided the matter with the help of statistics: as far as the number of the Roman Catholics in the region was only 1/11 then “was it fair, was it legal, and we would even dare to say, reasonable for a 1/11 part of the population to aspire for a supremacy of its nationality?” – Mikhail Iuzefovich, “Ob’iasnenie ot predsedatel’ia kievskoi komissii dlia razbora drevnikh aktov,” *Osnova* 3 (1861): 3–8. See also N. Ivanishev, “Soderzhanie postanovlenii dvorianskikh provintsialnykh seimov v Iugo-zapadnoi Rusi,” *Osnova* 3 (1861): 9–40.

⁵⁵ Kulish, “Poliakam ob ukrainsakh,” 76. In a similar way Kostomarov mentioned in his article for *Kolokol* that “the explanation was quite simple: the contested lands did not belong to either of them – they belonged to those people, who had inhabited them since ancient times, had inhabited and cultivated”: “Ukraina (Pismo k izdateliu *Kolokola*),” *Kolokol* 61 (15 January 1860): 503.

According to our common belief, international quarrels with the Poles in our times have to be stopped and never restarted again. Neither the wedding of Jagailo, nor the Seim in Gorodlo nor in Lublin with its political union, nor the Brest Church Union, nor the Deulino, Andrusovo, Moscow treaties, nor any historical events which serve as proofs for Poland's rights to the South-Western Rus' for Polish patriots can have any significance in our age. All of this one can describe in the historical books, scientific dissertations, deliver lectures about it – many things out of this can be useful for a picture, drama, novel, opera... but still this is not suitable for a practical establishment of our international relations... The time has come, brother Poles, to abandon your old tunes, time to realise the absolute, full absence nowadays of all rights of the Polish nationality in our South-Rus' region.⁵⁶

Osnova passionately denied any ideas which could support Polish claims for the contested territory. In this way, for instance, Ivan Lashniukov rejected “an opinion of Mr. Palacky who looked upon Ukraine as a country colonised by the Polish government, and upon the Ukrainian people as people who have neither history, nor legends, and not even their own opinion.”⁵⁷ Who were those Ukrainians whose territory was claimed by the Poles and populated by the alien Jews? Were they thought of as a separate independent nation with its own territory in the 1860s? In the third issue of *Osnova* it published the celebrated article by Kostomarov, “Two Russian nationalities,” which was later called the “Gospel of Ukrainian nationalism” by Mykhailo Hrushevsky.

According to Kostomarov there existed two Russian nationalities: the Great and Little (Southern) Russian. Both were different in their costumes, outlook, customs, and vernaculars. In the course of their different histories the Southern Russians developed a sense of personal freedom, whereas the Great Russians a preponderance of collectivism; the first led to a federation, the second to a strong state. Whereas the first turned out to be incapable of centralised state life, the second had something grand in it, a feeling of unity, a supremacy of practical mind. Great Russian materialism op-

⁵⁶ Kostomarov, “Pravda poliakam o Rusi,” 111–112.

⁵⁷ —, “Mnenie g. Palatskogo o proiskhozhdenii kozakov,” *Osnova* 4 (1862): 35. In a similar way in another text another author polemicised with this time a Russian contemporary scholar, M. Pogodin, about his theory of non-autochthon character of the Little Russians: A. Kotliarevski, “Byli li malorusy iskonnyimi obitateliami polianskoi zemli ili prishli iz-za Karpat v 14 veke?” *Osnova* 10 (1862): 1–12.

posed Little Russian poetry, Great Russian melancholy opposed South-Russian reverie and imagination. The Great Russians did not like nature and saw only a practical side in it, whereas there was a poetry in South-Russian life; the Southern Russians were naive, the Great Russians had fewer superstitions but more prejudices, their devils were more down-to-earth and material than those of the Southern Russians. The former liked Nekrasov, whereas Kostomarov mentioned that he had not met any Southerner affected by such poetry. Therefore although the South-Russians were incapable of a state life they necessarily provided an inspiring, enlivening influence upon the Great Russians.

The relationships of the Little Russians with the Poles were different: according to Kostomarov there was a chasm between the two, without any chance for building a bridge across it. Polish lords clearly confronted the South-Russian common folk. Therefore the same unity and brotherhood between them and Poles as existed between them and the Great Russians was not possible. Great Russians were entirely different from the Little Russians and that was a rationale for their relations:

The Great Russians have what we lack, and we on our side can fill the voids in their nationality [*narodnost'*]. The Little Russians have understood the inevitability and indivisibility of their connection to the Great Russians... A kind Great Russian will certainly love us and will have sympathy towards the Little Russian people immediately after he comes to us; he will find in them those life-giving forces which were not developed by the Great Russians in the course of their previous history. The Poles will not get anything from us since our rooted qualities are similar to theirs and we cannot borrow anything from them except for their lords and their lords are killing our nationality.⁵⁸

In this work, as in his entire oeuvre, Kostomarov of course recognised the difference between the Great and Little Russians. But he still thought that the two should complement each other, and not create some separate entities. Southern Russian – Little Russian – Ukrainian identity was, in his opinion, only a local one, part of a bigger, Russian identity. He thought of the Little Russians and the Great Russians as support-

⁵⁸ Nikolai Kostomarov, "Dve russkie narodnosti," *Osnova* 3 (1861): 79–80.

ing each other already in the 1860s, not only in 1880, when he formulated his famous idea of the Ukrainian language as suitable for household usage only. And even though he finished his famous article to Herzen's "The Bell" with a call: "Let neither the Great Russians nor the Poles claim as their own the lands which are populated by our people!" all that Kostomarov demanded from the government was "not to hinder us, Ukrainians, in the development of our language."⁵⁹ As Drahomanov wrote in 1872,

In our opinion Mr. Kostomarov cannot be called a Ukrainophile, but more likely a 'Ukrainian Slavophile,' as there are 'Moscow Slavophiles.' [...] And as the ideals of Kostomarov are not that much Ukrainian (Cossack), but more Kievan-Novgorodian, and as he in his article which caused so much criticism proved exactly the organic need of unity and interaction for both Russian tribes and recognised a great all-Slavonic meaning of state capabilities of the Great-Russian tribe, we can count him more as an historian who is a complete stranger to the regional patriotism, the most all-Russian (although not devoid, of course, of special Little Russian sympathies).⁶⁰

At the same time *Osnova* was not at all a solid and coherent circle of people. If Kostomarov was not so absorbed with Ukrainian nationalist ideas, it still seems that the editor and some other contributors to *Osnova* could have had some interest in them. This is why *Osnova* became a platform for the first rethinking of the traditionally understood concept of *Little Russia* and of its systematic substitution with a more nationalist and already territorialised concept of *Ukraine*. The example of it could be an inconspicuous article by Kulish "Klimentii, a poet of the times of Mazepa." It was published for the first time in *Russkaia beseda* [Russian Conversation] in 1859 and in January 1861 was republished in the first issue of *Osnova*: its author not only enlarged the text, but also systematically changed every term of "Little Russian" in it into "Ukrainian."⁶¹ No archive of *Osnova* survived, but as was shown by Viktor Dudko,

⁵⁹ "Ukraina (Pismo k izdateliu Kolokola)," 503.

⁶⁰ Dragomanov, *Vostochnaia politika Germanii i obrusenie*, 8–84. The same idea was expressed by Aleksandr Pypin: "'Osnova' in this way provided only the first more or less compact expression of the long existing mood, that local patriotism which was a substantial outcome of Little Russian way of life and history, and did not constitute any danger for the all-Russian patriotism": Pypin, *Istoriia russkoi etnografii*, Vol. 3 (St. Petersburg, 1891), 222.

⁶¹ Cf. Panteleimon Kulish, "Klimentii. Ukrainskii stikhotvorets vremen getmana Mazepy," *Russkaia beseda* 5 (1859): 79–140, and Panteleimon Kulish, "Klymentii (poet chasiv Mazepy)," *Osnova* 1 (1861): 159–235.

such change, in comparison with proofs, happened at least once more in the text of the article “A trip to Ukraine.”⁶² Even if generally the editor allowed the use of *Little Russian* and *Southern Russian* simultaneously with *Ukrainian*, it seems that it was *Osnova* specifically which started to introduce and privilege the new Ukrainian political vocabulary in everyday life.

Osnova’s authors also paid the first serious attention to getting acquainted with Ukrainian national space by travelling around it. From its very start, Vasyl Bilozersky manifested his intention to turn this journal, among other things, into a travel guide to all the territories under its examination, and encouraged the readers to send him all materials which could help to know the territory of “Ukraine” better.⁶³ In his further actions one might distinguish several strategies of leading the reader around *Osnova*’s Ukraine: first, by publishing travelogues of someone’s recent trip there; second, by accompanying such articles with recollections of someone’s earlier travels; finally, by providing the audience with news from the journal’s local correspondents, inserting the idea of a wider fatherland (in the borders described in the already mentioned articles by Levchenko and Markovich) into concrete localities; all of them turned the reader into an armchair traveller.⁶⁴ The only problem encountered by the editor was the absence of required texts: contrary to individual Imperial travellers – officials, army officers and scientists, who produced numerous descriptions of their journeys

⁶² Viktor Dudko, “Tsenzurna kupiura v narysi P. Kulisha ‘Poezdka v Ukrainu’ (1857),” in *Panteleimon Kulish: materialy i doslidzhennia* (Lviv, 2000), 235.

⁶³ *Osnova* 1 (1861): 1–8.

⁶⁴ See, for instance, articles on peasants, their life and its hardships, local prices, towns and their streets and houses, and on a new and comfortable railway connection between Saint Petersburg and Ukraine: Grigorii Nadhin, “Vospominanie o Novomoskovske” *Osnova* 10 (1862): 12–37; M. Daragan, “Posle poezdki na iug,” *Osnova* 10 (1861): 106–125; Oleksandr Perekhodovets’, “Lyst z dorogy,” *Osnova* 10 (1861): 145–148; Mikhail Levchenko, “Stepnye pisma,” *Osnova* 11–12 (1861): 1–9; K. Pavlov, “O polevom khoziaistve v Bessarabii,” *Osnova* 7 (1862): 58–62; K. Shapoval, “Z podorozhnyka vid Poltavy na Kharkiv,” *Osnova* 8 (1861): 92–101; *Osnova* 11–12 (1861): 111–116. Besides, they were closely intertwined with the news from the journal’s local correspondents, published in the section first called “News: letters from various places of the South-Russian region” and later simply “News.”

south – *Osnova* required another kind of travelogue: those describing the space not simply as an object for natural or military description, but as Ukrainian national territory. This is exactly why *Osnova* not only published already existing memoirs and impressions about trips around “Ukraine,” but strongly encouraged their creation.

For instance, such was the story behind the article “On the journey to Ukraine” by Andrei Shimanov. A recent graduate of Kharkiv University wrote to Kulish in February 1861 that in the coming year he would like to get acquainted with his “vast fatherland, the ‘Ukraine of two banks of the Dnipro’,” travelling to different places of interest to him. The only hindrance which stopped him from fulfilling his desire was the lack of financial means.⁶⁵ After meeting Shimanov, Kulish became interested in the project and agreed to become the young man’s sponsor, pointing out that

We know that Englishmen usually send those young men, who completed their school education, to travel. The same is done by the Germans, Frenchmen, and Italians. Obviously any educated foreigner knows his nation and his state well. Only we, as a matter of fact, pay little attention to this side of intellectual and spiritual development, maybe because travelling is extremely uncomfortable due to a thousand and one reasons.⁶⁶

Thus Kulish supported Shimanov, but made a deal with him to publish his travelogues in *Osnova*.⁶⁷ Three months later Kulish highlighted the importance of travel around one’s own national space again, although this time trying to set an example to *Osnova*’s audience himself:

While tens of thousands of people of different estates rush abroad to see Europe with their own eyes, one admirer of old European civility is leaving the capital to spend his time and money travelling through Ukraine. As many other people, I was also carried away by the irresistible desire to refresh my Russian mind by the immediate contact with the life of western people, but I felt it a pity to leave my fatherland. I thought: “We study Europe from childhood, study it *volens nolens*, but the soil where we grew up, the people, to whom we belong, are kept aside, and even the science of ethnography itself, especially applied to the native tribe, is not introduced in our country nor into the home upbringing, not except for a few books which catch our attention.” I also thought that I was an almost exclusively Ukrainian writer. [...] But have I spent a lot of time on a direct study of the phenomena I depict in the ethnographic sense? Why not more than twice in the whole of

⁶⁵ *Osnova* 1 (1862): 75–76.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 76.

⁶⁷ This introduction was indeed followed by one of the planned articles by Shimanov about his travel to the Proskurov district of the Podolia gubernia; the continuation did not follow.

my life have I undertaken what might be called a trip through Ukraine! [...] This is why our science of ethnography until now is in an infantile condition.⁶⁸

To study one's fatherland – this endeavour of the first Ukrainian activists fitted well the general *Zeitgeist* of the Romanov Empire. Since the end of the eighteenth century trips around Russia had remained an exotic pastime and were conducted only on the initiative of individual aristocrats, landlords, or merchants; Moscow and Petersburg remained their most popular destinations, otherwise they left for Italy, Germany, the Côte d'Azur or other places in Western Europe.⁶⁹ The importance of knowing one's own fatherland began to be especially stressed in the public sphere in the mid-nineteenth century by Slavophiles. For instance, in 1838 on his way to the Slavonic lands, Pogodin, the first Russian traveller who went there and started to popularise Slavonic people in Russia, complained: "We do not want to look at anything, do not want to know anything, and I doubt if any Russian town, except for Petersburg and Moscow, interests these people! We think there exists nothing at all except for the Luxor obelisk and Tuileries palace. Oh, what ignorance!"⁷⁰ Despite such grievances, this anxiety survived well into the 1860s (and further), thus *Osnova* could easily make use of a similar appeal by Nikolai Volokitin, which fitted its spirit perfectly:

Although the Southern region may be called the heart of the Russian world and is not some newly added Amur colony, we barely know it, due to some strange indifference to everything intimately domestic. They organise expeditions to the Amur, sending naturalists to Italy, Spain and even to Algeria! [...] These faraway journeys bring so little benefit! [...] On the contrary, let us substitute these expeditions with efficient journeys to the Russian south, and, perhaps, they would bring a substantial value.⁷¹

In a very Little Russian spirit Volokitin added that, in contrast, travelling north, to the "poor fields of Great Russia, its meadows covered with a dry sedge and poor herbs,

⁶⁸ Panteleimon Kulish, "Poezdka v Ukrainu," *Osnova* 4 (1862): 92.

⁶⁹ Gennadii Dolzhenko, *Istoriia turizma v dorevoliutsionnoi Rossii i SSSR* (Rostov, 1988), 17–18.

⁷⁰ Quoted from: Nikolai Barsukov, *Zhizn' i trudy M.P. Pogodina* (St. Petersburg, 1892), 9–10.

⁷¹ Nikolai Volokitin, "Besedy o estestvoznanii na russkom iuge," *Osnova* 2 (1861): 199. The author had in mind an intensive exploration by the Russians of the eastern shores of Eurasia around Sakhalin and in the mouth of the Amur, which started after the end of the Opium wars in 1842 and the beginning of the European intervention into China. Formal takeover of the Amur region to the Russian Empire happened exactly in 1858–1860.

bogs, overgrown with reed and the yellow greens of its plants” would “make an inhabitant of Southern Rus’ aware of the charm of his motherland. [...] Only after such a journey one would recognise its wealth; in the same way he would be awakened to new questions and would desire to get closer acquainted with the nature of one’s country.”⁷²

All hardships aside, Bilozersky managed to get some texts which he wanted; each of them in one way or another contributed to the discussion of describing “Ukraine” as a distinct territory, separate from the rest of the Empire, and especially from Russia. This, for instance, was the story by an author who spent much of his life away from Ukraine but finally returned home, “trembling with enthusiasm from feeling himself ‘a Ukrainian’”:

During the first day of the trip I saw people with beards, almost all of them red-haired, endless carts with troikas, poor villages with smoky houses – smeared, poor, dirty; red shirts over trousers, ugly *sarafans* stretching over their breasts. [...] It was still Great Russia: I needed something different. I hurried coachmen, whistled and sang some tunes, wishing them at any price to be Little Russians, almost at every *versta* asking whether it was still far away from the home gubernia; shortly, I was in the most unbearable condition. [...] And then, during the second day, before the evening, I encountered a cart, but what a cart! The one of *chumaks* – a *chumak’s* cart! [...] The effect was astounding, my delight was indescribable [...] I wrapped myself up into an overcoat and plunged into thoughts. But the new character of the view which spread out in front of me – of a big village (*like a pysanka!* – T. Shevchenko) which we entered, – lots of children running along the street with a terrible noise, – groups of young girls and boys, a flock of sheep, – a song from the other side of the village, – the lowing of cows, – evening freshness, – creak of a crane-well, – again made me cheerful. Two more days on the road, two-three district towns, a dozen or two of villages, finally – fifteen *verst* of steppe – and I am home!⁷³

The absence of beggars around the stations,⁷⁴ singing people,⁷⁵ better priests⁷⁶ and even higher quality vodka⁷⁷ were mentioned as the main markers of crossing the border between Ukraine and Russia. The majority of these travellers described the territo-

⁷² Volokitin, “Besedy o estestvoznaniia na russkom iuge,” 199.

⁷³ Ka-pa, “Moi vospominaniia,” *Osnova* 7 (1861): 48–49.

⁷⁴ Panteleimon Kulish, “Poezdka v Ukrainu,” *Osnova* 4 (1862): 93.

⁷⁵ L. M., “Talant. Fiziologicheskii ocherk,” *Osnova* 11–12 (1861): 78.

⁷⁶ F. Nelesta, “Posle poezdki na Volyn’,” *Osnova* 10 (1862): 47.

⁷⁷ Pavel Iakushkin, “Putevye pis’m,” *Osnova* 11–12 (1861): 111.

ries which they supposedly visited, thus providing their texts with the highest degree of credibility.⁷⁸

On the other hand, travelling around the area of *Osnova's* consideration and studying common people could also become a strategy in contesting the Right Bank of the Dnipro, continuously presented as Polish.⁷⁹ From the end of the 1850s Volodymyr Antonovych and his friends, who ceded from the Polish circles of Kiev University and became Ukrainian populists travelled by horse or on foot through villages of the Kiev, Volhynia and Podolia gubernias, also visiting parts of Bessarabia, Ekaterinoslav, Kharkov and Kherson gubernias to get acquainted with this territory better and, perhaps, become able to respond to the Polish claims fully armed.⁸⁰ In 1862 Antonovych felt he was on solid ground when asking rhetorically in his celebrated "Confession"

Does it only seem so to me or do Polish journalists want to prove that the area between the Carpathians and the Dnepr is a Polish land? [...] Which folk vernacular between the Vistula and the Dnepr do you recommend me to listen to? I have heard it for a very long time and can assure you [...] that if in the western part of the territory which you indicated it might be a folk one (I cannot assert affirmatively), then above the Dnepr it is purely noblemen's. [...] Make fools of yourselves, but do not fool the world!⁸¹

⁷⁸ It was exactly for this reason of not knowing Ukraine, but painting it not visiting it, that one of the journals permanent authors, Lev Zhemchuzhnikov, criticised some of the painters, presenting their works during the exhibition in the Petersburg Academy of Fine Arts (Lev Zhemchuzhnikov, "Neskol'ko zamechaniy po povodu poslednei vystavki v S. Peterburgskoi Akademii Khudozhestv," *Osnova* 2 (1862): 140) (I come back to the problem of painting Ukrainian space in the second part of the thesis). Similar remarks were addressed towards the "unbearable, tiresome and cloying articles by G. Danilevski "From Ukraine," criticising their author for presenting all of Ukraine, but basing himself on the impressions from the Kharkiv gubernia only (A. Afanas'iev-Chuzhbinski, "Iz Ukrainy. Skazki i povesti G.P. Danilevskogo," *Osnova* 1 (1861): 298–306). A year after in the "Bibliography" section appeared a critical article by Kulish, this time about the "Trip to the Southern Russia" by Afanas'iev-Chuzhbinski himself, who was criticised by Kulish for the statement that "since the times of Peter (sic) the First Little Russia had been healed and unanimously acknowledged that its flow came into its normal riverbed and at the moment was quietly flowing into its direction to the great estuary of Rus', flowing into an ocean of mankind", summarising the book as a whole: "I grieve a place it will occupy on the shelf and time which is needed to kill to squeeze some essence from it." See: *Osnova* 1 (1862): 41–51.

⁷⁹ For instance, Drahomanov told the story how in 1862 *Dziennik literacki* published a story of a certain Pole who travelled to the Right Bank of the Dnipro and reported that the locals define all the territories up to the Dnipro as "Poland"; therefore he concluded that the anti-Polish stance of the Ukrainian activists and Shevchenko in particular did not express the real spirit of common Ukrainians: Mikhail Dragomanov, "Vostochnaia politika Germanii i obrusenie," in Idem, *Politicheskie sochineniia*. Vol. 1 (Moskva, 1908), 79.

⁸⁰ Volodymyr Antonovych, *Tvory*. Vol. 1 (Kyiv, 1932), 40–45; Vasyl' Domanytsky, "Volodymyr Antonovych," in Antonovych, *Tvory*. Vol. 1, 66; Mykhailo Hrushevsky, "Volodymyr Antonovych," in Antonovych, *Tvory*. Vol. 1, 77.

⁸¹ Antonovich, "Moia ispoved'," 87, 90.

Osnova also became important in the context of the Ukrainian national movement since it was attentively read not only in the Russian Empire but across the border in Austria. In Lemberg one could either subscribe to it⁸² or purchase a copy outright from the Stavropigian Institute.⁸³ Hence, Galicia was even more eagerly mentioned in the renewed geography of the new program of the journal for 1862,⁸⁴ and some articles on the geography,⁸⁵ history,⁸⁶ ethnography⁸⁷ and literature⁸⁸ of Galician Ruthenians found their way into the journal. In 1862 *Osnova* also published a current bibliography of Galician-Ruthenian literature.⁸⁹

Furthermore, something which has not been mentioned by the previous scholars is that *Osnova* had a direct reverse impact on Galicia, influencing, among other things, spatial ideas of the Ruthenians. In 1862 a local literary almanac *Lvovianin*, edited by Mykhailo Kossak,⁹⁰ published an ethnographic overview of the “Ruthenians” under the title “The Ruthenians. Fragmentary extracts from the larger historical-ethnographical essay, which at the moment is being prepared for publication.” The article was accompanied by what is nowadays considered by contemporary scholars to be the first ethnographic map of Ukraine (Figure 2.1).⁹¹ Supposedly, although its crea-

⁸² Oleksandr Barvins'kyi, *Spomyny z moho zhyttia*. Vol. 1. (Kyiv, 2004), 83–85.

⁸³ Iaroslav Hordyns'kyi, “Do istoriï kulturnoho i politychnoho zhyttia v Halychyni u 60-h rr. 19 st.,” *Zbirnyk filolohichnoiï sektiï NTSh* 16 (1917): 169.

⁸⁴ *Osnova* 9 (1861): 3.

⁸⁵ “Rusyny,” *Osnova* 1 (1862): 78–80.

⁸⁶ “Rusyny v 1848 godu (pamiati T.G. Shevchenko),” *Osnova* 4 (1862): 1–27.

⁸⁷ “Rusyns'ke vesillia nad Zbruchem,” *Osnova* 4 (1862): 1–40. As was stated in the editor's footnote, “who will now dare to say that these people are not relatives? Let the Poles and the Germans write as much as they want that the Galicians are spawns and werewolves, their ancient offsprings. Same language, same songs, same customs among both people will not hit only that one who does not know the folk language, does not listen to songs and disdains customs” – Ibid: 1. The editors promised to publish this article a couple of months before with the task to prove exactly non-Germaneness of the Galician Ruthenians – *Osnova* 8 (1861): 106.

⁸⁸ *Osnova* 7 (1862): 68–72.

⁸⁹ “Bibliograficheskii ukazatel' Galitsko-russkoi literatury, sostavlennyi Vl. Izm. Mezhovym,” *Osnova* 6 (1862): 104.

⁹⁰ This was his real name and not a “Michael the Cossack” pseudonym as was recently contended by Steven Seegel: Seegel, *Mapping Europe's borderlands*, 195.

⁹¹ “Rusyny,” in *Lvovianin* (1862), 91–105.

tion could have been influenced by Šafařík, Holovacky, or Wincenty Pol, this map was a product of local scientific thought.⁹² However if one changes the methodology of research and pays attention not only to the map itself but to the accompanying text as well, it will be possible to notice the striking resemblance between the text published together with the map in *Lvovianin* with the previously mentioned article by Levchenko from the first issue of *Osnova*.

| Comparative table of texts, published in St. Petersburg and in Lemberg in 1861 and 1862 | |
|---|---|
| Mikhail Levchenko, “Mesta zhitel’sstva i mestnye nazvaniia rusinov v nastoiashchee vremia,” <i>Osnova</i> 1 (1861): 263–264. | “Rusyny. Ouryvkovi vypysy iz bol’shoho do pechatania pryhotovliaiuchoho sia istorichno-etnografichnoho sochinenia,” in <i>Lvovianin</i> (1862), 91, 93–94. |
| V nastoiashchee vremia luzhnorussy, Malorussy ili, pravil’nee, Rusyny, zhivut, v Rossii [...], v Galitsii [...], v Vengrii [...], v Bukovine [...] i v Turtsii... | Malorussy, a vlastivo tak sia i samyi nazyvaiut’ sia Rusyny, zhiut v nyneshnei dobe v Avstrii, v Rossii i v Turtsii. |
| V nastoiashchee vremia luzhnorussy, Malorussy ili, pravil’nee, Rusyny, zhivut, v Rossii sploshnoiui massoiu v guberniakh: Poltavskoi, Khar’kovskoi, Kievskoi, Volynskoi i Podol’skoi, a takzhe v Zemle Chernomorskikh Kozakov. Krome togo Rusyny zanimaiut mesta v Chernigovskoi gubernii k iugu ot Desny (k severu ot Desny zhivut Belorussy), v Kurskoi gubernii k iugu ot reki Seima i ves’ Sudzhanskii uезд; v Voronezhskoi k zapadu ot reki Dona; v Ekaterinoslavskoi i Khersonskoi sostavliaiut glavnuiu massu naseleniia; Azovskie kozaki [...] v Azovskom gradonachal’stve; v Tavricheskoi gubernii k severu ot Perekopa; v Bessarabskoi oblasti zaseliaiut Khotinskii uезд; v Liublinskoi gubernii Tsarstva Pol’skogo sostavliaiut dve tretii naseleniia (vse uniati); v Grodnenskoi gubernii zaseliaiut Pinskii uезд (Pinchuki). [...] Malorussy poseleny takzhe mestami po Volge i v Sibiri, za Baikalom eshche so vremen Petra I. | V Rossii zameshkuiut’ Rusyny neperervnov massov hubernii: Volynske, Podolske, Kievskoe, Poltavskoe, Kharkovskoe i Krai Chernomorskikh Kozakov; krome toho zameshkuiut’ Rusini okolitse v Chernihovskoi hubernii ko poludnevi ot reki Desny (k povnochi ot Desny zhiut Belorussy), v Kurskoi hubernii ko poludnevi ot reki Seima i ves’ Sudzhanskii ouезд; v Ekaterinoslavskoi i Khersonskoi stanovliat’ Rusyny holovnu massu naselenia; krai Azovskikh Kozakov; v Tavricheskoi hubernii k povnochi ot Perekopa; v Bessarabii zameshkuiut Rusini Khotinskii uезд. V Korolevstve polskom tretine hubernii Liublinskoi i v Hrodnenskoi hubernii uезд Pinskii. Krome toho poselenii sut Rusini takozh v okolitsakh nad Volhoiu, a v Sibiri i za Baikalom eshche z chasov Petra I. |
| Rusyny, po proiskhozhdeniiu, bytu i iazyku, predstavliaiut odno plemia, no po mestu zhitel’sstva nosiat razlichnye naimenovania, a imenno: | Rusyny, shcho do proiskhozhdenia, byta i iazyka predstavliaiut odno plemia, no shchodo okolyts, kotryi zameshkuiut, nosiat oni razlichnye nazvy, a imenno: |

⁹² Nila Padiuka, “Pochatky ukraiins’koi etnokartohrafiï,” *Zapysky L’vivs’koi naukovoï biblioteky imeni V. Stefanyka* 1 (2008): 437.

| Comparative table of texts, published in St. Petersburg and in Lemberg in 1861 and 1862 | |
|--|---|
| Mikhail Levchenko, “Mesta zhitel'stva i mestnye nazvaniia rusinov v nastoiashchee vremia,” <i>Osnova</i> 1 (1861): 263–264. | “Rusyny. Ouryvkovi vypysy iz bol'shoho do pechatania pryhotovliaiuchoho sia istorichno-etnografichnoho sochinenia,” in <i>Lvovianin</i> (1862), 91, 93–94. |
| Hetmantsy – zhiteli Chernigovskoi gubernii, ili iuzhnoi ee chasti, potomu chto zhivushchie k severu ot Desny izvestny u sosedei pod imenem Litvinov. | Hetmantsy, meshkantsy Chernigovskoi hubernii, vlastyvo poludennoi ee chasti, no meshkaiuchy na povnoch ot Desny izvestnyi oi sousedov pod imenem Litvinov. |
| Stepoviki – zhiteli Poltavskoi i Ekaterinoslavskoi gubernii. | Stepoviki, meshkantsy Poltavskoi i Ekaterinoslavskoi hubernii, a zovut ih tak ot stepov, to est rovin shirokikh i dalekikh kotryi tianut sia tymy huberniami azh k Chernomu moriu. |
| Ukraintsi – zhiteli Kievskoi gubernii, kotra nazyvaetsia Ukrainoiu. | Oukraintsi, meshkantsy Kievskoi hubernii, kotra nazyvae sia Oukrainoiu. Podoliane, meshkantsy Podolskoi hubernii. Sosedi zovut ikh Polshakami, a to dlia toho zhe Podolie ou prostonarodia zove sia Polsheiu. |
| Poleshchuky – zhiteli Poles'ia. | Poleshchuky, meshkantsy Polesia. |
| Patlachi – Rusyny, zhivushchie v Bessarabii i Bukovine; nazvanie poluchili po dlinnym volosam (patly), imi nosimyk. | Patlachi, Rusyny meshkaiuchy v Bessarabii i v Bukovine; nazvu tu dostali oni ot dovhoho volossia, iake nosiat, a kotre zovut patly. |
| Iuzhnorussy Liublinskoi gubernii sokhranili svoe drevnee nazvanie Rusinov. | Meshkantsy Liublinskoi hubernii zaderzhali svoiu drevniuiu nazvu Rusinov. |
| V Galitsii zhiteli ploskoi ee chasti takzhe nazyvaiutsia Rusinami, ili Rusniakami. | V Galitsii meshkantsy ploskoi chasti takzhe nazyvaiut sia Rusynamy, k zapadnoi chasti denekuda Rusniakamy. |

The similarity between the two texts is striking: the article published in Lviv supplemented the text by Levchenko only in those cases when the concept might not be understood by Galicians. For instance, it explained what the steppe was, which did not require any explanation for *Osnova*'s reader in the Russian Empire. The same regional divisions were depicted on the anonymous map from *Lvovianin* (Figure 2.1).

In my opinion, all the above provides grounds to reach at least one conclusion: one of the most territorial texts published in St. Petersburg which was to overcome the regional differences of different parts of one “Ruthenian” people was at least carefully read and reworked in Galicia. Or it could have been written in the Russian Empire (by Levchenko) and sent to Austria for publication. The same holds true about the map

accompanying the text and depicting all the regional differences described by Levchenko: I would like to argue that it was Levchenko's text which was at least the main inspiration for the author of the map published in Lviv, and not those mentioned by previous scholars of cartography. On the other hand, the map could even have been designed by Levchenko himself.

An additional argument for the "Russian Ukrainian" impetus for Galician Ruthenian mapping, one which shows that the first ethnographic maps of Ukrainians were first conceived in the Russian Ukraine, is the case of Kostiantyn Mykhalchuk. A member of the *khlopoman* circle at Kiev University, in February 1862 he was suspected of disseminating some books among peasants around his native Zhytomyr.⁹³ After a district police officer decided to check this rumour he conducted a search in Mykhalchuk's house and found there some 300 books with a manuscript map "of some Russian gubernias called Ukrainian or Ruthenian." Although the books passed the censor, the policeman confiscated them together with the map and sent them first to the Volhynian Governor and then to the Kievan Governor-General. The case came to nothing: as all the books were legal, Mykhalchuk was only put under police surveillance. However, one should take note of the fact that already in the beginning of 1862 local Ukrainophiles had in their possession some manuscript maps of Ukrainian territory, whereas the map published in *Lvovianin* remained the only one of its kind in Galicia at least until the end of the 1860s. To my mind, all of this gives sufficient reason to argue that the first ideas of what Ukrainian national territory looked like were worked out in St. Petersburg / Kiev and only later transferred to Galicia.

⁹³ Volodymyr Miiakovs'kyi, "Z molodykh rokiv K. Mykhal'chuka," *Ukraina* 4 (1924): 98–102.

Thus, in my opinion, it was in the 1840s – 1860s that the idea of Ukrainian national space as a space of the Ukrainian modern nation emerged. As I have shown, although while writing about “Ukraine” as a future member of a Slavonic federation, the main members of the Kievan Cyrillo-Methodian Society of 1846–1847 did not include any territorial vision of their Ukraine in their program statements. On the other hand, 1848 became the year of the first public political proclamation with an emphasis on Ukrainian national territory, delineated by Pavel Josef Šafařík in 1842. However, when Ruthenian intellectuals of the 1830s – 1840s thought of their attitude towards Russia and the Russian language they split in their opinions: some would agree that they were somehow related to Ruthenian (Vahylevych), some would deny that (Holovatsky), but it is rather telling that in October 1848 one of the main tasks of the Convention of Ruthenian scholars in Lemberg was to “highlight the difference of our language from the Church Slavonic, and also from the Russian and the Polish languages.” Even though Holovatsky read his paper on the total independence of the Southern Russian language, the Convention did not deny the relationship between Ruthenians and Russians and the head of its Historical Section, A. Petrushevych underlined that “it is not possible to forget that close relation which we had with our kindred and coreligionist brothers until the mid-fourteenth century.”⁹⁴ Even though a Supreme Ruthenian Council had chosen an “all-Ruthenian” alternative in 1848, the Galician Icarus could still fly in various directions, and all the ways described above (Slavic federation, Rus’, Little Russia, Russia, Poland) were still open for him.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Svetsitskii, *Obzor snoshenii*, 92–96.

⁹⁵ Icarian metaphor was aptly introduced by John-Paul Himka in his article “The construction of nationality in Galician Rus’: Icarian flights in almost all directions.”

After the former Cyrillo-Methodians returned from exile in the second half of the 1850s, Ukrainian national space entered their discourse and outlining its borders became one of the main priorities of *Osnova*. Its authors consciously raised the question of territorialising Ukrainian nationalism and conceptualised the relations of population and territory, in this way turning their journal into an analogue of the first Ukrainian *National Geographic*. Together with the previous endeavours of Little Russian intellectuals engaged into their fight with the Poles, but also in the Romantic passion towards the common folk, members of *Osnova*'s circle created the idea of a single space populated by the Ukrainian nation. As Drahomanov put it, "the Cossack chronicles and documents published in Moscow by Bodiansky, the publications of the Kiev Archeographical Commission, founded after the idea of Maksimovich, and songs collected by Maksimovich, Lukashevich, Metlinski presented a coherent Ukrainian nationality from the Upper Tisza in Hungary to Kuban' in Russia to the scholarly world."⁹⁶ Yet all of this was still done in an amateur way and after the Valuev circular of 1863 almost all Ukrainian activity in the Russian Empire was stopped. Bilozersky and Kulish became government officials and departed to the Kingdom of Poland; Kostomarov became more interested in the history of Muscovy and "Northern Rus'." It was only with the next generation of the 1870s that the borders of Ukrainian national space were established confidently and scientifically.

Despite the fact that *Osnova* did not publish any graphical representation of the Ukrainian territory, its editor consistently tried to create a feeling of spatial belonging among its readers with the help of unmanifested mental maps (according to Jeremy Black); a concept of belonging to the territory which superseded regional differences;

⁹⁶ Mikhail Drahomanov, *Istoricheskaia Polsha i velikoruskaia demokratiia* (Zheneva, 1881), 66.

most importantly, a sense of belonging to the Ukrainian national territory which was inhabited by Ukrainians and belonged to them despite the Polish and Jewish presence. But the potential danger of even these non-cartographical territorial messages was already keenly felt at the time. Thus, in February 1861 Sergei Urusov, an assistant to the Synod procurator and a state-secretary of the Emperor, shared his experience of a stay in Little Russia with his superior, Sinod procurator, Aleksandr Tolstoi:

I spent the long-awaited day of 19 of February in Chernigov. Everything went nicely. The Little Russian spirit, though very cautiously and very cunningly, reveals itself among the people and landlords with some feeling of alienation towards everything Russian. There exists a peculiar journal, it seems that it is published in Petersburg, named *Osnova*, which is to be followed strictly; I was told that in one of its issues the borders of Little Russia were delineated very broadly.⁹⁷

His words “I was told” seem rather telling: territorial texts published by *Osnova* were discussed among the public and therefore were noticed by imperial officials. And as we saw from the story of Levchenko and Kossak, these texts were exported to Galicia, where they became (to the best of my knowledge) the first ethnographic map of “Little Russians” (still referred to as such). It was only with the next generation of Ukrainian activists of the 1870s – 1890s that these “Little Russians” were turned into “Ukrainians.”

⁹⁷ *Zapiski otdela rukopisei Vsesoiuznoi biblioteki im. V. Lenina* 5 (1939): 26. This reaction was caused by the above mentioned article by Levchenko “Mesta zhitel’sstva i mestnye nazvaniia rusinov.” If Levchenko was the author of the text and the map, published in Lviv, maybe it had been caused by some problems with Russian censors?

Figure 2.1. *Karta etnografichna malorusy*
[Ethnographical map of the Little Russians]

Source: *Lvovianin* (Lvov, 1862).



Chapter 3. Putting Ukraine on the map: Pavlo Chubynsky

Finally the Western region is recognised as Russian. What a strange phenomenon! A native ancient Russian region, “where the Russian land came from,” the native Russian people have been ignored for such a long time.
Pavel Chubinskii, *Trudy etnografichecko-statisticheskoi ekspeditsii*, 1872

It has been known for a long time that the representatives of the Polish nation constitute a minority of the local people. [...] For very obvious reasons we can trust the figures obtained by the expedition of Chubynsky much more.
Kievlianin 29 (8 March 1873)

I remember an incident during a student meeting in Kiev in 1860, when one Ukrainian pointed out: “History proves that this region is not Poland.” It received a reply from a Polish student: “Not history, but Ustrialov.” The exclamation was drowned in the applause of the Poles, which muffled the remark of another Ukrainian: “Not only history, but also statistics.”
Mikhail Dragomanov, *Istoricheskaia Polsha i velikoruskaia demokratiia*, 1881

I, for instance, happened to say that for me a “Ukrainian question” does not exist, for a question about the existence of the Ukrainian nation might be pertinent only for those people who are absolutely unfamiliar with geography and statistics, and believe that there is no such nation at all.
Oleksandr Rusov, *Spomyny*, about 1870s–1880s

In 1861 Shevchenko died; in 1862 *Osnova* ceased its publication due to a lack of finances; after 1863 some prominent Ukrainophiles were recruited for governmental service in Poland; finally the Valuev circular of 1863 prohibited the publication of books for common people in the Ukrainian language. Therefore, “in 1864 only twelve Ukrainian books were printed in the Empire, in 1865 five, and in 1866 none, followed by only two books during the three subsequent years. Thus, during the post-circular decade, the number of Ukrainian publications was the same as in 1862.”¹ In the 1860s the emerging Ukrainian movement in the Romanov Empire virtually disappeared, giving Drahomanov every reason to call the years of 1863–1872 “an entr’acte in the history of Ukrainophilism.”²

¹ Miller, *The Ukrainian question*, 135.

² Mykhailo Drahomanov, *Vybrane* (Kyiv: Lybid’, 1991), 204–233.

In contrast, a new and invigorated Ukrainian movement of young populists developed in Galicia under the influence of the Russian Ukrainophiles and especially of Shevchenko's poetry. However, in conceptual terms local activists still defined themselves as Ruthenians. For instance, a popular geography and history published in 1869–1870 by Vasyl Ilnytsky, provided Ruthenians with information about their fatherland:

Look at the map at the end of this little book and you will see a large extensive country; all of that is Ruthenian country, saint Rus'; the land, where God from time immemorial put Ruthenian people, who though divided into two states for a long time still speak the same language as we do here, are of the same religious rite and sing the same songs. This country, populated by Ruthenians, is large and vast, almost as big as the current French kingdom in Europe. Ruthenian borders stretch from the Vislok to the Don River, from the Pripet to the middle Dnepr and up to the Carpathians and the Black Sea. Look one more time at the map and look carefully: become acquainted with every river, every city and town, with every piece of land. [...] That is our land!³

According to this book, accompanied by Ilnytsky's map of "The Little Russian people" (Figure 3.1), the concept of "Ukraine" had a limited territorial meaning: "A middle flow of the Dnepr [...] is occupied by the country, which until nowadays has been called Ukraine."⁴ This concept of "Ruthenian" lived well up to the 1890s. For instance, in 1887 the author of yet another popular geography, Roman Zaklynsky, wrote that "Ruthenian people [...] occupy a significant space of land, almost the same as the whole Austro-Hungarian monarchy. [...] Only one-sixth of them live here; the rest belong to the Muscovite Tsar and number fifteen million"; the author promised to describe this second part in the second volume of his work, but for some reasons it was not published.⁵ However, this was by no means the only option for Galician intellectuals. Soon after 1848, but especially after the Austrian loss to Prussia at Königgrätz, a strong Russophile movement emerged there which clearly revised the "Little

³ Denys z Pokuttia, *Vesti pro zemliu i dei rusinov*. Vol. 1 (Lvov, 1869), 4–5.

⁴ Ibid, 10.

⁵ Roman Zaklyns'kyi, *Heohrafiia Rusi*. Vol. 1: Rus' halyts'ka, bukovyns'ka i uhors'ka (Lvov, 1887), 3–4.

Russian” program of 1848. In 1866 one of its leaders, probably, Ivan Naumovych, published the article “A glance into the future,” which declared: “We are not the Ruthenians from 1848, we are the real Russians,” and by “the Russians” meaning not Great Russian, but an all-Russian project.⁶ The Galician “Icarus,” whom we left in uncertainty in the previous chapter, was still searching for direction.

Meanwhile, important changes occurred with the Ukrainian movement in the Romanov Empire in the 1860s, which, in my opinion, give reason to argue that Drachmanov’s enterprise ended not in 1872, but already in 1869. This was the year when Pavlo Chubynsky was allowed to leave his place of exile in Arkhangelsk and started “the most fundamental enterprise of Little Russian ethnography” (according to Aleksandr Pypin), an ethnographic-statistical expedition to the South-Western region, which he conducted under the aegis of the Russian Geographical Society in 1869–1870. The attention of my predecessors who studied the Ukrainian movement of the 1870s was mainly focused on the South-Western department of the RGO, established in Kiev at the end of 1873 and subsequently considered the most important scholarly institution of the local Ukrainophiles of the day,⁷ whereas neither the motives nor all the participants of Chubynsky’s expedition were known and it was left rather ne-

⁶ Olena Arkusha, Mar’ian Mudryi, “Rusofil’stvo v Halychyni v seredyni 19 – na pochatku 20 st.: heneza, etapy rozvytku, svitohliad,” *Visnyk L’vivs’koho universytetu* 34 (1999): 231–268.

⁷ Savchenko, *Zaborona ukraiinstva*.

glected and underestimated.⁸ In this chapter I would like to argue that Chubynsky's expedition was even more important for the process of Ukrainian national territorialisation than the activity of the Kiev department of RGO. The members of the latter barely concerned themselves with any "territorial" activity and their most "territorial" action, that of the Kievan census of 1874, was inspired more by their socialist ideas rather than by nationalist ones.⁹ In contrast, it seems that Chubynsky's expedition and the "Proceedings" he published in its wake were of utmost importance precisely because of their national territorial agenda.

The idea of conducting an ethnographic study of the Western region was for the first time discussed by the RGO members in the 1860s. In 1862, perhaps influenced by the Great Reforms, perhaps by other motives, the state supported this initiative and

⁸ Although 150 years have passed since the creation of contemporary Ukrainian national anthem, its author, Pavlo Chubynsky, remains one of the least studied Ukrainian seventiers of the nineteenth century. Even though a whole three books about him recently appeared, we still do not have his decent historical biography and still have to study carefully particular episodes of his life. Alas, I can only agree with a more than twenty year old remark of Viktor Dudko that "in study of life and scholarly, journalist and literary oeuvre of Pavlo Chubynsky [...] there is no significant progress. [...] Authors of few existing publications use mainly secondary source material, and even that is not used fully." What concerns his participation in ethnographic-statistical expedition, previous scholars described it mostly either based on the story of Chubynsky himself in the introductory article to the first volume of expeditions' "Proceedings," or on "Proceedings" themselves, memoirs of Fedir Vovk and correspondence of Chubynsky with Kostomarov, or contemporary periodicals (see, for instance, Dmytro Cherednychenko, *Pavlo Chubyns'kyi* (Kyiv, 2005), 234–249; Liana Chorna, *Pivdenno-zakhidnyi viddil Rosiis'koho imperators'koho heohrafichnoho tovarystva i ioho rol' v ukraiins'komu natsionalnomu vidrodzhenni* (Candidate of science diss., Izmail, 2005), 46–53; Ihor Koliada, "Naukovo-kul'turnyts'ka ta hromads'ka dialnist' P.P. Chubyns'koho (za materialamy spohadiv suchasnykyv)," *Kraieznavstvo* 1 (2012): 66–73; A. Kunitskii, "Ukrainskii etnograf Pavel Platonovich Chubinskii (1839–1884)," *Sovetskaia etnografiia* 1 (1956): 77–85; Neonila Padiuka, "Pochatky ukraiins'koi etnokartohrafii (druha polovyna 19 st.)," *Zapysky L'vivs'koi naukovoii biblioteky im. V. Stefanyka* 1 (2008): 435–458; Natalia Petruk, *Pivdenno-zakhidnyi viddil Rosiis'koho heohrafichnoho tovarystva v suspil'no-politychnomu rusi Ukrainy v druhii polovyni 19 st.* (Candidate of science diss., Kyiv, 2002), 43–47; Savchenko, *Zaborona ukrainstva*, 10–13; Andrii Zyl', *Narodoznavets': Pavlo Chubyns'kyi i ioho doba* (Kyiv, 2009), 235–275), and thus the texts of contemporary historians do not differ much from the articles of a hundred year ago by, for instance, Aleksandr Pypin or Andrii Iaroshevych (Pypin, *Istoriia russkoi etnografii*. Vol. 3, 347–356; Andrii Iaroshevych, "Pamiaty P.P. Chubyns'koho," *Rada* 12 (16 January 1909): 2). In this thesis I rely on previously unknown letters of Chubynsky from the archives of St. Petersburg.

⁹ Serhii Shamrai, "Kyivs'kyi odnodennyi perepys 2-ho berezolia 1874 roku," *Zapysky Ukrain's'koho naukovoho tovarystva v Kyivi* 22 (1926): 352–383.

allocated 10,000 roubles for it.¹⁰ According to Petr Semenov, who was in charge of the expedition, this research seemed extremely significant for it could “point to the conditions which hinder the development of [...] welfare of the most numerous tribe of the Western region (the White Russians, the Lithuanians, the Little Russians), and thus facilitate a governmental search for a plan to improve life there.”¹¹ The list of the names of its probable participants in the South-Western region was not at all limited to Aleksandr Gilferding, Artur von Buschen and Mikhail Koialovich, mentioned in the foreword to the first volume of Chubynsky’s “Proceedings”¹²: Kostomarov also took part in the discussion of the expedition’s project¹³ and at around the same time (in February 1862) the RGO was approached by Kulish, who asked the Society for a letter of reference to allow him to conduct an ethnographic research of common people on the Right Bank of the Dnepr and thereby guarantee him loyalty and cooperation on the part of the local authorities.¹⁴ Although the Polish uprising of 1863–1864 made the RGO change its plans, at the same time it made their tasks twice as urgent; various state institutions had already started to gather statistical information about the population of the region during the uprising,¹⁵ and Minister of Education Aleksandr Golovnin, who lobbied the Emperor on behalf of the expedition in 1862, even suggested to

¹⁰ Petr Semenov-Tian-Shanskii, *Istoriia poluvekovoi deiatel'nosti Imperatorskogo Russkogo Geograficheskogo Obshchestva, 1845–1895*. Vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1896), 375. It is interesting to note that the application to the emperor was submitted by the minister of education, Aleksandr Golovnin, not minister of interior, Petr Valuev, and the money were allocated exactly from the budget of the Ministry of Education.

¹¹ Ibid, 377.

¹² Pavel Chubinskii, *Trudy etnograficheskoi-statisticheskoi ekspeditsii*. Vol. 1.1 (St. Petersburg, 1872), iv.

¹³ Darius Staliūnas, *Making Russians: meaning and practice of russification in Lithuania and Belarus after 1863* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), 110.

¹⁴ ARGO, F. 1-1862, Op. 1, No. 14: 1.

¹⁵ Staliūnas, *Making Russians*, 111.

the RGO's vice-president they should improve and urgently republish Šafařík's *Zeměvid* due to the lack of other appropriate sources.¹⁶

For the initiators of these actions the problem was in the fact that in the Romanov Empire the Western region was still conceived of as Poland. Despite the Russifying activity after the Polish uprising of 1830; despite the gradual realisation of a difference between the “Poles” and people only “born in the Western gubernias” under Nicholas I; despite the new church policy in the area and the refurbishment and erection of new Orthodox churches instead of Catholic ones as symbolical markers of Russianness on this territory (Figure 3.2),¹⁷ the idea that this area was Poland remained commonplace among the Russian public. As I have already mentioned, this is why people as different as Mykhailo Drahomanov and Silvestr Gogotski indignantly asserted that the central press of St. Petersburg and Moscow, even the Slavophile one, knew too little about this territory.¹⁸ According to some authors, at the end of the 1850s none of the central statistical institutions of the Empire had exact data about the statistics and geography of the Russian western gubernias; “Russian historical literature and press of the time took for granted the sources of Polish origins [...] and did not recognise Russia's national rights for its western borderlands as unequivocal.”¹⁹ In spite of the post-1863 gradual introduction of discourse about the Western gubernias

¹⁶ Under improvement they meant taking into account new data during the republication of ethnographic map of European Russia by Petr Keppen of 1851, which did not satisfy the RGO since about Russian lands it “was grounded on not exact data” and “had some important mistakes” (for instance, according to the RGO, it wrongly showed the Polish population of the Belostok region, and Novgorodians were separated from the Great Russians as a separate ethnos); on the other hand, Keppen's map did not show the division of the Slavs into different ethnos', and the Russians into the Great, Little and White Russians: Semenov-Tian-Shanskii, *Istoriia poluvekovoi deiatel'nosti*. Vol. 1, 379–382.

¹⁷ Pompei Batiushkov, *Volyn'*. *Istoricheskie sud'by iugo-zapadnogo kraia* (St. Peterburg, 1888); Idem, *Podolia. Istoricheskoe opisanie* (St. Peterburg, 1891); Mikhail Dolbilov, “Poliak v imperskom politicheskome leksikone,” Aleksei Miller, Denis Sdvizhkov, and Ingrid Schierle, ed. *Poniatii o Rossii: k istoricheskoi semantike imperskogo perioda*. Vol. 2 (Moskva: NLO, 2012): 300.

¹⁸ See fn. 48 of the first chapter of this thesis.

¹⁹ Pompei Batiushkov, *Belorussia i Litva. Istoricheskie sud'by severo-zapadnogo kraia* (St. Peterburg, 1980), xv.

as “an eternally Russian and Orthodox area,” even then in the imagination of the central authorities these territories were sometimes regarded as “something like the overseas colonies of the Western European empires.”²⁰

Scientific exploration of the overseas colonies was one of the main motifs of the emergence in European states of geographical societies; with this aim they organised, financed and coordinated the expeditions of their scholars. The specific nature of the Russian Geographical Society, established in 1845 with the backing of Nicholas I and his minister of education Sergei Uvarov, was felt almost immediately after its members started their passionate discussions of the RGO’s goals and role. In the end it was the “Russian” fraction who won the debates about its statute in 1848. Thereafter the RGO established a highly patriotic programme, according to which its main aim was to study the population of the Russian Empire, its own unknown territories and to avoid its turning from the “Russian Geographical Society” into the “Geographical Society in Russia”; ethnography in Russia gradually became a *Volkskunde* (aimed at studying one’s own people), not a *Völkerkunde* (aimed at studying non-European people).²¹

Patriotic scientific knowledge about the Western borderlands of the Empire could aid in the practical development of these territories by solving problems related to its “Polishness.” Thus, for instance, in 1860s the RGO became a platform for ardent debates about how to build a railway in the South of the Empire: was it better to lay the track from Odessa via Kharkov to Moscow (an alternative was Taganrog – Khar-

²⁰ Dolbilov, “Poliak v imperskom politicheskom leksikone,” 312, 320.

²¹ Semenov-Tian-Shanskii, *Istoriia poluvekovoi deiatel'nosti*. Vol. 1: 38–39; Nathaniel Knight, “Science, empire, and nationality: ethnography in the Russian Geographical Society, 1845–1855,” in Jane Burbank and David Ransel, eds. *Imperial Russia: new histories for the empire* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998): 108–141; Staliūnas, *Making Russians*, 111–112; Alexander Vucinich, *Science in Russian culture: a history to 1860* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1963), 351–352.

kov – Moscow) with economic considerations uppermost, or was it better to listen to political arguments about bringing the unstable Western borderlands closer to the Imperial centre, thus connecting Odessa with Moscow via Kiev?²² As a result, the main aim of the future ethnographic expedition into nine gubernias of the Western region had to primarily be a general understanding of the situation in this part of the Empire, with an assessment of the probability of its separatism and the establishment of ethnographic borders between its different peoples, and not simply research into their number and their customs.²³ Darius Staliūnas argued that the political aim of this endeavour became obvious from the discussions about it in the RGO: its future participants were given the task of first of all establishing which ethnic group was dominant in this area, what was the national composition of these territories and what was the national composition of nobility and state officials. Possessing such information, the government could use it to improve the lot of the local White Russians, Little Russians and Lithuanians, meanwhile conducting a new schooling and church policy in this area.²⁴ In a word, the state needed scientific and accurate knowledge about its Western borderlands to prove and deepen its “Russianness,” while patriotic civil organisation of the RGO was willing to provide it; thus the organisation of an ethnographic-statistical expedition can generally be considered as an excellent example of cooperation between civil society, science and state power in the Romanov Empire.²⁵

²² The discussion of these arguments see in: *Izvestiia IRGO* 1 (1865). More about all-imperial discussion about direction of railways see in Alfred Rieber, “The debate over the southern line: economic integration or national security?” *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 29 (2004): 371–397.

²³ *Izvestiia IRGO* 3 (1867): 95.

²⁴ Staliūnas, *Making Russians*, 118–119.

²⁵ About civil society in the Romanov Empire, its cooperation with the state and typicality of this situation for the contemporary Europe see Joseph Bradley, *Voluntary associations in tsarist Russia: science, patriotism, and civil society* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), especially the third chapter about RGO: 86–127.

Without diminishing Chubynsky's merits, I would like to underline that his ethnographic activity from the very beginning was supported by the state and those officials who were favourable to the idea of cooperation with local elites of the Western region to undermine Polish influence there. In January 1865 the RGO started to discuss the expedition with regional Governor-Generals, but in March of the same year the Ministry of Internal Affairs answered negatively to the RGO's request about its commencement.²⁶ Despite the lack of formal concurrence on the side of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, in April 1866 the RGO's Department of Ethnography decided to work more actively and created a special commission responsible for its organisation, addressing the Minister of Internal Affairs, Petr Valuev, for the second time in May; in June they obtained his permission and a promise that his ministry would assist them in every possible way.²⁷ The same year Chubynsky received his first silver medal from the RGO for the review of "Description of the Arkhangelsk gubernia."²⁸ In February 1867 at the suggestion of the Department of Statistics he was elected Associate Member of the Society.²⁹ In March 1869 Chubynsky, by then a secretary of the Arkhangelsk gubernial statistical committee, became a full member of the RGO.³⁰ It was probably precisely in view of his experience of such activity in the North and his knowledge of the situation in the South that the RGO decided to choose him to conduct their planned exploration of the South-Western region.

The expedition started in the spring of 1869. During his three trips from 1869–1870 Chubynsky travelled through the territories, "which bordered on the Pripiat River in the north, the Vepr River in the west, the Austrian border and the Prut River

²⁶ *Izvestiia IRGO* 1 (1865): 144, 178.

²⁷ *Izvestiia IRGO* 2 (1866): 68, 72, 88.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 130, 133.

²⁹ *Izvestiia IRGO* 3 (1867): 3.

³⁰ *Izvestiia IRGO* 5 (1869): 107.

in south-west, New Russia in the south, the Dnepr in the south-east, including the Kiev, Volhynia, Podolia gubernias, partially the Minsk, Grodno, Lublin, Sedlets and Poltava gubernias with Bessarabia,³¹ writing down hundreds of songs, baptism, wedding and funeral customs, tales, decisions of the local courts, data on salaries, the most prevalent activities, harvests, commerce, and production of tobacco, silk and wine. However, before the beginning of the expedition its questionnaires were published in *Gubernskie vedomosti* [Gubernial news] of all three southern gubernias of the region and in *Eparkhialnye vedomosti* [Eparchial news] of the Podolia gubernia; furthermore, almost 500 of them were sent directly to those people who could provide some kind of important and interesting information. As a result, by March 1869 Chubynsky had gathered almost 10,000 folk songs, and the overall number of his materials grew steadily.³² In addition, before his first trip Chubynsky addressed gubernial statistical committees for help,³³ and also asked the RGO's secretary, Fedor Osten-Saken, to provide him the assistance of the ministries of education, finances, state property and communications.³⁴ In the beginning of October 1869 Chubynsky reminded Osten-Saken of his request and also additionally asked him to address the Attorney-General of the Synod (whose predecessor had discussed the danger of even a textual description of Little Russian territory in 1861) to provide Chubynsky with the cooperation of local bishops. This was needed since, for instance, the Volhynian archbishop had replied to his initial request for assistance that this expedition did not concern him and he would cooperate only after having received a relevant order from the Synod.³⁵ On 8

³¹ Chubinskii, *Trudy etnograficheskoi-statisticheskoi ekspeditsii*. Vol. 1.1, xiii.

³² ARGO, F. 1-1870, Op. 1, No. 31 (ch. 2): 71.

³³ Chubinskii, *Trudy etnograficheskoi-statisticheskoi ekspeditsii*. Vol. 1.1, xiii.

³⁴ ARGO, F. 1-1870, Op. 1, No. 31 (ch. 2): 1.

³⁵ Ibid, 1ob.

February 1870, during his second trip, Chubynsky again asked Osten-Saken if he had sent his enquiry for help to those offices whose data Chubynsky needed.³⁶

It seems that the RGO started to react to Chubynsky's letters at the end of 1869 – beginning of 1870. Thus on 12 January 1870 the Kievan Governor Mikhail Katakazi asked gubernial recruit offices to add anthropological data about soldiers taken into service from the South-Western region to the special tables, made up by Chubynsky.³⁷ On 19 February 1870 the RGO's Vice-President, Fedor Litke, addressed the Attorney-General of the Synod and Minister of Education Dmitri Tolstoi, Minister of Finance Mikhail Reiter, Minister of State Property Aleksandr Zelenago and Minister of Communications Vladimir Bobrinski informing them about the expedition and asking for help from clergy and bureaucrats of the aforementioned ministries in the South-Western gubernias.³⁸ On 26 February 1870 Tolstoi's office informed Litke that he had written to the Kievan, Volhynian and Podolian archbishops and asked for cooperation with Chubynsky.³⁹ The same day the Ministry of State Property replied that its head "ordered to provide a full cooperation with Chubynsky by the administration of state property."⁴⁰ On 28 of February the RGO received a note from the Ministry of Education that Litke's letter had been sent to the Head of the Kiev educational district to make the necessary arrangements.⁴¹ The same day the RGO received an answer from the office of Minister of Communications, which informed them that the Minister had ordered the administration of the tenth district of communications and its employees in the South-Western gubernias to provide Chubynsky with all the statistical data they

³⁶ ARGO, F. 1-1870, Op. 1, No. 31 (ch. 2): 26.

³⁷ Ibid, 6, 7–11.

³⁸ Ibid, 30–31ob.

³⁹ Ibid, 36.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 37.

⁴¹ Ibid, 38. Oleksandr Rusov remembered later that his progymnasium received a letter from the RGO with a request to provide help and cooperation to Chubynsky: Aleksandr Rusov, "Iz vospominanii o P.P. Chubinskom," *Ukrainskaia zhizn'* 1 (1914): 39.

had in their possession.⁴² The last and probably the most important endorsement by a state official who provided his backing for the expedition came from the newly appointed Governor-General of the South-Western region, Aleksandr Dondukov-Korsakov, whom Litke addressed on 4 April 1870 with a letter of gratitude for his constant help to the expedition,⁴³ and who in this way started his own experiment of flirting with the Ukrainophiles, and which in a few years was continued by the establishment of the South-Western department of the RGO in Kiev.⁴⁴

Thus, Pavlo Chubynsky conducted his activity with the support and favour of the authorities in material, administrative and moral ways. I would like to argue that he did not let them down and that he justified the trust of all the parties interested in him: the Imperial government, Petersburg geographers and the Ukrainophiles. From his last trip in summer 1870 Chubynsky described his preliminary impressions in this way:

Dear Leonid! Excuse me for not having written to you. Endless travels and studies completely took up my time. I was in a hurry to take advantage of the summer and comfortable travel conditions. I do not get enough sleep and mostly sleep on the way, although sleeping in the cart is not very good. From the report you will see that my work continues successfully and I hope to gather a huge collection of materials. The South-Western region makes a sad impression. Beautiful nature, smart and poetical, is ruthlessly exploited by the Jews and the Poles. It makes me laugh to hear that the South-Western region became Russian, this is not true. A Pole and a Jew remain the same isolated estates-nations [...], hostile to everything Russian. It is interesting that in the South-Western region big land property belongs to the Poles, capital and industrial skills to the Jews, and labor – to the Orthodox Russians. Therefore, each population group chose itself a peculiar economic role, and the Russian population the least envious one – the role of eternal beast of burden. To organise the expedition right now was reasonable as you will see from the report I sent.⁴⁵

In the next letters Chubynsky especially pointed to the crucial conceptual difference between the local “Catholics” and “Poles.” The importance of this distinction may be grasped only understanding that until the 1860s the difference between “the

⁴² ARGO, F. 1-1870, Op. 1, No. 31 (ch. 2): 39.

⁴³ Ibid, 47.

⁴⁴ Miller, *The Ukrainian question*, 155–177.

⁴⁵ OR IRLI, F. 166, Op. 3, No. 1089: 24.

Poles,” “the Little Russians,” “the Russians” and “the Lithuanians” in the Romanov Empire was predominantly made according to religious criteria.⁴⁶ As was specified by Aleksandr II’s formula, “I am fully convinced that Polonism equals Catholicism,” the Catholics were automatically considered as Poles, and the Orthodox as Russians.⁴⁷ At the same time the questions of whether it made sense to Russify the Catholic clergy and whether “a Russian” could simultaneously be a Catholic were passionately discussed in the public sphere.⁴⁸ However, after the Polish uprising of 1863–1864 it was language that became the most widely used criterion for identifying the ethnic belonging of this or that population. Thus it is no surprise that it was precisely language which was chosen as the main criterion for establishing ethnic identity for the RGO’s expedition to the Western region.⁴⁹ Moreover, “language” meant a “native language,” the one people spoke from birth (as someone could easily indicate as their “own” a Polish language, which dominated in the religious practices in this territory).⁵⁰

One of the RGO’s activists of the 1860s, Pavel Bobrovskii, in 1864 published a special article explaining that language was the main criterion to distinguish separate tribes among different Slavic people of the Western region.⁵¹ In February 1869 he criticised a new ethnographic map of the Kingdom of Poland since its author defined its population according to their religion, “whereas science considers language as the main ethnographical yardstick.”⁵² Such an approach allowed the interested side to

⁴⁶ See, for instance, Roderik Erkert, *Etnograficheskii atlas Zapadno-Russkikh gubernii i sosednikh oblastei* (St. Petersburg, 1863). Keppen’s map of 1851 was an exclusion from the general rule.

⁴⁷ Dolbilov and Miller, *Zapadnye okrainy Rossiiskoi imperii*, 233.

⁴⁸ Mikhail Dolbilov, *Russkii krai, chuzhaia vera: etnokontsionalnaia politika imperii v Litve i Belorussii pri Aleksandre 2* (Moskva: NLO, 2010), 460–479.

⁴⁹ Semenov-Tian-Shanskii, *Istoriia poluvekovoi deiatel’nosti*. Vol. 1, 376.

⁵⁰ Staliūnas, *Making Russians*, 113. However, language criteria became irrelevant in the discussion of ethnic belonging of nobility: all Catholic noblemen of Western region were automatically considered as Poles. Ibid, 117.

⁵¹ Pavel Bobrovskii, *Mozhno li odno veroispovedanie priniat’ v osnovanie plemennogo razgranicheniia slavian Zapadnoi Rossii* (St. Petersburg, 1864).

⁵² *Izvestiia IRGO* 5 (1869): 177.

drastically lessen the amount of the “Polish” population of the Western gubernias, in this way proving its “Russianness.” Mikhail Koialovich, one of the most famous contemporary activists who took an active part in the depolonisation of the Western borderlands of the Russian Empire, clearly pointed to this with the example of the above-mentioned Bobrovski and the Grodno gubernia: whereas according to Roderick Erckert’s atlas of 1863, the main criterion for which was religion, it was populated by 270,000 Poles, according to Bobrovski’s description, using language, their number reached only 83,800.⁵³

Chubynsky also viewed the latter approach as accurate and scientifically reliable. On 4 April 1872, already working on the “Proceedings” of the expedition and the processing of its results, he wrote to Petr Semenov:

I have already told Your Highness that in this region a Catholic and a Pole are not identical. It appears that out of all Catholics only a third can be called Poles; the rest of them are Little Russians different from the rest of the Little Russian peoples only in their religion. I considered it as my obligation to make a short review of the character of the culture of the local Poles – this will be in many respects new – since the question about the Poles until now was a question of politics or journalism and not ethnography. On the whole I make all efforts to develop ethnographic statistics of this region, although an auditing commission reproached me for gathering a big quantity of materials, at the same time seemingly ignoring the main task of the expedition. I ask Your Highness after receiving my essay about the Poles to order its publication after the essays about the Jews.⁵⁴

His usage of “already” seems noteworthy: it appears that Chubynsky’s expedition had to prove the hypothesis which had been preliminary discussed before his trips. Maybe, the importance of this question explains why the first part of the seventh (!) volume of Chubynsky’s “Proceedings,” with an article by Chubynsky and Kostiantyn Mykhalchuk about the Poles, was published already in 1872, together with the first volume of “Proceedings” (its second part about the Little Russians appeared only

⁵³ Mikhail Koialovich, *O rasselenii plemen zapadnogo kraia Rossii* (Moskva, 1863): 11.

⁵⁴ OR IRLI, F. 166, Op. 5, No. 236: 1–1ob.

in 1877). It seems that the “objective” knowledge gathered during Chubynsky’s trips had to become available to readers as soon as possible.⁵⁵

In the article itself the authors very confidently, based on the received knowledge, asserted that

In this region the concepts of “a Catholic” and “a Pole” were often confused, thus the number of Poles was rather big. This mistake was not avoided even by the statistical committees during their assembling of lists of inhabited localities, where the number of Catholics and Poles was equal. However, this is not always so. Not to make a similar mistake, I, although having at my disposal lists of inhabited localities, nevertheless thought it necessary to demand of each Catholic parish a separate list of settlements which belonged to it, indicating in each of them parishioners according to their estates. Then, during my trips in the region, I tried to investigate to what extent every estate of the Catholics could be counted as Polish, since based only on religion it is impossible to count as Poles those people who, except for religion, neither in language nor in habits and consciousness can be counted as being of the Polish nationality of this region.⁵⁶

According to Chubynsky, the overall number of Catholics in three gubernias of the South-Western region reached 389,100. This quantity differed from the previous data of statistical committees (412,000), since, according to Chubynsky, he used parish lists, whereas statistical committees based their data on the results of police activity in every district, which, in their turn, were composed by the district police superintendents and officers, who, in their turn, received their data from the information provided by the volost offices and parish priests; therefore, passing through many hands, this information were easily riddled with mistakes.⁵⁷ However, besides reducing the overall number of Catholics, according to Chubynsky, out of all Catholics one could consider as Poles only noblemen (who made up two-thirds of the overall number of Poles), a small part of the town-dwellers (6,400 out of general number of 62,987 of town-dwellers-Catholics) and of poor aristocrats (13,200 out of 132,000 nobleman-Catholics), and also some Polish peasants, who had resettled to this region (5,060 out

⁵⁵ Chubinskii, *Trudy etnograficheskoi-statisticheskoi ekspeditsii*. Vol. 7.1 (St. Petersburg, 1872), 213–291. By the words of commentators, this volume excited “social and political interest”: Dragomanov, “Evrei i poliaki v Iugo-Zapadnom krae,” 133.

⁵⁶ Chubinskii, *Trudy etnograficheskoi-statisticheskoi ekspeditsii*. Vol. 7.1, 274.

⁵⁷ Ibid, 280.

of 126,236 peasants-Catholics). In the end, out of 389,100 local Catholics one could consider only a quarter, 91,000, as Poles. From this Chubynsky reached a conclusion both necessary and desirable for the authorities: “Thus the Poles are not dominant at all among the Catholics; they constitute only 25%; the rest, 75% Catholics, are Little Russians, who are approximately 298,000; thus with the Orthodox Little Russians, who are almost 4,450,000, the total Little Russian population of the South-Western region reaches almost 4,750,000 people of both sexes. Among this numerous population Poles constitute only a tiny percentage.”⁵⁸

Giving priority to ethnographic criteria in defining the ethnic belonging of the population of the Western region, authors of its contemporary descriptions also tried on this basis to undermine one more, the most favoured, historical argument of the Polish intellectuals. In his 1863 description of the Grodno gubernia Bobrovski wrote that

the country which nowadays constitutes Grodno gubernia was and is really Russian, meaning it was populated by predominantly Russian people who did not speak the Polish language and professed the Orthodox faith. This we can state on the basis of: first, the historical documents which have reached us, and, second, the language of the main mass of the population, which, after the historical events, lost only partially the Primeval faith, but preserved its prototypic language – the language of the Dregovichy, the Derevliane, the Buzhane and the Narev'iane.⁵⁹

As could be seen from the last words, historical arguments started slowly to play their role, besides language and religion, in the discussion about the ethnic belonging of the Western region. The task was to “reduce the era of the Polish-Lithuanian Common-

⁵⁸ Chubinskii, *Trudy etnograficheskoi-statisticheskoi ekspeditsii*. Vol. 7.1, 281–289. These main theses of Chubynsky were also included into his calendar of the South-Western region for 1873, designed for the wider audience: V. Borisov and P. Chubinskii, eds. *Kalendar' Iugo-Zapadnogo kraia na 1873 god* (Kiev, 1872): 58–66.

⁵⁹ Pavel Bobrovskii, *Materialy dlia geografii i statistiki Rossii, sobrannye ofitserami General'nogo shtaba: Grodnenskaia guberniia*. Vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1863), 619–620.

wealth on these territories to the long dream of history.”⁶⁰ Chubynsky also used this instrument. In his lecture about the Little Russian population of the region during the presentation at the RGO Department of Geography on 15 January 1872, he emphasised that “coincidence of dialects and vernaculars with Nestor’s divisions into separate people proved the ancient character of the population of the South-Western region. Divisions, indicated by Nestor, existed even at the time, despite all sorts of turmoils, such as the raids of Pechenigs, Khazars and Polovtsy, and the Tatar pogrom.”⁶¹ According to Andrii Zyl, when Chubynsky mentioned Nestor, he wanted primarily to object to the famous thesis of Mikhail Pogodin about non-local origin of the Little Russians.⁶² However, a broader perspective and examples of above mentioned Pavel Bobrovski with the Grodno gubernia and Anton Koreva with the Vilna gubernia allow me to argue that Chubynsky’s main task was to undermine Polish historical claims for these territories.

Ethnographical maps became another way to popularise the ideas of “Russian-ness” of the Western region of the Romanov Empire in the 1860s. A fine example of applying all the methods described above was a publication by the St. Petersburg Archeographic commission of the book “Documents which explain the history of the West-Russian region and its relations with Poland” with three maps-appendixes: a) a map of twelfth-century Eastern Europe, b) a map of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1772, and c) contemporary ethnographic map of the Western region (Figure 3.3). The editors of this volume wanted to juxtapose a real historical belonging of

⁶⁰ Dolbilov, *Russkii krai, chuzhaia vera*, 186. In Dolbilov’s opinion, it was exactly this desire of the author to make the ethnic groups, which he described, older, why did Bobrovski mentioned in his text about “the White Russians,” “the Black Russians,” and “the Poleshchuks,” their ancestors “the Krivichi,” and “the Dregovichy,” and also their cartographical depiction by the author of description of the Vilna gubernia, Anton Koreva.

⁶¹ *Izvestiia IRGO* 8 (1872): 96. The same ideas were published in the articles of *Kievlianin* 11 (25 January 1872): 2; *Kievlianin* 85 (18 July 1872): 1.

⁶² Zyl’, *Narodoznave*ts’, 267.

these territories with (groundless) Polish claims about their past, which became even stranger considering the ethnic composition of the population of these territories:

We only have to look at the third map of the Western Russia, which we added, – the ethnographic one. It will better than everything help to allay doubts, if any exist, of how many Russians and Lithuanians inhabit that space, which usually is drawn with the Polish colour as the territory of the future Polish state. Having compared this map with the map of Lelewel of 1772 we cannot but agree that both a Polish state which existed previously and contemporary projects of the future Polish state are awfully arbitrary in an ethnographic sense. [...] But these natural, visual thoughts [...] will gain even more power if we compare the contemporary ethnographic map of Western Russia with the first map of Lelewel of 1139, which we added. Then it will be remarkably apparent with astonishing clarity that the ethnographic borders of the Russian tribes of the Western Russia of our days coincide with Russia's state borders of 1139 and lay much further to the West – into Poland and Austria – of the current state borders of the Russian Empire. [...] We do not know if the ethnographic borders of the Russian tribe will renew one day, and we do not want to judge, but we know and consider ourselves having a right to say that only few states of Western Europe can boast that the science of ethnography proves the natural and legal character of their state territory, as it confirms the legality and even modesty of the Russian state territory in the Western Russia.⁶³

In this context it is not strange that the results of Chubynsky's research were consolidated with a cartographical appendix to the textual part – “Map of the Catholics, including the Poles, of the South-Western region” (Figure 3.4). Here with the different saturation of red the author showed the percentage correlation of Catholics to Orthodox in all districts, used letters to mark the absolute number of Catholics in each of them, and applied different shading to prove the percentage advantage of the local Little Russians (of course, both Catholic and Orthodox) to the Poles. Localising the latter predominantly in the Podolia gubernia (with the largest number of up to 40% of the general population in the Proskurov district), Chubynsky in this way also visually proved that the territories of the South-Western region were not Polish but Russian. It may be that because of the immense political importance of this question he insisted that the maps, which he prepared, were published in the largest possible scale.⁶⁴

Darius Staliūnas noticed that meanwhile the authorities in St. Petersburg had received reports from the local officials that the Poles were preparing some interna-

⁶³ *Dokumenty, obiasniaiushchie istoriiu Zapadno-Russkogo kraia i ego otnosheniia k Polshe* (St. Peterburg, 1865), clxxviii–clxxxvi.

⁶⁴ ARGO, F. 1-1870, Op. 1, No. 31 (ch. 2): 183.

tional congress “with the intention of raising the issue of the tortured condition of ten million people.”⁶⁵ Hence to make their number in the Western region smaller and to show that they did not constitute a majority of the local population was exceptionally important not only for intra-imperial usage, but also for Russian anti-Polish propaganda abroad. Vytautas Petronis assumed that this was the reason why, for instance, the contemporary ethnographical atlas by Roderik Erckert was published in two languages: French in 1863 and Russian in 1865; while the French version for external usage showed that the Poles did not dominate among the population of the area (hence making the number of the White and Little Russian larger), and had to oppose Polish propaganda, the Russian version of his maps, according to Petronis, in contrast, by making the number of Poles in the region larger, was aimed at drawing more attention of the imperial authorities to these territories.⁶⁶

The same two languages – Russian and French – were used while publishing the above mentioned “Documents which explain history of the West-Russian region,” while its maps were designed in French only. In my opinion, it is in this context that we must consider Chubynsky’s invitation to the VIII International statistical congress, held in St. Petersburg in 1872,⁶⁷ and the participation of Chubynsky’s “Proceedings” in the II International Geographical Congress in Paris in 1875. During the Parisian congress, the Russian pavilion, sometimes visited by 12,000 people per day, was the third largest in the number of its exhibits, the Department of Ethnography was represented in the best way, and the books, which contained maps, were opened to display

⁶⁵ Staliūnas, *Making Russians*, 118.

⁶⁶ Petronis, *Constructing Lithuania*, 200–203.

⁶⁷ In his letter to Semenov on 5 September 1872 Chubynsky thanked for the invitation to the Congress and informed him that he carefully followed its activity. ARGO, F. 1-1870, Op. 1, No. 31 (ch. 2): 169ob.

their maps “to catch the eye and interest the visitors.”⁶⁸ Contemporaries especially praised the success of the Russian delegation and its maps:

The Russians did everything they could to make a fine show at the Paris Exhibition. They certainly brought forward every book that was published in Russia or in Russian since the beginning of the last century. [...] One of the most interesting of all was the elaborate language map prepared by Mr. [Aleksandr] Rittich. In a most striking manner it presented the gradual absorption of the minor nationalities by the great Russian race; and showed clearly that the time is not far distant when the whole of that vast Empire is inhabited by *one* people speaking the same language.⁶⁹

In Paris Chubynsky’s “Proceedings” were awarded a second class medal;⁷⁰ in addition, Chubynsky received the highest awards of the Russian Academy of Sciences and the RGO. In 1877 the RGO very unusually even petitioned that Chubynsky’s activities during the expedition be officially considered as the performance of a state service.⁷¹

Thus the first important conclusion of this chapter is that the expedition of Pavlo Chubynsky and his “Proceedings” were essentially an important state project, whose main aim was to complete already existing ethnographical and statistical works on the North-Western region of the Empire, together with which they had to prove the “Russianness” of these territories. This is why besides facilitating the cooperation of the local authorities the RGO helped Chubynsky in yet another important aspect – a financial one. Before the commencement of the expedition the commission responsible for its organisation decided to allocate to it 3,000 roubles: on the eve of his first trip Chubynsky received 1,200 roubles, in half a year he was due to get 900 more and, finally, 900 more during the second year of his work.⁷²

⁶⁸ V. Mainov, “Antropologiya i etnografiya na Parizhskom kongresse geograficheskikh nauk,” *Izvestiya IRGO* 12 (1876): 175. Mainov’s report from Paris see on pages 1–27, 171–221, 281–313.

⁶⁹ E. Ravenstein, “Statistics at the Paris Geographical Congress,” *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* 38 (1875): 428.

⁷⁰ *Congrès international de sciences géographiques tenu à Paris du 1er au 11 août 1875: Compte rendu des séances*. Vol. 2 (Paris, 1880), 420.

⁷¹ Pypin, *Istoriya russkoi etnografii*. Vol. 3, 352–353. This could possibly be related to the persecution against Chubynsky by the authorities after the Ems decree of 1876.

⁷² ARGO, F. 1-1870, Op. 1, No. 31 (ch. 2): 50.

However, Chubynsky's expenses were directly related to the scale of his work and here I would like to make the second argument. Initially the territory which Chubynsky was to study was reasonably limited by the three gubernias on the Right Bank of the Dnepr of the most interest to the RGO and Imperial authorities. It was these gubernias that were drawn on the above-mentioned map of the Catholics from 1872. Already in the beginning of his work Chubynsky suggested the Society should widen the borders of his activity, adding to the above mentioned territories the southern districts of Grodno and Minsk, and also the western districts of the Lublin and Sedlets gubernias with north-eastern Bessarabia.⁷³ In his memoirs of this period Fedir Vovk particularly underlined that "P.P. [Chubynsky] talked a lot about his intentions to use as far as possible the right to demand assistance from the local authorities, but mainly – about the need to use this expedition as broadly as possible in the interests of the ethnography of the whole Ukraine, and not only gubernias of the so called 'South-Western region'."⁷⁴ The RGO agreed with these suggestions and approved the scale of the expedition. However, in less than a year after the start of his work, on 5 December 1869, Chubynsky asked Leonid Maikov, his old friend and now one of those responsible for the expedition in the Department of Ethnography, to plead with the Society for some financial help:

The area of my research has been expanded twice. Apart from three gubernias which are called South-Western, to my study were added: one district of the Bessarabian region, four districts of Grodno, two of Minsk, five of Lublin and five of Sedlets. However, my means were left the same as for the three gubernias. During the first half of a year I contributed 300 roubles of my own. To complete the task honestly, I will have to travel through absolutely all the districts and my expenses on the way will for sure absorb 2,500 roubles. For expenses during the expedition besides 2,500 roubles I was promised 500 roubles. As you know, I took myself an assistant for the whole duration of the expedition, Mr. Cherednichenko, who will cost me 700 roubles for two years. To print programs and copy songs from the collections of Mr. Novitski into separate sheets, I used already almost 100 roubles. Then, to accelerate the production of songs, which I already have up to 6,000, for printing, I will have to spend some money. Vast statistical works demand at

⁷³ Chubinskii, *Trudy etnograficheskoi-statisticheskoi ekspeditsii*. Vol. 1.1, xi.

⁷⁴ Volkov, "P.P. Chubinskii," 45.

least temporary copyists. In a word, despite staying at my father's (whose means are not satisfactory) during the processing, I will have to resort to side earnings to cover the expedition expenses since I am not on state service and do not receive salary. Not profit, but extreme necessity makes me ask you if you can find the opportunity, having discussed it beforehand with the commission members, to solicit 1,000 roubles more for the expenses for the expedition.⁷⁵

It seems that with every subsequent correspondence to Petersburg, Chubynsky asked for an increase in the means allocated to him: 8 February 1870 in a letter to Leonid Maikov,⁷⁶ 5 March 1870 – Fedor Osten-Saken,⁷⁷ 24 April 1870 – Maikov,⁷⁸ 4 May 1870 – Osten-Saken,⁷⁹ and 1 December 1870 in a letter to Osten-Saken he provided more details that

3,000 roubles, allocated to me by the RGO, was merely enough for the trips and road expenses (upkeep of both of us on the way and a horse with a man (I took my own horses), expenses for entertaining singers and storytellers, printing of programs, stationary and Mr. Cherednichenko's reward exceeded the allocated sum); the area of my studies instead of three gubernias of Kiev, Podolia and Volhynia was twice as large an area. But besides that since March four people live with me, and recently I hired a fifth. All of them will work with me until June. They live with me with full board and besides I pay them. In a month they cost me 150 roubles at a *minimum*. It makes up to 2,000 silver roubles per year not counting temporary copyists. However, I do not want to get the whole sum of the expenses. I would like to get only that which I will spend for their financial reward, meaning 1,200 silver roubles. For their maintenance I do not want to get anything in any case. At the moment I am well-to-do and therefore ready to donate my work and some part of the material contributions in favour of the Geographical Society, to whom I owe so much. But if the commission finds it complicated to give me 1,200 roubles more for the expenses (considering the twice larger area of study when compared with the original plan, and the enormous number of materials which need processing), I agree to reduce the sum, – I will somehow cover the rest from future earnings from my current official activity. I would not even mention this sum if it were not for the debts which I have incurred. For fourteen months I was busy solely with the work for the Society. I had no sinecure and could not turn to private employment since I was busy with the expedition.⁸⁰

On 19 January 1871 Chubynsky again wrote to Osten-Saken that he did not have enough money and that because of his recent marriage he needed it urgently.⁸¹ It seems that neither Maikov, nor Osten-Saken answered him until the spring of 1871: only on 8 March 1871 did the organising commission of the expedition decide to provide Chubynsky with an additional 1,200 roubles. The Society's Council supported

⁷⁵ OR ORLI, F. 166, Op. 3, No. 1089: 1, 1ob, 2.

⁷⁶ Ibid, 3.

⁷⁷ ARGO, F. 1-1870, Op. 1, No. 31 (ch. 2): 41ob, 42.

⁷⁸ OR ORLI, F. 166, Op. 3, No. 1089: 8.

⁷⁹ ARGO, F. 1-1870, Op. 1, No. 31 (ch. 2): 48ob, 49.

⁸⁰ Ibid, 66ob, 67, 67ob, 68.

⁸¹ Ibid, 88ob.

this decision in the beginning of April, sending Chubynsky a note of the State Bank to receive this sum from its Kievan office.⁸² In spite of this, it seems that Chubynsky's financial condition did not improve, since within a few years in his letters of 19 and 29 October 1874 Chubynsky was again complaining, this time to Iakov Polonski, about his financial hardships and asking for help to find him some position either as a railway employee or as some other worker, since during the two years of his career in the sugar industry his family lived in poverty.⁸³ In the end, although

P. P. [Chubynsky], of course, managed to include the Kholm area, Pinchuks, etc., since even if they were not included into its program, at the same time they did not depart from it, the gubernias of Chernigov, Poltava, Kharkov and the south were so much not "the South-Western region," that P. P. [Chubynsky] was not at ease in going there, and the money, which was allocated to him, 3,000 roubles, was not enough even for the Right Bank Ukraine, and he had to spend quite a sum of his own money. The Left Bank Ukraine is included into the materials of the "Proceedings" very incidentally, as some weddings, a slightly too large collection of songs and very few observations about buildings, costumes, etc., while, for instance, Ukrainian raiment was not mentioned at all.⁸⁴

These words by Fedir Vovk, which expressively testify to Chubynsky's desire to expand his expedition to the Left Bank of the Dnepr as well, nicely complement Chubynsky's letters to Petersburg; in the same letter to Maikov of 5 December 1869, quoted above, he for the first time touched upon the question of the further widening of the expedition and expressed his regrets that

you do not have too much money since it could have been useful to prolong the duration of the research for one more year (which will make it three years altogether) and commission the research of the north-western part of Chernigov adjoining the Little Russia parts of Kursk and Voronezh gubernias, Kharkov, the Black Sea Cossacks and the southern borders of New Russia. This would demand around 2,500 or even 2,000 roubles. Then all the Southern Rus' would be covered by the study and especially those parts of it which have been less studied than others ethnographically.⁸⁵

Furthermore, the matter was not only about the Polish-Russian borderland in Volhynia or the Left Bank: already in two months, on 8 February 1870, Chubynsky wrote to Maikov telling him that he had heard that "Aleksandr Fedorovich Gilferding

⁸² ARGO, F. 1-1870, Op. 1, No. 31 (ch. 2): 118.

⁸³ Savchenko, "Lysty P.P. Chubynskoho," 143.

⁸⁴ Volkov, "P.P. Chubinskii," 58.

⁸⁵ OR ORLI, F. 166, Op. 3, No. 1089: 2.

had written to Petr Petrovich [Semenov] about the need to commission me with a study of Galicia – this is indeed very important.”⁸⁶ Chubynsky asked Maikov to inform him in advance if he was to be assigned to study Galicia. Apparently Maikov did not answer this question and on 13 March 1870 Chubynsky wrote him again that he had not received any answer about Galicia and the increase of his budget.⁸⁷ The same questions he addressed to Maikov in less than a month, on 6 and 24 April 1870: will he be given more money and will the trip to Galicia come about?⁸⁸

Alas, we do not as yet know Maikov’s answer to these at first cautious, but increasingly more persistent questions/suggestions by Chubynsky. But the plans to expand the expedition to a wider territory did not leave him and in the end of the same year of 1870 he addressed the RGO again, this time through Osten-Saken:

If together with the study of the South-Western region we gather the materials (properly ethnographic) about the northern part of Chernigov, in the southern parts of Kursk and Voronezh, and also in the Kharkov, Ekaterinoslav, Kherson, Tavria gubernias, the Land of Black Sea Cossacks together with Galicia, then all the Southern Rus’ would be studied. And this would cost the Society less than mushrooms, as the proverb says. I am willing to go to Galicia for six weeks. And four young men working with me could be sent to the enumerated gubernias. All of this would cost the Society 1,500 roubles. And if we got 2,000, nothing would be better than this. These young men have become used to ethnographic studies, two of them have travelled with me. In three months they could have collected a mass of materials under my supervision. I would be very happy if this happened. In any case, please, let me know what you personally think of it.⁸⁹

As with Maikov, we do not as yet know Osten-Saken’s reply to such initiatives by Chubynsky. However, we can see that the plans to expand the expedition to the wider territory remained with its organiser for even longer; thus on February 16, 1872, he wrote to Kostomarov that “it would be nice if you managed to petition for a trip for us to the Black Sea region. We could go there from the rapids. Each of us need 300 roubles for expenses and 200 more roubles to hire a youngster, who would work for

⁸⁶ OR ORLI, F. 166, Op. 3, No. 1089: 3, 3ob.

⁸⁷ Ibid, 5ob.

⁸⁸ Ibid, 7, 8.

⁸⁹ ARGO, F. 1-1870, Op. 1, No. 31 (ch. 2): 67ob.

two months at writing down ethnographic materials. Thus Geographical Society should allocate 800 roubles for this.”⁹⁰ In a month Chubynsky again asked Kostomarov, if they would go to the Black Sea region, suggesting specific plans for such a trip:

We could start the trip between 5 and 10 June. But I would suggest we change the plan of the trip and visit the rapids on the way back, which is much more convenient. If you agree with this, our way could be like this: we could meet in Kharkov, then go to Rostov and further by the Azov Sea to Taman. Having travelled through the Black Sea Land we would go via Stavropol to Tiflis, at the same time visiting the Caucasus. Then by railway to Poti and by the ship to Odessa, Kherson, Nikopol or Berislav – and here we are on the rapids. From the rapids to Ekaterinoslav and then to Kiev. All the indicated trip requires not more than 20 days, – and for the Black Sea country we will spend 40 days – two months together – and in the first days of August we will be in Kiev, having made a scholarly and aesthetic trip. If the Society supports the trip, it has to immediately contact the relevant authorities for providing cooperation.⁹¹

Kostomarov’s answers are as yet unknown as well, but the Manuscript Department of IRLI preserves one more letter, which not only proves Chubynsky’s plans to expand the expedition at least to the Black Sea region, but also the attempts to solicit it on his own: in a month after the letters to Kostomarov, 31 March 1873, he wrote to Maikov: “Today I sent you as the head of the Department of Ethnography a letter with a question about my and Nikolai Ivanovich Kostomarov’s trip to the Black Sea region. Hurry with solving this question and let me know in advance to allow me to manage my business.”⁹² As can be seen from the RGO’s protocols, Chubynsky’s address was discussed during the meeting at the RGO’s Department of Ethnography on 24 April 1873, at which it was decided to urge the Council to organise such a trip.⁹³ However, having supported the idea of such research in general, due to the “lack of money” on 3 May 1873 the RGO’s Council decided to postpone it until a more suitable time.⁹⁴

It is well known that Chubynsky went neither to the Left Bank, nor to Galicia or the Black Sea region. However, his persistent appeals to the RGO with questions of

⁹⁰ Hnat Zhytetsky, “P’iat’ lystiv P.P. Chubyns’koho do M.I. Kostomarov,” *Za sto lit* 4 (1929): 59.

⁹¹ Zhytetsky, “P’iat’ lystiv P.P. Chubyns’koho,” 59.

⁹² OR IRLI, F. 166, op. 3, No. 1089: 18.

⁹³ *Izvestiia IRGO* 10 (1874): 1–2.

⁹⁴ *Izvestiia IRGO* 9 (1873): 164.

enlarging the expedition's borders to locate the exact scientific ethnographic (national) borders of Ukraine give us grounds to argue that this was another specific main aim of Chubynsky's participation in the expedition. If the government and the RGO were first and foremost interested in undermining the Polishness of the Western region by proving its Russianness,⁹⁵ it seems that Chubynsky and the circle around him primarily wanted to define the exact borders of the Ukrainian national territory, and to do so more clearly, scientifically and objectively than their predecessors from *Osnova* in 1861; now Chubynsky could verify all the hypotheses of his predecessors on the spot and share his conclusions with the best scholars of the Empire.

The text which appeared as a result of this attempt was published in the second issue of the seventh volume of Chubynsky's "Proceedings," dedicated to "the Little Russians," and was written by him in co-authorship with Kostiantyn Mykhalchuk. At first, after a short overview of their typical features and anthropological data (based on previously mentioned tables from the recruit offices), Chubynsky made yet another reverent gesture towards the authorities, which at the same time could testify to his own views at the time:

Some of our journalists do not want to see the difference between the cultural types of the Little Russians and the Great Russians; they are hostile towards any indication of such differences, thinking that they harm the unity. But this is a mistake. Both of these Russian people [*narodnosti*] have more in common than not. Both of them are Russian, both are Orthodox. They have a common White Tsar, whom they love equally; both of them have common enemies; both of them fought for that grandeur which Russia had achieved; both have worked on Russian science and literature. The differences indicated above not only are not harmful, but are positively useful. They strengthen the interrelation; they make a Little Russian and a Great Russian need each other. To smooth away these differences, born by the natural conditions and all the past history, is not possible and not needed. A Little Russian was Russian and remains Russian. If he does not call himself in this way when he meets a Great Russian, when he meets a Pole, a Moldovan and a Hungarian he firmly knows that he is a Ruthenian.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Petronis, *Constructing Lithuania*, 220–221.

⁹⁶ Pavel Chubinskii, *Trudy etnograficheskoi-statisticheskoi ekspeditsii*. Vol. 7.2 (St. Petersburg, 1877), 357.

However, after these almost Kostomarovian words from “Two Russian nationalities,” having divided the population of the region into three types (Ukrainian, Polish and Podolian-Galician), in the article “Dialects, sub-dialects and vernaculars of Southern Russia in relation to the dialects of Galicia,” the authors mentioned that although the region of their study was to be limited by the materials collected by the expedition in the Kiev, Volhynia and Podolia gubernias, the southern part of Minsk, the south-western corner of Grodno, the southern part of Sedlets and the eastern part of the Lublin gubernia together with the northern part of the Khotyn district of Bessarabia, they then decided to widen it. The reason for this was that “the simplest description of fundamental features and peculiarities of vernaculars of this region and its explanation demands constant convergences and references to the family vernaculars, which exist outside the borders of the area, indicated by us and with which they are in a direct organic relationship as constituent parts of one South-Russian language.” Hence in this article, accompanied by the epigraph from Mikhail Katkov that “many philological families until now remained little known or even unknown at all,” they presented to the reader not only the description of language peculiarities of the Little Russians of three gubernias of the South-Russian region, but a review of “the whole South-Russian branch of the Russian language in all its scope.”⁹⁷

Such a statement provided the authors with a chance to describe “the Little Russian” ethnographic territory clearly and unambiguously:

According to the data known until now the territory enclosing the population which speaks Little Russian, or more correctly the South-Russian language [*rech*'], encompasses such Russian gubernias: Kiev, Volhynian, Podolian, Chernigov (except for the Surazh, Mglyn, Starodub and Novozybkovskii districts), Kharkov, Ekaterinoslav, Khereson, Tavria – up to the Perekop isthmus; districts Kobrin, Brest, almost all Pruzhan, the southern corner of Slonim, the part of Belsk and the southern part of Belostok – of the Grodno gubernia; Pinsk and the part of Mozyr – of the Minsk gubernia; Sudzhan, Graivoron, Belgorod, Staro-Oskol, Putivl, the largest part of Novo-Oskol and a half of Rylsk –

⁹⁷ Chubinskii, *Trudy etnograficheskoi-statisticheskoi ekspeditsii*. Vol. 7.2, 453–454.

of the Kursk gubernia; Biriuchensk, Korotkoiaksk, Ostrogozk, Pavlov, almost whole Valuiki and third of Boguchary – of the Voronezh gubernia; Khotin – of Bessarabia; the eastern half of the Lublin gubernia and the south-eastern half of the Sedlets gubernia and the whole Land of Black Sea Cossacks. In Austro-Hungary it occupies the following districts: Chortkov, Ternopol, Zolochiv, Zhovkva, third of Bukovina, Kolomyia, Stanislav, Berezhany, Lvov, Stryi, Sambor, Peremyshl, Sianok and the south-eastern corner of Sandech; in Hungary comitats: Marmoros, Bereg, Ugoch, Ungvar and the largest part of Sukmar, Sabolch and Zemlin with a part of Sharosh. [...] The space of all the indicated territory is not possible to ascertain for sure, but approximately it reaches 13,500 square miles. The mass of population which speaks the South-Russian language in this space reaches up to twenty-million people of both sexes, which makes almost 80% of the whole population.⁹⁸

“Unity of language and tribe” of the population on this territory provided the authors with a chance to speak about its difference from “the other vast group of familial tribes [...], which should be called Northern-Russian.”⁹⁹

As with the text about the Catholics, the main arguments of the article about the “Little Russians” were reaffirmed and made visible by a map, presented during the same session of the RGO’s Department of Ethnography on 15 January 1872. In my opinion, this map should be considered the first and the most influential ethnographic map of the Ukrainians. Contrary to its predecessors, the map of “the South-Russian dialects and vernaculars” (Figure 3.5) claimed to be a scientific one and was regarded as being of high quality by the leading scholars not only in Russia but also abroad; it was published in an official Petersburg edition, was coloured, and unambiguously presented in dark-red the continuous national borders of the Ukrainian territory of both Empires. During the next years the map by Chubynsky – Mykhalchuk became an “exemplar science” (following Thomas Kuhn) and a normative source for the future maps of Ukrainian national space, among them influential works by Lev Padalka and Stepan

⁹⁸ Chubinskii, *Trudy etnograficheskoi-statisticheskoi ekspeditsii*. Vol. 7.2, 454.

⁹⁹ Ibid, 455. Further the authors of the article emphasised “bookishness” of names “Great Russia” and “Little Russia”: Ibid, 457. Moreover, according to Mykhalchuk, censors crossed out those sections of the text, where the author clearly juxtaposed two language groups: Little and Great Russian: Konstantin Mikhalchuk, *Otkrytoe pis'mo k A.N. Pypinu* (Kiev, 1909), 26–27; “Avtobiografichna zapyska K. Mykhal'chuka,” *ZNTSh* 121 (1914): 239.

Rudnytsky; the latter even in 1923 called it “until recently the basis of our knowledge about the ethnographic territory of Ukraine.”¹⁰⁰

Thus, new materials about the ethnographic expedition of Pavlo Chubynsky provided me with a chance to look in a new light at this enterprise, which was held in the South-Western region of the Romanov Empire under the patronage of the RGO. I argue that both the expedition and its “Proceedings” should be examined as the fruitful cooperation of three interested actors: the state, the patriotic organisation of the RGO, and the Ukrainophiles. Each of them could pursue their own ends during the expedition, although all of them coincided in one point: a desire to prove textually and visually, but mainly scientifically, that the South-Western region was not Polish, and to bring this knowledge to a wider audience both in the Romanov Empire and abroad. It was exactly the cooperation of all interested parties which enabled their success, “thanks to which Russian ethnographic works [...] overtook the [...] Polish works by Messrs. Rulikowski, Marcinkowski, Stecki.”¹⁰¹

It seems that Drahomanov was right when he wrote that after coming back from Arkhangelsk, Chubynsky “not only was not close to being an enemy of Bohdan Khmelnytsky’s oath to the Eastern Tsar, but even somehow deserved the reproaches of the ‘Left Bank’ Ukrainophiles-chiliasts for the great ‘concessions to Russian statehood’,” since in his “Proceedings” he “advanced wherever possible the Russian state idea so sharply and with such an intolerance to the non-Russian elements (especially Polish), that even ‘me sinful’ with all my ‘Moscowphilism’ had to polemicise with

¹⁰⁰ Padiuka, “Pochatky ukrains’koi etnokartohrafii,” 447.

¹⁰¹ M. T-ov, “Uchenaia ekspeditsiia v Zapadno-Russkii krai,” *Vestnik Evropy* 3 (1877): 89. In 1850s – 1860s Edward Rulikowski, Antoni Marcinkowski and Tadeusz Stecki, mentioned by Dragomanov, published their works on ethnography of Volhynia and the Kiev region as parts of historical Poland.

him.”¹⁰² According to Drahomanov, “the Russian-statist tendency” of Chubynsky was most apparent in his article “The Poles of the South-Western region,” written together with K. Mykhalchuk.

On the other side, in his own review of the “Proceedings” of the expedition, Drahomanov wrote:

One glance upon this data – superstitions, legends, tales, songs, poems, etc. – is enough to make one think: how was it possible to talk so much that Russian nationality of the most ancient Russian country, where people until recently did not stop to be active, became corrupt or obscure, lost its Russian nature, became Polonised, etc.? [...] thanks to the publications of Messrs. Golovatsky and Chubinski [...] we have to say that hardly anywhere else have the most ancient traits of the Russian nationality been preserved as in these seemingly “Polonised” regions. And if we restrain from announcing such a verdict it is explained by the fact that the other regions are simply less studied than Galicia and the South-Western region.¹⁰³

Thus, maybe, Fedir Savchenko was also right when he assumed that by such concessions to the “state idea” Chubynsky (and Drahomanov, and the rest of the Old Hromada members) hoped to get some dividends from the government, for instance by the establishment of the Department of the RGO in Kiev and guaranteeing it comfortable conditions of work.¹⁰⁴ Partially this hypothesis is proven by the words of Drahomanov himself, who in February 1873 wrote to Volodymyr Navrotsky about the calendar, edited by Chubynsky: “Do you have [...] a calendar by Chubynsky from Kiev? Both have many statistical numbers concerning Ukraine, and in Chubynsky’s there is a rather good chronology of Southern Russia with Galicia. True, one could not do without concessions to the Tashkent elements, but the publication came out as an official one and even *kulishivka* received the Governor-General’s sanction.”¹⁰⁵ Therefore, it seems that the story of Chubynsky’s expedition proves Alexei Miller’s argu-

¹⁰² Mykhailo Drahomanov, *Avstro-rus’ki spohady*. Vol. 4 (Lviv, 1889), 315–316. In his letters of the emigration period Drahomanov even called Chubynsky the one, who “only reaped what other guys prepared for him during the expedition”: Mykhailo Drahomanov, *Perepyska*. Vol. 1 (Lviv, 1901), 171–172; Mykhailo Pavlyk, “Iz perepysky M.P. Drahomanova,” *Zhytie i slovo* 5–6 (1897): 388–389.

¹⁰³ T-ov, “Uchenaia ekspeditsiia v Zapadno-Russkii kraj,” 97.

¹⁰⁴ Savchenko, *Zaborona ukraiinstva*, 31–32.

¹⁰⁵ Kyrylo Studyns’kyi, “Perepyska M. Drahomanova z V. Navrots’kym (z pochatkiv sotsialistych-noho ruhu v Halychyni),” *Za sto lit* 1 (1927), 113.

ment that if the central government was liberal enough, the Ukrainian activists of the beginning of 1870s would be absolutely ready to cooperate with it to rebuild the Empire, occupying themselves in Kiev with “positivist activity (cultural, scientific, economic, etc.), which the Polish liberal positivists [...] called ‘organic work’.”¹⁰⁶ However, as is known, such an opportunity did not “bark” and this period of the Ukrainian movement was ended on 18 May 1876 in Bad-Ems and definitively on 1 March 1881 on Catherine Canal in St. Petersburg, where Alexander II was assassinated.

At the same time, it seems that despite the exemplary execution of the state order and simple collection of Ukrainian folklore, Kievan activists were not only the passive champions of Imperial politics. During Chubynsky’s cooperation with the state the Russian Empire joined the creation of “grammar” (according to Benedict Anderson) of Ukrainian nationalism. Whereas the Ukrainophiles-sixtiers, united around *Osnova*, tried to describe Ukrainian national territory textually, the Ukrainophiles-seventiers, due to the enormous work by Pavlo Chubynsky, managed to turn its description “from the Sian to the Don Rivers” into a scientific cartographical representation, which in the future could be used for reaffirming one’s rights to the depicted territory.

¹⁰⁶ Miller, *The Ukrainian question*, 160.

Figure 3.1. *Karta maloruskoho naroda*
[Map of the Little Russian people]

Source: [Vasyl' Il'nyts'kyi] Denys z Pokuttia, *Vesti pro zemliu i dei rusynov*. Vol. 1 (Lvov, 1869).

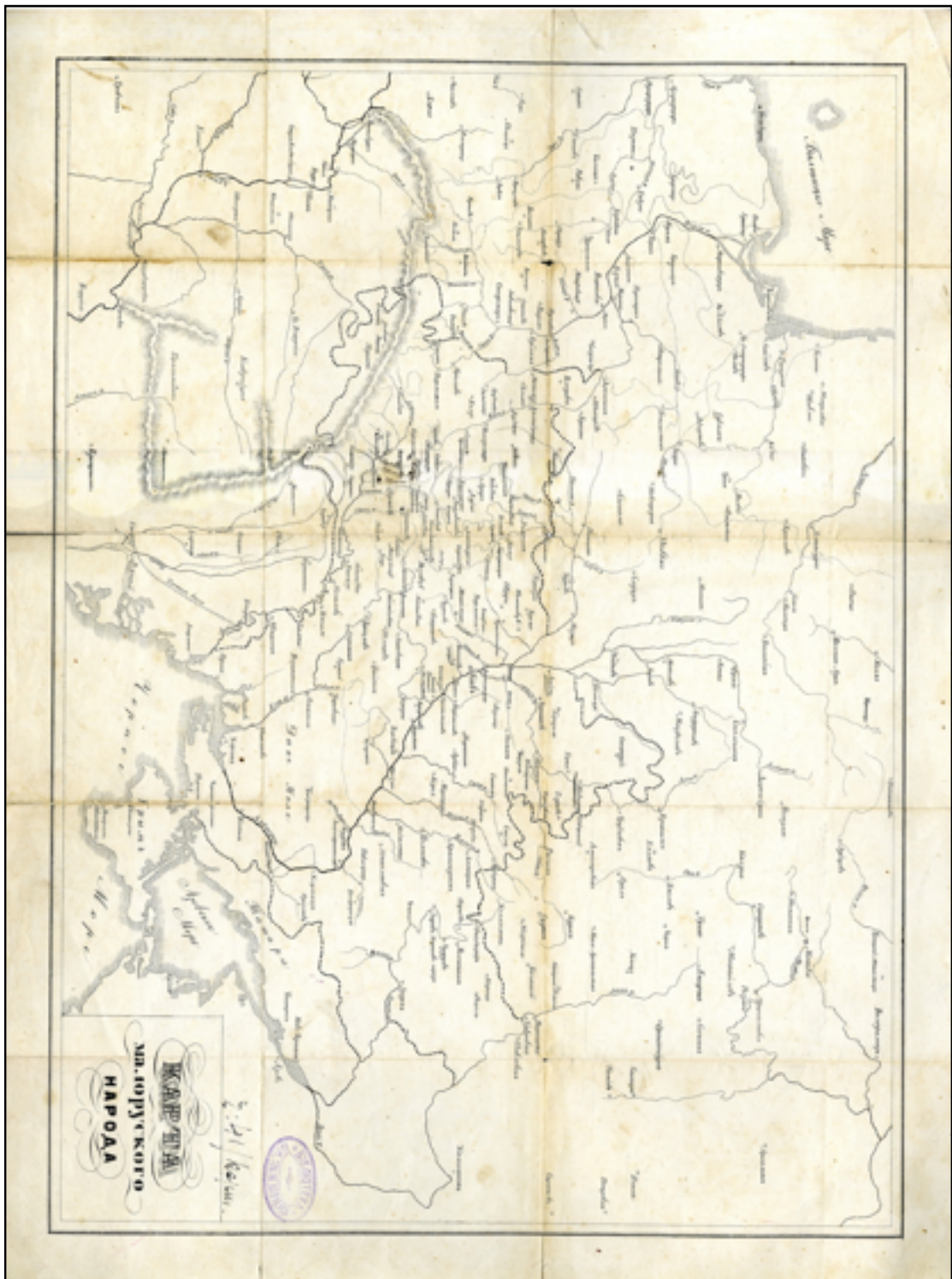


Figure 3.2a. Preobrazhenski Cathedral in Zhytomyr before 1858 and in 1866–1874

Source: Pompei Batiushkov, *Volyn'. Istoricheskie sud'by iugo-zapadnogo kraia* (St. Petersburg, 1888), 268

Figure 3.2b. Church of St. Martyr Dimitrii in the village of Sennaia in the Baltski district before and in 1891

Source: Pompei Batiushkov, *Podolia. Istoricheskoe opisanie* (St. Petersburg, 1891), 243.

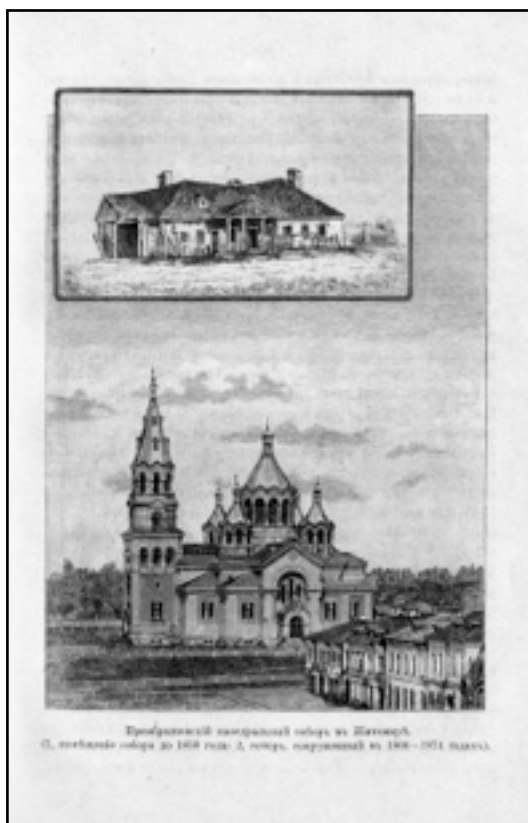


Figure 3.3. Carte Ethnographique de la Russie occidentale et des pays limitrophes en Pologne et en Galicie

Source: *Dokumenty, ob'iasniaiushchie istoriiu Zapadno-Russkogo kraia i ego otnosheniia k Rossii i k Pol'she* (St. Peterburg, 1865).

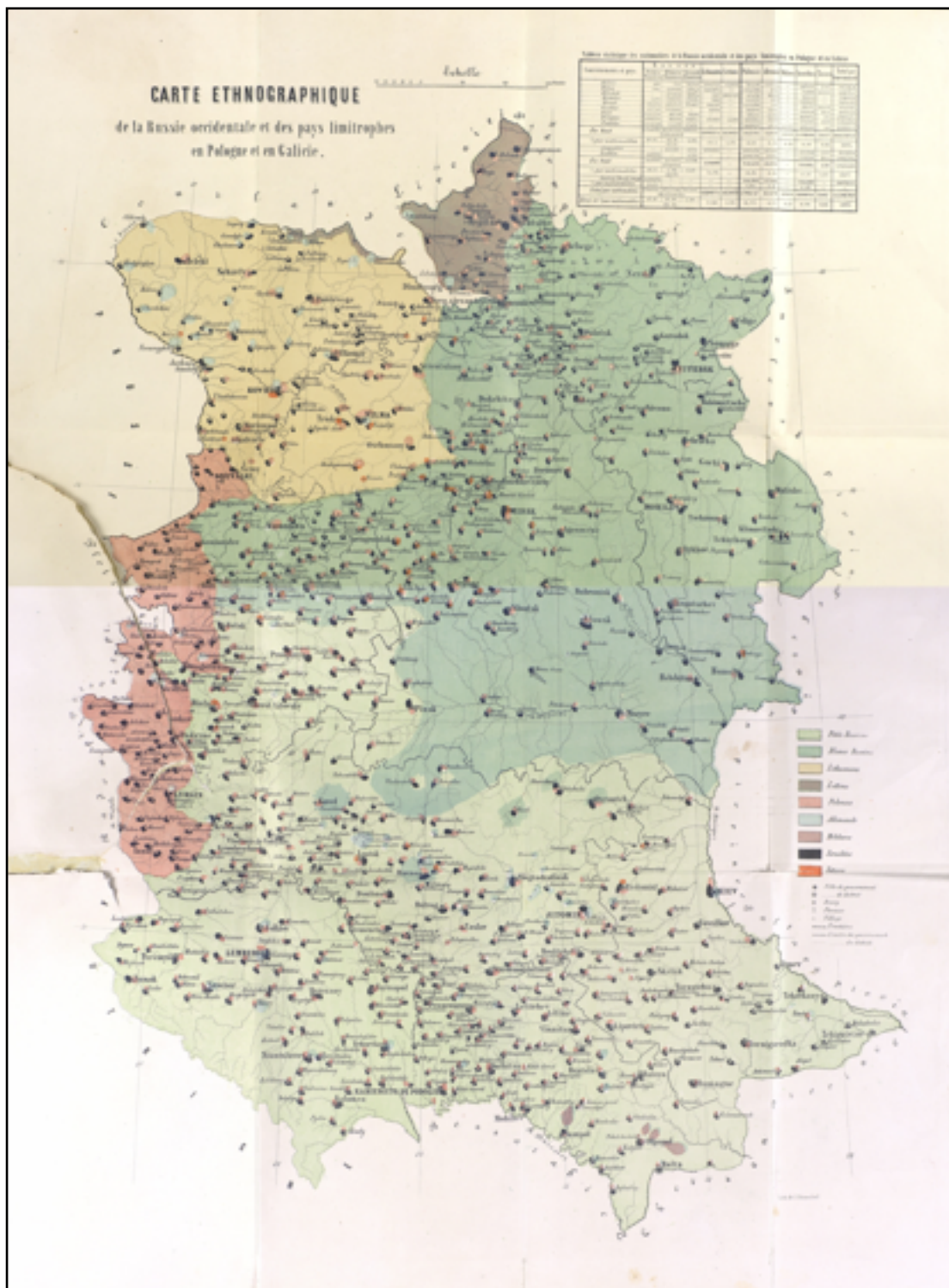
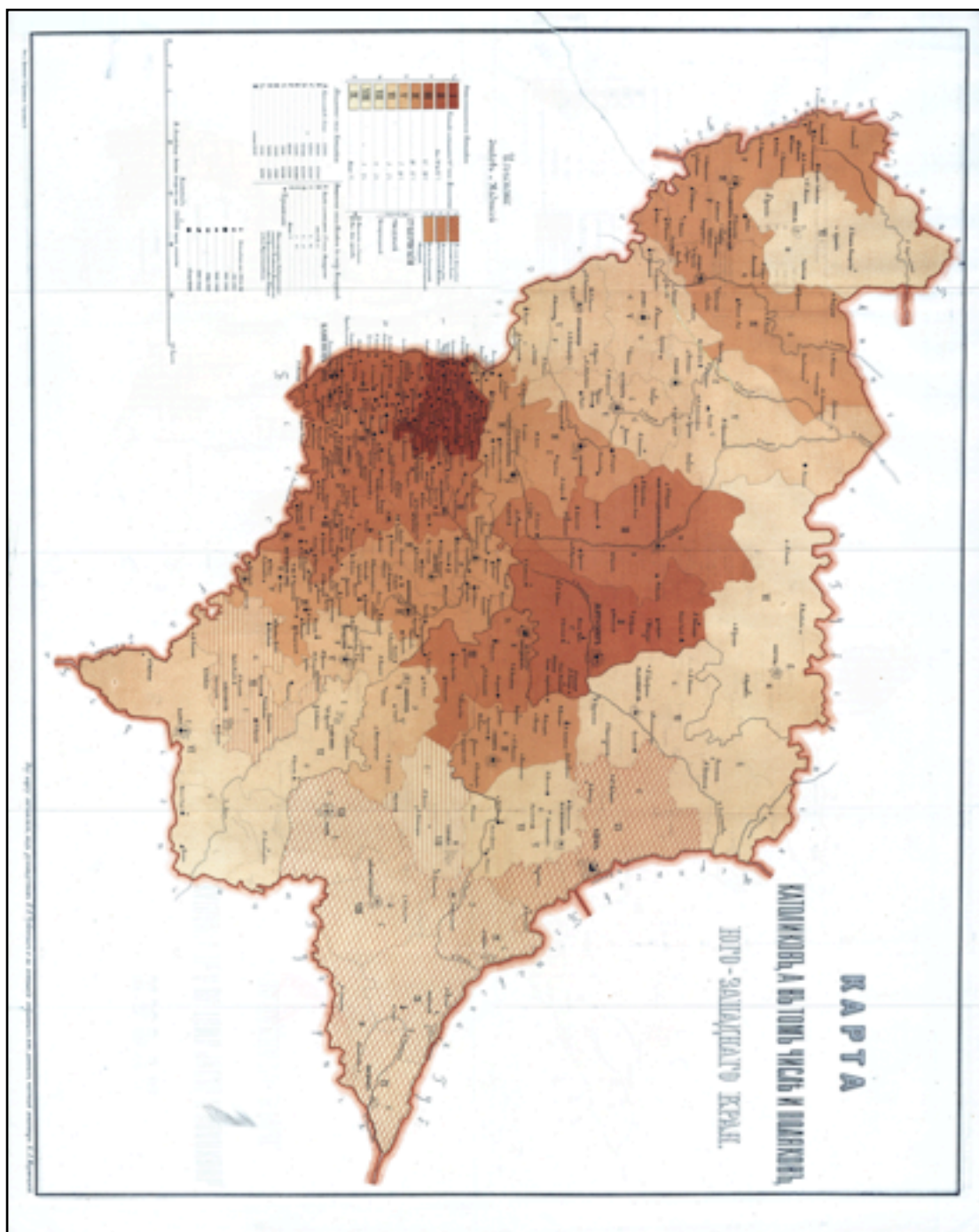


Figure 3.4. *Karta katolikov, a v tom chisle i poliakov Iugo-Zapadnogo kraia*
[Map of the Catholics, including the Poles, of the South-Western region]

Source: Pavel Chubinskii, *Trudy etnograficheskoi-statisticheskoi ekspeditsii v Zapadno-Russkii krai*. Vol. 7.1 (St. Petersburg, 1872).



Chapter 4. Geographical determinism of an anarchist: Mykhailo Drahomanov

Anarchism does not recognise any method other than the natural-scientific.

Petr Kropotkin, *Modern science and anarchism*, 1908

Out of all the plebeian nations in the East of Europe, the Ukrainian nation is both the most numerous and, due to its geographical location as its closeness to the most important of local privileged nations, is predestined to play an especially prominent role not only as the most important object for conquest by centripetal elements in privileged nationalities, but also of the most important of the centrifugal elements in the East of Europe.

Mikhail Dragomanov, *Velikoruskii internatsionalizm i pol'sko-ukrainskii vopros*, 1906

Mykhailo Drahomanov has been deservedly considered one of the most notable modern Ukrainian political thinkers. A historian from Kyiv who had to devote a large part of his life to exile political activity in Geneva and teaching in Sofia, for a long time he has spurred endless debates among scholars, very often dependent on the surrounding political conjuncture, on how to define him: as a cosmopolitan socialist, a Ukrainian nationalist, or somehow else? Soviet historiography cautiously preferred the first option, stressing the “spirit of Marxist scientific character” of some of his works.¹ Ukrainian historiography after 1991 no less cautiously largely chose the second option.² To the best of my knowledge, a balanced approach to Drahomanov was maintained only by Ivan Lysiak-Rudnytsky³ and Dimitri von Mohrenschildt.⁴ Considering Drahomanov’s continuing enormous influence upon the Ukrainian movement, in this chapter I would like to join the debate with a study of his views on the Ukrainian nation and its territory. Despite the evident character of this research question, surprisingly, no specific work has tackled it previously. The conclusion of those who touched

¹ See, for instance, Anatolii Lunachars’kyi, “Shevchenko i Drahomanov,” *Dzvin* 3 (1914), 141–148; I. Romanchenko, “Dragomanov M.,” in *Kratkaia literaturnaia entsyklopedia*. Vol. 2 (Moskva, 1964); David Zaslavskii, *M.P. Dragomanov* (Kiev, 1924); David Zaslavskii, *M.P. Dragomanov* (Kiev, 1934); Davyd Zaslavs’kyi and I. Romanchenko *Mykhailo Drahomanov* (Kyiv, 1964).

² M. Molchanov, *Derzhavnyts’ka dumka Mykhaila Drahomanova* (Kyiv, 1994).

³ See his essays on Drahomanov in Ivan Lysiak-Rudnytsky, *Essays in modern Ukrainian history* (Edmonton, 1987), 203–298.

⁴ Von Mohrenschildt, *Toward a United States of Russia*, 131–165.

upon it in passing was that Drahomanov was one of the first, if not the first, visionary of a unified [*soborna*] Ukraine, from the Don to the Sian Rivers.⁵ In this chapter I assert that while it is clear that such great minds as Drahomanov, who were constantly reevaluating, rethinking and redeveloping their ideas, might reasonably be compared with a fence where from one can take out very different planks, he was in no way a dreamer of a united and coherent Ukrainian space for a future Ukrainian territorial state, as is contended by contemporary Ukrainian scholars.⁶ By closely examining his written oeuvre, memoirs and correspondence, in this chapter I would like to argue that despite paying thoughtful attention to geography as the most spatial science for nearly his entire life, Drahomanov followed completely opposite aims. In my opinion, his close interest in geography should be compared more to the similar geographical involvement of other famous anarchists of the time, rather than of nationalists. Therefore, a collateral aim of this chapter is to contextualise his views and to return Drahomanov, as one of the most intelligent Europeans of the time, back from the ranks of Ukrainian nationalists to his familiar intellectual milieu of European leftists, an important member of which he undoubtedly was.

Drahomanov became interested in geography during his gymnasium years in Poltava: it became one of his favourite subjects, which he studied from the textbook by Aleksandr Obodovski.⁷ Under the influence of his teacher of history, Oleksandr

⁵ See, for instance, Anatolii Kruhlashov, *Drama intelektualna: politychni idei Mykhaila Drahomanova* (Chernivtsi, 2000). The author wrongly attributes to Drahomanov the idea of “ethnic borders of Ukraine” (p. 436). Lately a similar attempt was presented by Natalia Mykytchuk in her dissertation “Ideia ukrains’koi sobornosti v tvorchosti Mykhaila Drahomanova ta Ivana Franka” (Candidate of science diss., Dnipropetrovsk, 2006). One immediately notes the teleological title and idea of the thesis, charged with the programmed result: both thinkers allegedly thought in terms of a coherent and united Ukrainian state. On the contrary, in this chapter as in the whole thesis I would like to stress the “Lotmanian” unpredictability of the process of construction of Ukrainian national space.

⁶ Zaslavskii 1924, 5.

⁷ Olena Pchilka, “Spohady pro Mykhaila Drahomanova,” *Ukraina* 2–3 (1926): 52. With his classmates they used this book for sledding from the hill.

Stronin, he studied Afanasii Shchapov's and Nikolai Kostomarov's regionalist visions of Russian history.⁸ Perhaps, under these impressions in 1858 Drahomanov wrote to Evgenii Korsh, the publisher of the *Atenei* journal that the politics of every state should be derived from its geographical location and historical objectives.⁹ After moving to Kyiv, Drahomanov became involved in teaching regional geography in the circle around local Sunday schools and became a member of a temporary pedagogical commission supported by the local Imperial administration at the end of the 1850s. Its members tried to devise a reader for their students, which among other things was supposed to include instruction on regional geography.¹⁰ Although the level of his knowledge of geography might seem doubtful,¹¹ in mid-1860s because of financial hardships Drahomanov taught geography at Second Kyivan gymnasium.¹²

In 1870–1873 he went to Europe to prepare himself for becoming a lecturer at Kiev University and it is thought that it was precisely this study tour which mostly contributed to Drahomanov's becoming a wholehearted advocate of anarchist socialism à la Proudhon, condemning any tendency towards centralisation which he could find.¹³ Dimitri von Mohrenschildt quotes a Soviet historian who in 1930 contemptuously stated that “the new federalism in Ukraine [was] inspired by the father of anarchy, Proudhon.”¹⁴ With a different emotional attitude, here I would also argue that it is exactly his adherence to anarchism and desire for social and political change that ex-

⁸ Von Mohrenschildt, 133.

⁹ Iieremiia Aizenshtok, “Z iunats'kykh lit Drahomanova,” *Ukraiina* 1–2 (1929): 64.

¹⁰ Sofiia Rusova, “Dumky M. Drahomanova pro osvitu,” *Svitlo* 4 (1910): 32.

¹¹ For instance, Oleksandr Rusov remembered that while Drahomanov served as a teacher of geography of the Second Kyivan gymnasium in mid-1860s, his pupils knew the names of rivers and mountains better than their teacher: Serhii Shamrai, “Uryvok spohadiv Ol.Ol. Rusova pro M.P. Drahomanova,” *Ukraiina* 2–3 (1926): 98.

¹² Mykhailo Drahomanov, “Avtobiograficheskaia zametka,” in Idem, *Literaturno-publitsystychni pratsi*. Vol. 1. (Kyiv, 1970): 45–46.

¹³ Panas Fedenko, “Mykhailo Drahomanov i P'ier Zhozef Prudon,” in *Drahomanivs'kyi zbirnyk*. Vol. 1 (Praha, 1930), 271–292.

¹⁴ Von Mohrenschildt, 8.

plains Drahomanov's stance towards nation and geography until the last years of his life.¹⁵ As Drahomanov explained it later himself, "the teaching of anarchy, i.e., of statelessness, is an exact opposite of the more or less centralist monarchist, constitutionalist, and republican theories of France in the 1840s and 1850s. Proudhon defines his doctrine as that of complete independence of the individual and of the inviolability of his rights from all authority, even from that of elected representatives. [...] Accordingly, Proudhon considered 'an-archy' as synonymous with the English term 'self-government.' In its practical application the theory of anarchy leads to federalism."¹⁶

Throughout his life the main point of concern for Drahomanov was the improvement of the life of the common people, their "political, social and cultural advancement, where a nationality is only a ground, form and experience,"¹⁷ which he juxtaposed to any Jacobin-inspired centralising idea, or any centralised state,¹⁸ not only to the Romanov Empire.¹⁹ Defining himself "not as any -phile, neither Ukrainophile, nor Slavophile, but simply as a Ukrainian with all-human tendencies, a man of the Ukrainian nation (*homo nationis ukrainicae*),"²⁰ or a "Ukrainian, with claims to be

¹⁵ In 1895 his niece replied to the question of the best possible book-like present for her uncle that it could be the maps of Ukrainian gubernias: Olha Kosach-Kryvniuk, *Lesia Ukraïinka: khronolohiia zhyttia i tvorchosti* (New York, 1970), 297.

¹⁶ Mikhail Dragomanov, "Istoricheskaia Polsha i velikoruskaia demokratiia," in Idem, *Sobranie sochinenii*. Vol. 1 (Paris, 1905), 124. Quoted by Von Mohrenschildt, 151. Thus my views on origins of Drahomanov's ideas differ from Mark von Hagen's assertion that Drahomanov "was careful to distinguish his local-based federalism from that of the anarchists Proudhon and Bakunin." See: Mark von Hagen, "Federalisms and pan-movements: re-imagining empire," in *Russian Empire: space, people, power, 1700–1930*, ed. by Jane Burbank, Mark von Hagen, and Anatolii Remnev, 504, 504–505.

¹⁷ Mykhailo Drahomanov, *Chudats'ki dumky pro ukraïns'ku natsional'nu spravu* (Kyiv, 1913), 154.

¹⁸ Like Russia, or the "Russian revolutionaries" of the day, who spoke of "the Russian people" instead of "the people of Russia": Mikhail Dragomanov, "Istoricheskaia Polsha i velikoruskaia demokratiia," in Idem, *Sobranie sochinenii*. Vol. 1 (Paris, 1905), 5–6.

¹⁹ Bohdan Kistiakivsky put it in the following way: "He did not stop to prove the disastrous influence of centralism for the sole existence of political freedom, whomever this centralism came from: be it from the autocratic bureaucracy, or centralising revolutionary parties, and whichever ideals this centralism supported: be it a falsely understood idea of unity and inseparability of Russia, or historical rights of Poland for Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine and for a restoration of Polish statehood in old borders": Mikhail Dragomanov, *Politicheskie sochineniia*. Vol. 1 (Moskva, 1908), xvi. In another place Drahomanov deplored the use of *russkii* instead of *rossiiskii* for a designation of a Russian state: Dragomanov, *Istoricheskaia Pol'sha*, 154; Idem, "K voprosu o natsionalnostiakh v Rossii. Po povodu zametki 'Kurjera Lwowskiego,'" in Idem, *Sobranie politicheskikh sochinenii*. Vol. 2 (Paris, 1906), 865.

²⁰ Mykhailo Drahomaniv, *Lysty na Naddnyprians'ku Ukraïnu* (Kyiv, 1917), 90.

a European liberal and socialist on Ukrainian ground, similar to, for instance, English radicals and socialists,”²¹ he firmly disproved of any nationalism, at the same time not rejecting nationalities, and turned his formula “cosmopolitanism in ideas and goals, nationality in the ground and forms of cultural work”²² into the most concise expression of his political theory. As a Ukrainian who was born among the Ukrainians, “the best known to him,”²³ he considered it natural to work primarily for them in his plans for the federal reconstruction of Russia: “I do not separate them from the Great Russians, but only see that Ukrainians are different from them, therefore they require special work.”²⁴ This was his position, which Bohdan Kistiakivsky would later call a “nationalisation of socialism.”²⁵ As Drahomanov stated in 1888, “even in my thoughts I cannot concede that all our country up to Stavropol could tear away from Russia; I have an indifferent attitude towards wars on the territorial side. War interests me solely from the point of view whether it will cause by itself (or, which is less probable, even before it) a movement for reforms in Russia.”²⁶

In 1884 Drahomanov published his work “Free Union,” his most explicit project of federal reconstruction of the Romanov Empire. Among its twenty states, its southern, Ukrainian, gubernias, did not constitute a separate and indivisible national body, but were divided into several separate units.²⁷ To separate them from Russia politi-

²¹ *Lystuvannia Ivana Franka ta Mykhaila Drahomanova* (Lviv, 2006), 513.

²² Drahomaniv, *Lysty na Naddnyprians'ku Ukrainu*, 42.

²³ Mikhail Dragomanov, “Vol’nyi soiuz – Vil’na spilka. Opyt ukrainskoi politiko-sotsial’noi programy,” in Idem, *Sobranie politicheskikh sochinenii*. Vol. 1 (Paris, 1905), 277.

²⁴ Mykhailo Drahomanov, *Perepyska*. Vol. 1 (Lviv, 1901), 34.

²⁵ Mikhail Dragomanov, *Politicheskie sochineniia*. Vol. 1 (Moskva, 1908), xxxi.

²⁶ Drahomanov, *Perepyska*, Vol. 1, 6.

²⁷ Polessia (made of the eastern parts of Sedlets and Lublin gubernias, the southern districts of Grodno gubernia, Pinsk and Mozyr districts of Minsk gubernia, and Volhynia gubernia, apart from the south-eastern districts (Zhytomyr and Novohrad-Volyns’kii up to the Sluch River)); Kiev (south-eastern part of Volhynian gubernia, Kyivan gubernia, Chernihiv and Poltava gubernias without south-eastern districts (Konstantynohrad, Poltava, Kobeliaky and the eastern part of Kremenchug); Odessa (Podolia, Bessarabia, Kherson gubernias, western part of Ekaterinoslav (up to the Dnepr) and Tavria gubernias; Kharkov (Melitopol and Berdiansk districts of Tavria gubernia, eastern part of Ekaterinoslav gubernia, the south-eastern districts of Poltava gubernia, Kharkov gubernia and southern, Sloboda-Ukrainian districts of Kursk and Voronezh gubernias): Dragomanov, *Vol’nyi soiuz – Vil’na spilka*, 281–282ft1.

cally, into an independent state, he considered not only very difficult, if not impossible, but also, more important, absolutely unnecessary. According to Drahomanov, this step was wrong not just because of the aforementioned absence of clear borders between the Ukrainians and the Great Russians, but also because of the fact that as a result of such step an indigenous Ukrainian population would lose the territories of the Don-Caspian area for its colonisation and would also separate itself “from its tribesmen as in this area, in Kuban’.”²⁸

In my opinion, Petr Struve was right to point out that although Drahomanov could design this project only as a Ukrainian but not as a Ukrainian nationalist, for Drahomanov was not a nationalist: “None of the Ukrainian nationalists, even those free of any chauvinism, would recognise the *Free Union* as their own program. They will insist on the national autonomy of Ukraine as a solid, national, cultural, political, and social entity.”²⁹ Which was clearly not on Drahomanov’s agenda: “As Ukraine – my fatherland – is divided into two parts, Austrian and Russian, and as the first one has political freedom, which is absent in Russia, thus, in my opinion [...] the Ukrainian nation can get its political freedom in Russia, in my opinion, not by means of separatism but only with the other nations and regions of Russia by means of federalism.”³⁰

What was Drahomanov’s main criterion for defining his future Russian states? In my opinion, Dimitri Von Mohrenschildt mistakenly stated that Drahomanov advocated the idea of “historical regions as units” for the future Russian federation.³¹ Ge-

²⁸ Dragomanov, *Vol'nyi soiuz – Vil'na spilka*, 301.

²⁹ Petr Struve, introduction to *Sobranie politicheskikh sochinenii* by Mikhail Dragomanov. Vol. 2 (Paris, 1906), xlii–xliii.

³⁰ Mikhail Dragomanov, *Politicheskie sochinenia*. Vol. 1 (Moskva, 1908), xxxi. The same point was made by Mykhailo Pavlyk in: Drahomanov, *Perepyska*, Vol. 1, 97.

³¹ Von Mohrenschildt, 131.

ography, not history, was not only to become one of the key factors which had to define the organisation of political parties in the east of Europe,³² but, in my opinion, might have formed part of the main reasons of Drahomanov's only project of restructuring of the Romanov Empire.³³ Describing his vision of its future, Drahomanov thought it should be divided according to geographical, economical and ethnographical criteria, but not according to historical or national ones. At that particular moment, according to Drahomanov, national principle of division of the Russian Empire into separate regions according to the ethnographical map, while creating everywhere their own governments, would be very doctrinaire-like, especially considering that national borders do not always correspond to the borders of economic basins; and an *a priori* cutting of provinces according to the prevailing nationalities could have contributed to the emergence of national centralisms "similar to those already existing in the crown-lands of Austria-Hungary."³⁴ Thus,

these regions have foremost to be economical basins, determined by the geographical peculiarities. And since national groups much more than the state ones conform to the geographical and economical basins, since the location of nations is more or less conditioned by natural colonisation, while the state borders often result from conquests by arms and even dynastic heritage, in the majority of cases economic and geographical basins will match with the national ones. Not deciding all the details, we think that even now one can generally guess the features of those natural regions, into which Eastern Europe is divided at. These will be the following regions: A) *Russian* or *Great Russian*: Northern, Lakeland, Upper-Volga, Lower-Volga, Kama, Urals, Ural-Cossack, Oka, Steppe; B) *Baltic*: Estonian and Latvian with the German colonies; C) *Lithuanian*; D) *Polish* in three parts of Vistula's basin in Russia, Austria and Prussia; E) *Belorussian*; F) *Ukrainian* (Carpathians, Polessia, Right Bank, Left Bank, Steppe, Sloboda and Cossack); G) *Romanian* (Bessarabian, Danubian, Transilvanian and Bukovynian); H) *Caucasian*.³⁵

In the end his "Free Union" reform project was grounded not only on some peculiar attribute of the land or population, but

³² Mikhail Dragomanov, "Vnimaniiu sotsialistov-emigrantov iz Rossii," in Idem, *Sobranie politicheskikh sochinenii*. Vol. 2 (Paris, 1906), 316.

³³ Dragomanov, "Vostochnaia politika Germanii," 103–104.

³⁴ "We consider is more corresponding to the interests of socialism in the East of Europe to organise social parties along the natural regions: geographical, economical and national, on the contrary to the existing and traditional state borders" – Dragomanov, *Velikorusskii internatsionalism*, 130.

³⁵ Mikhail Dragomanov, "Estestvennye oblasti i propaganda sotsialisma," in Idem, *Sobranie politicheskikh sochinenii*. Vol. 2 (Paris, 1906), 336.

as far as possible on a totality of the area's peculiarities: natural, which determine the unity of the economic interests of its inhabitants, and also national, determining unity of its moral interests, while at the same time we paid attention to the peculiarities of the first kind. [...] This is why in some cases of our project of Russia's division we tolerated a mixed population, in another a population of one nationality is divided into several regions, as in the case of the large and widespread populations of Belorussians and Ukrainians.³⁶

It seems that Drahomanov fully embraced geographical determinism for his own purposes and his views on nations and nationalism. He believed that, first, different nations are situated according to the borders of natural basins, geographical and economic;³⁷ those who denied an existence of a separate Ukrainian nation had simply to glance at the map, which

showed us that a Ukrainian *poroda* occupied a clear, roughly homogeneous geographical area: *country of chernozem* from the Carpathians to the northern slope of the Caucasus, a country whose eastern part (from the lower Don to the Caspian Sea) Ukrainians settle quickly before our eyes... Any attentive study of the geographical peculiarities of this country and its location relative to other countries (i.e., Ukraine and Belorussia – countries of the Black Sea basin, such as Poland and Lithuania – of the Baltic, and a Great Russia – of the Baltic-Caspian and Northern) will undoubtedly reveal to anyone the existence of the peculiar tasks of its internal and external politics, which can be resolved rationally only under a clear self-governance of this country, possible only when the population of this country realises its unity and its interests.³⁸

An example of such a map was published in 1885 in Reclus' Encyclopaedia (Figure 4.1). However, even earlier, in his article of 1882, Drahomanov expressed his most lucid statement on the formative role of geography. Here he stated that

the history of each nation is conditioned by its geography. Fortunate are those nations which chance to occupy favourable lands, clearly defined ones whose characteristics and possibilities are easily understood even when the population is still on a rather primitive level. But it is a misfortune for a nation to live in a country where the geography gives it a complex task, one which can be coped with only by means of a highly evolved consciousness, acute understanding, and persistence. Such rather "difficult" countries fell to the lot of almost all the Slavs, especially those who occupy the great plain of Eastern Europe extending to the lower Elbe in the west, i.e. the Poles, Belorussians, Ukrainians, and Great Russians. The plain-like character of the country leads its inhabitants to extensive expansion. The rivers are the only unifying factors, but their tributaries are connected so that passage from one river basin to the next is easy. This is why ethnic frontiers are not clear cut. Looking at the map of the rivers, mountains, and swamps of this part of Europe, it is at once evident that it is naturally divided into regions, formed mainly by river basins: the Oder and the Vistula, the Nemen, the Western Dvina, the Dnepr with the Dnestr, the Lake Ladoga, and the Volga. Ten or eleven centuries ago there was a corresponding distribution of tribes here: the Poles on the Oder and the Vistula; the Lithuanians on the Nemen; the Krivichi (Belorussians) on the upper Dnieper and the upper Dvina;

³⁶ Dragomanov, "Estestvennye oblasti i propaganda sotsialisma," 316–317.

³⁷ Mikhail Dragomanov, *Velikorusskii internatsionalizm i pol'sko-ukrainskii vopros* (Kazan', 1906), 9.

³⁸ Dragomanov, *Vol'nyi soiuz – Vil'na spilka*, 299.

the Poliany and their kinsmen (the ancestors of the Ukrainians) along the middle Dnieper and in its neighbouring regions. The Ladoga basin and the upper Oka were settled by Slavic colonists who, moving south and east and becoming mixed with the various Finno-Altaic and Turanian tribes, formed the numerous Great Russian people. The rivers also determined the routes of communication and the intertribal connections. These were: the Neva-Volga line from Novgorod to Bolgar (now the Petersburg-Astrakhan line); the Dvina-Dnieper and the Niemen-Dnieper lines (now Riga or Königsberg to Kiev); and the lines from the Oder and the Vistula to the Dnepr and the Dniester (now running from Stettin and Danzig through Warsaw, Krakow, and Lvov to Odessa, with a branch through Brest and Pinsk to Kiev with a continuation to Galatz). A discovery of Persian, Arab, Greek, Frankish, and Anglo-Saxon coins in these regions has helped us trace the divisions and connections among these basins.³⁹

According to Drahomanov, each of these river basins and communication lines was further separated by marshes and small lakes, and therefore a political union between them was never durable. The same situation

arose at the southern terminals of these lines, along the coast of the Black Sea. Nomads were attracted from the East over the steppes, and several times cut off Ukrainian colonisation from the Black Sea. From time to time they almost succeeded in rendering the Dnepr insignificant as a great international route of communication, scarcely leaving open the secondary line from Danzig to Warsaw, Halych, Lviv, and Halats. The Poles attempted to take the control of this route from the Ukrainians, who had been weakened by the influx of nomads.⁴⁰

Therefore, Drahomanov asserted that “the geographic and historic conditions of the countries between the Baltic and the Black Seas brought to the situation that the peoples between them, being pushed back from the sea coasts, were shoved against one another.”⁴¹ He considered taking possession of the Black Sea coast as one of the most important tasks for a Ukrainian nation: “As a cultural area Ukraine is impossible without the northern shores of the Black Sea; we possessed them in the times of Ulich, Tivertsy and Tmutarakan Rus’, we gained back parts of them before the Turkish attack in the fifteenth century, and we have in one way or another to seize them back again.”⁴² This “elementary geographical-national task of Ukraine” was completed by

³⁹ Dragomanov, “Istoricheskaia Polsha,” 9–10. English translation see in: *Mykhailo Drahomanov: a symposium and selected writings, the Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of arts and sciences in the U.S.* 2 (1952). Similar opinions he expressed in his parts of Reclus’ “European Russia”: Elisée Reclus, *The earth and its inhabitants. Europe*. Vol. 5 (New York, 1885), 200–289. It seems, that the only time it was mentioned *in passim* before was in Osyp Hermaize, “M. Drahomanov v ukraiins’kii istoriografii,” *Ukraiina* 2–3 (1926): 131.

⁴⁰ Dragomanov, “Istoricheskaia Polsha,” 11–12.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁴² Drahomaniv, *Lysty na Naddnyprians’ku Ukraïnu*, 19.

Muscovy: “Russia gave Ukrainians Azov, Taganrog, Akerman, Ochakov, Odessa (Kotchubei) and Kuban.”⁴³

It seems that Drahomanov simultaneously contemplated his ideas in the framework of a natural borders theory. He might have adopted the idea which had been widespread in Europe at least since the early modern period either from contemporary German scholarship, or from his French acquaintances. At the same time, what he meant seems to differ from other visions of “natural borders” of the time, for instance a German one. During his stay in Germany in 1872 Drahomanov criticised it and argued against the geographical determinism as was popularised by contemporary German scholars. According to Drahomanov,

a thought of a natural belonging to the German tribe of an area up to the Neman and the Dnestr is expressed recently in such a publication as a famous Brokgauses’ Conversations-Lexicon. [...] It will not take long to outline the arguments from the theory of natural borders, since there are no proper natural borders almost anywhere on Earth as rivers, for instance, do not separate people and states at all, mountains do not separate river basins, and now even seas do not separate people. Therefore, with the help of a scientific sophistry one can bring the geographical arguments in favour of any scientific capture. Why, for instance, are the Neman and the Dnestr the natural German borders, and not the Vokhov and the Dnepr? [...] This is the kind of primitiveness to which science can lead us if national selfishness is not held in check.⁴⁴

At the same time, ten years later, in 1882, Drahomanov described Lithuania under the Gedymin dynasty as an example of “a civilised Belorussian-Ukrainian state with sufficiently natural borders (the basins of the Nemen, the Dvina and the Dnepr).”⁴⁵ In yet another place he agreed with Natalia Kairova’s statement in *Vestnik Evropy* that “there is no reason for a political separatism of Little Russia, not the slightest ground. [...] There is absolutely no correlation between the natural borders and the lands populated by the Little Russians and Russians. Both tribes live mixed in

⁴³ Drahomaniv, *Lysty na Naddnyprians’ku Ukraïnu*, 21. This gave him ground to acquit Ukrainian gentry of the turn of the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries service to the Russian Empire: “These deeds were normal, even national in its time” – Ibid, 22.

⁴⁴ Mikhail Dragomanov, “Vostochnaia politika Germanii i obrusenie,” in Idem, *Politicheskie sochineniia*. Vol. 1 (Moskva, 1908), 9–11.

⁴⁵ Dragomanov, “Istoricheskaia Polsha,” 12, 13.

some places, on a flat plain which is separated neither by the mountain ridges nor by rivers.”⁴⁶

However, this functional side of geography could not substitute people as the fundamental source of national patriotic feelings: Ukrainian common folk might have found themselves with “the unfortunate geographical location of their country in the constellation of states in the East of Europe in the fifteenth – sixteenth centuries,”⁴⁷ but at the same time their fatherland meant “a nation, which resides in people (otherwise fatherland would mean mountains, rivers, lakes, swamps, etc.).”⁴⁸ What definitely was on Drahomanov’s agenda was the idea of the similarity of the Russian, Austrian and Hungarian Ukrainians. He emphasised that

the inhabitants of the Ukrainian regions of Russia cannot limit their activity by its political borders. The Ukrainian population of the eastern regions of Austria-Hungary is a direct continuation of the same population of south-western Russia. In spite of some differences dependent on state conditions, everyday life, national-cultural tasks and even the social position of Ukrainian people in essence are similar along both shores of the Zbruch River. It is not only because they share an immediate neighbourhood, but also the direction of rivers and roads, relative population density and because of it the movement of goods and people looking for earnings and so on, that brings the population of Subcarpathian Ukraine into constant contact with their tribesmen in Russia. A closer acquaintance with the subject reveals that the political border between Russia and Austria exists here much more for the higher classes (and that predominantly for the “Orthodox,” not for the Catholics or the Poles, and not for the Jews), than for the masses, in other words the peasants. On both sides of the border the latter not only live one everyday life, become relatives, cross the border to earn a living, but also exchange the products of a moral life: in this way, for instance, songs about serfdom, recruitment, and emancipation are almost the same.⁴⁹

Drahomanov became the first Ukrainian political activist who tried to implement his program by himself and work for Ukrainians of both Empires. To achieve this aim at first he travelled regularly to Galicia, Bukovyna and Hungarian Rus’ (from the end of the 1860s) and became acquainted not only with the established local politicians but also and especially actively with younger people, mostly students, who

⁴⁶ Mikhail Dragomanov, “Strakhi ukrainskogo separatizma,” in Idem, *Sobranie politicheskikh sochinenii*. Vol. 2 (Paris, 1906), 594. Drahomanov added a question mark after “rivers.”

⁴⁷ Mikhail Petryk, “Chto takoe ukrainofil’stvo?” *Russkoe bogatstvo* 11 (1882): 116.

⁴⁸ Petryk, 117.

⁴⁹ Dragomanov, *Vol’nyi soiuz – Vil’na spilka*, 303–304.

could become local leaders in the future.⁵⁰ He also started what would later constitute his enormous corpus of correspondence with prominent Galicians of the time; he promoted Galician and Bukovynian writers among Kyivan Ukrainophiles,⁵¹ wrote numerous articles on Galicia both in St. Petersburg⁵² and Kyivan⁵³ newspapers and journals, and together with his former pupil Oleksandr Rusov became the only two members of the South-Western Department of RGO's Commission for Austrian Ukraine.⁵⁴ For all of this activity he was even given a nickname of "Galician Mykhailo."⁵⁵ Geography was one of his main arguments to prove that although Ukrainian people of the Romanov and Habsburg Empires constitute the same nation, they require separate action.⁵⁶

His activity was of enormous importance for Galician Ukrainians. No regular contacts existed between the intellectuals of Galicia and Russian Ukraine before Drahomanov. When in 1871 Meliton Buchynsky wanted to emphasise his ignorance of the situation in the Hungarian Rus', he used the ignorance of Russian Ukrainians about Galicia as a suitable comparison.⁵⁷ The same recollections were written by Drahomanov himself, not only about Russian Ukrainians, but about Russians in general:

Among ordinary Russian citizens of all parties there rules an absolute indifference towards Galicia. Not everyone knows that "Russians", or Ruthenians, "Little Russians" live there... This is why one who is interested in Galician affairs surprises Russians. And it is

⁵⁰ Detailed description of his travels see in Mykhailo Drahomanov, *Avstro-rus'ki spohady* (Lviv, 1889).

⁵¹ This was the case with, for instance, Hryhorii Kupchanko and his book "Pisni bukovyns'koho narodu," published with this nationalising title by the Kyivan Ukrainophiles, contrary to Drahomanov's intentions – see Drahomanov, *Avstro-rus'ki spohady*, 73–74.

⁵² Many of them were subsequently published as Dragomanov, *Politicheskie sochineniia*, Vol. 1 (Moskva, 1908), 268–486. Some of them were included into the second volume: Dragomanov, *Sobranie politicheskikh sochinenii*. Vol. 2 (Paris, 1906).

⁵³ Predominantly in *Kievskii telegraf* in the beginning of 1875: Drahomanov, *Avstro-rus'ki spohady*, 333.

⁵⁴ Savchenko, *Zaborona ukraiinstva*, 101.

⁵⁵ Drahomanov, *Avstro-rus'ki spohady*, 259, 342; *Lystuvannia Ivana Franka ta Mykhaila Drahomanova*, 163.

⁵⁶ Petryk, "Chto takoe ukrainofilstvo?" 93–126.

⁵⁷ *Perepyska Mykhaila Drahomanova z Melitonom Buchyns'kym* (Lviv, 1910), 34.

the duty of Ukrainophiles to sympathise with them, as it is the duty of Moskvophiles to care about their foreign brothers.⁵⁸

The same situation held true concerning the Hungarian Rus'. Preparing his way across the Carpathians in 1775 Drahomanov, according to his memoirs, could not find anyone in Lviv who would help him with planning the route for no one knew anything about it; even the priest, who lived some eight to ten kilometres away from the Austrian-Hungarian border was not acquainted with his colleague across the border: "On the whole, Galicia is separated from Hungary by a 'Chinese wall'."⁵⁹

I left Ungvar early in the morning and had to wait for a train in Chop train station. It could take me to Koshytsi and Priashiv, and then around the Tatras to Krakow as there were no railroads through the Carpathians at the time. I ordered myself some food, sat at the table and started to remember everything that I had heard and saw in the Hungarian Rus': I remembered the Hungarian and Jewish disdain of the people, the folk ignorance, stupidity, selfishness and weak will of the Ruthenian intelligentsia – and I felt so bitter as never before... I did not see the wine and food being placed in front of me, and when I came back to my senses, I saw my tears dripping onto my plate... I gave myself a Hannibal oath: to do something for the Hungarian Rus', at least to direct some souls to real work for people in a democratic-progressive direction. [...] No one else, neither among the Russian Ukrainians nor among the Galicians, appeared like me to be prepared to embark on similar work, to at least look into the Hungarian Rus'.⁶⁰

Drahomanov visited Hungarian Rus' once more, in 1776, and after that started to send his guests from the Russian Ukraine there on their way back home. At the end of the 1870s he worked upon a plan for "a propaganda book," which was to be called "A reader for a Hungarian Ruthenian." It would start from the statistics of all Rus', but it seems that nothing came out of this project.⁶¹ In the end, one can confidently assert that while Drahomanov firmly stood on a pan-Ukrainian platform and called upon Galician and Russian Ukrainians alike to embrace it as well,⁶² he was not a proponent

⁵⁸ Drahomanov, *Avstro-rus'ki spohady*, 257–261.

⁵⁹ Ibid, 386.

⁶⁰ Ibid, 430.

⁶¹ Iaroslav Dashkevych, "Mykhailo Drahomanov i Zakarpattia," in *Shtrykhy do naukovoho portretu Mykhaila Drahomanova*, ed. by R. Mishchuk (Kyiv, 1991), 200–231. Dashkevych writes that Drahomanov was not the first Ukrainian activist from the Romanov Empire to visit Hungarian Rus': the first one came S. Fesenko-Novvrytsky in June 1875, who was arrested after crossing the Carpathians and deported to the Russian border.

⁶² *Lystuvannia Ivana Franka ta Mykhaila Drahomanova*, 119.

of the creation of an independent Ukrainian state as a cure for all hardships of Ukrainians.

How was one to spread the concept of a single Ukrainian nation from the Don to the Sian Rivers? According to Drahomanov, there were some “natural factors” which had to play their part in any case. One of the most important of these was a railway network with its almost missionary function to enable various people to travel around and become acquainted with the other members of their nations (see Figure 4.2 and its clear emphasis on railway connections). Drahomanov’s stress on this ability for Ukrainians from the different parts of the two Empires to travel and communicate with one another tempts one to call him “the Carl Deutsch of the time.” After his own travels and “discovery” of the Ukrainian people in the Habsburg Empire, he considered that different parts of the Ukrainian territory would become more connected precisely due to the roads, which at the time were successfully being built by both Empires: in 1871 the first Austrian and Russian lines were connected near Volochisk / Pidvolochys’k, and in 1873 near Radivilov / Brody.⁶³ From this time on railways and travel did become one of the most popular nationalising instruments for Ukrainians from both Empires, transporting not only books and correspondence much faster than before, but of more concern to Drahomanov and his fellow European and Russian anarchists, they transported people: future party colleagues, husbands and wives, university professors, participants in various all-national commemoration, or simple tourists. As Drahomanov pointed out:

Let ourselves notice that with this case sometimes such things matter a lot that at first glance do not have anything in to do with nationality and do not originate from the personal initiative of a particular nation, as, for instance, railways, which Russia and Austria are building at the moment, very often for strategical reasons, and which give the people

⁶³ Ihor Zhaloba, *Infrastrukturna polityka avstriiskoho uriadu na pivnichnomu skhodi monarchiii v ostannii chverti XVIII – 60-kh rokakh XIX st.* (Chernivtsi, 2004), 378.

of our nations a way to become acquainted with one another. And before that, i.e. Bantysh, was not sure if the same “Little Russians” inhabited Hungary; I knew a large number of educated Poltavans who were surprised when they learned that the same people live in Volhynia as in the Poltava region; Stetsky, the author of Polish books on Volhynia, was most serious when he persuaded my sister that Volhynian ornaments cannot be the same as Poltavan ones, and so on and so forth. Now the roads from the Left Bank to the Right, and from there to Galicia and Hungary have done more to bring Ukrainians-Ruthenians together than books.⁶⁴

In another place he continued that

we will add only that natural conditions, the most powerful of all, will work in favour of a Little Russian Panslavism: the Kiev–Volochnisk railway works towards this end much better than many books. And when the road from Stryi to Munkach, from Galicia to Hungary, is completed and the whole network of Hungarian–Serbian roads and the Kiev and Podol gubernias are intersected by another road to Bukovyna, then Little Russians will travel to Italy and even to Switzerland and France through the Slavonic lands, and, in any case even to Vienna, through the Little Russian lands.⁶⁵

In 1883 Teofil Okunevsky knew that Drahomanov would be glad to hear that there existed plans for regular trips of Ukrainians to Galicia and vice versa.⁶⁶ However, the latter not only encouraged his adherents to promote the idea of all-Ukrainian unity amongst themselves and to travel around, but also pointed to the desirability of advertising it to the wider public. For instance, Drahomanov was irritated by the lack of attention on the side of Ukrainian intellectuals towards teaching Ukrainians their geography.⁶⁷ In the first half of the 1880s he supported a project of a Ukrainian translation of Reclus’ volume on European Russia, or its parts on Ukraine into Ukrainian, which, according to Franko, “could have become the first geography of Ukraine for pupils”⁶⁸ (the translation remained unpublished).⁶⁹ Later on he also supported the creation of the ethnographical map by Hryhorii Velychko. Moreover, Drahomanov

⁶⁴ Drahomaniv, *Lysty na Naddnyprians’ku Ukrainu*, 17–18.

⁶⁵ Mikhail Dragomanov, “Po voprosu o malorusskoy literature,” in Idem, *Sobranie politicheskikh sochinenii*. Vol. 2, (Paris, 1906), 195. One of his correspondents pointed to the same reason why the “our relations with Kyivans became livelier – due to the new railway, which finally was completed this month” – *Perepyska Drahomanova z Buchyns’kym*, 45.

⁶⁶ *Perepyska Mykhaila Drahomanova z doktorom Teofilom Okunevs’kym, 1883, 1885–1891, 1893–1895* (Lviv, 1905), 6.

⁶⁷ Drahomaniv, *Lysty na Naddnyprians’ku Ukrainu*, 115.

⁶⁸ *Lystuvannia Ivana Franka ta Mykhaila Drahomanova*, 31, 35, 80–82. This project was also mentioned in a letter to him from Mykola Lysenko: Mykola Lysenko, *Lysty* (Kyiv, 2004), 110.

⁶⁹ Mykhailo Vozniak, “Dopovnennia M.P. Drahomanova do ioho ‘Avstro-Ruskykh spohadiv’ u vidpovidi retsenzentovi ‘Dila’,” *Ukraina* 2–3 (1926): 87–88.

especially emphasised the need to make this map as large as possible, so that it could be used as a wall map at schools.⁷⁰ He himself designed a map of “Historical Displacements of Ukraine,” which was published in Reclus’ volume on European Russia (Figure 4.1). It seems that this was the first map which showed the habitat of “the Ukrainian race”: from Peremyshl to the Don River, notable for the absence of references to the period of Kyivan Rus’ – Drahomanov clearly avoided using historical arguments in his politics. However, this was by no means “the first map of Ukraine,” as has been recently contended by Ihor Stebelsky.⁷¹

Despite Drahomanov’s attempts not everything went smoothly between the Russian and Galician Ukrainians at the time. In 1871 after discussing Drahomanov’s suggestion about sending books to Galicia from Kyiv, one member of the Kyivan Hromada excused himself before Drahomanov: “We understood your idea..., but we cannot afford to enlighten Galicians, who remain at a pre-Karamzin level of progress, to enlighten them by our almost absent means.”⁷² Likewise, as was already pointed out by Iurii Sheveliov, even Drahomanov’s attitude towards Galicians was not entirely unequivocal.⁷³ Early on he became an ardent Galician supporter, but later, after visiting Galicia and becoming acquainted with the local situation, he at least for a short while could have changed his position and attitude towards it in general: “Galicia is what it is and it cannot serve our purpose in any way, but has itself to be reformed in the first instance.”⁷⁴ And then to reveal his deep resentment against Galicians, Drahomanov, according to Sheveliov, in his memoirs eagerly quoted an abusive description

⁷⁰ Drahomanov, *Perepyska*. Vol. 1, 93, 94, 96.

⁷¹ Ihor Stebelsky, “Putting Ukraine on the map: the contribution of Stepan Rudnyts’kyi to Ukrainian nation-building,” *Nationalities Papers* 39 (2011): 590.

⁷² *Arkhiv Mykhaila Drahomanova*. Vol. 1, 111.

⁷³ Iurii Sheveliov, *Vnesok Halychyny u formuvannia ukraiïnskoïi literaturnoi movy* (Kyiv, 2003), 29–30.

⁷⁴ Drahomanov, *Avstro-rus’ki spohady*, 264.

of them, which he seemingly got from one Ukrainian: “Dear God! If you want to punish Russia and Ukraine, do punish them by fire, by sword, by anything, but not do so by an attachment of Galicia, because we have our own rubbish to dam the Dniro.”⁷⁵

In my opinion, although this conclusion has some grounds it is still a bit facile. A better understanding of Drahomanov’s own attitude towards Galicia, however ambivalent and at times emotional, might be obtained from his correspondence with Ivan Franko. Both of them discussed Galician–Ukrainian relations in numerous letters over many years.⁷⁶ After studying this correspondence one forms the impression that Drahomanov was constantly extinguishing Franko’s youthful heat and trying to make him understand that without common work with the Russian Ukrainians everything sober in Galicia would simply decline:

I promoted only one final aim – for Ukrainians to have relations with Galicia, and promoted it not only from the point of view of Ukraine, but more from that of Galicia – since the break with Ukraine, which you recommend, will lead all the small sparks of a slightly cleverer spirit in Galicia which still smoulder to be completely snuffed out and suppressed, whereas relations with Ukraine might sooner or later lead to a change in the current stagnation. [...] By no means did I recommend to Kyivans, as you say, to break with Galicia. (Even if I did write some mistaken words, I would be surprised that you had not noticed that to write such words would mean to me to renounce everything that I had said and done for the last 15–25 years.) On the contrary, I recommended more powerful pressure upon Galicia and an action with a clear program. [...] Besides, do not forget that the “old” Kyivans are themselves very little European and very sluggish. Once Antonovych was a European and energetic among them, but once there was a horse and now he’s worn out. Now he is the most harmful person towards progress in Kyiv, although until now he has been teaching archeology to people. [...] People might naturally grow up only in Galicia who will be both Europeans and Ukrainians and will go on to guide more Russian Ukrainians with progressive instincts.⁷⁷

This double insistence of Drahomanov upon geography and ethnography, as I already mentioned, made him clearly opposed to using historical arguments for national determination: “We have to demand rights for our national language, together with other political rights, not in the name of history, which often is against us, but by

⁷⁵ Drahomanov, *Avstro-rus’ki spohady*, 260.

⁷⁶ Some of them see here: *Lystuvannia Ivana Franka ta Mykhaila Drahomanova*, 92–97, 163, 181, 192, 205–207, 223–225, 308, 374, 412.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 205–207.

using arguments of a modern sound mind.”⁷⁸ Nowhere was this more vividly expressed than in his articles and brochures, which argued against the idea of “historical Poland” and the Polish equation of the political border of Poland in 1772 with the ethnographical and national border of contemporary Poland.⁷⁹ Drahomanov’s objections to Polish claims over Ukrainian territory appear constantly throughout his whole written legacy. He condemned Karamzin for not seeing non-Polish nationalities in these lands,⁸⁰ as well as the Decembrists and the Poles of 1824–1825, for “none of them expressed even a shade of a doubt that the contented areas are neither Russia nor Poland.”⁸¹ He also criticised Imperial Russia which, according to Drahomanov, after the beginning of the liberal Tsardom of 1860s was willing to give to the Poles everything which was not Great Russian, “except for those areas which the Russian state used to govern, the Left Bank Ukraine, which alone was called “Little Russia” in Russia, with only Kiev causing some doubts”; he further criticised the Russian intelligentsia of the 1860 for its “Polish” stance in this matter. To prove the opposite he referred to statistics (which was a part of geography at the time),⁸² and stated:

Poland historical or ethnographical? Now the sober-minded people can only talk of the independence of ethnographical Poland, so that when one talks of the Polish lands in Russia he talks not of the whole *Kongresówka*, since its Kholm-Sedlets area is populated not by Poles, but by Ukrainians, and August one – by Lithuanians and which even before the partitions of Poland was a part of Lithuania. [...] Areas which are out of the borders of ethnographical Poland must obtain their autonomy, and the Polish question in these areas can only be a question of the rights of Polish individuals and communities, or, in some places, of communities and colonies.⁸³

Here I would like to suggest the third thesis of this chapter and argue that Drahomanov has to be viewed as a part of the wider circle of anarchists of the time. Due to the figures of Élisée Reclus and Piotr Kropotkin previous scholars have already

⁷⁸ Drahomaniv, *Lysty na Naddnyprians'ku Ukraïnu*, 54

⁷⁹ Dragomanov, “Istoricheskaia Polsha,” 33.

⁸⁰ Ibid 28–29.

⁸¹ Ibid, 30–31.

⁸² Ibid, 35.

⁸³ Ibid, 253–254. The same idea was expressed by the same words in Dragomanov, *Velikoruskii internatsionalizm*, 121.

paid attention to the remarkable combination of anarchism and geography. “The more one understands the world and its inhabitants, the more his prejudices and antagonisms decline, until at last he becomes a true world citizen”⁸⁴ – this statement has been considered as the principal explanation which connected science and politics for the anarchists. In his survey of Russian science of the second half of the nineteenth century, Alexander Vucinich demonstrated that this was the period in the intellectual life of the Russian Empire when science became widely considered as a tool to reform the state.⁸⁵ An enthusiastic traveller and a member of the Russian Geographical Society, who became a political émigré, Piotr Kropotkin in particular believed in geography: “Since man is a part of nature, and since the life of his ‘spirit’, personal as well as social, is just as much a phenomenon of nature as is the growth of a flower or the evolution of social life amongst the ants and bees, there is no cause for suddenly changing our method of investigation when we pass from the flower to man, or from a settlement of beavers to a human town.”⁸⁶ Therefore, according to the Russian prince, “the new philosophy of nature attempts to combine *humanism*, the emphasis on human agency and *naturalism*, the recognition that humans are an intrinsic part of nature.”⁸⁷

Here Kropotkin derived a special anarchist mission for geography:

Geography must render, moreover, another far more important service. It must teach us, from our earliest childhood, that we are all brethren, whatever our nationality. In our time of wars, of nationalist self-conceit, of national jealousies and hatreds ably nourished by people who pursue their own egotistic, personal or class interests, geography must be – in so far as the school may do anything to counterbalance hostile influences – a means of dissipating these prejudices and of creating other feelings more worthy of humanity. It must show that each nationality brings its own precious building-stone for the general development of the commonwealth, and that only small parts of each nation are interested in maintaining national hatreds and jealousies. It must be recognised that apart from other causes which nourish national jealousies, different nationalities do not yet sufficiently know one another; the strange questions which each foreigner is asked about his country; the absurd prejudices with regard to one another which are spread on both extremities of

⁸⁴ Gary Dunbar, “Élisée Reclus, geographer and anarchist,” *Antipode* 10–11 (1978): 20.

⁸⁵ Alexander Vucinich, *Science in Russian culture, 1861–1917* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1970), 3–34.

⁸⁶ Brian Morris, *Kropotkin: the politics of community* (New York: Humanity Books, 2004), 122.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 123.

a continent – nay, on both banks of a channel – amply prove that even among whom we describe as educated people geography is merely known by its name. The small differences we notice in the customs and manners of different nationalities, as also the differences of national characters which appear especially among the middle classes, make us overlook the immense likeness which exists among the labouring classes of all nationalities – a likeness which becomes the more striking at a closer acquaintance. It is the task of geography to bring this truth, in its full light, into the midst of the lies accumulated by ignorance, presumption, and egotism. [...] It must show that the development of each nationality was the consequence of several great natural laws, imposed by the physical and ethnic characters of the region it inhabited; that the efforts made by other nationalities to check its natural development have been mere mistakes.⁸⁸

I have not (yet) found any indication of whether Drahomanov was acquainted with Kropotkin (although I think he must have been as two of the most prominent émigrés from the Russian Empire were living in Geneva at the same time and were even compared by their contemporaries⁸⁹), but he definitely was linked and worked with another famous anarchist of the time, “perhaps the most prolific geographer who ever lived” (as Gary Dunbar defined him), Kropotkin’s friend, Élisée Reclus. The latter exemplifies the best known case of the close interweaving of politics and science: “To understand Reclus’ geography it is necessary to understand his anarchism, and the reverse is also true.”⁹⁰

Why did Reclus become interested in geography? French geography of the time was born out of a defeat in the war against Germany and until the middle of the twentieth century was firmly associated with the figure of Vidal de la Blache. The latter imagined it mainly as “the science of landscape,” whose main task therefore was to provide detailed geographic descriptions of a particular area; the geographer was to

⁸⁸ Peter Kropotkin, “What geography ought to be,” *The Nineteenth Century* 18 (1885): 942. The author was a renowned Russian geographer, distinguished for his participation in the geographical surveys of Eastern Siberia, a member of the Russian Geographical Society, who published maps and papers on geography, but had to leave Russia because of his revolutionary involvement. This paper Kropotkin wrote while he was imprisoned in Clairvaux prison. Curiously enough, the idea to write his universal geography came to Élisée Reclus while he was imprisoned for his participation in the Commune.

⁸⁹ Pavel Akselrod, *Perezhito i peredumannoe*. Book 1 (Berlin, 1923), 184; Khvedir Steshko, “M. Drahomaniv ta Mykhailo Veniukov,” in *Drahomanivskiy zbirnyk*. Vol. 1 (Praha, 1930), 263.

⁹⁰ I would add this was the case with Drahomanov as well. On Reclus see: Dunbar, 16–21; Idem, *Élisée Reclus: historian of nature* (Hamden: Archon Books, 1978); Marie Fleming, *The anarchist way to socialism: Élisée Reclus and nineteenth century* (London: Croom Helm, 1979), especially chapter seven, pages 144–162. The idea of his nineteen-volume *La Nouvelle Géographie Universelle* was also conceived in prison. Reclus’ geography was written for the most part in Switzerland, where he was exiled after his participation in the Commune.

“detail a region’s physiognomy and show how its traits resulted from a harmonious and permanent interaction between natural conditions and old historical heritage.”⁹¹ Kristin Ross particularly underlines Vidalian “fetishisation of visual criteria”: the landscapes he described could not be seen, “his masterful, almost Parnassian literary style masked the fact that he was concerned not with precise, localised landscapes – the observed land – the typical landscape that he constructed from abstract and derivative *cliché* formulations.”⁹² Vidalian geography was therefore clean of the

ongoing historical developments like the industrial revolution or colonialism, famines or the rise of urbanism. [...] To conceive of space in this way is to occult the social and economic contradictions of which space is the material terrain; the very concept of “the region” as it is developed by Vidal implies a homogeneous, unitary society at one with its natural milieu and united in its collective will to exist. In fact, “humanised landscapes” are quite rare in nineteenth-century academic geography; if humans appear at all they must do so in such a way as to reinforce the natural harmony of the region: the native, the peasant is part of the landscape, in a synecdochic relationship of decor [my emphasis – AK].⁹³

Contrary to the Vidalian approach, Reclus suggested a totally different version of what a science of geography should be. As the first scholar to use the term “social geography,” he “opposed the Vidalian definition of geography as the science of landscape with a different one: geography is nothing but ‘history in space’.”⁹⁴ Ross describes his approach to geography as to “a differentiated, non-static, changing ensemble,” with space in his works “considered a social product – or rather, as both producer and produced, both determinative and determined – something that cannot be explained without recourse to the study of the functioning of society.”⁹⁵ This is exactly why Reclus was opposed to a Vidalian definition of geography as “the science of places and not of people” and paid his main attention on the changes “provoked by colonisation on indigenous populations and the organisation of their space, thus an-

⁹¹ Kristin Ross, *The emergence of social space: Rimbaud and the Paris Commune* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), 85–86.

⁹² Ibid, 87.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid, 91.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

icipating many of the more modern theories of unequal development.”⁹⁶ Reclus’ space seems to be what another anarchist, Henry Lefebvre, would later call a lived and social space, *l’espace vécu*, not a humanless and dead landscape.

Alas, as with Kropotkin, this episode of Drahomanov’s life has not been studied by the scholars of his life, and I have not (yet) found an academic account of his relationship with Reclus. At the moment it is (only) known that Drahomanov was one of the contributors to the main work by Reclus, a nineteen-volume *La Nouvelle Géographie Universelle*, and wrote the majority of its chapter on European Russia.⁹⁷ Since the two of them worked together one might at least assume that their outlooks should have been similar. In my opinion, a close study of Drahomanov’s writings proves the hypothesis.

To conclude, in this chapter I tried to show that Drahomanov’s worldview was clearly a territorial one. Accepting as *sine qua non* the fact that the world consisted of various national entities, in line with the most prevalent scientific trend of the time he explained their particularities and distribution on earth among other arguments by geography. Science in general, and geography (which at the time included ethnography and statistics) in particular, became one of the tools for his success: it could, firstly, show the borders of a certain ethnographical group to work for, and, secondly, explain some peculiarities of its historical development in line with the geographical development of the territory, occupied by this people. Such attempts to explain people’s lives through their geography constituted a dominant trend of science in the second half of the nineteenth century. Climate and geographical factors were determining the

⁹⁶ Ross, 91.

⁹⁷ Mykhailo Drahomanov, *Avtobiohrafia* (Kyiv, 1917), 40–41 fn. Later on among other things he used this book by Reclus to criticise the backwardness of Russian revolutionaries, who thought of Galicia as an Austrian part of Poland. Whereas even the Frenchmen called it “Austrian Poland and Ukraine” – *Pis'mo Belinskogo Gogoliu* (Zheneva, 1880), xvi.

historical development of various people, their formation and existence not only for the old famous French philosophers of the Enlightenment, Montesquieu and Rousseau, but more important for the famous German, English and American scholars of the day. Although the famous definition of what a nation was by Ernst Renan clearly avoided geography and gave preference to a nation's "soul" and past as a nation's defining features, geographical explanations of national peculiarities "were sprouting up all over the industrialised world. [...] The American historians Frederick Jackson Turner and Alfred Thayer Mahan, the geographer Halford Mackinder in Great Britain, and social scientists elsewhere in Europe, including Rudolf Kjellén in Sweden and Friedrich Ratzel in Germany, all advanced theories of political, social, and historical change that centred on factors of space and physical geography."⁹⁸ The idea that "a country influences people, people influence a country" under the German impact grew to be the main axiom of Russian science of the period as well.⁹⁹

Therefore, Drahomanov conceived Ukraine not only as an ethnographical entity, defined by the language of its nation,¹⁰⁰ but also as "a country with a clear homogeneity of geographical and ethnographical conditions."¹⁰¹ However, in contrast to Volodymyr Antonovych for instance, his idea of geography was not a nationalist one, aimed at the creation of an independent national state, but an anarchist one. For Dra-

⁹⁸ David Murphy, *The heroic earth: geopolitical thought in Weimar Germany, 1918–1933* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1997), 2–3.

⁹⁹ An overview of discussions around geographical determinism among the scholars of the Romanov Empire see in Mariia Leskinen, *Poliaki i finny v rossiiskoi nauke vtoroi poloviny XIX v.: "drugoi" skvoz' prizmu identichnosti* (Moskva, 2010), 37–161.

¹⁰⁰ "We call Ukraine the whole side from the top of the Tysa River in the contemporary Hungarian kingdom in the west of the sun to the Don River and Kuban' land in the contemporary Russian tsardom – from the top of the Narev River in the north and the Black Sea in the south, – all that land, where the majority of people speak Ukrainian language": *Hromada* 1 (1880): 2.

¹⁰¹ Dragomanov, *Vol'nyi soiuz – Vil'na spilka*, 305. In 1897 Ivan Franko, one of the Drahomanov's disciples, deviated from this idea of Drahomanov and denied a geographical part of it: "How should I love Rus'? To love it as a geographical entity I am a big enemy of empty phrases to maintain that nowhere is the nature as beautiful as in Rus'" – Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, "Apostolovi pratsi," *Ukraina* 6 (1926): 11.

homanov nationalism was not a necessary corollary of the existence of nations. As he explained to Ivan Franko in 1884, “nationalists are wrong when they think that the public can live with nationalism every day, always thinking of ‘their personal house.’ An ordinary person thinks firstly about what his personal house is like, and only after if it is his own or rented. To have a personal house is what interests people the most, and even more that they can arrange it in the way they would like.”¹⁰² Drahomanov used geography merely in its instrumental and functional way: to study where a particular population lives, what are its most urgent needs and how to conduct as effective a policy as possible towards them. He was definitely not the first to conceive of the unity of Ukrainians of the two Empires, but he was certainly the first to actively started to overcome spatial disjointment between the different lands populated by the Ukrainian nation. However, in my opinion it is utterly wrong to answer the question of why he was so interested in Galicia and Hungarian Rus’ by stating that Drahomanov was the first dreamer of an independent Ukrainian state from behind the Carpathians to the Caucasus. In his view, this territory indeed was populated by one nation, members of which should have worked for the sake of all of its parts, independently within the existing state borders. On the other hand, his theory of “Pan-Little-Russianism” – a unity of all Little Russians, divided between Russia, the Kingdom of Poland, Galicia, Bukovyna, and Hungary – could at the same time be considered a conductor of an “organic Pan-Russianism, since our Little Russia is in organic connection to Great Russia.”¹⁰³

¹⁰² *Lystuvannia Ivana Franka ta Mykhaila Drahomanova*, 107.

¹⁰³ Dragomanov, *Po voprosu o malorusskoi literature*, 191.

Figure 4.1: Historical Displacements of Ukraina. According to Dragomanov

Source: Élisée Reclus, *The earth and its inhabitants. Europe*. Vol. V: The North-East Atlantic, Islands of the North Atlantic, Scandinavia, European islands of the Arctic Ocean, Russia in Europe (New York, 1885), 289.

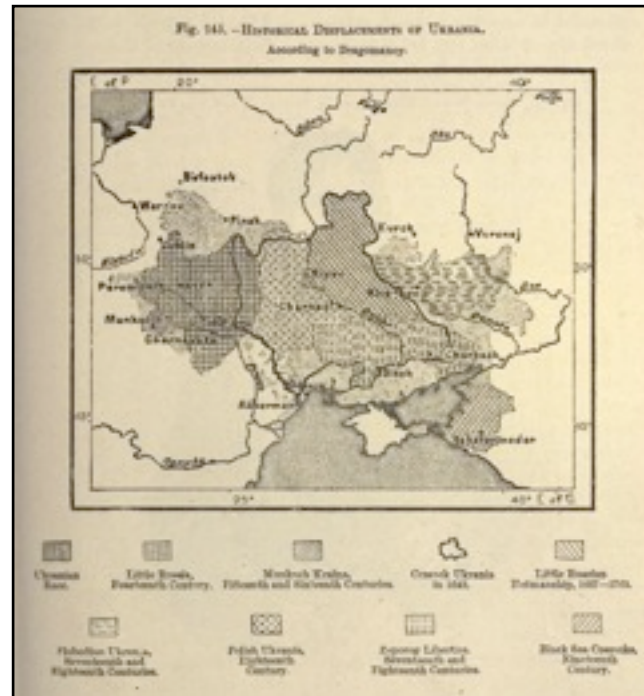


Figure 4.2: The Black Sea and surrounding countries

Source: Élisée Reclus, *The earth and its inhabitants. Europe*. Vol. V: The North-East Atlantic, Islands of the North Atlantic, Scandinavia, European islands of the Arctic Ocean, Russia in Europe (New York, 1885), flyleaf.



Chapter 5. Fin-de-siècle temporalisation of Ukrainian national space: Volodymyr Antonovych and Mykhailo Hrushevsky

The Ukrainian question will come to an end only when I cut the ground under this shanty on the corner of Kuznechnaia and Zhylianskaia streets.¹

Kievan Governor-General Chertkov, sometime in 1877–1881 (apocrypha)

Who taught us this, who put his hands to it, his efforts, who so bravely and persistently became our defender, boldly speaking, from the Carpathians to the Caucasus? One of those our activists is none other than professor Mykhailo Hrushevsky. [...] Shevchenko's Ukraine is the Dnipro Ukraine; Hrushevsky's Ukraine is the United [*soborna*] Ukraine. All Ukrainian lands of the Russian, Austrian, American Ukraine is one nation, one body, one harmonious integrity. This is what our honourable historian tells us in his large "History of Ukraine-Rus'."

Snip 8 (1912)

The open and bountiful territory with which the Ukrainian people have been blessed, this land of milk and honey that is the envy of our neighbours, this "quiet paradise" of Ukrainian natural surroundings eulogised by poets, has not brought Ukraine good fortune. The geographic features of the land and resultant relations with neighbouring peoples have loomed fatefully over the destiny of the Ukrainian people and disastrously affected their cultural life. The geographic location of the Ukrainian territory is much to blame for the historical legacy [...] that a millennium of history has passed on to the present generation.

Mykhailo Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, 1913

As might be seen from the previous chapters, by the 1880s Ukraine remained foremost an ethnographical concept, meaning a territory populated by the people speaking the Ukrainian language. Ukrainian national activists of the time had rarely employed history as an argument to legitimise their aspirations. Up to the already mentioned populists of 1840s – 1860s all histories of the southern gubernias of the Romanov Empire were histories of "Little Russia." Even though some authors occasionally used "Ukraine" as well, they explained that this name was "younger" than "Little Russia," and was introduced only in the fifteenth or sixteenth century. Moreover, informing the reader that the earliest period of Little Russian history coincided

¹ Kievan Governor-General meant a wooden house of Volodymyr Antonovych (Kiev, Zhylianskaia Str. 20), which in 1870s–1890s was the centre of the Ukrainian movement in the Russian Empire.

with that of Great Russia's, and even *in passim* mentioning Galicia to explain its contemporary peculiarities and origins in comparison to Great Russia, their authors concentrated mainly on the Cossack period of the sixteenth – eighteenth centuries.² The same tendency was prevalent in Galicia: despite the fact that historical events or actors were incidentally mentioned, as for instance in the poem “To the Galician star” by Mykola Ustyianovych (1848),³ or in Isydor Sharanevych's map “Lviv in the possession of the Ruthenian princes” (1861), it was ethnography and contemporary population, not history, that remained the most widely employed criterion for defining Little Russia / Ukraine / Ruthenia. The latter remained a young country, whereas the Little Russians / Ukrainians / Ruthenians were considered a young people.

However, since the middle of the nineteenth century the origins of “the Little Russians” were thoroughly discussed and rethought. Despite one and a half centuries having passed since the Cossack state joined Muscovy and fifty years – since the last partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and incorporation of the South-Western region into the Romanov Empire, Russian intellectuals of the time still had doubts similar to their predecessors' of the 1810s – 1830s: were Little Russians truly Russian or were they a totally different people? Thus, for instance, in 1845 famous Slavophile historian Mikhail Pogodin wrote to Ivan Kireevski: “The Great Russians live next to the Little Russians, profess the same faith, have one destiny and for a long time one history. But how many differences are there between the Great Russians and the Little Russians! Do not we have more likeness in some qualities with Frenchmen

² See, for instance, eighteenth centuries' Cossack chronicles by Hrabianka, Samovydet and Velychko, “Istoriia Rusov” (1820s), Maksimovich's “Kievljanin,” works of Bantysh-Kamenski (1822, 1830, 1846), Rigelman (1847), Sreznevski (1833–1838) and Markevich (1842–1843).

³ “From the wells of San to the shores of Don / In the beautiful, rich, vast land / Where Dnister showing off from the throne of Daniil / Quietly, sublimely flows, / Where blue waters of Dnipro Slavuta / Thunder an honour to Iaroslavl by the rapids / There lives the people of the glorious capital”: *Tvory M. Shashkevycha, Ia. Holovats'koho, N. Ustyianovycha, A. Mohyl'nyts'koho* (Lviv, 1906), 106.

than with them? What is this likeness then? This question is much more complicated.”⁴ History could provide the answer and it seems it was precisely this question which brought Pogodin to think of the Great Russians as the genuine indigenous population (and inheritors) of Kievan Rus’, while the Little Russians seemed to him only later newcomers to this area from the Carpathians. This theory provoked the famous exchange of public letters between Pogodin and Maksimovich, and the main importance of their “first scholarly debate about the legacy of Kievan Rus’”⁵ lay in the fact that it was indeed the first attempt to find out when the history of the contemporary population of the Russian southern gubernias had begun.

The first historian who purposely tried to conceptualise the origins of the Little Russians / Ukrainians and provide them with a decent nineteenth century biography was Nikolai Kostomarov. Already his “God’s Law or The Books of the Genesis of the Ukrainian people,” the programme document of the Cyrillo-Methodian Brotherhood, which I discussed in the first chapter, resembled a world history with an emphasis on Ukraine and its messianic predestination. However the most lucid exposition of his historical ideas was published only in 1861–1862 in a number of articles in *Osnova*. The most important of them were Kostomarov’s “Thoughts on the federative principle in Ancient Rus’.” In this text he argued that the Russian land was too vast to constitute a unified and centralised body; its tribes were too varied to merge into one people, thus making Rus’ ethnically and politically diverse. His principal consideration, formulated in his discussion with Nikolai Ustrialov, was the idea that different Russian nationalities a) had been already formed in the times of Kievan Rus’, b) had not changed much since then, c) the differences between them were not the outcome of

⁴ *Moskovitianin* 3 (1845): 47.

⁵ Miller, *Ukrainian question*, 66–67.

later events and only deepened with time. Kostomarov understood that such conviction would provoke a debate and was ready to defend his point of view:

People will object to the fact that we recognise a very deep antiquity in those ethnographical peculiarities, which, may have appeared only afterwards. Allegedly, the real roots and nuances of the Russian language appeared even later. [...] We do not argue that the current state of a dialect and a vernacular was formed later, but it seems to us that in the same places there existed ancient differences from time immemorial: why a system of appanage lands appears exactly in those confines where until now we see a distribution of the different Russian dialects? Why the Bielorrussian dialect is used exactly there where the Krivichi lived, and all country, where it is used now, formed the Land of the Krivichi, realising its unity and difference from the others?⁶

Thus the author concluded that “both nature and circumstances combined to produce distinct regional peculiarities in the life of the Russian people, while at the same time creating and maintaining continuous ties between them. Therefore Rus’ aspired towards a federation, and a federation was the form into which it began to develop.”⁷ Even though Kostomarov had never challenged Ustrialov’s idea of the historical unity of the Eastern Slavs, he still, for instance, explained Khmel’nitski’s decision to join Muscovy in 1654 by the complicated wartime situation and not by any historical determination of belonging to a common state, in this way rejecting Catherine II’s historicist idea of *Ottorzhennaia Vozvratikh* (Figure 1.1).⁸ However, despite all the attempts to find the origins of the contemporary Ukrainian nation in the times of Kievan Rus’, Kostomarov did not write any synthetic work with a title like “History of Ukraine.” Thus some time later Hrushevsky characterised his oeuvre in this way: “We do not find in him a clear construction of the social-historical process. [...] We need historians, not icon painters.”⁹ Kostomarov’s most famous historical book was a novel, which indeed dealt only with the times of Bogdan Khmel’nitski. Moreover, in

⁶ Nikolai Kostomarov, “Mysli o federativnom nachale v Drevnei Rusi,” *Osnova* 1 (1861): 141.

⁷ Ibid, 158. English translation by Von Mohrenschildt, 46. Von Mohrenschildt calls Kostomarov “a pioneer in the expression of the federalist principle in early Russian history and in its importance in the historical development of regions and borderlands comprising the Russian Empire” – Ibid, 60.

⁸ Nataliia Iakovenko, “‘Polsha’ i ‘Litva’: semantika prostranstv vzgliadom iz Kiev (seredina 19 – nachalo 20 v.),” in *LIS Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštijos tradicija ir tautiniai naratyvai*, ed. by A. Bumblauskas and G. Potašenko (Vilnius, 2009), 219.

⁹ Prymak, *Mykola Kostomarov*, 194.

terms of concepts he predominantly wrote about “Southern Russia” or “Little Russia,” and, as I mentioned earlier, even in his (only) text with the title “Ukraine” (which, supposedly, was given its title by Herzen and not by Kostomarov) the author’s famous call – “Let neither the Great Russians, nor the Poles claim as their own the lands which are populated by our people!” – demonstrated that the concept of Ukraine was still predominantly contemporary, while historical arguments were of secondary importance.

Nevertheless, the generation following Kostomarov purposely tried to change this state of affairs. Although some contemporary scholars prefer to give the title of “the father of Ukrainian nationalism” to Mykhailo Hrushevsky,¹⁰ in my opinion it was his comparatively neglected teacher and the founder of the so called “Kiev school of documental history,” Volodymyr Antonovych, who is more deserving of this status. Alas, as with Dragomanov we still do not have a satisfactory biography of his. However, I would agree with one of his contemporaries, Oleksandr Kistiakivsky, who called Antonovych the only real Ukrainophile politician, “mechanic” and “engineer” [*mashinist*] of the entire Ukrainian movement of the 1870s – 1890s.¹¹ Among other things it was Antonovych who set out to overturn the previously current concept of Ukraine into history.

¹⁰ John Armstrong, “Myth and history in the evolution of Ukrainian consciousness,” in Peter Potichnyj et al., eds. *Ukraine and Russia in their historical encounter* (Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1992), 128.

¹¹ Oleksandr Kistiakivs’kyi, *Shchodennyk*. Vol. 1 (Kyiv: Naukova Dumka, 1994), 99. Later he reflected in his diary that “none of the contemporary Russian Ukrainophiles can be compared to V.B. Antonovich in the art of political behaviour. While others get excited, he stays silent. While others take umbrage and pride, he hides this very strong devil of his very deep. While others lose because of their frankness and straightforwardness, he wins by his apparent indifference. [...] Antonovich tries to win in another way, by sagacious foresight of the future and the quiet use of existing documents in his favour. He is a disciple of another school, not a Little Russian one. Once in the beginning of the sixties he aptly called the Left Bank Ukrainophiles ‘lyricists.’ Yes, there is no lyricism in Antonovich. But his firmness is remarkable”: Kistiakivs’kyi, *Shchodennyk*. Vol. 2 (Kyiv: Naukova Dumka, 1995), 265.

Descended from Polish-Hungarian parents, Antonovych studied at the Historical-Philological Department of Kiev University and became famous after his public break with Polish student organisations at the end of the 1850s. Preoccupied with populist ideas, in his articles in *Osnova* in 1861–1862 he vigorously argued against the historical “golden age” of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and thus in opposition to any Polish historical aspirations for the Right Bank Ukraine:

You assert that the [Kievan Archeographical] Commission deliberately chooses only those documents which do not fit the ideal, created by you, about the past of the Polish republic. But how do you know that the books of the Central Archive contain other documents? Although I have been working in the Archive for only a short time, I can assure you that you are wrong. Of course the Polish nobility had its positive sides, but it could display them only in its public, political activity; whereas in domestic life it did not display a high morality: it constantly oppressed peasants, persecuted Cossacks, abused Greek-Eastern religion, behaved aggressively to each other and even more to the common people.¹²

An archaeologist, who was fond of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Cossack history and an exceptionally cautious state servant, from the 1860s onward he rarely made his views known to a wider public. Nevertheless, in 1888 and 1897 Antonovych published two important texts from which one could gain a clear understanding of his ideas on the Ukrainian nation. The first one appeared anonymously in Lviv under the title “Three national types of people.” The name was in reference to the famous article about two Russian nationalities by Kostomarov, though introducing the third point of reference, a Polish one. Here Antonovych explained that nationality is defined by a set of characteristics which make it possible to distinguish one nationality from another: inherited characteristics, which one can study with the help of anthropology, and characteristics, acquired by education and the development of national

¹² Vladimir Antonovich, “Moia ispoved’,” *Osnova* 1 (1862): 91. From this time on he not only argued against Pogodin and his epigones maintaining the thesis about Kievan Rus’ belonging solely to the Great Russians, but also against Polish historians who turn this argument inside out and declared that not only was Kiev and its region depopulated after 1240, but that later it was populated by the Polish colonists, thus turning the population of the Right Bank of the Dnepr into a mere regional variation of the Poles. A rather typical reply by Antonovych see in: Vladimir Antonovich, “Kiev, iego sud’ba i znachenie s 14 po 16 stoletie (1362–1569),” *KS* 1 (1882): 1–48.

culture.¹³ Thus, according to Antonovych, language was not an exclusively national determinant and, for instance, even Russian-speaking Ukrainians remained Ukrainians and did not become Russians.¹⁴

Another explication of his views on the Ukrainian nation was published in 1897 as a conclusion to the lectures he clandestinely gave for a small circle of his Kievan students in 1895–1896. His remarks touched upon the question of “the revival of the Ukrainian nationality,” explaining to the audience that

there are two completely opposite theories which explain what the word “nationality” means. The first theory takes strongest root among people who live in a centralised state. This is the French-Russian theory, according to which nationality is the constituent of a state. This is a *statist-national* theory. The second theory which is held predominantly by German, English and Italian scholars, is the so called *ethnographical* theory. It puts forward the idea that any group of people which constitutes one type creates a nation. Thus according to this theory nationality is produced by nature itself and not by a state. It happens very rarely that ethnographical bounds coincide with state ones. Among all European states there are only three such examples: Portugal, Scandinavian countries, and Holland. In other states we see two appearances: when parts of a nation live a completely separate life but do not lose their nationality (the Italians and the Germans not long ago), or when different nationalities live in one state (Austria, Russia). [...] We should talk only about ethnographical nationality, since it goes without saying, of course, that in the national revival, we are discussing not the revival of a statist nation, but of an ethnographical one.¹⁵

Every nation, according to Antonovych, had a guiding idea, which rested on different reasons: anthropological and racial, territorial, and historical and cultural development. For the Great Russians this was absolutism, for the Poles it was aristocratism,

¹³ According to Antonovych, the Little Russians were deeply attached to the surrounding nature, lyrical and funny, and naturally and historically determined to hate the Poles. They have a peculiar skull (not short, not long, more like an egg with its nose to the front with its width – 80 mm, which is 2 mm wider than that of Russian), face (in a triangular form), length of legs (the same as the body; the Poles have legs which are longer than their body, the Russians – the opposite), skin colour (the most coloured among the three), the way of becoming obese (the most problematic part of a Ukrainian body is bust; the Poles – belly, the Russians – occiput), eyes and hair colour (the Ukrainians are mostly brown and blue eyed people, with blond- or dark-brown hair), nervous system (is it not very receptive, therefore the Ukrainians are mostly melancholic), way of cursing (the Ukrainians prefer “mythological elements” while swearing – they can send someone to devil or his assistants; the Poles are very insincere, whereas the Russians very cynical and brutal), family relations (Ukrainian family is not very big and a husband respects his wife very much; unlike the Poles and the Russians), way of fighting (the Russians try to hit their rival as hard as possible; the Poles hit their rival just to be able to run away; the Ukrainians hit their rival, trying not to hurt him), tradition of establishing association (in Ukrainian associations all the members are equal not as in Russian; the Poles do not form associations at all), attitude to religion (for Ukrainian it is very much about his inner feelings, not about some formal customs as for the Russians), architecture, painting, folk ornaments, science and literature.

¹⁴ Volodymyr Antonovych, “Try natsional’ni typy narodni,” in Idem, *Tvory*. Vol. 1, 196–198.

¹⁵ Volodymyr Antonovych, *Vyklady pro kozats’ki chasy na Ukraini* (Kolomyia, 1912), 228–229.

for the Ukrainians wide democratism and recognition of equal political rights for every unit of the society. According to Antonovych, in the Ukrainian case this idea was most clearly exemplified during the Cossack period.

Although he refused to define the most important national characteristic, it seems that Antonovych considered geography as one of the most influential factors in constituting a nation and this “geographical” approach of his was not limited to this article only. For example, in another (unpublished) text, “Views of the Ukrainophiles,” Antonovych wrote that not many people would deny the continuing influence of the surrounding nature on the gradual development of ethnographic type; there was not sufficient reason to acknowledge this law as a universal anthropological one, not to deny its validity for the eastern Slavs. Therefore even if someone found the disappearance of the entire current South-Russian people conceivable and conceded the subsequent colonisation of the depopulated South-Russian territories by the Great Russians, in the end, under the influence of the geographical and climatic conditions, after few centuries those settled in the south would eventually form a group, distinct from their northern neighbours. According to Antonovych, this was what happened in the tenth – twelfth centuries when some Southern Russians migrated north to become the Great Russians.¹⁶

Geography indeed constituted an important part in Antonovych’s scholarly activity. Not only had it been his favourite subject since gymnasium years, but in the 1880s – 1890s during the discussions of the idea to establish Departments of Geography at every Russian university (a plan which came true only for Moscow University), Antonovych seriously considered obtaining a Master’s degree in geography abroad to

¹⁶ Volodymyr Antonovych, “Pohliady ukrainofiliv,” in Idem, *Tvory*. Vol. 1, 240.

apply for a position of the head of the prospective department in Kiev.¹⁷ Although this plan did not come to fruition, from the 1880s Antonovych occasionally gave private lectures in Ukrainian national geography for a small circle of his students interested in the subject.¹⁸ It seems that this was the first scientific course in Ukrainian geography, for which Antonovych even intentionally designed the map of Ukrainian lands to use during the classes.¹⁹ According to Anton Syniavsky, after general introduction about its territory and population, Antonovych continued with a geological review of the Ukrainian territory, its hydrography, and its flora and fauna, concluding with a review of the Ukrainian nation.²⁰ Although I have not (yet) found the map which he used during the classes, it could have been similar to the one produced by Vasyl Simovych as an appendix to the earlier mentioned lectures of Antonovych, based on places and rivers, which were mentioned during the classes (Figure 5.1).²¹

Some time in the 1870s Antonovych started another national-geographical undertaking. Most probably under the influence of another work in progress, *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, whose fifteen volumes of historical-geographical description of all the territories of the historical Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were subsequently published in Warsaw in 1880–1902, he came up with the project of the first historical-geographical description of the

¹⁷ Kateryna Antonovych, “Do vydannia 1 tomu tvoriv V. Antonovycha,” in Volodymyr Antonovych, *Tvory*. Vol. 1, 68.

¹⁸ Antin Syniavs’kyi, “Prof. V.B. Antonovych iak heohraf Ukrainy,” in Idem, *Vybrani pratsi* (Kyiv, 1993), 53. See also a letter from M. Lysenko to B. Poznansky on 19 February 1887: Lysenko, *Lysty*, 175.

¹⁹ Syniavsky, “Prof. V.B. Antonovych iak heohraf Ukrainy,” 54.

²⁰ Ibid, 57–58.

²¹ I would only suggest that the original maps by Antonovych could have had boundaries of his imagined Ukraine, unlike the map by Simovych.

Ukrainian territory in its ethnographical borders.²² Perspective volumes were to encompass the Kiev, Volhynia, Podolia, Poltava, Kharkov, Ekaterinoslav and Kherson gubernias, Kuban, Dobrudzha, Bukovina and eastern Galicia, Hungarian Ruthenia and the Kholm area together with the districts populated by the Ukrainians in the Grodno, Lublin, Minsk, Chernigov, Kursk, Voronezh, Tavria and Bessarabia gubernias with the Black Sea and Don regions.²³ Once a week a group of readers gathered in Antonovych's study, equipped with topographical maps, books and indexes to write and discuss their articles. According to the plan, after completing their research each author had to travel into their respective area and thoroughly review one district there, so that later they were able to finish the work by adding a general review of that area as a separate monograph.²⁴ On the one hand, such a venture was indeed an important social activity uniting like-minded people and allowing them to get acquainted.²⁵ On the other hand, and most importantly, if successful such a "Dictionary" could positively temporalise the Ukrainian nation. And even though due to the illness of Antonovych and his departures to Italy in 1897 and 1898 their work was interrupted,²⁶ this project, previously left unnoticed by the historians, indicates a serious interest in

²² TsDIAK, F. 832, Op. 1, No. 169: 1–2; TsDIAK, F. 832, Op. 1, No. 176: 1; Leonid Dobrovols'kyi, "Pratsia V.B. Antonovycha na nyvi istorychnoi heohrafi," *Zapysky istorychno-filolohichnoho viddilu VUAN* 9 (1926), 200. Thus in his letter to Drahomanov in summer 1876 Mykola Lysenko mentioned that plans of writing "Ukrainian 'Zemlia i liudy'" were discussed among the Ukrainophiles – Lysenko, *Lysty*, 110.

²³ Kateryna Antonovych, "Do vydannia 1 tomu tvoriv V. Antonovycha," vii–viii.

²⁴ Ibid, viii.

²⁵ As Oleksandr Kistiakivsky documented in 1883, "Antonovich [...] rightly argues that this new work will continue to bring people together. Dictionary constantly kept them in touch: no circumstances could stop meetings, which technically were called a dictionary. If someone was ill, if another one was busy, if the third could not come because of family circumstances, if the fourth was absent in the town, even then all those available still came," – Kistiakivs'kyi, *Shchodennyk*. Vol. 2, 416. See also the letters from Antonovych to Drahomanov on 8 September 1885, from Konysky to Hrushevsky on 12 December 1894, and a diary note by Hrushevsky on 26 September 1893 about their participation in the Dictionary: *Arkhiv Mykhaila Drahomanova*. Vol. 1 (Varshava, 1938), 29; *Lystuvannia M. Hrushevskoho*. Vol. 3 (Kyiv, 2006), 88; Mykhailo Hrushevsky, *Shchodennyk, 1888–1894* (Kyiv, 1997), 217.

²⁶ TsDIAK, F. 832, Op. 1, No. 176: 1; Serhii Iefremov, *Shchodennyk. Pro dni mynuli, spohady* (Kyiv, 2011), 379–380.

national geography among the Ukrainophiles around Antonovych in the 1870s – 1890s.

Simultaneously, those students of Antonovych, whom he supervised, received their subjects of research from their teacher, who carefully designed them in terms of the regional history of the southern lands of the former Kievan Rus'. From their published monographs one can see a well-considered system of writing history of all the ancient kingdoms of Southern and Western Rus': Galicia was described by N. Dashkevych and I. Linnichenko, Bolokhov land by N. Dashkevych, Podolia by N. Molchanovski, Volhynia by O. Andriiashev and P. Ivanov, Kiev land by M. Hrushevsky and I. Linnichenko, Turov-Pinsk land by O. Hrushevsky, Pereiaslav land by V. Liaskoronski, Polotsk land by V. Danilevich, Smolensk land by P. Holubovski, Siversk land by P. Holubovski and D. Bahalii, Sloboda Ukraine by D. Bahalii, the Dregovichi and the Krivichi land by M. Dovnar-Zapolski.²⁷ The example of Hrushevsky's monograph on the Kiev land is rather telling of the populist methodological approach, suggested both by the author and his supervisor:

It divided ancient Kievan society into two distinct classes. On the one hand there was the leading stratum, that of the prince and his retainers. Supported by the boiars, this class held the political and cultural life of the state within its hands. Military matters, trade, civil life, literature and religion were the patrimony of this element. On the other hand, the masses lived their own life apart from the princely entourage. The literate culture of the princes did not penetrate into the village. This led to a continuous tension and conflict between the two. It was this basic internal conflict, Hrushevsky suggested, which, with the advent of the Mongol invasions, was the most important reason for the collapse of the princely state. Thus a simple dualism characterised Hrushevsky's early work. This dualism consisted of the juxtaposition of the rulers and the ruled. It was a feature integral to the thinking of Antonovych, and common to nineteenth century populist historiography as a whole.²⁸

The same approach was even more persuasively demonstrated by Dragomanov and Antonovych in their collaborative collections of books with folk songs: a poetical his-

²⁷ A. Verzilov, "Pamiati Vladimira Bonifatievicha Antonovicha," in Viktor Korotkyi and Vasyl' Ulianovs'kyi, eds., *Syn Ukrainy*, Vol. 1 (Kyiv: Zapovit, 1997), 74.

²⁸ Prymak, *Mykhailo Hrushevsky*, 19.

tory of Ukraine, told by the people themselves. Its chronological framework extended from the ninth to the nineteenth century (and its first volume contained songs of the Middle Ages).²⁹ All in all, as one of his admirers wrote in 1911, “thanks to the boldness of his convictions, thanks to his unceasing scientific work, all questions about “threesome Poland” – a question of “the unified Polish nation from the sea to the sea” – a question of the “voluntary” integration of Poland and Ukraine during the Lublin Union – all these questions do not exist for us any longer and are returned to the archive.”³⁰

Considering all of this, it does not seem surprising that it was precisely Antonovych who some time in the 1880s coined the compound concept of “Ukraine-Rus’,” which was to unite the two parts of the Ukrainian territories of different Empires, so successfully used afterwards by one of his students.³¹ Furthermore, in 1885 it is possible that he inspired the idea of publishing a multivolume series of “Ruthenian historical library” to teach the Ukrainians on both sides of the border about their past.³² It was also Antonovych who came up with the idea of turning Galicia into the Ukrainian Piedmont and actively supported the Ukrainian-Polish agreement in 1890 which brought about the creation of the Department of History of Ukraine at Lviv University. Antonovych was invited to become its professor,³³ and even though he did not manage to come to Galicia and write a synthetic history of Ukraine, this was carried out by one of his disciples.

²⁹ Vladimir Antonovich and Mikhail Dragomanov, *Istoricheskie pesni malorusskogo naroda*. Vol. 1–2 (Kiev, 1874–1875).

³⁰ V. Pravoberezhets’, “Za shcho my povynni diakuvaty Volodymyru Antonovychu,” *Rada* 70 (27 March 1911): 2.

³¹ Barvins’kyi, *Spomyny*. Vol. 1, 368.

³² Barvins’kyi, *Spomyny z moho zhyttia*. Vol. 2 (Kyiv, 2009), 42. In 1886–1904 there appeared 24 volumes among others by Antonovych, Bahalii, Budanov, Iefymenko, Dashkevych, and Kostomarov.

³³ *Ibid.*, 238, 624–629.

Mykhailo Hrushevsky successfully defended his Master's thesis on the history of the Bar starostwo in 1894. The same year after the long negotiations with Galician Ukrainophile populists he departed to Lemberg instead of Antonovych to become a professor in the newly established Department of World History with a special accent on the history of Eastern Europe. Simultaneously his move was to symbolise the unity between the two parts of the Ukrainian territory.³⁴ Although Thomas Prymak subtitled his chapter "Galician Piedmont" with the dates 1897–1905, I would rather argue that the opening date should be the day when Hrushevsky came to Lviv and gave his inaugural lecture in the overcrowded university hall on 30 September 1894. Here he presented the two main arguments of the Kievan Ukrainophile approach to history: a) continuity of Ukrainian history and b) its populist character:

All the periods of Rus' history are closely and inseparably tied to one another, as one and the same folk struggles, one and the same principal idea proceeds through all that series of centuries in such different political and cultural circumstances. Only from the indicated point of view we could clearly see unity, these ties, which will substitute the mechanical junction of separate periods. People, the masses bind them into an integral whole. The people are and have to be the beginning and the end of historical study. With their ideals and strivings, with their struggle, hurries and mistakes they are the only heroes of history. According to these principles, even in our ancient history we always have to have the masses as our starting point. It is true we do not have much knowledge, but that does not prevents it from being the main axis from which we must coordinate our research.³⁵

However, Hrushevsky was not the first to talk about the continuity of the history of Rus' in Galicia. Already in 1879 local educational society *Prosvita* [Enlightenment] published its first two volumes of "History of Rus'," producing five volumes by 1884. These books presented history until the sixteenth century and in 1890 their counterparts, the Moskvophiles, published their own book, "Illustrated people's history of Rus'." The same year Oleksandr Barvinsky published his "Illustrated history of Rus'." This was the first Ukrainian national history of "Rus' land and people," starting in the Middle Ages and culminating in the times of Shevchenko and Kostomarov. Geogra-

³⁴ Iefremov, *Shchodennyk*, 392.

³⁵ Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, "Vstupnyi vyklad z davn'oii istorii Rusy," *ZNTSh* 4 (1894): 10.

phy had to be included in the book according to the conditions of the publisher. Thus not only had the book two maps of Rus' under the Rus' kings and of Rus' of the Lithuanian and Cossack periods, but its introductory chapter "What is the history of Rus'?" started from the explanation that

there are many people in the world divided into various peoples, similar to great families. Every one of them speaks its own language, sings its own songs, has its own separate traditions. Neither wide rivers, nor high mountains keep such people apart. People divide land into smaller and larger countries, states and kingdoms, draw boundaries between them, but a people remains a people, even when it is divided by two or three states. If our man goes from Lviv to Chernovtsi, he will not realise that he left Galicia for another land, for a green Bukovyna, since there he will find his people, speaking his native language, singing the same carol songs... If our man from the faraway Ukraine, a hundred or more miles away, from Kyiv or Odessa or even from the distant Kharkiv, comes to Lviv or even Chernovtsi, if he comes either to our church, or to our reading house, everywhere he is greeted sincerely as our man, and it seems to him that here he is among his family, at home.³⁶

According to Barvinsky it is "native, maternal language and folk traditions" which were the strongest bonds between the people.³⁷ Thus,

as far as people speak in our way, that is as far Rus' land reaches. And people speak the Rus' language from the Carpathian Mountains (Beskyds) along both banks of the Dnister and Dniro Rivers, far to the sunrise beyond the Don River, and from the north from the Pinsk forest marshes, rivers of the Pripet and the Desna, which flow into the Dniro River far to the Black Sea in the south, where almost all the Rus' rivers flow. And even the other side of the Carpathians is settled by the Ruthenians far into the Hungarian lowland.³⁸

This book became a bestseller of the day and was read with interest not only in Galicia, but also by the Kiev and Odessa Ukrainophiles.³⁹ However, it seems that from the point of view of the nineteenth-century positivism such a small book could not be enough to attest scientifically to the historical existence of the Ukrainian people on Ukrainian national territory. Besides, the title of Barvinsky's book was very regionally Galician. Thus it was Hrushevsky's "History of Ukraine-Rus'," which became the first and the only attempt to integrate all research done by the above mentioned students of Antonovych and by Antonovych himself. In this book he strove to present the history

³⁶ Oleksandr Barvins'kyi, *Illustrovana istoriia Rusy* (Lviv, 1890), 5–6.

³⁷ Ibid, 6.

³⁸ Ibid, 7–8.

³⁹ Barvins'kyi, *Spomyny*. Vol. 2, 132.

of Ukrainian life on their territory from time immemorial, providing the concept of “Ukraine” with temporal credibility.

Its first volume was first published in 1898 with two revised editions following in 1904 and 1913.⁴⁰ In the sixteen pages of its first chapter, “Introductory Remarks,” Hrushevsky summed up the views of his predecessors about Ukrainian national territory. He started from conceptual history and an explanation that his aim was to present the historical development of the Ukrainian people, otherwise known as the “Little Rus’,” “South Rus’,” “Rus’,” or “Ruthenian” people, although he found all of these names of little interest, “because the entity to which all these names refer is unambiguous.”⁴¹ According to Hrushevsky, such a confusion of historical names for the Ukrainians revealed “unfavourable historical conditions,” bestowed on it during the past centuries, which “bedimmed its manifestations of vitality and its creative energy, and abandoned it for long centuries at the crossroads of political life as a defenceless and vulnerable prey to the avaricious appetites of its neighbours, as an ethnic mass lacking a national physiognomy, lacking traditions, lacking even a name.”⁴² However, since the seventeenth century the name of “Ukraine” became especially popular,

when this region of eastern Ukraine became the centre and symbol of the Ukrainian revival, and, in harsh antithesis to the sociopolitical and national order of the Polish state, concentrated in itself the aspirations, dreams, and hopes of modern Ukraine. The name “Ukraine” became indissolubly linked with these aspirations and hopes, with this exuberant outburst of Ukrainian national life, which became for later generations a luminous torch and inexhaustible source of national and sociopolitical consciousness and of hope for the possibility of rebirth and growth. During the literary renaissance of the nineteenth century the name “Ukraine” became a symbol of Ukrainian national life. As awareness of the continuity and uninterruptedness of ethnonational Ukrainian life grew, the Ukrainian

⁴⁰ In this thesis I use the last prewar edition, Mykhailo Hrushevsky, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusi*. Vol. 1 (Kyiv, 1913), 1–16, as it presents the fullest account of Hrushevsky’s views. It was translated into English as Mykhailo Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus’* (Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1997): 1–16, which I will use for my quotes here.

⁴¹ Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus’*, 1.

⁴² *Ibid*, 2.

name gradually came to encompass the entire history of the Ukrainian people. In order to underscore the link between modern Ukrainian life and its ancient traditions, the name was also employed (during the final quarter of the last century) in the compound forms “Ukraine-Rus’” and “Ukrainian-Rus’,” wherein the old traditional name was combined with the new term representing national rebirth and national movement. Recently, however, the single appellations “Ukraine” and “Ukrainian” are becoming increasingly common in Ukrainian and other literatures, replacing other designations.⁴³

What was the territory designated by this name of “Ukraine” then? As the third edition of his “History” was published in 1913 Hrushevsky could use both Hryhorii Velychko’s “Ethnographical map” and Stepan Rudnytsky’s primer on the geography of Ukraine (I analyse both in the next chapters) and describe Ukrainian national territory using the latest achievements of Ukrainian science. Thus he provided the geographical description of “a territory that extends approximately between 45° and 53° North latitude and 39° and 62° East longitude in a wide belt along the north shore of the Black Sea,”⁴⁴ which politically was divided between Russia, Austrian and Hungary:

Within Russia are the Kharkiv, Poltava, Katerynoslav, Kherson, Kyiv, Volhynia, and Podolia gubernias, as well as portions of the Chernihiv, Kursk, Voronezh, Don, Kuban, Tavria, Bessarabia, Lublin, Hrodna, Siedlce, and Minsk gubernias. Within Austria are eastern Galicia, the foothill belt of western Galicia, and the northern part of Bukovyna. In Hungary are variously sized parts of the Spish, Sharysh, Zemlyn, Uzh, Bereh, Maramorosh and Uhocha komitats. On these territories the Ukrainian population lives in a compact mass without any significant foreign enclaves in its midst.⁴⁵

After meticulously describing of the Ukrainian territory of the three Empires Hrushevsky proceeded to an historical-philosophical explication of its relation with the Ukrainian nation. His principal idea underlined the prominent role that the territory played in the formation of nations; whereas Antonovych was not sure which constituent of a nation was more pivotal (language, race, territory), his student decisively asserted that:

The two major creative forces in the life of every people, nationality and territory, combined at the threshold of the historical life of the Ukrainian people to produce the original

⁴³ Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus’*, 2.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

foundation for their further growth and development. Even in the later stages of a people's life, and especially so in the initial phases of national formation, both these elements – territory as much as the nationality – act as vital shaping forces. It is not only a territory's physical features, but also the political and cultural influences acting upon it, relations with neighbours, and the cultural contributions of the land's previous inhabitants and those still remaining who are absorbed by the new colonisers that function as the very important means by which a territory affects the subsequent history of a people.⁴⁶

Moreover, Hrushevsky resolutely stated that “from the outset of the Slavic dispersion, the history of the territory of present-day Ukraine is the history of the Ukrainian people.”⁴⁷ Its numerous rivers constituted “a vast network of water routes, the main arteries of which come together in the middle Dnipro region and its natural centre, ancient Kyiv, which arose here at the dawn of human habitation on the Dnipro hills, attracting trade caravans from all the principal Dnipro tributaries.”⁴⁸ Its Carpathian Mountains in the west together with forests in the north “with its impenetrable forests and marshlands were both poorly suited to human habitation and to the development of lively contacts. They were thus the most conservative parts of the Ukrainian territory. [...] These regions never played a significant role in political and cultural life, but were important in that they provided the haven to which the inhabitants of less well-defended areas retreated in times of danger.”⁴⁹ Its steppes in the south

serve as a wide route from Asia to Europe, along which various nomadic hordes roved endlessly in their voluntary and involuntary march from east to west. The sedentary Slavic population ruled the steppe only intermittently and was unable to retain full control over it until quite recently. [...] Consequently, the steppe did not play as important a role in the country's cultural development during this time as it had earlier or as it could play today owing to its geographical location – as a territory bordering on a sea and as a convenient land bridge from southwestern Asia to southern and western Europe. Instead, the steppe became a dangerous and menacing neighbour to adjacent regions, and the transitional forest-steppe lands also often remained uninhabited because of their hazardous proximity to the steppe.⁵⁰

Further from the steppe to the forests of the Carpathians and Volhynia the safer was the situation of those people, who could hide here from the unfavourable external

⁴⁶ Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, 7.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 9.

⁴⁸ Ibid, 8–9.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 9.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

circumstances. Such unlucky geography made many people migrate back and forth between the two belts of the Ukrainian territory, thus

all these upheavals, all these waves and fluctuations of colonisation, made a tremendous impact upon the Ukrainian ethnos, leaving a deep imprint on a physiognomy of the Ukrainian people. Over the course of centuries, this series of disturbances steadily intermingled the Ukrainian population, refashioning it into a more homogenous body. [...] The mass movements produces a result that otherwise could not have been attained in the absence of a uniform political organisation and given the weakness of internal relations and the geographic isolation of substantial portions of the ethnic territory. These movements undoubtedly contributed to the retention by the Ukrainian population of a sense of ethnic unity, of oneness, and a sense of national awareness in general...⁵¹

Although during their confrontation with the steppe Ukrainians “were destined to play the honourable role of defenders of European civilisation against the Asian hordes,”⁵² this frontier life of *antemurale christinitatis* was harmful for Ukrainian development: “great losses of life and property,”⁵³ “enormous expenses of energy and wealth,”⁵⁴

the centuries-long struggle with the steppe sapped the energies of the people, its upper strata, and its rulers. [...] Facing a dangerous enemy along their entire southeastern frontier, Ukrainian political organisations were unable to hold their own when stronger political entities formed in their rear, along their northwestern or northern border. They therefore fell prey to these better defended and better situated neighbours. [...] There followed centuries of total stagnation and decline of Ukrainian national life. Ultimately, the popular masses responded with a mass reaction, with civil wars against this regime of oppression and exploitation. [...] But despite the enormous energy, heroism, and creative ability that were invested in this struggle, no lasting improvements in the life of the people were achieved. And the enfeebled popular masses fell into apathy and gave up the struggle for a long period of time.⁵⁵

Hrushevsky ended his narration with the famous passage:

The open and bountiful territory with which the Ukrainian people have been blessed, this land of milk and honey that is the envy of our neighbours, this “quiet paradise” of Ukrainian natural surroundings eulogised by poets, has not brought Ukraine good fortune. The geographic features of the land and resultant relations with neighbouring peoples have loomed fatefully over the destiny of the Ukrainian people and disastrously affected their cultural life. The geographic location of the Ukrainian territory is much to blame for the historical legacy [...] that a millennium of history has passed on to the present generation.⁵⁶

⁵¹ Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, 11.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 12.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

By creating an uninterrupted chronotope of Ukraine-Rus' history from pre-historical time Hrushevsky completed the process of imagining Ukrainian national territory. However, I would argue that he was not at all the only person engaged in such activity. As I have attempted to show, the idea of the Ukrainians inhabiting their national territory from the Middle Ages belonged originally to Kostomarov, who formulated it in a rather cautious way, which could be explained by the personal circumstances of his life. Antonovych took this idea further and was the first who purposely worked with it and elaborated it. In the end, Hrushevsky, who indeed became "the grand priest" (according to Alon Confino) of the Ukrainian nation represented the third generation of historians interested in Ukrainian national history, and only implemented the ideas conceived by his predecessors.

Thus by the 1890s the idea of Ukraine as a national space was conceived, scientifically described by ethnographers and temporalised by historians. From this time on the Ukrainian nationalists could use territorial arguments in their political statements and, furthermore, could directly work with this territory, labelling it as Ukrainian and acquiring it immediately on the spot. This process of "dissemination" of Ukrainian national space, or the concept's transfer from a narrow circle of intellectuals to the minds of a wider audience, which is an indispensable part of any national movement, is the topic of the second part of my thesis.

In 1913 Hrushevsky tried to persuade his readers that the decline of Ukrainian national life had already passed and "the perception of Ukrainian history as a single continuous and uninterrupted whole that takes rise in the beginnings – or even before the beginnings – of historical time and proceeds through all the vicissitudes of historical development until our own time is becoming ever more deeply embedded in the

national consciousness and ceasing to appear strange and heretical even to foreigners, as it did a decade ago, when this work began to appear in print.”⁵⁷ However, from a contemporary point of view it seems that Hrushevsky was at least slightly exaggerating. Intellectuals imagining a nation differ a great deal from a broader audience appropriating this idea as their own. The attempt to disseminate the idea of Ukrainian national territory among a wider public is the subject of the second part of this thesis. Here I demonstrate how the idea of a Ukrainian territorial nation as perceived, conceived and established in mental and cartographical maps of 1860s–1870s was spread further by the Ukrainian public sphere both “internally” and “externally.”

⁵⁷ Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, 3.

Part 2. Disseminating Ukraine (1890s – 1914)



Shchyryi ukraiins'kyi patriot [A sincere Ukrainian patriot]

Source: *Shersten* 4 (1906): 8.

Chapter 6. No Sleeping Beauty, no kisses: The Ukrainian public sphere tries to “awake an unconscious nation”

Generally we know so little of our native Ukraine that we can only be surprised at how the conscious Ukrainians manage to live without a wide knowledge and many-sided study of the territory and population of Ukraine.

Vasyl' Koshovyi, *Natsional'no-terytorial'ni mezhi Ukrainy*, 1906

We will bring a red Easter egg and will lay it down on the grave, where our mother sleeps. In the heavy coffin of coarse blocks forged of Siberian iron under a heavy mound of earth piled up by the degenerate sons who covered her and forgot their mother, repudiated her. She sleeps, sleeps amidst the general beginning of spring. [...] Will you resurrect, o mother? [...] You will!

Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, *Krashanochka*, 1907

Ukrainian feeling and national consciousness (that we are the Ukrainians and not something else) is spread among the people by means of books, newspapers, and assemblies (community's gatherings in Galicia). The Ukrainian nation is revived to a new, better life and stands up to other cultured, enlightened nations.

Mykola Arkas, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, 1912

A dozen Ukrainian activists armed with newspapers and journals enter the room of a Ukrainian man at the turn of the century, but he does not seem to notice them and continues his deep sleep amidst folklore paraphernalia, Shevchenko's *Kobzar* and Kotliarevski's *Aeneid*, leaving them in doubt as to what else they can do to awaken him. This picture reveals the immense task of the *fin-de-siècle* Ukrainian national movement: a deeply sleeping nation, which was to be revived by the national activists. Not a Sleeping Beauty nation, though, as was wittily suggested by Ernest Gellner. The picture above appeared in 1908 in the Ukrainian satirical journal *Shershen'* [Hornet]: to awake the “unconscious” Ukrainian nation one had not to kiss it, but to bite hard those “knights of the hearth,”¹ who considered themselves “the Little Russians,” were calling “Ukraine” “Little Russia” and instead of its territorial autonomy demanded only “an autonomy of cherry dumplings with sour cream.” Thus they were often de-

¹ L. Chulyi, “Na pechi,” *Rada* 242 (27 October 1909): 1.

scribed as venal leeches, sucking all the strength and blood from the nation's organism, weeds choking "healthy" plants on a native field, Judas and renegades, "worthless grandsons of famous great ancestors," lacking a fatherland, pears from the old tree of Ukrainian treachery and national mutilation.²

There are many Ukrainians like these [...] who only call themselves Ukrainians, who love dumplings with sour cream or casserole! Poor wretches have only Ukrainian faces and room furniture, but their souls have for a long time been rotten with foreign spirit. They are like old Easter eggs which are painted outside and rotten inside. Live your worthless life as rotten blocks, because you are not capable of new development! The Ukrainian Cause will do without you! Not all Ukrainian intelligents have repudiated their nation! Our scientists and writers have not allowed the light of national consciousness to die out, passing holy fire on from generation to generation! Now it is not scary any longer, because a new intelligentsia is arising from the masses who will provide our cause with new power and will bring our nation to education, culture and a new life.³

In the following chapters of this part of the thesis I would like to show how "conscious" Ukrainian intellectuals tried to make their less "conscious" relatives internalise the idea of the Ukrainian nation and its territory in the second half of the nineteenth century. The authorities of the Romanov Empire severely limited this activity until the beginning of the twentieth century. The bankruptcy of *Osnova*, which tried to perform this task in the beginning of the 1860s, coincided with the Valuev circular according to which state censorship administration was ordered "to license for publication only such books in [the Little Russian] language that belong to the realm of fine literature; at the same time, the authorisation of books in Little Russian with either spiritual content or intended generally for primary mass reading should be ceased."⁴ Despite the liberalisation of the government at the end of the 1860s, in 1876 Aleksandr II signed another document which expanded the Valuev circular and ordered the Ministry of Internal Affairs "1) To forbid the importation within the imperial

² V. Vynnychenko, "Malaros'-ievropeiets'," *Hromads'ka dumka* 139 (18 June 1906): 1–3; R., "Pro 'malorosiv'," *Rada* 27 (15 October 1906): 2; S. Ravikovich, "Liubov do ridnoho kraiu," *Rada* 29 (18 October 1906): 2; R., "Vid 'halushkovoho patriotyzmu' do oktiabrysts'koho chornosotenstva," *Rada* 60 (23 November 1906): 2; A. Demba, "Tsvit renehatstva," *Rada* 264 (24 November 1907): 2; "Borot'ba z renehatstvom," *Rada* 206 (10 September 1908): 1.

³ A. Kashchenko, "Pevni Ukraiintsi," *Ridnyi krai* 21 (1906): 5–7.

⁴ Miller, *The Ukrainian question*, 264.

borders, without the special permission of the Chief Directorate on Publications, of any books published abroad in the Little Russian dialect; 2) To prohibit the publication in that dialect within the Empire of any original works or translations, with the exception of ancient texts – although these latter, if they belong to oral folk tradition (such as songs, fairy tales, proverbs), should also be published in accordance with All-Russian orthography (i.e., should not be published in the so-called *kulishovka*); 3) To prohibit equally all stage performances, lyrics to music, and public readings (as they presently have the character of Ukrainophile manifestations).”⁵

Although Alexei Miller is right in reminding us that this act did not totally suppress all Ukrainian activity in the Romanov Empire⁶ and, for instance, as some Ukrainian activists remembered later, certain censors could be cajoled by cakes,⁷ it was only after October 1905 when the Ems decree was revoked that the Ukrainian public sphere could reemerge in the Russian Empire. Till then the only possible ways to spread Ukrainian ideas were 1) either through the official scholarly publications of Imperial institutions, such as the RGO, or officially allowed Russian-language publications, or 2) through clandestine activity. As I showed in the previous chapters, both of these strategies were used by the Ukrainian activists of the 1870s–1880s, who managed to publish such collections as *Trudy Etnograficheskoi-Statisticheskoi Ekspeditsii* and *Zapiski Iugo-Zapadnogo Otdela RGO* together with the *Kievskaiia starina* [Kievan Antiquity] journal, whilst simultaneously teaching Ukrainian national geography in private.

⁵ Miller, *The Ukrainian question*, 267.

⁶ Ibid, 196.

⁷ Sofiia Rusova, *Memuary. Shchodennyk* (Kyiv, 2004), 39. The person, who occasionally managed to bribe the censor, was Mykhailo Starytsky.

There existed one more option though: to shift one's activity to Austro-Hungary and turn it into the platform for the open dissemination of the idea of the Ukrainian nation. The Ukrainian public sphere in Galicia did indeed rapidly develop from the 1860s, with around a dozen Ukrainian periodicals being published there, reaching thirty titles per year in the 1880s–1890s.⁸ However, as far as a national space was concerned, although national geographical knowledge thrived in Galicia from the beginning of the 1860s, it was framed in the nationally doubtful “Ruthenian” or “Little Russian” concepts. Thus, for instance, the above mentioned works by Mykhailo Kossak (Figure 2.1) and Vasyl Ilnytsky (Figure 3.1) preferred the “Little Russian” designation, whereas at the end of the 1880s Roman Zaklynsky called his prospectively two-volumed book “Geography of Rus’,” not of “Ukraine.”⁹ It seems that the first attempts at popularising a national geography of the unified Ukrainian lands of both Empires in completely new conceptual terms were made in Galicia only in the beginning of the 1890s under the influence of increased activity by the Russian Ukrainians in Galicia.

The latter had started to actively use the Galician window since the beginning of the 1870s. Their main endeavours of the time were the 1873 foundation and financial backing of the Shevchenko Society and newspaper *Pravda* [Truth], conceived of as a publication for both parts of Ukraine.¹⁰ Mykhailo Drahomanov and Oleksandr Konysky,¹¹ Volodymyr Antonovych, Mykhailo Hrushevsky and the Barvinsky brothers were the main initiators of this transfer. However, it was understood that the main Ukrainian activity had to be conducted in Russian Ukraine. Thus when all prohibitions on the Ukrainian language were lifted, the newly born Ukrainian “printed capitalism”

⁸ V. Ihnatienko, *Bibliohrafiia ukraiins'koi presy, 1816–1916* (Kharkiv–Kyiv, 1930), 20–24.

⁹ Roman Zaklyns'kyi, *Heohrafiia Rusy*. Vol. 1: Rus' halyts'ka, bukovyns'ka i uhors'ka (Lviv, 1887). The second volume on “Russian Rus” has never appeared.

¹⁰ Rom. Iarosevych, “Do spomyniv d-ra Iv. Franka pro Myk. Kovalevs'koho,” *LVN* 4 (1908): 170.

¹¹ “O. Konys'kyi,” *LVN* 13 (1901): 47.

and the public sphere with its newspapers, journals and books began to promote the Ukrainian national ideas envisioned earlier by the Ukrainophiles of the 1860s–1870s. One cannot underestimate its influence; as one of the new adherents of the Ukrainian idea confessed in 1908, “I am a honey mushroom which has grown after the rain of Ukrainian speech since 1906.”¹² A year later Dmytro Doroshenko summarised the formative role of the Ukrainian press in the development of the Ukrainian movement in the following way:

The Ukrainian press [...] not only serves as our national flag, unfolded in public as an indication of the existence of a Ukrainian non-governmental movement, but, together with Ukrainian books, carries out duties of a national school, which we do not have as yet. Only through the press and books can we develop our own speech, spread national consciousness and self-respect; the Ukrainian press or journals reach the remotest provinces of our land and open the eyes of “the blind,” shine a ray of new life, a nationally conscious life [...] providing its activists with an understanding that only consistent organic work will bring closer the time of the overall revival of our people.¹³

Even though this rain of Ukrainian word was not the heaviest one¹⁴ and Russian pedestrians were thoroughly protected from it by the umbrellas of the regional and local authorities,¹⁵ the Ukrainian activists nevertheless tried to influence the contemporaries’ perception of the space around them and make their readers from different regions feel a part of an imagined Ukrainian national community. Newly emerging Ukrainian newspapers undoubtedly defined this as one of their main tasks. For instance, *Ridnyi krai* [Native Country] declared its desire to break the existing regional identities of the Ukrainians in the following way:

Until now people in Ukraine considered themselves the Poltavans, Kyivans, Katerynoslavians, Kubanians, etc.; they have thought more of local affairs and have been little interested or have not known at all that they were Ukrainians. They have not known how their own people live in the vast expanse of Ukraine, what happens to them outside of it

¹² Ievhen Chykalenko – Andrii Nikovs’kyi. *Lystuvannia, 1908–1921* (Kyiv, 2010), 38.

¹³ Dmytro Doroshenko, “Ukrains’ka presa v 1908 rotsi,” *Rada* 2 (3 January 1909): 1.

¹⁴ According to Ihnatiienko, in 1905 there were 3 periodicals in Ukrainian, in 1906 – 17, in 1907 – 9, in 1908 – 8, in 1909 – 10, in 1910 – 13, in 1911 and in 1912 – 16, in 1913 – 19, and in 1914 – 17: Ihnatiienko, 24.

¹⁵ *Rada* regularly complained about their interference when someone wanted to subscribe for the Ukrainian press; newspapers could be fined for some articles and sometimes local authorities did not allow not only to subscribe to Ukrainian publications, but even to open Ukrainian bookshops. See, for instance, “Lystuvannia redaktsiii,” *Rada* 134 (14 June 1909): 4; *Rada* 189 (22 August 1909): 3.

in Russia and in other countries, and that it was time for them to think about all of Ukrainian life, about all of Ukraine and other Ukrainians. Until now only Russian newspapers have been published in Ukraine, and these, naturally, have been more interested in what was happening in all vast Russia, or in the confines of this or that gubernia; of how the thirty-million of the Ukrainian nation live in different cities and gubernias, of what are its needs and desires they do not write. Even such a word, "Ukrainian," "Ukraine" is not used. The time has come when the people of our country have to think not only of their local life, or that of the whole of Russia and the world, but also about our own. Other educated people are always concerned for their compatriots. [...] Therefore we will be interested in all the important events in the lives of the Ukrainian people.¹⁶

However, a longstanding problem which had been pointed out by the Ukrainian activists as early as the 1860s–1870s remained the absence of texts describing this territory as a single entity in a popular manner.¹⁷ Existing Russian literature constantly presented it as "Little Russia," which most commonly consisted of the Poltava, Chernigov, Kiev and Kharkov gubernias,¹⁸ and the name of "Ukraine" was explained as the ancient name for the borderlands of the Russian state.¹⁹ At the same time Ukrainians were still presented in the same bucolic terms of the first half of the nineteenth century (kind, virtuous, religious, indifferent to wealth, unpractical, but penetrating minds, hospitable, lazy, "lying under a pear waiting for it to drop into their mouth" and drinking too much vodka²⁰) and sometimes even as Oriental.²¹ The typical overall conclusion of such books was to proclaim "Little Russian" progress from the former border-

¹⁶ "Shcho diitsia na Ukraïni i sered ukraïntsiiv," *Ridnyi krai* 2 (1906): 10. The same is true for *Rada*'s program. See: Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, "Nasha hazeta," *Rada* 1 (1 January 1907): 1.

¹⁷ Ivan Bilyk, "Perehliad literaturnykh novyn," *Pravda* (1873): 22.

¹⁸ Petr Semenov, *Geograficheskoi-statisticheskii slovar' Rossiiskoi imperii*. Vol. 3 (St. Petersburg, 1866), 152; *Malorossiiia. Opisanie kraia v istoricheskoi, geograficheskoi i etnograficheskoi otnoshenii* (St. Petersburg, 1876), 3–4; I. Pantiukhov, *Kurs nachal'noi geografii* (Kiev, 1894), 51; *Zhivopisnaia Rossiia*. Vol. 5.1: *Malorossiiia, Podoliia i Volyn'* (St. Petersburg, 1897); *Zhivopisnaia Rossiia*. Vol. 5.2. *Malorossiiia i Novorossiiia* (St. Petersburg, 1898); A. Aleksandrov, *Blagodatnyi krai* (Moskva, 1898), 3; S. Evseenko, *Pod iasnym nebom Malorossii* (Moskva, 1901); Petr Semenov, *Rossiia. Polnoe geograficheskoe opisanie nashego otechestva*. Vol. 7 (St. Petersburg, 1903). The last book omitted the Kiev gubernia from it. At the same time, territory populated by the Little Russians was defined as consisting from Volhynia, Kiev, Podolia, Poltava, Chernigov, Kharkov, Kherson and Ekaterinoslav and Kuban with parts of other gubernias, and also with Galicia, Bukovina and Hungarian Rus'. See Semenov, *Geograficheskoi-statisticheskii slovar'*. Vol. 3, 155.

¹⁹ *Malorossiiia. Opisanie kraia*, 3–4; Semenov, *Geograficheskoi-statisticheskii slovar'*. Vol. 5, 310. The latter mentioned existence of the Siberian Ukraine, although recognised that "lately" this name sticks to "the Little Russian" gubernias of the Left Bank of Dnepr.

²⁰ *Narody Rossii*. Vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1878), 18–42; *Zhivopisnaia Rossiia*. Vol. 5.1 (St. Petersburg, 1897), 7–21.

²¹ Supposedly they had "much in common in outward look with Asiatic people, especially with the Caucasian highlanders": *Malorossiiia. Opisanie kraia*, 36.

land (Ukraine) to the contemporary Little Russia (“Steppe, wild Ukrainian steppe, becomes simply a Russian field”²²). Thus in 1908 *Rada’s* [Council] author lamented that Drahomanov’s part in Reclus’ encyclopaedia remained the best available pages on the territory Ukraine:

Be that as it may be, but we did not have and do not have reliable information about our land and will not have it until, according to T.H. Shevchenko’s prophecy, the birth of some great scholar, German or French, who will tell us about the history and everyday life of our nation! “Prosvita’s” publications are short on the life of our land and its history; there is either nothing at all on it, or there is very little. To publish a book about deserts or Ireland or about animals is of course worthy, but we must remember that in our land there are also deserts and Ireland and animals, and to describe them is the most important task of all.²³

The task of describing Ukraine was first dealt with by newspapers and journals, which presented the territoriality of Ukraine as self-evident. In the Ukrainian press one could read the Duma deputy’s “letter to Ukraine,”²⁴ “the Voronezh gubernia neighbouring Ukraine,”²⁵ “New Year and Ukraine,”²⁶ “all of our land, from the Carpathians up to the Don River,”²⁷ “space of large Ukrainian land from the Sian River and Magura to the Kuban and the Elbrus,”²⁸ “universities of Ukraine”²⁹ and “universities on the territory of the Ukrainian nation,”³⁰ “newspaper published on the Ukrainian territory,”³¹ “our Ukrainian gubernias,”³² “the Ukrainian zemstvos”³³ and “deputies from the Ukrainian territory.”³⁴ Such articles were regularly accompanied by numer-

²² *Malorossiiia. Opisanie kraia*, 19.

²³ T. Osadchyi, “Kil’ko dumok pro ukraiinoznavstvo i pro vydannia ‘Prosvity,’” *Rada* 174 (30 July 1908): 3.

²⁴ *Hromads’ka dumka* 131 (9 June 1906): 1.

²⁵ V.P., “Cherez vishcho seliany buntuiut’sia?” *Hromads’ka dumka* 142 (22 June 1906): 1.

²⁶ “Novyi rik i Ukraïna,” *Rada* 1 (1 January 1907): 1.

²⁷ Mykhailo Hrushevs’kyi, “Pro movu,” *Rada* 6 (9 January 1907): 1.

²⁸ M. Hrushevs’kyi, “Shevchenkiv den’,” *Rada* 47 (25 February 1907): 1.

²⁹ “Do pratsi,” *Rada* 212 (20 September 1907): 1.

³⁰ M. Khyst, “Pershi zdobutky,” *Rada* 201 (5 September 1907): 2.

³¹ “Z hazet i zhurnaliv,” *Rada* 66 (19 March 1907): 1.

³² *Rada* 49 (10 November 1906): 1; *Slovo* 15 (18 August 1907).

³³ V. Sadovskii, “Iz zemskoi zhizni na Ukraine,” *Ukrainskaia zhizn’* 1 (1912): 71.

³⁴ *Hromads’ka dumka* 66 (22 March 1906): 3–4; *Obozrevatel’*, “Deputaty s territorii Ukrainy i ikh deiatel’nost’ v Gosudarstvennoi Dume,” *Ukrainskii vestnik* 10 (1906): 719.

ous photos from different places around Ukraine.³⁵ For instance, a rather typical article about Podillia stated:

Podil' has been a part of Ukraine for ages, as have Volhynia, the Kyiv region and other lands on this and on that side of the Dnipro River where people live who speak our language. The Ukrainians, our grandfathers and grand-grandfathers, soaked this land with their blood, defended their native land from the enemies who wanted to destroy its faith, its folk customs and language. [...] Hence, probably, one can see that Podil' is our land, that there is nothing here to conceal and repudiate, to surrender to somebody else's will and to imitate someone else. We might want our own ways, and we can loudly and truthfully state, what we, as *Ukrainians*, need.³⁶

News sections of these publications had special subsections called "Around Ukraine," "What is going on in Ukraine," "From Ukrainian life," "From Ukraine"³⁷ and "In our country."³⁸ Sometimes the "Ukrainian" towns were even highlighted with a different script.³⁹ These prescriptive names and place selection were indeed important. When in one of *Rada's* issues some news from the section "In Russia" was mistakenly published as "In Ukraine," in the next issue the editor specifically apologised for it.⁴⁰ Even brighter example happened when one supposedly progressive Polish newspaper, *Kurjer Lwowski* [Lwow Messenger], called Lviv and Husiatyn Polish towns, and later in the section's "News from Russia" subsection "From Polish lands" published news from Kyiv and Łódź. This choice of where to place "Ukrainian" towns immediately provoked reaction of the Ukrainian side:

How should one understand it? That the Polish nation feels its national unity wherever it is, brooking no objections, or that Żywiec or Husiatyn are all Polish lands? And if Kyiv is Polish, when Lviv is Polish, then why cannot Husiatyn be Polish as well? [...] In a word, where once Poland reigned, it was, is and will remain Polish land. [...] Keep your Poland and leave us our Ukraine!⁴¹

³⁵ Kyiv (*Dzvin* 23 (13 September 1906): 347; *Dzvin* 19–20 (23 August 1906): 291; *Dzvin* 19–20 (23 August 1906): 295; *Dzvin* 19–20 (23 August 1906): 298; *Dzvin* 19–20 (23 August 1906): 302), Kremet's (*Maiak* 22 (1914): 5); Dubno (*Maiak* 22 (1914): 7), Chernihiv (*Selo* 25 (1910): 4–5); Kamianets'-Podil's'kyi (*Maiak* 37 (1913): 3; *Maiak* 37 (1913): 5); Kaniv and mohyla (*Hromads'ka dumka* 45 (26 February 1906): 2).

³⁶ "Lyst do ukraiintsiv-podolian," *Hromads'ka dumka* 5 (25 March 1906): 2–3.

³⁷ *Dzvin* 23 (13 September 1906): 339–340.

³⁸ *Maiak* 4 (1913): 12fn.

³⁹ *Hromads'ka dumka* 67 (23 March 1906): 3.

⁴⁰ *Rada* 199 (2 September 1910): 4.

⁴¹ M.L., "Pol's'ka zemlia," *Hromads'ka dumka* 46 (27 February 1906): 2.

More thoroughly Ukraine was described in various articles about “the geography of the fatherland”⁴² which appeared in the first issues of every new Ukrainian publication: “Where are we and how many of us are there?” by Borys Hrinchenko in *Hromadska dumka* [Public Opinion],⁴³ “A couple of words on the territory and population of Ukraine” by Oleksandr Rusov in *Ukrainskii vestnik* [Ukrainian Herald],⁴⁴ “About the lands which Rus’-Ukraine consists of and about the population which inhabits it” by Lev Padalka in *Ridnyi krai*,⁴⁵ “About the lands which constitute Rus’-Ukraine” in *Dzvin* [Bell],⁴⁶ “The Little Russians according to the census of 1897” by A. Iaroshevych in *KS*,⁴⁷ “National-territorial borders of Ukraine and territories of other regions of Russia” by Vasyl Koshovyi in *LNV*,⁴⁸ “Ukraine” by Iu. Budiak and M. Hrushevsky in *Selo* [Village],⁴⁹ “About Ukraine and the Ukrainians” by M.K. in *Maiak* [Lighthouse],⁵⁰ “Where the Ukrainians live” by Ivan Nechui-Levytsky in the calendar *Promin’* [Ray],⁵¹ “Ukraine” in *Prosvita’s* calendar for 1907⁵² and Iurii Tyshchenko’s “Ukrainian land” in *Selo’s* calendar for 1910.⁵³ Probably because of their importance some of these articles were later republished as separate books.⁵⁴

⁴² M.Zh., “Z ukrains’kykh zhurnaliv,” *Rada* 233 (16 October 1907): 2. Koshovyi’s articles were called a “useful contribution” to “geography of fatherland.”

⁴³ Borys Hrinchenko, “De my i skil’ky nas?” *Hromads’ka dumka* 8 (10 January 1906): 2.

⁴⁴ Aleksandr Rusov, “Neskolko slov o territorii i naselenii Ukrainy,” *Ukrainskii vestnik* 4 (1906): 222–229. The article was summarised in V. Domanyts’kyi, “Ukrainskii vestnik,” *Hromads’ka dumka* 167 (21 July 1906): 2–3.

⁴⁵ Lev Padalka, “Pro zemli, z iakykh skladaiet’sia Rus’-Ukraiina, i pro liudnist’, iaka iiii zaseliaie,” *Ridnyi krai* 27 (1906): 4–7; Ibid, *Ridnyi krai* 28 (1906): 5–6; Ibid, *Ridnyi krai* 29 (1906): 7–9; Ibid, *Ridnyi krai* 30 (1906): 7–9; Ibid, *Ridnyi krai* 33 (1906): 4–8.

⁴⁶ “Pro zemli, z iakykh skladaie sia Rus’-Ukraiina i v chyiikh vony rukakh,” *Dzvin* 35–36 (13 December 1906): 537.

⁴⁷ A. Iaroshevich, “Malorossy po perepisi 1897 g.,” *KS* 6 (1905): 411–423.

⁴⁸ V. Ko-yi, “Natsional’no-terytorial’ni mezhi Ukrainy i terytorii inshykh ovblastei Rosiii,” *LNV* 6 (1907): 456–466; Ibid, *LNV* 8–9 (1907); Ibid, *LNV* 11 (1907): 213–225; Ibid, *LNV* 12 (1907).

⁴⁹ Iu. Budiak and Mykhailo Hrushevs’kyi, “Ukraiina,” *Selo* 6 (1909): 5–7.

⁵⁰ M.K., “Pro Ukrainu i ukraiintsiv,” *Maiak* 1 (1912): 2–3.

⁵¹ I. Nechui-Levyts’kyi, “De zhyvut’ ukraiintsi,” in O. Perekrestov, ed. *Promin’. Pershyi ukraiins’kyi kalendar na 1907 rik* (Kyiv, 1906), 28–30.

⁵² “Ukraiina,” in *Ukrains’kyi kalendar “Ridnyi krai” na 1907 rik* (Poltava, 1907), 43–46.

⁵³ Iu. Siryi, “Ukrains’ka zemlia,” in *Narodnyi kalendar “Selo” na 1910 rik*. (Kyiv, 1910), 31–34.

⁵⁴ Articles published separately as a book: Lev Padalka, *Pro zemli i liudnist’ Ukrainy* (Poltava, 1906) (The book was sold out in a year and in 1908 its publishers had to issue numerous statements that it was not available any more – *Ridnyi krai* 22 (1908): 1); L. Kohut, *Khto my ie? Pro ukrains’ku narodnist’, derzhavu i movu* (Chernivtsi, 1911).

It is important to mention that in contrast to the descriptions of Ukraine of the 1860s–1870s, written personally by individual authors from their own (travel) experience, by this time one could already rely on population statistics produced after the first census in Russia in 1897. Almost immediately after the publication its results were used by Ukrainian national activists to count their population and claim their territory, thus turning the census from “a technology of empire”⁵⁵ into “a technology of nation.” As a result the space defined by the majority of the Little-Russian-speaking population⁵⁶ consisted of seven gubernias (Kyiv, Podillia, Volhynia, Poltava, Kharkiv, Katerynoslav and Kherson), with parts of the Chernihiv, Tavria, Voronezh, Kursk, Stavropol, Grodno, Lublin, Sedlets and Minsk gubernias, the larger part of Kuban and the Don region, parts of Bessarabia and the Black sea area of the Romanov Empire with Galicia, Bukovyna and Hungarian Rus’ from Austro-Hungary. The huge size of this land stimulated frequent comparisons with other European countries to legitimise its existence as a separate entity.⁵⁷ Kyiv was presented as its “heart” and “capital.”⁵⁸

Maps became important parts of these descriptions and also started to actively enter popular Ukrainian discourse after 1906. The need to accompany texts about the Ukrainian territory with maps was discussed:⁵⁹ those with them were praised,⁶⁰ those without them were criticised.⁶¹ Whereas previously the Ukrainian activists could only

⁵⁵ David Darrow, “Census as a technology of empire,” *Ab Imperio* 4 (2002): 145–176.

⁵⁶ Language spoken by the majority of people was the main criterion for defining territory’s “Ukrainianess”: V. Domanyts’kyi, “Khto my? Shcho my? I choho nam treba?” *Hromads’ka dumka* 158 (11 July 1906): 1.

⁵⁷ Borys Hrinchenko, “De my ie i skil’ky nas?” *Hromads’ka dumka* 8 (10 January 1906): 2; Padalka, *Pro zemli i liudnist’ Ukrainy*, 3; Hr. Nash, “Rozmovy z didom Danylom,” *Maiak* 6 (1913): 6. Ukraine was claimed to be the largest country in Europe after Russia, larger than Germany or France.

⁵⁸ *Hromads’ka dumka* 32 (13 February 1906): 1; “Prosvita’ v Kyievi,” *Ridnyi kraj* 27 (1906): 15; *Rada* 2 (16 September 1906): 1; *Rada* 71 (25 March 1907): 1; *Rada* 2 (3 January 1909): 2; Mykhailo Hrushevs’kyi, “Kyiv,” *Selo* 4 (1910): 4; *Rada* 245 (29 October 1910): 1; S. Volokh, “Shevchenko i Kyiv,” *Rada* 29 (6 February 1911): 3; S. Pryhara, “Kyiv – stolytsia,” *Rada* 275 (1 December 1913): 2.

⁵⁹ *Rada* 67 (20 March 1907): 3.

⁶⁰ *Rada* 156 (11 July 1907). The highly assessed book was “About old times in Ukraine” by Hrushevsky.

⁶¹ *Rada* 69 (3 December 1906): 4, about *Prosvita*’s calendar.

use officially allowed maps presenting this space as the Russian Southern gubernias and including all of Bessarabia and Crimea, not thought of as completely Ukrainian (Figure 6.1), now maps of Ukraine in Ukrainian started to appear in newspapers (Figure 6.2), books (Figures 6.2, 6.3, 6.11, 6.12), calendars (Figures 6.4, 6.13), on postcards (Figures 6.5 – 6.8) and envelopes, and were actively advertised in the public sphere.⁶² Thus, for instance, in 1910 a concerned person could order four types of postcards (ethnographical map of Ukraine in colour, geographical map of Ukraine in colour, a map of Ukraine in black and a map of Ukraine in Esperanto) with two types of envelopes (with a map of Ukraine in Ukrainian and in Esperanto).⁶³

Publishing maps of Ukraine in the Romanov Empire and especially in the “Ukrainian” gubernias was not an easy venture. Although for the moment I have found only two such stories, they still elucidate this point. The first was the case of the map from *Selo*’s calendar (Figure 6.4). When in 1910 its editor tried to publish it, the police confiscated all copies of the fourth issue of the newspaper and of the calendar.⁶⁴ According to Olha Melnyk, local authorities considered the map and the accompanying article as signs of Ukrainian separatism threatening the unity of the Russian people.⁶⁵ This action was initiated by Timofei Florinski, professor at Kiev University and a member of the Kievan Club of Russian Nationalists, who at the time was also the head of the Kievan Temporary Committee for Print, and in this way revealed his attitude towards the Ukrainian cause.⁶⁶ However, after the publisher protested, the Kievan Judicial Chamber revoked the confiscation, which was perceived by local in-

⁶² *Rada* 242 (27 October 1909): 3; *Rada* 267 (26 November 1909): 4; *Rada* 187 (19 August 1910): 4; *Shevchenkove sviato* (Kamianets’-Podil’skyi, 1911), back cover.

⁶³ *Rada* 207 (12 September 1910): 4.

⁶⁴ Olha Mel’nyk, “Lysty Leopold’a Budaia iak dzherelo do vyvchennia naukovo-orhanizatsiinoii ta vydavnychoii diial’nosti Mykhaila Hrushevs’koho (1907–1912),” *UAShch* 10/11 (2006): 604.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

tellecuals as “a slap to Florinski,”⁶⁷ and allowed them to publish the calendar with Tyshchenko’s map and article. It seems that the official circles were not united around some common strategy of how to deal with the Ukrainian movement and sometimes the cracks between them were exploited by the Ukrainian side. However, as the story of the next map shows, this was not always the case and the authorities remained extremely vigilant to potentially subversive maps. This happened with the map of Ukraine included in a book on Ukrainian art, published in Lviv in 1913 (Figure 10.4). After reviewing it the Kievan censor reported that out of 2,000 of this book’s overall print 500 were sent to Russia, and concluded his assessment in the following way:

Taking into consideration that in the Polish kingdom only the southern parts of the Podolia and Kiev region were named as Ukraine, and in our times under the Ukrainian gubernias we mean only Kharkov, Poltava and a part of Chernigov, it becomes clear that the map has not an ethnographical character, but intentionally political. The nature of its legend and sharpness of fantastical borders show that in front of us we have the propaganda of criminal political separatism, a sermon for the creation of a United Ukraine, openly led lately by the Vienna and Lvov press. Seeing in this picture an aspiration to incline the Little Russians to treacherous deeds, I would think that the work can be allowed, but according to § 1 clause 129 (The Criminal Code) not with pages XV and XVI.⁶⁸

According to contemporaries, in the end the map was cut from the book, which was afterwards sold without it.⁶⁹

However, defining a territory and explaining it to an audience was not the only challenge for the Ukrainian activists. Teaching their compatriots how to refer to it properly was also an important part of their agenda. It seems that the name “Ukraine” was not widespread among the potential audience of the Ukrainian activists. Complaints that not only peasants but even literate compatriots “in no way could get used to the word ‘Ukrainian’!”⁷⁰ were a press commonplace. One of the authors was scolding them in a most pessimistic way:

⁶⁷ Mel’nyk, 604.

⁶⁸ TsDIAK, F. 295, Op. 1, No. 477: 24ob–25.

⁶⁹ M.P., “Shche pro ‘Ukraiins’ke mystetstvo’ (‘L’Art d’Ukraine’) V. Shcherbakivs’koho,” *Rada* 244 (25 October 1913): 4.

⁷⁰ A. S-s’kyi, “Zhatva mnoho, a delatelei malo,” *Hromads’ka dumka* 184 (10 August 1906): 3.

What Ukrainian are you? Whose Ukrainian? What are the Ukrainians? A nation? A people who did not manage in a thousand years to get themselves individual personal historical name, and until now stayed only someone else's... *Ukrainian*. They did not hold their old name, the *Anty*, and presented the *Moskali*, younger brothers, the last one, *Rus'*, not leaving anything for oneself; stayed nameless. Because what is *Ukraina*? Someone's *borderland*, the end of some land – Polish, Lithuanian, Rus'. [...] People *do not know* this name and probably will never get used to it.⁷¹

Thus the Ukrainian activists had to instil this name in the masses. After 1906 the name of “Ukraine” started to spread in the public sphere from the titles of publications: there appeared new newspapers *Vilna Ukraina* [Free Ukraine] (1906), *Moloda Ukraina* [Young Ukraine] (1910), *Ukraina* [Ukraine] (1913), and *KS* changed its name into *Ukraina* [Ukraine] in 1907. Similarly in Chernivtsi “The society of Ruthenian School” became “The society of Ukrainian School.”⁷² “Little Russia” was condemned and presented as a “totally bookish name,” absent from the common people’s lips, but spread among the educated people especially outside of Ukraine. Criticising Russian authors for calling Ukraine “Little Russia” and Galician Ruthenians – “Russians,”⁷³ most of the authors claimed that they could firmly state that people in Ukraine did not call themselves “the Little Russians.”⁷⁴ To push this name out of the public sphere occasionally Ukrainian newspapers were changing the “Little Russian” of the original into “Ukrainian” when reprinting news from the capital.⁷⁵ (This was common practice though and, for instance, the same was occasionally done by the local authorities. For example, in 1910 *Rada* published a story of the Podillia *Prosvita* sending a telegram with “Ukrainian” in it, which was changed to “Little Russian” by the receiving official.⁷⁶)

⁷¹ “Lyst d. S. P-ka do redaktsiii ‘Snopa’,” *Snip* 37 (1912): 3.

⁷² “Ohliad pedahohichnykh chasopysiv ta zhurnaliv,” *Svitlo* 4 (1910): 70.

⁷³ Nik. Vasilenko, “Dekabrist ob Ukraine,” *Ukrainskaia zhizn'* 3 (1912): 85; O. Khomenko, “Iz russkoi pechati,” *Ukrainskaia zhizn'* 9 (1912): 68.

⁷⁴ L. P., “Cherez vishcho sklalasia i shcho oznachaie nazva ‘Malorosiiia’,” *Ridnyi krai* 17 (1906): 5.

⁷⁵ “Kholms’ka huberniia,” *Rada* 77 (7 April 1909): 2.

⁷⁶ *Rada* 91 (23 April 1910).

Moreover, this territory was presented as Ukrainian from time immemorial, some of it gained, some of it lost because of other nations' hostility.⁷⁷ The main target audience for the Ukrainian activists remained the Ukrainian peasantry and common folk, who "wanted to know their history, and sought it," thus the Ukrainian activists had "to give them what they wanted."⁷⁸ If John Armstrong could reasonably doubt how many people were converted to Ukrainian nationalism by Hrushevsky's massive "History of Ukraine-Rus'" (and how many people had actually read it), I would argue that he should have taken into consideration popular books on Ukrainian history produced by Ukrainian nationally-engaged authors, which started to appear at the beginning of the twentieth century. The first and the most successful of them in the Ukrainian language, and which had the largest audience in the beginning of the twentieth century, was Mykola Arkas' "History of Ukraine-Rus'," published in 1908 with the second edition following in 1912.⁷⁹

In contrast to Hrushevsky's multivolume endeavour, Arkas' book was indeed read and despite all of its inaccuracies was able to influence rather a large audience.⁸⁰ Despite feeling annoyed by its success even Hrushevsky started his review of Arkas' work in recognition that "the numerous copies of its cheap edition (three thousand) have almost come to an end and 'no book except for *Kobzar* is selling as successfully as this one.' This means that for a long time this book will remain a source of wisdom for many Ukrainians."⁸¹ In the review of its second edition of 1912, which claimed

⁷⁷ Borys Hrinchenko, "Opovidannia z ukraiins'koi starovyny," *Hromads'ka dumka* 2 (10 February 1906): 2.

⁷⁸ Borys Hrinchenko, *Istorychni knyzhky na seli* (Kyiv, 1906), 25.

⁷⁹ Mykola Arkas, *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusi* (St. Petersburg, 1908); Mykola Arkas, *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusi* (Krakiv, 1912).

⁸⁰ See the praising letter of one of its peasant readers brought up in discussion around the book in Viktor Pisniachevs'kyi, "Z khvyl' zhytia," *Rada* 192 (22 August 1908): 2–3.

⁸¹ Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, "Do retsenzii d. Lypyns'koho," *LN* 8 (1908): 318.

that the first seven thousand copies were sold out within several months,⁸² the reason of such success was explained quite clearly (especially bearing in mind a subtle comparison to Hrushevsky's own *magnum opus*, while his own illustrated history had not yet been published): "In our opinion the whole secret of such an enormous success of the first edition of the book by Arkas lies in its astonishingly pure and simple language, the simplicity and vividness of its narrative and that high patriotic infusion which shines through every page."⁸³ As a decent history of its time it started from the geographical review of Ukraine-Rus',⁸⁴ the need of which was specifically underlined by the book's editor, Vasyl Domanytsky,⁸⁵ and was accompanied by a number of historical and one ethnographical map of current Ukraine (Figures 6.9 – 6.10).⁸⁶ Along with the map from Hrushevsky's history of Ukraine for peasants published in 1907 (Figure 6.3), which for some reason did not have a name of "Ukraine" on it, this map introduced the reader to a much clearer and coloured cartographical image of Ukraine.

At the same time *Ukraiina* was presented as an ancient name for this "ancient Ukrainian territory." While Russian nationalists claimed that it was Hrushevsky who "replaced the old names of Red Rus', Little Russia, Volhynia with the new name of

⁸² Arkas, *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusi* (Krakiv, 1912), xi.

⁸³ M. Z., "Mykola Arkas, *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusi*. Krakiv, 1912'," *Svitlo*, 1 (1912): 64.

⁸⁴ Arkas, *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusi* (St. Peterburg, 1908), 2.

⁸⁵ "Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusi" u lystuvanni Mykoly Arkasa z Vasylem Domanyts'kym (Kyiv, 2009), 41.

⁸⁶ Maps became one of the grounds for the criticisms of the book. For instance, Viacheslav Lypynsky in his review pointed out that "the maps are drawn nicely from the external point of view, but, alas, they are not accurate in their content. First, they are done in a very schematic way, except for the eighth and the ninth maps, and besides this and the second map all the rest have many mistakes. In the first map, "Where the Ukrainian people live" (Figure 6.9), the Ukrainians do not reach the Carpathians, but on the other hand found themselves above the Danube; in the north the border is also not correct." Viacheslav Lypyns'kyi, "Istoriia Ukrainy Mykoly Arkasa," *LNV* 8 (1908): 318. Of course Hrushevsky could not miss emphasising this point as well, stating in his review that except for many errors "we read in the introductory review that the Dvina is a Ukrainian river, Pidliashshia got into the lands, neighbouring with Ukraine, and in the supplemented ethnographical map of Ukraine Ukrainian colonisation does not reach the Carpathians, but at the same time occupies Lublin." Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, "Do retsenzii d. Lypyns'koho," *LNV* 8 (1908): 319. By the time when the second edition was published both the author and the editor of the first edition passed away. The new introduction to the book was written by B. Lepky and brought some required changes in comparison with 1908. In their correspondence on the matter of new maps to be made for this edition, Domanytsky argued that maps indeed needed to be redrawn: the sources for them should have been the already mentioned articles by Vasyl Koshovyi in *LNV* and Stepan Tomashivsky in *Ukrainische Rundschau*. "Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusi" u lystuvanni, 109.

‘Ukraine’,” the Ukrainians argued that it had been in use for hundreds of years.⁸⁷ It seems that this problem was so pressing that it had to be specifically tackled during special lectures. Thus in 1906–1909 the *Prosvita* societies organised presentations about “The name of ‘Ukraine’: its origins and content” by Serhii Shelukhin, at least in Mykolaiiv, Odessa and Kyiv.⁸⁸ As Shelukhin later recalled, “I explained that [...] the name *Ukraiina* came from the word *vkraiina* [country], which means a separate land, region, territory in a nation’s possession, which carved it out for itself and defends it for itself by the military power of one’s sword. This word has never been and could not be the designation of *okrainy* or a borderland, either of Poland or of Muscovy.”⁸⁹

In the 1890s “Ukraine” started to enter Ukrainian dictionaries. To make it understood, the first pan-Ukrainian dictionary, published in Lviv in 1894, still used “Little Russian” terms and translated *Malorossiiia* from Russian into Ukrainian as “*Ukraiina, Vkraiina, Rus’-Ukraiina, Mala Rus’, za chasiv het’mans’kykh – Het’manshchyna*”;⁹⁰ *malorossianiin, maloross, malorosska* as “*ukraiinets’, ukraiinka, rusyn, rusynka* (in Galicia), *rusnak* (in Bukovyna)” and *malorossiiskii, malorusskii* as “*ukraiins’kyi, vkraiins’kyi, ukraiins’ko-rus’kyi, rus’kyi*, (Galicia, from the word *rusyn*), *malorus’kyi, rusnats’kyi (Bukovyna)*.”⁹¹ However, although the 1909 Dictionary of the Ukrainian language by Borys Hrinchenko, representing almost fifty years of work by Kyivan Ukrainians, in its description of “Ukraine” as “1) a country; 2) Ukraine, Little Russia

⁸⁷ H.K., “A.V. Storozhenko, Proiskhozhdenie i sushchnost’ ukrainofil’stva,” *Rada* 55 (7 March 1913): 4.

⁸⁸ *Hromads’ka dumka* 128 (6 June 1906): 3; *Rada* 170 (27 July 1907): 3; *Rada* 219 (29 September 1909): 2; *Rada* 222 (3 October 1909): 2–3; *Rada* 241 (25 October 1909): 3.

⁸⁹ Serhii Shelukhyn, *Ukraiina – nazva nashoi zemli z naidavnishykh chasiv* (Drohobych, 1992), 29.

⁹⁰ M. Umanets and A. Spilka, *Slovar’ rosiis’ko-ukraiins’kyi*. Vol. 2 (Lviv, 1894), 89.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 90.

– a country populated by the Ukrainian people,”⁹² again used “Little Russia,”⁹³ its third volume did not include a separate entry for “Little Russia,” leaving “Ukraine” as the only admissible name for this country.⁹⁴

Dictionaries could also help to solve the problem with “Ukraine’s” pronunciation. As I mentioned previously, this attempt had already been undertaken by the Ukrainophiles of the 1860s. However, the problem remained pressing half a century later. In 1912 Borys Hrinchenko was appalled that “we even do not pronounce our national name properly, since we do not put the accent on the third syllable, as it should be, but in a Muscovite way, on the second, and say not *Ukraína*, *Ukraíns’kyi*, but *Ukráina*, *Ukráins’kyi*, *Ukráinka*.”⁹⁵ Thus in the Little Russian-German dictionary of 1886 by Ievhen Zhelekhivsky the words *Ukráina*, *Ukráinets’*, *Ukráinka* had one accent,⁹⁶ while in Hrinchenko’s dictionary the word *Ukraína* also had only one accent, but on the third syllable.⁹⁷

Still another task was to create “name-unity” among the Ukrainians themselves. As I mentioned before, the Galicians were used to calling their land *Rus’*, which could (and did) create trouble for its “similarity” with *Rossia*, and Ukrainian newspapers had to explain to their readers that “in Galicia the term *rus’kyi* does not mean the same as among us, namely Great Russian; for this they have words *rosiis’kyi*, *moskovs’kyi*, sometimes *russkii*. *Rusyn* and *rus’kyi* are still old terms meaning the same as *ukrainets’*, *ukraiins’kyi* for the Ukrainians.”⁹⁸ As I mentioned previously, to facilitate a

⁹² Borys Hrinchenko, *Slovar’ Ukráins’koi movy*. Vol. 4 (Kyiv, 1997), 303.

⁹³ “Little Russian” terms were used to explain some other entries as, for instance, “Ruthenian (Rusyn) – Ruthenian (Rusyn), Little Russian”; “Russian (Rus’kyi) – 1) in Galicia and Bukovyna: Little Russian, Ukrainian; 2) Great Russian”: Hrinchenko, *Slovar’*. Vol. 4, 88–89.

⁹⁴ Borys Hrinchenko, *Slovar’*. Vol. 3 (Kyiv, 1996), 402.

⁹⁵ Borys Hrinchenko, *Tiazhkym shliakhom* (Kyiv, 1912), 39.

⁹⁶ Ievgenii Zhelekhovskii, *Malorusko-nemetskii slovar*. Vol. 2 (L’viv, 1886), 1007.

⁹⁷ Hrinchenko, *Slovar’*. Vol. 4, 330–331.

⁹⁸ *Snip* 4 (1912): 5fn.

transition for the Galicians to the name of “Ukraine,” at the end of the 1880s – beginning of the 1890s the Russian Ukrainians suggested using the temporary name of *Ukraiina-Rus’*. Closer to the end of the century Galician intellectuals started to drop *Rus’* and emphasise the need to use simply *Ukraine, Ukrainian*.⁹⁹

However, another problem concerned common folk and their national identification and national consciousness. In the beginning of the twentieth century only few peasants described by the intellectuals as “the Ukrainians,” actually identified themselves as such, preferring the “Christian,” “Orthodox,” “Rus’ Christian,” “Little Russian” or *khokhol* identification instead, recognising the “other” as *katsapy*; they seemingly thought of themselves as a separate nation, “but did not know well who they were.”¹⁰⁰ Moreover, they did not know anything about their history, about the Slavs, about Galicia or Bukovyna, and considered as “Ukrainian” only the Kyiv, Katerynoslav, Poltava, Kharkiv, Kherson gubernias, not knowing anything about the Ukrainians beyond them.¹⁰¹

Thus peasants became a special target audience for Ukrainian intellectuals, who started to publish special newspapers for them,¹⁰² written in very simple and comprehensible language, which, as it turned out, was indeed a problem: it seems even the most peasant-friendly texts by Shevchenko were not understood in the villages.¹⁰³ The most concise example of teaching peasants to think in national territorial terms was a series of articles by Nykyfor Hryhoriev “Conversations with old man Danylo.” These were conversations between a peasant, Danylo, and a village teacher, who explained

⁹⁹ *Nasha shkola* 4–5 (1913): 195; *Rada* 254 (6 November 1913): 3.

¹⁰⁰ Ivan Ohiienko, “Ukraiins’ka samosvidomist’ nashykh selian,” *Rada* 125 (4 June 1909): 2.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁰² Mykhailo Hrushevs’kyi, “Nasha hazeta,” *Rada* 1 (1 January 1907): 1; Selianka-Ukraiinka, “Lyst vid selianky,” *Rada* 44 (22 February 1907): 3.

¹⁰³ Borys Hrinchenko, *Shevchenko “Kobzar” na seli* (Kyiv, 1906), 9.

to him all he needed to know about the nation in simple language with understandable examples. Among other things the teacher provided Danylo with information about what his nationality was,¹⁰⁴ who “our people” and “our people” in Galicia were¹⁰⁵ (later in a concise version of these talks there was a separate sentence that the Ukrainians can be of three faiths: the Orthodox, the Uniate and the Catholic;¹⁰⁶ for the moment my research shows that this religious moment was explained only to the peasants and was absent from the discourse of Ukrainian (mostly leftist) newspapers for the literate audience), what Ukraine was, how large it was and what was the history of its name.¹⁰⁷ The hardest thing to explain to Danylo was that the latter was “Ukrainian”: he heard the name itself only in some folk songs. Thus the teacher started by telling him that he is *rus'kyi*. Danylo was “surprised” about it:

I could never say this! This is even ridiculous: *rus'kyi*! *Rus'ki* come only from Russia. They build churches and stoves; they are good carpenters; they sell books and icons around the markets. Who does not know *rus'kykh*? They are totally different people than us. They speak differently. So how is it possible that we are also *rus'ki* if we are not the same as they are. I do not get it! How is one to understand, [...] that is *rus'kyi*, and that is *rus'kyi*, and that is *rus'kyi*. All are *rus'ki*, but not the same. [...] If I tell my old woman that I bought an icon from a *rus'kyi* she will never think that I bought it from our man. She will immediately think that I bought an icon from that *rus'kyi* who is “*z Rosieii*.” Try telling any peasant from here that he is *rus'kyi*! What *rus'kyi*, you will hear, if I was born and baptised and grew up here?¹⁰⁸

The teacher explained to him that *rus'kyi* was the old name for their people, the new one was “Ukrainian,” although the former was also valid. Danylo left for his village, discussed everything with the peasants and returned complaining to the teacher that not only did no one agree with being called *rus'kyi*, but his own wife became angry at him for calling her so; somehow the peasants agreed that they were “Ukrainians,” but

¹⁰⁴ Hr. Nash, “Rozmovy z didom Danylom,” *Maiak* 5 (1913): 8.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, 9.

¹⁰⁶ R. Hurtom, “Ukraiins'kyi katekhizys,” *Maiak* 12 (1913): 3.

¹⁰⁷ Hr. Nash, “Rozmovy z didom Danylom,” *Maiak* 6 (1913): 6.

¹⁰⁸ Hr. Nash, “Rozmovy z didom Danylom,” *Maiak* 5 (1913): 8.

not *rus'ki*. The teacher was enormously relieved after “hearing this,” which in a way indicated wishful thinking on the part of Ukrainian intellectuals of the time:

I did not know where to start. I was surprised that our common people, who, as it seemed, knew so little in national matters, so firmly stand for themselves, for their nationality, and do not want to accept another name, which would confuse them with others. This was even more surprising considering that this name (*ruskii*) has been so stubbornly spread by school, and church, and administration, and for much longer than a year or two.¹⁰⁹

In the end the teacher explained to Danylo that the main reason for calling oneself a different name was to help other nations identify them as someone separate from the Russians. Thus the peasant had to understand that similarly to his three names – first (Danylo), second (Ivanovych) and third (Tymoshenko) – he had three levels of identification: his first name was “Ukrainian,” his second name was *rus'kyi*, and his last name was “Slav.” And when Danylo asked the important question: “Why do the Ukrainians not call themselves the Little Russians?” he heard an answer that he could understand: “This would be similar to changing the name given at birth. [...] No one does so anywhere. The name a man is given on his birth certificate is the name he dies with. The same is true for the name of ‘Ukraine.’ ‘Ukraine’ is the name given at birth, and ‘Little Russia’ was given later.”¹¹⁰

Not content with waiting for their propaganda to work among townsfolk and peasants, the Ukrainian activists started to put forward territorial political programs. The first of them had been suggested in Galicia since 1890; Iulian Bachynsky’s “Ukraina Irredenta” was the most famous one, endorsed by the Ruthenian-Ukrainian Radical Party. It advanced the idea of the political independence of Ukraine under the slogan: “Ukraine – for itself! This is her motto. Free, great, independent, politically self-standing Ukraine – indivisible from the Sian River to the Caucasus! – This is her

¹⁰⁹ Hr. Nash, “Rozmovy z didom Danylom,” *Maiak* 22 (1913): 3.

¹¹⁰ Hr. Nash, “Rozmovy z didom Danylom,” *Maiak* 18 (1914): 6–7.

flag!”¹¹¹ However, in the Russian Ukraine a similar program, “Independent Ukraine,” written by Mykola Mikhnovsky under the same slogan, remained the program only of a minor Ukrainian National Party created by Mikhnovsky himself. The remaining Ukrainian parties, which were indeed influential (the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Worker’s Party, the Ukrainian Democratic-Radical Party, the Society of Ukrainian Progressivists) demanded only the national-territorial autonomy of Ukraine. Decentralisation of the Russian Empire and autonomy for Ukraine, not only nationally, but also economically “being exhausted and exploited by the centre,”¹¹² became the idea popularised by all Ukrainian media, socialist and liberal alike, immediately from 1906, at the same time denying any accusations of separatism.¹¹³ Although exterritorialism was still discussed,¹¹⁴ those projects of decentralisation of the Russian Empire (similar to Drahomanov’s) which did not create a unified Ukrainian territorial unit were criticised.¹¹⁵ However, in no way did this desired territorial autonomy of Ukraine meant Mikhnovsky’s idea of “Ukraine for Ukrainians”: various articles in various media explained that Ukrainian territorial autonomy could successfully work only when the national demands of other nationalities populating Ukraine were satisfied.¹¹⁶ This

¹¹¹ Iulian Bachyns’kyi, *Ukraiina irredenta* (Berlin, 1924), 97.

¹¹² N. Sokolov, “Ukraina v gosudarstvennom biudzhete Rossii,” *Ukrainskii vestnik* 2 (1906); *Hromads’ka dumka* 159 (12 July 1906): 2; *Rada* 71 (25 March 1907): 1; M. H-r, “Nova nebezpeka,” *Rada* 230 (9 October 1908): 1; M. Hryhorovych, “Taryfna heometriia,” *Rada* 182 (9 August 1908): 1; 13 (17 January): 1; P.A., “Rosii i Finliandiia,” *Rada* 180 (11 August 1909).

¹¹³ V. Domanyts’kyi, *Slovaryk. Poiasnennia chuzhykh ta ne duzhe zrozumylykh sliv* (Kyiv, 1906), 7; “Prohrama ukraiins’koi demokratychno-radykal’noi partii,” *LNV* 4 (1906): 196; P. Smutok, “Kraieva avtonomiia Ukrainy,” *Vil’na Ukrainia* 1–2 (1906): 34–36; M.P., “Avtonomiia Ukrainy v svitli ‘sotsial-demokratychnoi’ krytyky,” *Vil’na Ukrainia* 4 (1906): 42; Viktor P., “Avtonomiia Ukrainy,” *Hromads’ka dumka* 92 (23 April 1906): 1–2; Hr. Kovalenko, “Lysty do selian,” *Ridnyi krai* 6 (1906): 4; D.D., “M. Grushevskii. Natsional’nyi vopros i avtonomiia. Iedinstvo ili raspadenie Rossii,” *Rada* 118 (24 May 1907): 2–3; *Rada* 140 (21 June 1909): 1; R. Hurtom, “Ukraiins’kyi katekhizys,” *Maiak* 11 (1913): 5.

¹¹⁴ M. Hekhter, “Tak rozv’iazaty natsional’ne pytannia,” *Rada* 113 (18 May 1907): 1; Ibid, *Rada* 114 (19 May 1907): 1. In a letter from Lypynsky to Chykalenko in 1912 the former was urging Chykalenko to leave the politics of exterritorialism, conducted by *Rada*, and in another letter he expressed his delight after Chykalenko’s reply. See Nadiia Myronets’, “Lysty V’iacheslava Lypyns’koho do Ievhena Chykalenka (1909–1918),” *UASHCH* 12 (2007): 503–504, 507.

¹¹⁵ Ko-yi, “Natsional’no-terytorial’ni mezhi.” Project under criticism was one by Konstantin Fortunatov, *Natsionalnye oblasti Rossii* (St. Petersburg, 1906).

¹¹⁶ V. Tymoshevs’kyi, “Tak rozumity haslo ‘Ukraiina dlia ukraiintsiv’,” *Rada* 114 (19 May 1907): 2.

is explained by the fact that the Ukrainian movement of the time was almost completely leftist. Thus its representatives referred to European social-democrats, who supported national-territorial autonomy¹¹⁷ and criticised the Russian Marxists around Lenin for their recognition of only territorial not national autonomy and its propaganda of ideas of Russian centralism.¹¹⁸ However, this socialist character of the Ukrainian movement meant that to get control of the territory was not the aim in itself. As the leading Ukrainian novelist of the time, who became the first Prime-Minister of Ukraine in 1917, described this,

He agrees even to take away land by force only to create our independent Ukraine. Well, I cannot accept this. Ukraine is Ukraine and land is land. But try to explain it to him, will he listen?

– Ukraine is for the Ukrainians. And we do not need your autonomy! [...]

– Excuse me, – smiles the student, – I am a Ukrainian myself, but can only say that you are very wrong when you claim to represent everyone. The Ukrainian bourgeoisie, even only a part of it, maybe, needs the independence of Ukraine, but the Ukrainian proletariat does not need it. The Ukrainian working people, as everywhere, need such political form which would facilitate its development. For instance, autonomy. But they do not need at all to separate completely from our Russian brothers or the Poles. [...]

– What, do you want the foreigners to continue their rule over us?!

– *Bureaucracy* rules over us, – says the student.¹¹⁹

Thus Ukraine was presented as also populated by many other nations whom the Ukrainians should have treated the same way they wanted to be treated themselves. Nationalism was accordingly defined as “love for each other in one’s nation, to offsprings and ancestors, for the language,”¹²⁰ which can “lead to good and evil alike. That nationalism which leads to harming others was called ‘zoological’ [...] But people are not animals and must love themselves and have such a nationalism which does not harm other people. [...] When a man loves only that peculiarity of his nation which distinguishes it from all the rest, when he thinks of it as the best in the world for

¹¹⁷ A. Babel’ and Ie. Pernerstorfer, *Natsional’na ta internatsional’na ideia* (Kyiv, 1906), 14; V. Levins’kyi, “Natsional’ne pytannia v Avstrii i sotsial’demokratiia,” *Dzvin* 1 (1907): 177–229.

¹¹⁸ M. Lozyns’kyi, “Rosiiis’ka sotsial-demokratiia i natsional’ne pytannia,” *Hromads’ka dumka* 125 (2 June 1906): 1; Ruzyn, “Natsional’ne pytannia i politychni partiii,” *Rada* 139 (20 June 1907): 1; Ruzyn, “Natsional’ne pytannia i politychni partiii,” *Rada* 140 (21 June 1907): 1; L. Iurkevych, “Iezuiits’ka polityka,” *Dzvin* 3 (1914): 459–462.

¹¹⁹ V. Vynnychenko, “Umirkovanyi ta shchyryi,” *Hromads’ka dumka* 16 (19 January 1906): 2.

¹²⁰ Hr. Nash, “Rozmovy z didom Danylom,” *Maiak* 14 (1914): 7–8

him but does not notice its vices and the values of foreign nations, then that nationalism is zoological, chauvinism.”¹²¹ Thus, when some Galicians suggested they should nationalise Ukrainian families by avoiding marrying women from other nations, they were severely criticised by the Russian Ukrainians.¹²² Special religious arguments were put forward to peasants: “We are the Christians and Christ told us to love our neighbours as we love ourselves.”¹²³ This instruction had to do even with names:

Katsapy is not a name of the Muscovite nation, but an insulting sobriquet. One should not call another one by sobriquets. [...] All people should live in peace and in good harmony, as brothers. We, the Ukrainians, especially must live in this way with the *Moskals*, as we are indeed brothers with them, children of one parents – the ancient Slavs. Thus we must forget those sobriquets as quickly as possible and call each other only by real names; call ourselves the Ukrainians, and call them the *Moskals* or the “Russians” as they call themselves.¹²⁴

All these ideas of Ukrainian national territory were especially manifested after 1906 in relation to the question of the Kholm gubernia. The idea to separate some parts of the Kingdom of Poland around Kholm into a separate administrative unit was discussed by the Imperial authorities from at least 1865 when the first project of the Kholm gubernia as a part of the Kingdom of Poland was worked out,¹²⁵ but became especially urgent after 1905. The Ukrainian media clearly supported the separation of these territories from the Kingdom of Poland. However, they were presented not as Russian or Polish, but as Ukrainian and, according to the Ukrainians, new gubernia had to consist of the Ukrainian parts of the Kingdom of Poland and of the Volhynia gubernia. At the same time the Ukrainians strongly opposed the idea of the autonomy

¹²¹ Hr. Nash, “Rozmovy z didom Danylom,” *Maiak* 15 (1914): 5–7.

¹²² “Z hazet ta zhurnaliv,” *Rada* 183 (10 August 1908): 1; “Z hazet ta zhurnaliv,” *Rada* 192 (22 August 1908): 1–2.

¹²³ R. Hurtom, “Ukraiins’kyi katekhizys,” *Maiak* 13 (1913): 3.

¹²⁴ Hr. Nash, “Rozmovy z didom Danylom,” *Maiak* 6 (1913): 8.

¹²⁵ *Rada* 266 (20 November 1908).

of Poland in its contemporary borders, including the Kholm area,¹²⁶ as they had done at the time of Chubynsky, praising those maps which showed the settlement of the Ukrainian population in the Lublin and Sedlets gubernias, as opposed to the Polish authors who tried to prove the opposite and stated the number of the “Orthodox” was lower than of the Catholics, missing the point that the local Catholics were Ukrainians as well.¹²⁷ A prominent native of Kholm, Mykhailo Hrushevsky stated the Ukrainian position in the problem of the Kholm gubernia especially vividly:

An organic part of the Ukrainian land, which even under Polish state rule never ceased to be considered as such, stops being a Polish peg, which it was made by the incapable diplomats, cutting and sewing territories and nations behind the green table according to their own will. Kholm land, which until the very partition of Poland remained a province of Galician Rus’ [...] returns again to other Ukrainian lands and old ties, which were so mechanically torn, are restored. It returns being endlessly weakened, though. [...] Does this decision of the Committee of Ministers mean also a break with this bankrupted, unhappy and endlessly harmful system of official nationality and the bureaucratic Orthodoxy? [...] Because the formal transfer only of the Kholm area from “the Vistula region” into “the South-Western region” not changing all national politics towards local population does not mean much. This would be only a transfer of the coffin of someone’s buried alive from one grave to another. So break the coffin and let the forcibly buried out!¹²⁸

However, the problem of major importance for the Ukrainian activists in the beginning of the twentieth century had to do with Galicia and its relation to the Russian Ukraine. As an editorial of 1912 stated, “it was no a secret that the Ukrainian territory and Ukrainian national organism was cut in two different parts and divided between Russia and Austro-Hungary.”¹²⁹ The press needed to play vital role in bridging this

¹²⁶ Kholms’kyi Ukraïnets’, “Holos z Kholmshchyny,” *Hromads’ka dumka* 3 (3 January 1906): 2; Iu. O., “Pekuche pytannia,” *Hromads’ka dumka* 24 (5 February 1906): 2; “Ukraiintsy i poliaky v Kholmshchyni,” *Hromads’ka dumka* 33 (14 February 1906): 2; Mykhailo Hrushevs’kyi, “Za ukraiins’kyi maslak,” *Rada* 2 (3 January 1907): 1; “Z pol’s’koho zhyttia i hazet,” *Rada* 95 (22 April 1907): 3; F. Matushevs’kyi, “‘Istinno-russkie liudi’ v ‘ukrainofil’s’kii’ shkuri,” *Rada* 144 (26 June 1907): 1; M.D., “758 tys. dush!” *Rada* 203 (7 September 1907): 2; “Kholms’ka sprava,” *Ridnyi krai* 2 (1907): 2–3; V. Sadovs’kyi, “Kholms’ka sprava,” *Slovo* 12 (22 March 1909): 2–3; “Narody i provintsii,” *Rada* 113 (21 May 1909): 1; *Rada* 115 (23 May 1909): 3; A. Vasyly’ko, “K kholmському voprosu,” *Ukrainskaia zhizn’* 1 (1912): 54–59; O. Belousenko, “Ukrainskie momenty v kholmskom voprose,” *Ukrainskaia zhizn’* 3 (1912): 20; Synopticus, “Kholms’ka debata v Dumi,” *LNV* 4 (1912): 63.

¹²⁷ Vol. Hnatiuk, “V.A. Frantsev, Karty russkogo i pravoslavnogo naseleniia Kholmsskoi Rusi s statisticheskimi tablitsami k nim (Varshava, 1909),” *ZNTSh* 98 (1910): 211–212; Vol. Hnatiuk, “Stefan Dziewulski, Statystyka ludnosci gubernii Lubelskiej i Siedleckiej wobec projektu utworzenia gubernii Chelmskiej. Warszawa, 1909,” *ZNTSh* 98 (1910): 212–214.

¹²⁸ M. Hrushevs’kyi, “Povernennia Kholmshchyny,” *Rada* 204 (8 September 1907): 1. The Kholm gubernia was indeed created in 1912, but was put under the direct control of Minister of Internal Affairs.

¹²⁹ *Snip* 12 (1912): 1.

divide between Galicia and the Russian Ukraine, which was pointed to already from the 1890s. For instance, in 1896 Iefremov asked Hrushevsky: “What is going on in Galicia? We live as behind some Chinese wall: nothing reaches us from Galicia. Sometimes one only reads correspondence from Galicia in the local press and only from them gets to know about Galician affairs.”¹³⁰ On the other hand, those Ukrainians who decided to go to Galicia, did not necessarily feel there at home.¹³¹

Thus Russian Ukrainian newspapers had special sections for Galician and Bukovynian news, either as parts of sections such as “From Ukraine,” or as separate sections “From the Galician Ukraine”¹³² or “From foreign Ukraine”¹³³ (“Western Ukraine” remained the name still assigned to the Right Bank Russian Ukraine¹³⁴). They also regularly published numerous articles on Galicia and Bukovyna,¹³⁵ and even photos from there.¹³⁶ As I mentioned, Kyiv was considered a centre of the Ukrainian movement and thus there appeared ideas to move all the existing Ukrainian press from Lviv to Kyiv.¹³⁷ One publication indeed was transferred to Kyiv in 1907. *Literaturno-naukovyï visnyk* [Literary-Scientific Herald], founded in Lviv in 1897,

¹³⁰ Ihor Hyrych, “Iz lystuvannia Serhiia Iefremova i Mykhaila Hrushevs’koho,” *ZNTSh* CCXXIV (1992): 339.

¹³¹ Iurii Tyshchenko, *Z moiikh zustrichei: spohady* (Kyiv, 1997), 59–60.

¹³² *Maiak* 38 (1913): 8.

¹³³ *Selo* 1 (1910): 5.

¹³⁴ “V Derzhavnii Dumy,” *Rada* 58 (10 March 1907): 2.

¹³⁵ M. Vil’shans’kyi, “Deshcho pro Halychynu,” *Ridnyi krai* 4 (1906): 11–12; “Kholms’ka Rus’,” *Ridnyi krai* 7 (1906): 11–12; Osyp Makovei, “Lysty z Bukovyny,” *Hromads’ka dumka* 26 (7 February 1906): 2; *Hromads’ka dumka* 31 (12 February 1906): 1–2; 36 (17 February 1906): 2; *Hromads’ka dumka* 37 (18 February 1906): 1–2; *Hromads’ka dumka* 40 (21 February 1906): 3; O.M., “Lysty z Bukovyny,” *Hromads’ka dumka* 43 (24 February 1906): 2; M.K., “Halyts’ki kraiovi spravy,” *Ridnyi krai* 11 (1908): 11–13; M.K., “Halyts’ki kraiovi spravy,” *Ridnyi krai* 12 (1908): 11–12; Kost’ Krakaliia, “Lyst z Bukovyny,” *Rada* 46 (24 February 1908): 1; Kost’ Krakaliia, “Lyst z Bukovyny,” *Rada* 26 (1 February 1909): 2; Mykhailo Hrushevsky, “Nashi lyudy z Karpats’kykh storin,” *Selo* 7 (1909): 4; *Selo* 1 (1910): 5; “Na Bukovyni,” *Selo* 35 (1910): 4–6; “Na Bukovyni,” *Selo* 36 (1910): 5–6; “Na Bukovyni,” *Selo* 37 (1910): 4–6; “Neshchasna kraïina,” *Ridnyi krai* 3 (1913): 1–3.

¹³⁶ *Dzvin* 23 (13 September 1906): 341; *Selo* 17 (1909): 5; *Selo* 6 (1910): 4; *Selo* 6 (1910): 5; *Selo* 8 (1910): 5; *Selo* 11 (1910): 5; *Selo* 12 (1910): 5; *Selo* 12 (1910): 5; *Selo* 13 (1910): 4–5; *Selo* 19 (1910); *Selo* 30 (1910): 4–5; *Selo* 33 (1910): 5; *Maiak* 1 (1914): 5.

¹³⁷ “Z hazet ta zhurnaliv,” *Rada* 25 (31 January 1907): 2.

already in the first Kyivan volume confessed to the political underpinning of the move: the journal was to “regain” its all-Ukrainian character:

A Galician highlander and a Steppe man from Kherson, a Bukovynian and a *Zadniprovets'*, a *Kubanets'* and a *Kholmshchak*, a Hungarian Ruthenian and a Sloboda people should feel themselves similarly members and townsfolk of united Ukrainian land, and in those other inhabitants of the various parts of Ukraine see their countrymen as members of one nation, one people. [...] Only with will and carefully tossing aside of foreign influences, incrustations which divide and distinguish various Ukrainian types, and supporting, spreading and sharing one with another everything healthy and precious that we have, only then will we combine unity with diversity and wealth, otherwise we are endangered either with spiritual poverty, voluntarily castration, or with the growth of provincialisms which will choke up national unity and stop any chance for powerful national growth. This is where our immediate program comes from. We purposely wanted to turn our journal into an all-Ukrainian literary collection, where a Bukovynian will speak to a Slobozhanian, a Kubanian to a Galician, where the living spiritual unity of the various parts of our land will be supported.¹³⁸

Austrian Ukraine also became the subject of special lectures, organised by *Prosvita* in 1908, at least in Katerynoslav.¹³⁹ To make even more people aware of their compatriots across the border, Kyivan activists published popular books with various information about them. The first attempts were two volumes published by Vasyl Domanytsky on Galicia and Bukovyna in Kyiv in 1909–1910.¹⁴⁰ In the first its author started his description from the seemingly obvious statement, the presence of which therefore speaks for itself: “The first thing which one notices is that the same people live there, our brothers – the Ukrainians, the same as among us, in Ukraine. Those Galician Ukrainians speak the same language as we do, wear the same clothes as we do, and their customs are predominantly the same as ours, as are their white houses with gardens.”¹⁴¹ In both books, which were accompanied by maps (Figures 6.11 – 6.12), Domanytsky wrote about local history and life in general, stipulating: “We have

¹³⁸ Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, “Do nashykh chytachiv v Rosiii,” *LNV* 1 (1907): 5–6. See the same appeals by Hrushevsky in his articles “Do nashykh chytachiv,” *LNV* 11 (1907): 177; Mykhailo Hrushevsky, “Na ukrains'ki temy,” *LNV* 1 (1910): 56. This desire of LNV to become all-Ukrainian journal was wholeheartedly supported in Russian Ukraine. See: “Z pryvodu vykhodu pershoyi knyzhky LNV u Kyievi,” *Ridnyi krai* 3 (1907): 4. Hrushevsky's emphasis on unity as one of the main principles of LNV was also remembered by one of the contemporaries. See: Tyshchenko, *Z moiikh zustrichei*, 62.

¹³⁹ T. Krasnopil's'kyi, “Lektsiii Katerynoslavs'koi ‘Prosvity’,” *Ridnyi krai* 11 (1908): 5–7.

¹⁴⁰ Vasyl' Domanyts'kyi, *Pro Halychynu i zhyttia halyts'kykh ukraiintsiv* (Kyiv, 1909); Idem, *Pro Bukovynu ta zhyttia bukovyns'kykh ukraiintsiv* (Kyiv, 1910).

¹⁴¹ Domanyts'kyi, *Pro Halychynu*, 3.

to know and care not only about ourselves, our house, our corner, but to live a common life with our brothers in the whole world, feel happy for their joys, feel ill because of their pain, to reject what is bad in them, and adopt what is good, to help in times of hardships both by word and deed.”¹⁴² Its reviewer called the first book “an encyclopaedia of Galicia,” which could successfully get the readers acquainted with Galicia:

Wide circles of the Russian Ukraine are little acquainted with the life of the Galician Ukrainians, and when they are then they know it somehow in abstract, unclearly. We are not speaking about a few people. Newspapers and journals from Galicia that reach us do not provide the understanding of Galicia one needs to have. The best is to go to Galicia and see everything with one’s own eyes. But is it possible for everyone? I doubt it. And here the book by Mr. Domanytsky can be of use in providing a chance to understand clearly how the Galician Ukrainians lived during their separation from the Russian Ukraine. The book is written in an absolutely popular, understandable, engaging and objective way. Everyone who until now has not heard about Galicia, or has known little, now has to know, since this book is accessible for any Ukrainian – both in its narrative and price.¹⁴³

The book on Bukovyna was praised even more. Its reviewer again complained about the total absence of scientific-popular books on Ukrainian geography, and even if some knowledge of the Russian Ukraine might be got from Russian geography textbooks, he compared the knowledge of foreign Ukrainian territories among the Russian Ukrainians to their knowledge of some Swiss cantons. The main merits of the book were that

the book is written in a very nice way, in language understandable for any peasant and will be of great use not only to peasants, but also to many among our intelligentsia; the book is accompanied by some pictures and a small map of Bukovyna. The price is extremely low. We recommend this book wholeheartedly to everyone who still does not consider themselves “Little Russians” and is at least to some extent interested in Ukrainian cause.¹⁴⁴

In contrast, in 1910 Mykola Zalizniak published an article on the Russian Ukraine in *Prosvita*’s “Calendar for 1910” for those readers of the Austrian Ukraine

¹⁴² Domanyts’kyi, *Pro Halychynu*, 79.

¹⁴³ Rusyn, “Vasyl’ Domanyts’kyi, Pro Halychynu i zhyttia halyts’kykh ukraiintsiv. Kyiv, 1909,” *Ukraiins’ka khata* 1 (1910): 78.

¹⁴⁴ Iu. Budiak, “Vasyl’ Domanyts’kyi, Pro Bukovynu i zhyttia Bukovyns’kykh ukraiintsiv. Kyiv, 1909,” *Ukraiins’ka khata* 4 (1910): 278.

unacquainted with it, accompanied with a map of Ukraine (Figure 6.13),¹⁴⁵ and only in 1914 they were accompanied by Dmytro Doroshenko's book on Hungarian Rus'.¹⁴⁶ In the end it indeed seemed that the time when Galicia was unknown in the Russian Ukraine and vice versa was gone.¹⁴⁷ The Galician Ukrainians and their national achievements were praised and considered as an example for the Russian Ukrainians,¹⁴⁸ for, as one of the authors put it, "there everything proceeded from the ethnographical masses to the modern nation."¹⁴⁹ However, such an attention to the Austrian Ukraine in the Kyivan press might be seen as a sign of insecurity on the part of the Ukrainian activists about the future merger of the two parts. Probably the most famous exposition of such fears was the text from the last Lviv issue of *LN* before its transfer to Kyiv. In December 1906 it published the article "Galicia and Ukraine" by Hrushevsky himself.¹⁵⁰ The picture the leader of the Ukrainian movement described seemed almost apocalyptic for the Ukrainian project: Hungarian Rus' was hardly alive after breaking its ties with neighbouring Galicia; the same destiny awaited for the Kholm area; a harmful movement of "autochthons," aimed at its "Orthodox" separation from the "Uniate Galicia," was developing in Bukovyna:

And altogether such divisions strike painfully not only at our national feeling, but also at our national strength. In a similar way the weakening of the ties between Galicia and Bukovyna will exert its influence upon us and will not only be extremely harmful for the future destiny of Galicia, but will also not pass without harmful consequences for Ukrain-

¹⁴⁵ Mykola Zalizniak, "Rosiis'ka Ukraïna ta iiii vidrodzhennia," in *Iliustrovanyi kalendar "Prosvity" na 1910 rik* (Lviv, 1910), 83–105. The article was published as a separate book: Mykola Zalizniak, *Rosiis'ka Ukraïna i iiii vidrodzhennie* (Lviv, 1910). It was positively reviewed by Hr. Sherstiuk, "Vasyl' Domanyts'kyi, Pro Halychynu i zhyttia halyts'kykh ukraiintsiv. Kyiv, 1909; Mykola Zalizniak, *Rosiis'ka Ukraïna i iiii vidrodzhennie*. Lviv, 1910," *Rada* 12 (16 January 1910).

¹⁴⁶ D.D., *Uhors'ka Rus'* (Kyiv, 1914). The book was praised by the reviewers: M. K-chuk, "D.D., *Uhors'ka Rus'*. Kyiv, 1914," *Dzvin* 3 (1914): 290–291; S.Ch., "D.D. *Uhors'ka Rus'*. Kyiv, 1914," *Rada* 73 (30 March 1914): 5.

¹⁴⁷ "Ukraiins'ka prosvita v poltav's'kykh povodakh," *Ridnyi Krai* 5 (1909): 13–14.

¹⁴⁸ Mikhail Grushevskii, "Vstrevozhennyi muraveinik," *Ukrainskii vestnik* 6 (1906): 336; V. Domanyts'kyi, "Lysty z-za hranytsi," *Rada* 120 (25 May 1908): 3; Viktor Pisniachev's'kyi, "Mali dila ta velyki naslidky," *Rada* 172 (27 July 1908): 1; Mandrivets', "Z Uhors'koi Ukraïny ta Halyts'koi Ukraïny," *Rada* 108 (14 May 1914): 2.

¹⁴⁹ M. Lozyns'kyi, "Zakordonnna Ukraïna v 1909 rotsi," *Rada* 2 (3 January 1910): 3.

¹⁵⁰ "Considering this article as having deep contemporary interest and fundamental importance" *Rada* summarised it: *Rada* 82 (19 December 1906): 1–2.

ian life. We must remember that the Russian Ukraine, the same as Galicia only in a bigger scale, does not constitute a wholly homogenous complex. And here thanks to the historical and other different circumstances we see quite considerable differences in life, in language, in different relations between the Right and Left Bank Ukraine, between the grain growing Kherson area and plant-like Katerynoslav, or Cossack Kuban'. To give up the all-Ukrainian stance, to continue on the same road by which they now separate "Galicianness" from "Ukrainianness," to play a flute of provincialism, would be a great tactical mistake. [...] People who do not need a stronger development of the Ukrainians grasp those differences, created in our national body by foreign influences and artificial circumstances, and they change the concept of the united Ukrainian territory and its autonomy for a concept of region, area, and cut regional autonomies out of the Ukrainian territory. But it is in the interest of the Ukrainian national development in its current stage to concentrate all national forces, and for that – all parts of the Ukrainian territory. We have to develop a feeling of unity, solidarity, intimacy in them, and not to snuff out the differences which divide them and which could lead to the complete separation, cultural and national, of the different parts of Ukrainian land, as in this case – in the relationship of Galicia to the Russian Ukraine and vice versa.¹⁵¹

According to Hrushevsky, if the Russian Ukraine and Galicia stopped active work on their unity they could further develop along separate roads. The main reason for that, according to Hrushevsky, was the historical difference between these lands, the absence of their own developed cultures and schooling. Such development, as Hrushevsky wrote, could in twenty-thirty years bring the Ukrainians to the situation when there would be "two nationalities on one ethnographical foundation, similar to the Serbs and the Croats, two parts of one Serbian tribe who allowed the political, cultural, religious circumstances to lead themselves to complete alienation."¹⁵²

It is clear that the Galicians and the Ukrainians should not let this happen. Those efforts to Ukrainianise Galicia which have been applied until now in a conscious way only by separate individuals and which very often excited complaints among people unconscious of this urgent action, now, facing this danger, have to be applied by the whole conscious Galician public. Galicia cannot allow itself to separate from Ukraine. It cannot lead to the point when it will become foreign to it, as Hungarian Rus' became to Galicia. [...] If this happens to Galicia, this will be the beginning of the end for it. [...] The all-Ukrainian permanent cultural and national centre can be only in Kyiv, all others could be only episodes. To help concentrate cultural work in that centre is the duty of all parts of Ukrainian land, and Galicia as well. [...] What separates Galicia from Ukraine is predominantly foreign to us: in Galicia this is the half-German "bloom," in Ukraine it is Muscovite, and the people's essence is very close, almost the same here and there. Therefore defending those differences in the name of provincial patriotism is absolutely not worthwhile.¹⁵³

Hrushevsky finished his article with a program for Galicia: "Ukraine will not come to Galicia for a second time, and God forbid the circumstances make it do so.

¹⁵¹ Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, "Halychyna i Ukraïna," in Idem, *Tvory* (Lviv, 2002), 379–380.

¹⁵² Ibid, 380.

¹⁵³ Ibid, 380–381.

The Galicians have to desire a strong, attractive Ukraine for themselves, and not a broken and begging one. Literate Galician must bring a local literary language closer to Ukrainian, their press and literature closer to Ukrainian life and Ukrainian interests. Galician teachers must do their best not to allow two terminologies and two languages on Ukrainian land.”¹⁵⁴

Thereafter *LNV*’s authors constantly underlined the unity of the Ukrainian national territory. From 1907 until the beginning of the war Hrushevsky was trying to persuade his readers that the collaboration was needed both for Galicians and for the Russian Ukrainians: Galicia was to play a role of a more advanced catalyst for other Ukrainian lands.¹⁵⁵ “Galicia is not only for the Galicians, and the Ukrainians will not live ‘their own life’ [...] It is not only a matter of the significance which every limb of a body, every part of it has which is crucial for the health and strength of a whole organism, Galicia has a larger, special meaning of being Ukrainian land which is nationally developed, in contrast to the other Ukrainian lands which are nationally underdeveloped.”¹⁵⁶

Although not everyone agreed with Hrushevsky’s fears,¹⁵⁷ and I have not found any elaborated accounts of similar anxieties, considering Hrushevsky’s position in the Ukrainian movement on the eve of the First World War, one is at least tempted to assume that the problem which was for the first time tackled by Drahomanov (see Chapter 4) was still not completely solved by the Ukrainian activists. Those interested in all-Ukrainian unity had to keep in mind all the possible ways of solving this problem.

¹⁵⁴ Hrushevs’kyi, “Halychyna i Ukraïna,” 381. *Rada* was constantly praising *LNV*’s endeavour to become a mediator between two Ukraines: D. D-ko, “Z ukraiïns’kykh zhurnaliv,” *Rada* 97 (27 April 1907): 3; M.L., “LNV. Kn. 2. 1908,” *Rada* 50 (29 February 1908): 2.

¹⁵⁵ Mykhailo Hrushevs’kyi, “Na Ukraïns’ki temy: kriachut’ vorony,” *LNV* 2 (1907).

¹⁵⁶ Mikhail Grushevskii, “O liubvi k otechestvu i narodnoi gordosti,” *LNV* 4 (1907): 119–120.

¹⁵⁷ For instance, one of the “young Ukrainians” claimed that such statements were very exaggerated and that the cultural connections between Ukraine and Galicia would not break because of “some misunderstandings.” See: K.B., “Z ukraiïns’ko-rosiïis’koho zhyttia,” *Ukraïns’ka khata* 2 (1910): 132–133.

The discussion of the ties between the Austrian and Russian Ukrainians was not very apparent in the press, but numerous epistolary sources tell the story vividly: the supposed unity of the Russian and Austrian Ukrainians continued to be a disputed issue.

The existence of some differences in the Ukrainian language of both Ukraines were one of the most serious problems of this kind. Although the Ukrainian press tried to persuade its readers that “our language was created by the nation as a whole. [...] And you babble: Galician! Yes! Both Galicia and Bukovyna and the whole of Ukraine took part in it,”¹⁵⁸ not all the Russian Ukrainians accepted the “Ukrainian” language, which was used by the Austrian Ukrainians. The most famous exposition of such views was written by the prominent Russian Ukrainian novelist, Ivan Nechui-Levytsky, who attacked young Russian Ukrainian authors for their acceptance of some Galician elements into the Ukrainian language. In 1906 this became the reason of major quarrel between the Austrian and Russian Ukrainians in *Hromadska dumka*:

They often accuse us either of not publishing their articles, or publishing them later and with changes. We explain: we publish *Hromadska dumka* for peasant readers and thus have to make ourselves understood. The language of Galician writers is not understood by our peasants. This is why we edit it. Besides, the character of their writing is different. This is why we ask them to write in a folk language, simply and in a popular way. [...] This is what we have to explain to our Galician comrades. We want those parts of our nation who live on both sides of the border to have as much spiritual union as possible; we want our readers to look at Galicia and Bukovyna as *ours*, the same *our* as the Kyivan region is for a Poltavan and vice versa. But for this we need our Galician comrades to take into consideration all those circumstances of our work, which we mentioned, and the totality of those facts which made Galician life different from ours, and write in such a way that our reader could easily read them.¹⁵⁹

In 1908 another discussion broke up with a letter from the major Galician newspaper *Dilo* to the major Kyivan newspaper *Rada*. In *Dilo*’s opinion, the Galicians were over criticised by the Kyivan press and “it was clear why: because when the border between us and the Dnipro Ukrainians disappears, the ‘foreigners’ would come and

¹⁵⁸ “Lysty do ‘tozhe Malorossov’,” *Snip* 2 (1912): 6.

¹⁵⁹ “Do nashykh halyts’kykh tovaryshiv,” *Hromads’ka dumka* 55 (9 April 1906): 3–4. Discussion was continued in “Do nashykh halyts’kykh tovaryshiv,” *Hromads’ka dumka* 98 (30 April 1906): 3; Serhii, “Vidhuky z zhyttia ta pys’menstva,” *Nova Hromada* 4 (1906): 121–125; Borkovs’kyi, “Nashym kyiivs’kym tovarysham nyz’kyi poklin i hrechna vidpovid’,” *Dilo* 65, 67, 68 (1906).

would push them away from the patriotic manger. This was why there was a need to build a new border between them.”¹⁶⁰ *Rada* answered in conciliatory manner that in Galicia they also made fun of the Kyivan Ukrainians and in Kyiv no one was offended. Still, in private this problem was often discussed in much harsher tones. For instance, Ievhen Chykalenko and Petro Stebnytsky complained about it to each other. In 1911 Stebnytsky called the Galicians “our Lviv countrymen-idiots, who were trying to [...] hang on our neck various stinking rubbish... We have to thank them for their stupid and blind politics.”¹⁶¹ Similarly in 1913 both correspondents were depressed about the polemics about Hrushevsky when he left the Shevchenko Society in Lviv. Stebnytsky seemed scared to share his thoughts with Chykalenko:

I think that in no way we can stop it, for the reasons are much deeper and fundamental, and everything will go round and round in the same direction; the abyss between Kyiv and Lviv will become deeper and the complete break-up of the Ukrainian national body will approach sooner and sooner to the joy of Shchogolev and to the benefit of both our “true Russian” and “true Polish” neighbours. [...] Oh, God, let me be wrong, but in my opinion if a “united Ukraine” (“*soborna Ukraina*”) is torn into two, it will ease a Polonisation for one part of it and a Russification for the other.¹⁶²

After some months Stebnytsky wrote to Chykalenko again that “even as the crack was sealed up, it was obvious that this was not permanent.”¹⁶³ In the following chapters I will try to show what else was done by the Ukrainian activists of the time to overcome all the regional divides and turn Ukrainian imagined national space into “the lived space” of their compatriots.

¹⁶⁰ “Komu stydno?” *Rada* 60 (12 March 1908): 3–4.

¹⁶¹ *Ie. Chykalenko i P. Stebnyts'kyi. Lystuvannia, 1901–1922* (Kyiv, 2008), 265. This irritated remark was caused by the publication in Lviv newspaper *Dilo* this asserted that the assassin of Stolypin, Dmitri Bogrov, was once a supported of creation of Ukrainian departments at the Kyiv University. Which made Petersburg based *Novoe Vremia* to claim that *Dilo* considered Bogrov a “conscious and true Ukrainian,” that Stolypin was killed for his repressions against the Ukrainians – abolishment of *Prosvita* and his ideas to erect a monument to Kochubei and Iskra in Kyiv. Therefore the author of *Novoe Vremia* concluded that “Bogrov was the best son of mother-Ukraine and at any moment Mazepinite youth in Galicia will start collecting money for a monument to him in Lvov, as it collects money for the last three years for a monument to M. Sechinskii.” *Rada*, published by Chykalenko, had to intervene against such interpretation.

¹⁶² *Ibid*, 366–367.

¹⁶³ *Ibid*, 373.

Figure 6.1. *Karta Iuga Rossii*
[Map of the South of Russia]

Source: *Statisticheskii spravochnik po Iugu Rosii* (Poltava, 1910).



Figure 6.2. *Skhematychna karta Rusi-Ukrainy*
[Schematic map of Rus'-Ukraine]

Source: Lev Padalka, *Pro zemli i liudnist' Ukrainy* (Poltava, 1906).



Figure 6.3. *De zhyvut' nashi liudy (a de pochynaiet'sia vzhe inshyi narod, tam ioho im'ia napysano i pidcherkmeno)*

[Where our people live (and where other nation begins its name is written and underlined)]

Source: Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, *Pro stari chasy na Ukraini* (St. Peterburg, 1907), 8–9.



Figure 6.4. *Karta (mapa) Ukrainy*

[Map of Ukraine]

Source: Iurii Siryi, "Ukraiins'ka zemlia," in *Narodnyi kalendar "Selo" na 1910 rik* (Kyiv, 1910), 32–33.

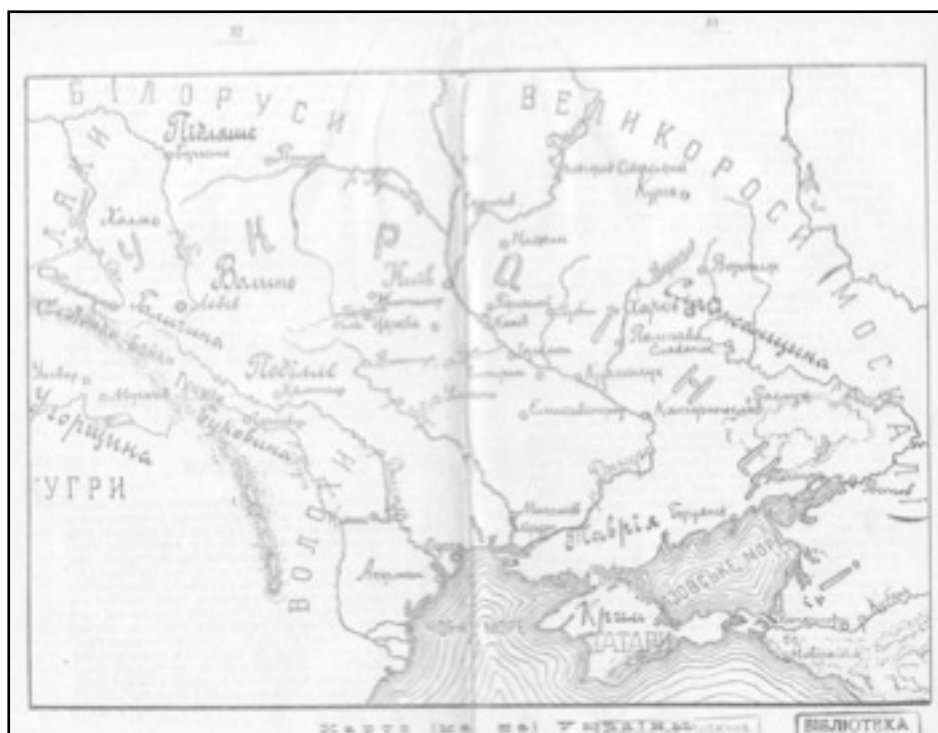


Figure 6.5. *Karta zemel, de zhyve ukraiins'kyi narod* (Odessa, 1910) (postcard)
[Map of lands where the Ukrainian nation lives]

Source: V. Iatsiuk, *Shevchenkivs'ka lystivka iak pamiatka istoriii ta kul'tury, 1890–1940* (Kyiv: Krynytsia, 2008), 355.



Figure 6.6. *Etnohrafichna karta Ukraïny ta susidnikh narodiv* (Odessa, 1910) (postcard)
[Ethnographical map of Ukraine and neighbouring nations]

Source: <http://photo.i.ua/user/11131/88253/8764067/>



Figure 6.7. *Mapa Ukrainy* (Lviv, 1910) (postcard)
[Map of Ukraine]



Figure 6.8. *Heohrafichna karta zemel, v Rosiii ta Avstro-Uhorshchyni, de osily ukraintsi* (Poltava, 1912) (postcard)
[Geographical map of lands in Russia and Austro-Hungary, where the Ukrainians have settled]

Source: V. Iatsiuk, *Shevchenkivs'ka lystivka iak pamiatka istoriit ta kul'tury, 1890–1940* (Kyiv: Krynytsia, 2008), 24.



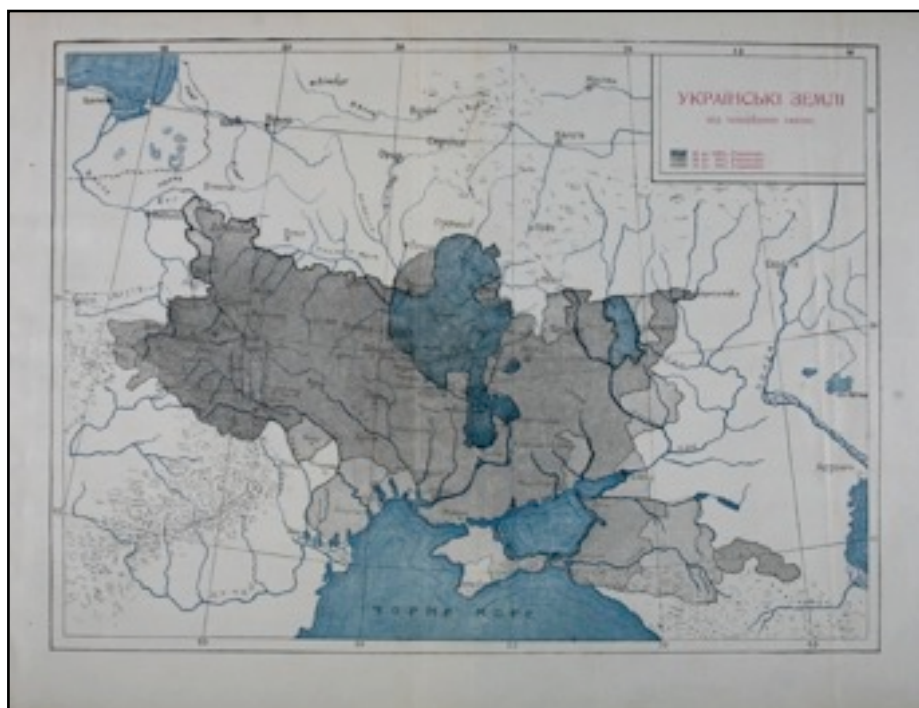
Figure 6.9. *Karta zemel, de zhyve ukraiins'kyi narod*
[Map of lands where the Ukrainian nation lives]

Source: Mykola Arkas, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusi* (St. Petersburg, 1908), 1.



Figure 6.10. *Ukraiins'ki zemli pid teperishniu khvyliu*
[The Ukrainian lands in the present time]

Source: Mykola Arkas, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusi*. Second edition (Krakiv, 1912).



Figures 6.11. *Karta Halychyny*
[Map of Galicia]

Source: Vasyl Domanyts'kyi, *Pro Halychynu i zhyttia halyts'kykh ukraiintsiv* (Kyiv, 1909), 79.



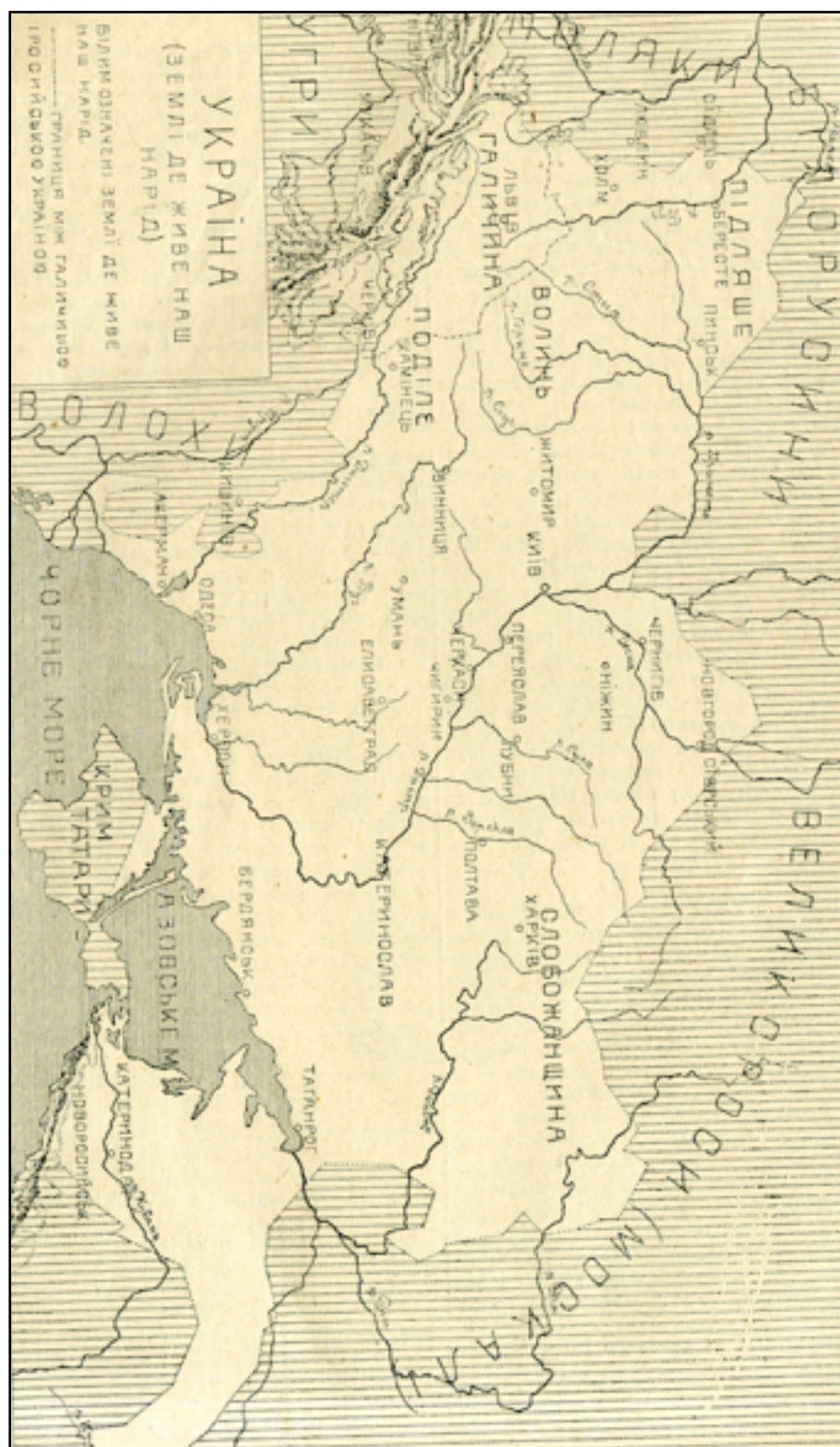
Figures 6.12. *Karta Bukovyny*
[Map of Bukovyna]

Source: Vasyl' Domanytskyi, *Pro Bukovynu ta zhyttia Bukovyns'kykh ukraiintsiv* (Kyiv, 1910).



Figures 6.13. *Ukraiina. Zemli, de zhyve nash narid*
[Ukraine. Lands, where our nation lives]

Source: Mykola Zalizniak, "Rosii's'ka Ukraiina ta iiii vidrozhennia," in *Iliustrovanyi kalendar "Pros-
vity" na 1910 rik* (Lviv, 1910), 85.



Chapter 7. Picturesque Ukraine: Appropriating Ukrainian national space through art

The whole project of the monument [...] is apparently caused by one and the same thought – to arouse and consolidate the idea of Little Russian identity.

Mikhail Soloviev, 1896

For Poltava with its quiet Little Russian idyll everything happened somehow unexpectedly.

Mykola Holoborodko, about 1903

No, a nation which has such a grave with a white, clean cross is immortal!

Fedot Sheludko, 1913

Kaczki ciągną, grązele kwitną na jeziorze,
jakby wypisz, wymaluj Chelmońskiego płótno.
Pachnie łąka skoszona i myślę: “Mój Boże i
Jak dobrze jest mi tutaj i jak bardzo smutno!”
Jak w Polsce płyną skądś śwędy spalenizny,
Zając przemknął przez drogę, piesek obok człapie.
Wiem, czego mi potrzeba: tęsknię do ojczyzny,
Której nigdy nie było i niema na mapie.
Jan Lechoń, *Chelmoński*, 1953

In traditional Ukrainian historiography this chapter would most probably conclude the book. Ukrainian art has usually been left for “the specialists” and to the best of my knowledge has not been dealt with by the scholars who study Ukrainian intellectual history or the history of Ukrainian nationalism. Taking into account that the chapters of the second part of this thesis are thematic and thus might be situated in any sequence I deliberately made the story of nationally engaged art the second chapter. In so doing, I wished to emphasise that the sphere of Ukrainian art was not separated from the rest of contemporary Ukrainian intellectual life. To the contrary, Ukrainian artists of the time were as nationally engaged as were Ukrainian writers, scientists, teachers or politicians. As the idea of this chapter came to me through the influence of works by Thomas Nipperdey, Anthony Alofsin and Christopher Ely, I divided it into three parts: in the first and second I tell the story of an attempt to identify Ukrainian national space by specific monuments and architecture in Ukrainian national style,

whereas the third part is devoted to the representation of Ukrainian national space in pictorial art.

A relationship between monumental art and national movements has long been posited. Christine Boyer suggested we should study architecture and city monuments as “artefacts and traces that connected the past with the present in imaginative and inventive ways, and helped to build a sense of community, culture and nation.”¹ Guntram Herb further asserted that “monuments, settlements, and other places were ‘concentrated nodes’ and ‘circuits of memory’ of national identity. [...] Placing markers of national culture along the perimeters of a region made national boundaries appear real, even if there was little other evidence of the presence of the nation.”² Probably, the most well-known European examples of such monuments were the *Nationaldenkmäler*, which mushroomed around German national space in the second half of the nineteenth century.³ Thus one might reasonably ask oneself whether these instruments were used by the Ukrainian activists to signify the Ukrainian national territory as “Ukrainian.” To what extent, how and who were the main proponents of the idea?

A few previous studies of the relationship between monuments and Ukrainian nationalism have stressed the heightened attention which the Ukrainian activists supposedly had paid to the erection of national monuments around Ukrainian national territory from the 1860s, when Taras Shevchenko was reburied on one of the hills above the Dnipro River. Serhii Iekelchuk went as far as to assert that “the process of turning peasants into Ukrainians had started in Kaniv in 1861.”⁴ A similarly high assessment

¹ Christine Boyer, *The city of collective memory: its historical imagery and architectural entertainments* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994), 309.

² Guntram Herb, “National identity and territory,” in Guntram Herb and David Kaplan, eds. *Nested identities: nationalism, territory, and scale* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999), 22–23.

³ Thomas Nipperdey, “Nationalidee und Nationaldenkmal in Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 206 (1968), 529–585.

⁴ Serhii Iekelchuk, *Ukrainofily: svit ukrains'kykh patriotiv druhoii polovyny XIX stolittia* (Kyiv, 2010), 63.

was ascribed to another famous Ukrainian monument of the time, Ivan Kotliarevski's monument in Poltava, the unveiling of which was claimed to be a grand and significant event in the history of Ukrainian nationalism. On the other hand, the Romanov Empire was considered as the only hindrance which allegedly stood in the way of developing a fully scaled Ukrainian memorial politics by constantly prohibiting the creation of Ukrainian national monuments, unveiling Russian monuments instead. While recounting the story of the construction and appearance of monuments, these scholars considered them by definition as values "projected into space and stone," therefore trying to deduct these values and presenting their reading as it was allegedly conceived by the monuments' creators. However, one can question this approach merely by asking if these monuments were noticed by the public. Did they have any influence? Although Robert Musil was not a historian, in my opinion he was very accurate in pointing out that

there is nothing more invisible in the world than monuments. [...] They are erected undoubtedly to be seen, and even more, to attract attention, but in reality they are as if covered by some substance which repels attention. [...] Every day one can avoid them, or use their socle as a lifesaving island in the middle of the city's traffic, use them as a compass or a measuring instrument... – they are perceived as a tree, as a part of a street decoration, and if one morning they are absent from their place, people will stop in an agitation. But usually they are not looked at and people do not have the slightest clue whom these monuments eternalise. In the best case people know only if this is a man or a woman.⁵

Similar stories were published in *Russkii turist* [Russian Tourist], one of the few Russian journals for tourists. For instance, in 1904 it published an anecdote about townsmen of Simbirsk who could not explain how to find a local monument to the famous Russian historian Karamzin, which they simply called "a cast-iron woman"; the big statue of Clio with a bust of Karamzin in one of its niches was considered by them to be a monument to Karamzin's wife and no other reading of it was suggested.⁶

⁵ Robert Musil, "Ugriumiye razmyshleniia," In Idem, *Malaia prosa: izbrannnye proizvedeniia v dvukh tomakh* (Moskva, 1999), 133.

⁶ "Neponiatnyi pamiatnik," *Russkii Turist* 3 (1904): 74.

Another similar story happened in Voronezh when a warden of a monument to the famous Russian writer Aleksei Koltsov blocked the monument he should have guarded by some rakes, spades, brooms, axes and other agricultural instruments, which made the monument without any inscription on it look like a local “junkyard,” but not as any *lieu de mémoire*.⁷

Therefore, in my attempt to understand the significance of monuments and architecture for the Ukrainian national movement I concentrate more not on their alleged ability to generate meaning, retrospectively suggested by modern scholars, but on contemporary discussions around monuments and on their critical reception by the public in the period discussed. Did monuments and architecture matter for the Ukrainian nationalists in their conquest of national space? Were any Ukrainian national buildings purposely erected? Were they regularly attended? Were they seen and read in a Ukrainian nationalist way?

The first attempts to create a Ukrainian monument were indeed made by the Ukrainophiles of the 1860s, who planned to commemorate the greatest Ukrainian poet of all time, Taras Shevchenko. He died in 1861 and initially was buried in St. Petersburg, but almost immediately it was decided to transport his remains to Ukraine. Allegedly this was the last will of the poet, who even mentioned it in one of his poems. At first the Ukrainian circle in St. Petersburg, which took care of the body, planned to bury Shevchenko in Kyiv, but when the coffin arrived there Hryhorii Chestakhivsky, who accompanied it on the way from St. Petersburg, insisted that Shevchenko was to be buried on one of the hills further down the Dnipro, near Kaniv.⁸ After the funeral a

⁷ “Iz Voronezha,” *Russkii turist* 12 (1904): 361.

⁸ Zinaida Tarakhan-Bereza, *Sviatynia* (Kyiv, 1998), 66.

small burrow was built on the grave and topped with the wooden cross. However, did this action have any national meaning as was suggested by contemporary historians?

I would like to argue that at this time there was not any collective desire on the side of the Ukrainophiles to create a national memorial in Kaniv or Kyiv; the decision on where to bury Shevchenko was made on the spot by one person who did not have any collective directives to lead him. Thus to create Shevchenko's grave as a place of national worship was not an intentional project of the Ukrainian activists. Moreover, traditionally it was considered that from the very beginning the grave was visited by many peasants, coming there not only from the nearby vicinities, but also from far afield. Allegedly, they came to Kaniv because Shevchenko was a Ukrainian national activist, and those of them who did not realise it prior to their visit to the grave became nationalised on the spot. However, I would like to argue that the assertion that the grave was already performing a Ukrainianising function in the 1860s is both bold and unsubstantiated. First, there simply exists no evidence that the grave generated any nationalist feelings before the 1880s, or that Ukrainian activists even cared about it in any organised way. Second, while the contemporary Kievan "noble" public used to hire a steamer and come to Kaniv only to have a pleasant weekend on the Dnipro, peasants, rather than becoming Ukrainians by virtue of visiting the grave, usually came there with the strong belief that it would cure them of fever or some other diseases.⁹

Moreover, the 1860s were an exceptionally unstable period in the history of the Russian Empire and of its South-Western region in particular. The peasant reform of 1861 provoked peasant unrest, and those who came to the grave without always realis-

⁹ N. Belozerskii, "Taras Grigor'ievich Shevchenko po vospominaniiam raznykh lits (1831–1861)," *KS* 9 (1882): 76.

ing who was buried there were looking for answers to their social problems of the day, not because of any nationalist ideas. As the most competent scholar of the grave contends, often one could hear from the peasants that “now our land was not empty, finally a clever man was buried there, not only landlords, who ate them alive like those dogs.”¹⁰ At some point peasants believed that Shevchenko would rise and distribute the consecrated knives, which were presumably hidden in the grave, to be used against the local (Polish) landlords. Previous scholars have blamed the local Poles for spreading these supposedly unsubstantiated rumours to undermine the Ukrainian movement,¹¹ but, as the archival materials show, Polish landlords of the South-Western region were indeed scared of the probable peasant uprising. For instance, even in a private letter to his relative in Paris one of the local Poles described “a panicked fear” which had settled in the region because of “the Little Russian and *khokhol* propaganda, which was aimed at slaughtering all nobles, priests and officials.”¹² In the end, in August 1861 the Governor-General in Kiev ordered Chestakhivsky to return to St. Petersburg and not to escalate any disorder among the peasants. Therefore, it seems that the main reason for “healthy peasant interest” in the grave was mainly the social problems and prejudices of the day, and not at all any Ukrainian national ideas.

Not only did the grave not turn any peasants into Ukrainians; from the 1860s onwards it was tended in near isolation by two enthusiasts who admired the poet: his

¹⁰ Tarakhan-Bereza, 105.

¹¹ Ibid, 112–118; V. Shchepot’iev, “Tryvoha nad svizhoiu mohyloiu T. Shevchenka,” *Ukraina* 1–2 (1925): 148–153. But even this event showed the class dissociation of the Ukrainian movement. For instance, Dmytro Pylchikov complained to Vasyl Bilozersky in 1861 about local landlords in the Poltava gubernia that they considered Shevchenko a revolutionary and an emancipator and did not want in any case to be associated with his name. Pylchikov related an anecdote of one of them telling another: “Why did they carry the body of this peasant – I just do not understand; when they transported Gorchakov to Sevastopol – this is another case, of a distinguished person.” See: Viktor Dudko, “Poltavs’ka hromada pochatku 1860-kh rr. u lystakh Dmytra Pyl’chikova do Vasylia Bilozers’koho,” *Kyivs’ka starovyna* 2 (1998): 161.

¹² GARF, F. 109, Op. 1, No. 1 202: 1.

distant relative, Varfolomii Shevchenko, and his assistant, Vasyl Hnylosyrov. Aside from these two figures no traces of organised activity can be seen. Since these two rather penurious followers could not tend to the grave properly, by 1875 articles began appearing in the Kievan press claiming that within a year Shevchenko's grave would go to ruin. Numerous accounts of its miserable condition which followed in the beginning of the 1880s testify that nothing had been done there already for dozens of years; the grave reportedly became a place for grazing cattle, and one night its cross, covered by the names of the tourists, was finally burned by the shepherds trying to get warm.¹³

While the Ukrainophiles of the Russian Empire did not much care about it, the grave was becoming popular and nationally interpreted in the Habsburg Empire. As I mentioned earlier the cult of Shevchenko was widespread among the younger "populist" generation of local activists and as one of them remembered later, already in May 1869 he could donate money for a monument to Shevchenko and receive a *gratis* photograph of his grave.¹⁴ However, this story remains incomplete without mentioning that at the very same time Shevchenko became a hero not only for Galician Ukrainian populists, but also for Russian populists. Descriptions of contemporary youth who carried Shevchenko's *Kobzar* in one pocket, and Marx's *Das Kapital* in another referred not only to Ukrainian activists, but to any Russian revolutionary of the time. In his famous painting "They did not expect him" Il'ia Repin symbolically put Shevchenko's portrait alongside Nekrasov's in the revolutionary's room. Therefore, it does not seem surprising that in the 1880s the miserable condition of Shevchenko's grave was de-

¹³ V. G-ko, "Epizod o pamiatnike Shevchenko i ego mogile v Poltavskom zemskom sobranii 1882 goda," *KS* 1 (1883): 218–220. Except for allotting money for the grave, the council decided to get a permission for gathering money for a monument to Shevchenko: Tarakhan-Bereza, 143–146.

¹⁴ Albina Shats'ka, "Iz lystuvannia Oleksandra i Osypa Barvins'kykh (1869)," *Spadshchyna* 3 (2007), 184. One of the brothers immediately bought three pictures at once.

plored not only by the Ukrainophiles but also by intellectuals like Nikolai Leskov who were not in any way related to the Ukrainian activists.¹⁵

Only in the beginning of the 1880s, when Hnylosyrov published his call to help him in some way to take care of it, did the grave slowly start to be turned into a Ukrainian national *lieu de mémoire*.¹⁶ Using the money of a wealthy Ukrainophile Vasyl Tarnovsky, another personal admirer of Shevchenko, who in 1861 was even willing to bury Shevchenko in his own estate, a high earth burrow was built above the grave. Now it was topped with a refined cast-iron cross, enclosed by a metal fence and accompanied by a watch house with a guest room (Figure 7.1).¹⁷ Prominent Ukrainophiles such as, for instance, Mykola Lysenko started to conduct annual private trips there.¹⁸ In 1897 a guestbook was introduced in the guest house which clearly stipulated that this place was a Ukrainian “national shrine” and therefore asked those who did not realise it yet to pay greater respect to it.¹⁹ In 1907 Volodymyr Naumenko called on local steamship companies to build a new pier near the grave.²⁰ “A sacred place for all Ukrainians,”²¹ “Ukrainian Mecca”²² – these were the descriptions given to the grave by the prominent Ukrainian activists of the time. Therefore it is not at all

¹⁵ For instance, in 1882 Leskov argued with *Novoe vremia* and its assertions that the grave was forgotten by the admirers of Shevchenko. See: Tarakhan-Bereza, 143.

¹⁶ The call was positively answered only by one zemstvo, the Poltavan one. Local, Kaniv, zemstvo ignored the grave until 1914, when it was filled with people, willing to help to restore the grave. At the same time, Tarakhan-Bereza notes, the same zemstvo supported financially the erection of Stolypin’s monument in Kiev.

¹⁷ The cross had to have a tablet with Shevchenko’s call “Love your Ukraine, [...] love it in the difficult time, and in this last moment pray God for it.” The cross was arrested by the Kiev Governor-General and was allowed to be installed only without a tablet. See: Tarakhan-Bereza, 158.

¹⁸ Lysenko, *Lysty*, 152–153, 260; “Pamiati V.V. Tarnovskogo, A.M. Lazarevskogo i N.V. Shugurova,” *KS* 7–8 (1902): 298; Tarakhan-Bereza, 236.

¹⁹ The main reason was the habit of those coming to the grave to leave the marks of their coming there everywhere around the grave. Therefore the book was created so that the visitors could write their names there: Tarakhan-Bereza, 247. However, even then the book contained predominantly social utterances: “Untruth and slavery are everywhere,” “there is nothing worse than to live in slavery,” “butchers, butchers, cannibals,” “this is so hard to fall into the chains” – Tarakhan-Bereza, 253.

²⁰ “Prystan’ kolo mohyly T.H. Shevchenka,” *Rada* 105 (8 May 1907): 2.

²¹ Mykhailo Hrushevs’kyi, “Pamiatnyk Shevchenku,” *Selo* 1 (1909): 7–8.

²² Serhii Iefremov, *Shchodennyk* (Kyiv, 2011), 130.

surprising that the first proto-political Ukrainian nationalist organisation in Russian Ukraine was created in June 1891 during the visit of its founders to the grave; the group was even called *Bratstvo tarasivtsiv* [The Brotherhood of the followers of Taras Shevchenko].²³

Although the most eloquent expression of what the grave of Shevchenko meant to Ukrainian national activists was published in 1919, I think it expressed the views of the period prior to the First World War. For Serhii Iefremov, one of the leading Ukrainophiles of the turn of the century, who was already creating the myth surrounding the grave, it had become a symbol of the Ukrainian nation, while its history was “partly an image of the history of our land in the last dozens of years.”²⁴ According to him, the grave never stood alone, or was left without visitors:

This was a Golgotha of Ukraine, an unrestrained and restless voice of consciousness, which gnawed at our indifference and drowsiness and reminded us of everlasting duties to the homeland. [...] For a long time when a word was in handcuffs, while everything was silent in all languages, and especially in Ukrainian, this grave was maybe the loudest witness of our hard times, its most expressive propagandist. [...] And everyday thousands of people – those people whom the voice of literature did not reach, who were alien to the theatre and to whose hearts native song did not always reach – thousands of those people with their own eyes saw this high grave on the high mountain with a cross. [...] Who was he, the one buried under that high cross? What had he do to be laid here on such an unusual spot? [...] And always among the crowd there was the one who piously rose, took off his hat and bowed his head before that knight, there always was someone who was telling people who it was that had been buried there and what he had done. It was as if Ukraine itself in the image of that immovable grave had met on the path of their lives its forgetful, ignorant and unconscious children, and it reminded them of itself, woke up their conscience, put new thoughts, new desires into their hearts... A dead and still grave became a living conscience of people. [...] How many of them did return to a native path, removed a walleye, opened their eyes and ears, so that they, hypnotised and stupefied until that time, could hear and see, what was happening around them! [...] One might daringly say that no shrine in the world, no Mecca, had done the same, for every other shrine is visited only by believers, and here the shrine itself met the people, even those of them who did not think of any sacred place, and spared at least a minute for each of them. [...] The grave of Shevchenko became like a heart of Ukraine which restlessly speeded up vital blood around its whole body and renewed it, making it ready for the new life which was yet to come.²⁵

²³ Tarakhan-Bereza, 189–195.

²⁴ Serhii Iefremov, *Shevchenkova mohyla* (Kyiv, 1919), 25.

²⁵ Ibid, 26, 41, 43–45.

In the beginning of the twentieth century Shevchenko's grave became the impetus for similar projects.²⁶ The Ukrainian press started to inform its readers of the graves of P. Kulish,²⁷ P. Doroshenko,²⁸ E. Hrebinka,²⁹ I. Manzhura,³⁰ I. Sirko,³¹ A. Storozhenko,³² M. Starytsky,³³ S. Rudansky,³⁴ M. Kropyvnytsky,³⁵ H. Kvitka-Osnovianenko,³⁶ all of which needed some maintenance. In 1902 Tarnovsky even planned to turn his estate in Kachanivka into "some Little Russian national shrine, move there and rebury the bodies of all the famous Little Russians: Shevchenko, Kostomarov, Kvitka, Kotliarevski and others, building high graves above them, like the one above his friend Shevchenko."³⁷ This kind of obsession of the Ukrainian activists with the grave memorials was criticised even among themselves. In this vein, in May 1910 Petro Stebnytsky characterised his compatriots as "becoming alive only when they had a jubilee or a funeral. They sat meek and mild, – but then look: somebody had died – and the telegrams came flooding. And because people died more often than celebrated jubilees, it turned out that the national Ukrainian movement lived and fed itself with graves. Almost a funeral parlour..."³⁸

²⁶ K. Bych-Lubens'kyi, "Chy ne sorom!" *Snip* 41 (1912): 4. He started its story of summarising Walter Scott's story "Puritans," where the author described a man, who took care of graves of Scotts.

²⁷ V. N-ko, "Polugodovaia panikhida po P.A. Kulishu," *KS* 7–8 (1897): 33; *Ridnyi kraj* 20 (1909): 9; *Selo* 31 (1910): 2; "U rodnykh mogil," *Ukrainskaia zhizn* '9 (1912): 88; Vasyl' Semets', "Na Kulishevii mohyli," *Maiak* 30 (1913): 3; *Maiak* 31 (1913): 5; P. Kolomiichenko, "Muzei, mohyla i shkola Kulisha," *Maiak* 4 (1914): 4–5.

²⁸ V. Krasnov, "Mogila getmana Doroshenka (iz detskikh vospominanii)," *KS* 7 (1900): 5–10.

²⁹ N. Storozhenko, "Na mogile E.P. Grebenki," *KS* 7 (1900): 10–11; "Uvekovechenie pamiati E.P. Grebenki," *KS* 9 (1900): 98–99; "Pamiatnik na mogile E.P. Grebenki," *KS* 10 (1901): 10; "Pamiatnik E.P. Grebenke," *KS* 11 (1901): 173; Shch. D., "Pamiatnyk na mohyli E. Hrebinky," *LNV* 16 (1901): 23.

³⁰ "Mogila I. Manzhury," *KS* 7 (1902): 32.

³¹ "Mogila Sirka," *KS* 9 (1903): 127; Kobzar, "Zabuta mohyla," *Rada* 63 (18 March 1909): 3.

³² "Po povodu privedeniia v poriadok mogily A.P. Storozhenka," *KS* 9 (1903): 117; "K popravke mogily A.P. Storozhenka," *KS* 11 (1903): 80; "O mogile A.P. Storozhenka," *KS* 12 (1903): 145–147; *Rada* 230 (12 October 1907): 3.

³³ "O pamiatnike na mogile Staritskogo," *KS* 6 (1905): 260.

³⁴ Hr. Het'manet's, "Kolo mohyly-syroty," *Maiak* 34 (1913): 3–4.

³⁵ *Maiak* 18 (1914): 5.

³⁶ Romul, "Kul'turno-prosvitnii rukh na Ukraini roku 1909-ho," *Rada* 1 (1 January 1910): 1.

³⁷ *Pamiaty V.V. Tarnovskogo, A.M. Lazarevskogo i N.V. Shugurova*, 290.

³⁸ *Chykalenko i Stebnyts'kyi*, 194.

A younger generation of Ukrainian activists was even more harsh in their appraisal of their predecessors as “gravediggers” and treated them much more unfavourably.³⁹ In 1903 one of them expressed his views in a rather lengthy article published by *KS*, where he criticised the older generations of Ukrainian activists in comparison with Western European nationalists for not treating the graves of famous Ukrainians in a proper manner. According to him, whereas Europeans would “erect a beautiful monument, create a museum, take care that every member of a nation knew about the subject of his national pride as much as possible,”⁴⁰ nothing like this had been done by the Ukrainians. Moreover,

all of this certainly would have been done by the representatives of other nations, who while visiting the grave of this genius or hero would become imbued by respect not only for the genius himself, but also for the nation to which he belonged. We are against pomposness, which contradicts Shevchenko’s deep democratism, but still we have to make all efforts that the grave of Shevchenko is furnished in the best possible way. A pilgrimage to the grave must have a deeply-educational character. Therefore we have to concentrate everything that can add brush strokes to the image of the great poet, so that this image is presented to the visitor in its all powerful height. Alas, nothing has been done.⁴¹

It seems that Matushevsky was the first to soberly try to provide a picture of those who came to the grave. He divided the visitors into several groups. According to him, the first place was occupied by “the lackeys, for whom no great people existed.” These visitors were coming here only to eat and drink something, spend some time in an unusual surrounding and leave some traces of their “vulgarity.” Who were these

³⁹ Iefremov, *Shchodennyk*, 510.

⁴⁰ Fedor Matushevskii, “Posetiteli mogily Tarasa Grigorievicha Shevchenko,” *KS* 2 (1903): 269.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, 270.

people? He defined them as “Little Russians,” who, according to Matushevsky, should have better not visited the grave at all.⁴²

The second group was defined by the author by the concept of “–philism.” If the visits of the first group were considered by Matushevsky as “a deep insult to the memory of the great poet, a shameful and hardly washable stain on the face – *sit venia verbo* – of our society,” the second group did not allow themselves to insult Shevchenko’s memory *consciously* by some cynical prank. Still, it was the members of this group who filled the ranks of “Little Russians,” “Little Russians, speaking Russian,” “also a bit of Little Russians.” Members of this group were trying to persuade the poet and the visitors to the grave of their “sincerity,” “sincere love of father Taras,” of Ukraine. The favourite formulas of this group were: “I was on the grave of my dear father Taras. A sincere Ukrainian,” or “I visited the grave of the father of Ukraine. A genuine Ukrainian.” According to Matushevsky, the majority of this group came from Poltava and did not understand Shevchenko. Moreover, what Matushevsky did not like while reading the notes was that very often “sincere” admirers of the poet and “sincere Ukrainians” praised Shevchenko “in the Russian dialect” and also either used pseudonyms or initials, or wrote their last names in very illegible way. “By this we do not want to express an indispensable demand to sign one’s names fully, but only note the fact of exceptional modesty of the genuine Ukrainians. The artificiality of their

⁴² Matushevskii, “Posetiteli mogily,” 272. Not at all was this cry by Matushevsky the only one of its kind. Ukrainian newspapers of the day often reprimanded visitors of the grave who came there simply to spend free time in the pleasant setting of the Dnipro and hills, drank vodka and cut their names on the wooden stairs leading to the grave. It seems that the latter could even be one of the reasons why the Ukrainian activists taking care of the grave wanted to replace wooden stairs with one’s made of stone. At the same time the local population of Kaniv was criticised as “nationally unconscious one.” See, for instance, “Kaniv. Z mistsevoho zhyttia,” *Rada* 11 (13 January 1913): 5; L. Perevala, “Podorozh na mohylu Shevchenka,” *Maiak* 8 (1914): 6; M. V-nyi, “Na mohyli heniiia,” *Rada* 129 (10 June 1914): 2. The last author even indignantly reprinted one note left by the gymnasium student from Kiev: “*Posetila ia tvoi domik / Pobyla u mogily / No hot’ ty i ne byl komik, / No i vid zdes’ ne unyli. / Nagulialas’ ia zdes’ vdovol’, / Napilasia chaiu, / Zakusila zemlianikoi, / I s dosadoi uezzhaiu.*”

‘sincerity’ and some falseness of tone is felt not only by me but also by other visitors of the grave. Probably there is nothing worse in the world than those Poltavans!’⁴³

Matushevsky called the third group as “the visitors without any tendency.” They included all of those who held the image of the poet dear, as his works “awakened human feelings in them, human movements of their hearts and impelled the appropriate deeds.” This group consisted of both Shevchenko’s “countrymen” and of some people of other nations: Great Russians, Jews, Poles and others.⁴⁴

The last, fourth group of visitors, consisted of those who made their journey to the grave with a full and clear consciousness of what and why they were doing so. These were

real admirers of the memory and works of the people’s genius [...] who are brought here by the greatness and charming power of the poet’s personality, a clear and deep understanding of the importance of what they accomplished [...]. These people feel an insuperable need to visit the grave of Taras Shevchenko either from time to time, or at least once in their life, to bow to his remains, to sit at the pedestal of the high cross and at least mentally to stay in the company of the poet. [...] It would be a great mistake to think that this group is monotonous in its composition and character. Not at all. The first three groups, judging from the last names and other signs, consist predominantly of “the sons of Ukraine” and partly of Great Russians; the last consists of local and Galician Ukrainians, Great Russians, Poles, Jews, Germans and others. “Feeling a deep reverence I put my name into this book as a remembrance of my visit of the grave of the great Ukrainian poet” – says the note, which appears like an oasis in the waterless sandy steppe.⁴⁵

Notwithstanding the claims of some Soviet scholars that the Ukrainian nationalists actively censured the guest book and crossed out everything they did not like,⁴⁶ which at the moment I cannot verify, one can still argue that these third and fourth groups testify that symbolically even at that moment the grave and the poet did not belong solely to the Ukrainian activists. As I mentioned, Shevchenko was admired by all the intelligentsia of the Empire. Therefore the grave was visited by people so far from the Ukrainian national movement as Sholom-Aleikhem or Nikolai Rerikh. In

⁴³ Matushevskii, *Posetiteli mogily*, 278–279, 284.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 286.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 287.

⁴⁶ P. Shestopal, *Mohyla T.H. Shevchenko* (Kyiv, 1954), 38.

1888 it was Repin again who willingly painted a portrait of Shevchenko for the grave's guest house. The article by Ivan Belousov "A trip to the grave of Shevchenko" was published three times in various books for children; here Shevchenko's grave was presented in one row with Russian places of memory related to Pushkin, Gogol, Turgenev, Chekhov, Nekrasov, and Tolstoi; the Ministry of Education allowed the inclusion of the last two editions of this book into the libraries of the lowest educational institutions and free people's libraries.⁴⁷ The last, 1916, edition of this book included a new text by N. Stepanenko describing his trip to Shevchenko's place of birth, Kirillovka, in 1913. The widow of Shevchenko's nephew told him that people from Moscow, Petersburg and Galicia came often to the grave.⁴⁸ However, it was not only Russian liberals who admired Shevchenko – even Kievan Little Russian rightists used his biography as an example to be followed by any Little Russian and slowly started to appropriate him for their own ends.⁴⁹

The image of Shevchenko's grave slowly became central for Ukrainian iconography of the time. For instance, a satirical journal *Shersten'* contended that "many nations had sacred places, where many people came annually with a religious aim. But none of them had such a grave, where, generation after generation, hundreds and thousands of admirers would come, not with religious, but with secular admiration. Such was our grave of Taras Shevchenko."⁵⁰ At the same time the author of this article put a clear emphasis on the fact that the grave was visited both by the common folk and the wealthy lords, since it "rested the one, who had in himself all the best ideals of more

⁴⁷ Ivan Belousov, "Poezdka na mogilu T.G. Shevchenko," in *Rodnoi ugodok* (Moskva, 1906), 35–43; Idem, "Poezdka na mogilu T.G. Shevchenko," in *Dorogie mesta* (Moskva, 1909), 72–80; Idem, "Poezdka na mogilu T.G. Shevchenko," in *Dorogie mesta* (Moskva, 1916), 104–112.

⁴⁸ S. Stepanenko, "Na rodine Shevchenko," in *Dorogie mesta* (Moskva, 1916), 86–103.

⁴⁹ Ivan Sikorskii, *Russkie i ukrainsy* (Kiev, 1913), 36–37.

⁵⁰ V. Lozyn'skyi, "Mohyla T.H. Shevchenka," *Shersten'* 8 (1906): 7.

than thirty million of the oppressed nation.”⁵¹ The same issue included the reproduction of Fotii Krasysky’s painting “Wake up!” which depicted a young peasant woman knocking at the window of a peasant hut, urging those inside to awake by pointing in the direction of the grave (Figure 7.2).

Simultaneously the image of the grave became popular in Galicia. Its representations were discussed and disseminated not only via postcards or photos in newspapers,⁵² but even in the newspapers for children.⁵³ In 1901 the painting of it by Ivan Trush was solemnly purchased by the Shevchenko Scientific Society.⁵⁴ The grave’s image became so popular that when in 1903 Trush’s personal exhibition in Lviv was robbed the villains stole only two of his paintings: one of the house where Shevchenko was born and another of his grave.⁵⁵

While the Ukrainian activists did not take the opportunity of burying Shevchenko in Kyiv and only slowly started to occupy themselves with his grave in Kaniv, they initially did not pay any attention to representing themselves in the urban setting of the southern provinces of the Romanov Empire. Thus Kiev remained the locus for the erection of imperial memorials. However, although the first major monument was unveiled there in 1808 to commemorate the baptism of Kyivan Rus’, it took almost half a century for the next one to appear (the monument to Vladimir the Great, 1853). Therefore it seems that the government was also not very interested in pursuing any active memorial politics in the area.

⁵¹ Lozyns’kyi, “Mohyla T.H. Shevchenka,” 7.

⁵² “Risunki Tarasa Shevchenko,” *KS* 4 (1903): 37; “Shevchenkova mohyla,” *Ridnyi krai* 9 (1907): 7; *Ridnyi krai* 9–10 (1910–1911): 1; *Maiak* 9 (1913): 5; *Rada* 47 (26 February 1913): 2; *Maiak* 23 (1913); *Iliustrovana Ukrainiina* 5–6 (1 April 1914): 81, 82, 85; *Iliustrovana Ukrainiina* 7 (15 April 1914): 114. During the Shevchenko exhibition of 1911 in Moscow 6 or 7 different versions of views of the grave were presented. See: *Katalog Shevchenkovskoi vystavki v Moskve po povodu piatidesiatiletia so dnia ego smerti* (Moskva, 1911), 18.

⁵³ *Moloda Ukrainiina* 3 (1910–1911): 2.

⁵⁴ “Vystavka kartin khudozhnika Trusha vo L’vove,” *KS* 7–8 (1901): 22.

⁵⁵ “Kradizh obraziv Trusha,” *Dilo* 157 (15 July 1903): 3.

This reluctance is explained by the fact that memorial politics was not widely employed in Tsarist Russia until the beginning of the twentieth century. In the middle of the nineteenth century the overall number of monuments in the Empire did not exceed a few dozens, the majority of which were modest estate obelisks. The first resolute large-scale imperial program of building monuments was launched only during the era of Nicholas I: in 1835 he ordered the erection of a number of memorials on the sites of the main battles of 1812. However, the following period of Aleksandr II was again rather passive in monumental development, except for some well-known monuments in Novgorod and Moscow, and intensified reconstruction of Orthodox churches in the Western region after 1864 (Figure 3.2).⁵⁶ Only during Aleksandr III's reign did the erection of memorials start to become widespread practice in Russia, and a real "avalanche of monuments" covered the Romanov Empire only during the period of Nicholas II.⁵⁷

However apart from the government there existed another group in Kiev which was actively engaged in local memorial politics – the Little Russians. Their first memorial project was a monument to Bogdan Khmel'nitski. In 1859 Mikhail Maksimovich came up with the idea for the first time, referring to the existence of a monument to Minin and Pozharski in Moscow, who saved the city from the Poles.⁵⁸ His idea was only a private initiative and nothing came of it, but in the 1860s during the ongoing polemics with the Poles for the Right Bank of the Dnepr it reemerged and found another vigorous promoter – Mikhail Iuzefovich. One might rightly call a

⁵⁶ Dolbilov and Miller, *Zapadnye okrainy*, 231.

⁵⁷ Kirill Sokol, *Monumenty imperii* (Moskva, 2001), 11–13. The author provides a detailed story of Russia's turn from a church to a secular monument as a representation of tsardom during Peter I, then of advance of classicism (and of obelisks) during Catherine II, academicism in the epoch of Nicholas I, then their democratic nature during the Aleksandr II period (when a wide public entered their discussions).

⁵⁸ "Pamiatnik Bogdanu Khmel'nitskomu," *KS* 7 (1888): 145–146.

monument to Khmelnytski “a child of Iuzefovich”: he contacted an architect and the Governor-General and created a special committee to build it. In 1870 it was decided that the monument would be located in front of the St. Sophia cathedral, “the square which was foremost visited by pilgrims coming to bow to the shrines of the old city.”⁵⁹ The leader of the Cossack revolution of the mid-seventeenth century was presented in a historicist manner as an imperial hero, symbolically directing his mace in the direction of Moscow, with a clear political inscription on the mound: “To Bogdan Khmelnitski from the united and indivisible Russia” (Figure 7.3).⁶⁰

Recently Faith Hillis has argued that this monument was part of the state project of supporting “the Kiev Ukrainophiles” in their struggle against the Poles. In her opinion governmental circles in St. Petersburg advanced the so called “Kiev experiment,” aimed at deterring the Poles in the South-Western region with the help of the Kiev Ukrainophile activists. Accordingly, when the officials terminated the project in the 1870s after the Polish danger had receded, the Kiev activists split into two groups of Ukrainian and Russian nationalists, and the Ems decree supposedly symbolised the end of their unity.⁶¹ However, my research shows that the whole plan of the monument to Khmelnytski was a separate project not of the Ukrainophiles but of the local Little Russians, and Iuzefovich was their leader. The only Ukrainophile who took part in this project was Volodymyr Antonovych, who was later most severely criticised for this by Mykhailo Drahomanov. However, considering the cunning style of Antonovych’s way

⁵⁹ “Pamiatnik Bogdanu Khmel’nitskomu,” 150. For the detailed story of the monument’s construction see pages 145–156.

⁶⁰ Even such inscription could cause discontent, as, for instance, was expressed by P. Polevoi in *Istoricheskii vestnik* 9 (1888), who claimed that it was not Russia, but Khmelnytsky who owes her his salvation. This article was in its turn criticised by I. Lugovoi, “Bogdan Khmelnitskii i neblagodarnaia istoriia,” *KS* 11 (1888): 395–400. The “mace gesture” in its turn was mocked by the local Ukrainophiles – after his visit to Kyiv Oleksandr Barvinsky wrote down an anecdote that some witty locals were saying that “the hetman gives his finger to the north,” not the mace. See Barvinskyi, *Spomyny*. Vol. 1, 362.

⁶¹ Faith Hillis, “Ukrainophile activism and imperial governance in Russia’s Southwestern borderlands,” *Kritika* 13 (2012): 301–326.

of doing politics, his participation in Khmelnytsky's monument does not look surprising at all. In my opinion, instead of presenting the Kievan Ukrainians and Little Russians as the same group until 1876, one should rather look at them as leading a complicated game with situational interests, using each other at every suitable moment (as I tried to show with the example of Chubynsky and his expedition). The first major monumental Ukrainian project was related not to Khmelnytsky's monument, but to the monument to Ivan Kotliarevsky, erected in Poltava only in 1903 (which is also quite telling with regards to Ukrainian negligence of this instrument to mark "Ukrainian" urban space as "Ukrainian").

In 1903 Poltava was a comparatively small town in the middle of historical Little Russia, the only town in the south of the Russian Empire with a population of over fifty thousand people where the majority of its population indicated Little Russian as their native language.⁶² By the end of the nineteenth century Poltava, a place of Russian imperial memory, was generally considered to be the cradle of modern Ukrainian literature. It was here that in the 1790s Ivan Kotliarevsky, a minor local official, wrote his poem *Aeneid*. This parody of Virgil's original, which was a joke for Kotliarevsky's friends and was published in 1798 without author's consent, became the first literary work written in the modern Ukrainian language (although it was published with Russian orthography).

The attitude of the emerging Ukrainian national movement towards Kotliarevsky was rather ambivalent. It was caused in a great part by the critical remarks about Kotliarevsky by Panteleimon Kulish. One of the most visible Ukrainian figures of the time, he fiercely criticised Kotliarevsky for his pun on the Ukrainian language and

⁶² Stepan Rudnyts'kyi, *Korotka heohrafiia Ukrainy*. Vol. 2 (Lviv, 1914), 31; Nikolai Troinitskii, ed. *Pervaia vseobshchaia perepis' naseleniia Rossiiskoi imperii 1897 g.* Vol. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1905).

Ukrainian Cossacks.⁶³ It was actually Kulish who designed a new version of Ukrainian orthography, the use of which was forbidden in the Russian Empire after the 1876 decree. On the other hand, Kotliarevski and his way of transcribing the Ukrainian language using Russian orthography remained the only accepted way to publish in Ukrainian in the Russian Empire.⁶⁴

The coming centennial of the publication of *Aeneid* sparked initial talks within the town about erecting a monument to Kotliarevski. The first petition of the Poltava town council to build this monument, which received the support of the provincial Governor, was decided upon in March 1894 and presented to the Ministry of Internal Affairs in June 1894.⁶⁵ Even though the initiative supposedly came from the Poltava zemstvo, in practice it depended on the Poltava town council, the majority of which consisted of “Little Russians.” Its executive board was headed by Viktor Tregubov, whom the Ukrainians called “a selfless Little Russian”⁶⁶: such label meant that Tregubov had a Little Russian identity. In May 1895 the council asked the Ministry of Internal Affairs to allow its members to solicit funds within the province for the monument honouring one of its native sons. In June 1895 the Ministry approved the idea, in a way confirming the generally positive view of Kotliarevski on the side of the authorities.⁶⁷ Therefore it seems that the whole affair of Kotliarevski’s monument from the very beginning was initiated by the local Little Russians. It had an official colour and did not have any relation to the Ukrainian national movement.

⁶³ P. Kulish, “Obzor ukrainskoi slovesnosti. II: Kotliarevskii,” *Osnova* 1 (1861): 235–262.

⁶⁴ Miller, *The Ukrainian Question*, 194.

⁶⁵ The story is expounded in N. Dmitriev, “K istorii otkrytiia pamiatnika Ivanu Petrovichu Kotliarevskomu v g. Poltave,” *KS* 10 (1903): 157.

⁶⁶ A. Zhuk, “Na vidkrytti pamiatnyka,” *Suchasnist*’ 12 (1963): 84.

⁶⁷ RGIA, F. 1293, Op. 130, No. 240: 3–3ob.

However, while the local bureaucrats supported the project, within a year officials of the central administration were pointing to its probable dangerous outcomes. In 1896 the newly appointed Head of the Department for the Press, Mikhail Soloviev, wrote a special note where he expounded his worries that “the project of Poltava gubernia’s executive board did not express a public opinion, but was only a fancy of a small circle which prevailed over the majority of the town’s councillors.”⁶⁸ He not only put the merit of Kotliarevski’s oeuvre in doubt, especially in comparison with other famous people of the Poltava gubernia, such as Gogol, but also contrasted the impending monument of Kotliarevski to the official monuments of the battle of Poltava. Besides, Soloviev pointed out that Poltava’s town council did not limit itself to the monument’s erection only but had also produced Kotliarevski’s biography, whose author, Borys Hrinchenko, saw Kotliarevski’s main merits in writing “in the Ukrainian language and constituting the beginnings of Ukrainian literature.”⁶⁹ Soloviev underlined that “both the monument project and the biography published at the zemstvo’s expense apparently had one and the same motive – to arouse and consolidate the idea of Little Russian identity, which in the essay by Mr. Hrinchenko was constantly called Ukraine and not Little Russia, to cast into shadow the close relation of this country to Russia. The project of the monument and the biography seemed to be a manifestation of Ukrainophile separatism.”⁷⁰

It seems that Soloviev’s opinion was not taken into account and in August 1897 the local Governor confidentially presented Ivan Goremykin, Minister of Internal Af-

⁶⁸ RGIA, F. 776, Op. 21, p. 1, No. 145: 2ob–3.

⁶⁹ RGIA, F. 777, Op. 5, No. 196: 30. Hrinchenko’s manuscript was prohibited by the censor in 1897.

⁷⁰ RGIA, F. 776, Op. 21, p. 1, No. 145: 4. Here the author made a footnote, pointing the reader’s attention that he also discovered from the private sources that Poltava zemstvo was also publishing the works by Kotliarevski, with an overall quantity of 20 000 to disseminate among the pupils of the zemstvo schools after their graduation.

fairs, with a petition of the Poltava town council to build the monument to Kotliarevski in the centre of the town. It seems that the Governor was implicitly on the side of Soloviev. In this note he mentioned that the monument's initiative did not lie with him, that Kotliarevski already had "a decent marble monument on his grave," and that for Poltava, which did not possess too much money, it would be better to construct a school named after the poet.⁷¹ On the other hand, he added that as the soliciting of funds was allowed by the government and the majority of people had already sent their donations specifically for this monument, protests might appear in the press, and thus the town's communal administration decided it was obliged to fulfil the conditions of the donors. Therefore, he pointed out that "the Ministry's refusal to give its approval would give the indicated question an improper character and meaning."⁷² As the Minister found the erection of the monument possible if the project satisfied all technical and artistic requirements, all documents were sent for approval to the Ministry's Technical Committee and the Academy of Arts. After their generally positive reviews Nicholas II allowed the construction.⁷³ One might again assume that the crucial argument for the permission to erect the monument could have been not only the figure of Kotliarevski himself – a loyal imperial official, writing in Ukrainian but using a Russian orthography, suitable for the authorities in their dealing with the southwestern territories of the Empire – but also of the petitioners, who were the representatives of Poltava's authorities with a Little Russian identity.

⁷¹ This project, described from the pages of the official *Poltavskie gubernskie vedomosti* (84 (1897)) was debated on the pages of *Kievskaiia Starina* by V. Havrysh, who agreed that the school is needed, but not instead of the monument, and that the money can be spent on it only after the completion of the monument. See: V. Havrysh, "K proektu pamiatnika Iv. Petr. Kotliarevskomu v Poltave," *KS* 3 (1897): 76–77. Afterwards it was decided that all the revenues after the literary evening and the concert in honour of the monument's unveiling, would go into the special fund for the school creation, which was opened in 1905 with its building designed in the Ukrainian national modernist style: *KS* 1 (1904): 6; *KS* 4 (1904): 23, 116–117; *KS* 10 (1904): 30; *KS* (1905): 65.

⁷² RGIA, F. 1293, Op. 130, No. 240: 1, 2, 2ob., 3, 4.

⁷³ RGIA, F. 1293, Op. 130, No. 240; RGIA, F. 789, Op. 12, No. "3"-22: 3, 6, 6ob.

This assumption is further testified by the discord between the members of the Poltava committee and the authorities around the inscriptions on the monument. The former suggested a dedication in Ukrainian: “From the fatherland to Ivan Kotliarevski.”⁷⁴ But Soloviev, who reviewed the proposal, prohibited it, putting forward an argument of the Ems decree, stating that “the reproduction of inscriptions in Little Russian on the monument could contradict the sense and meaning of the highest order according to which the usage of the Little Russian dialect was allowed only for entirely literary works and archival-historical documents.”⁷⁵ However, he did not suppress the monument and allowed the inscription “Ivan Kotliarevski, 1769–1838,” in Russian orthography.⁷⁶ This caused some turmoil among the younger radical generation of Ukrainian activists, expressed in the so called “Open letter” to the Minister of Internal Affairs, Dmitri Sipiagin.⁷⁷ The letter was published outside the Empire, in Lviv, in 1900, with an indication that its authors were the representatives of the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party.⁷⁸ It was widely disseminated underground and called the Ukrainian nation to throw off the rule of foreigners, since they “had profaned its soul.”⁷⁹ Nevertheless, in spite of the letter’s wide circulation among the radical youth, no other action was undertaken. In 1901 the monument’s erection began and was finished by September of 1902.⁸⁰

⁷⁴ Vasyl’ Simovych, “Trydtsiat’ rokiv vid vidkryttia pamiatnyka Ivanovi Kotliarevs’komu v Poltavi (1903–1933),” in Idem, *Pratsi v dvokh tomakh*. Vol. 2 (Chernivtsi, 2005), 462.

⁷⁵ RGIA, F. 776, Op. 21, p. 1, No. 315: 1, 2, 2ob.

⁷⁶ In January 1899 the sculpture part of it had already been ready and the project for the pedestal was sent to Petersburg: *KS* 1 (1899): 23, and *KS* 2 (1899): 91.

⁷⁷ Iu. Tsyhanenko, “Do istoriï vidkryttia pamiatnyka Kotliarevs’komu,” *Za sto lit* 5 (1930): 262–263.

⁷⁸ Zhuk, “Na vidkrytti pamiatnyka,” 86–87.

⁷⁹ Tsyhanenko, “Do istoriï vidkryttia pamiatnyka,” 263.

⁸⁰ “Pamiatnik na mogile Ivana Petrovicha Kotliarevskogo,” *KS* 10 (1901): 21; “K postanovke pamiatnika Ivanu Petrovichu Kotliarevskomu,” *KS* 10 (1901): 176–177; “Pamiatnik Ivanu Petrovichu Kotliarevskomu,” *KS* 12 (1902): 181.

As it is possible to see from the above, while Poltava officials and the local Little Russians tried to find their way among St. Petersburg bureaucrats and receive permission to erect the monument, a third participant entered the scene: the Ukrainian activists. It seems that after they discovered that Poltava town council had received the government's permission to erect the monument they decided to take the most active part in the ceremony of its unveiling. It was decided to send delegates from every Ukrainophile organisation with addresses in the Ukrainian language and to spread the news about this event most widely so that many Ukrainians would come, not only locally but also from Austria. In this way they hoped "to manifest the strength of the Ukrainian movement."⁸¹ Moreover, some Austrian Ukrainians thought of it as a great occasion for a reconciliation with the Galician Poles, who could send their own delegation to Poltava to support the Ukrainians.⁸²

The Ukrainian press started to take an interest in the construction of the monument. It criticised Poltava's authorities for their reluctance with its erection⁸³ and initiated a campaign to raise donations for it.⁸⁴ This first national fundraising drive for the monument turned out not to be the most encouraging because the Ukrainian proponents of the monument's construction had hardships involving wealthy local capitalists unwilling to support the project.⁸⁵ This problem of social differentiation among

⁸¹ Ievhen Chykalenko, *Spohady, 1861–1907* (Kyiv, 2003): 237. In July 1903 Iefremov stipulated the need to have some representatives from Galicia: Hyrych, "Iz lystuvannia Serhiia Iefremova i Mykhaila Hrushevs'koho," 342. *LNV* urged those Galicians who would not go to Poltava at least send their written greetings to the Russian Ukrainians: V., "Vidkryttia pamiatnyka Kotliarevs'komu v Poltavi," *LNV* 23 (1903): 230.

⁸² "Vidkryttia pamiatnyka Kotliarevs'komu," *LNV* 23 (1903): 76.

⁸³ S.Ie., "V spravi pamiatnyka Kotliarevs'komu," *LNV* 12 (1901): 182.

⁸⁴ See, for instance, *KS* 3, 4, 5, 6, 7–8, 9, 11 (1896), 3, 4, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12 (1897), 5, 6, 10 (1898), 4, 11 (1899), 1, 3, 4, 6, 9 (1900).

⁸⁵ In the article on the monument's erection the author of *Kievskaiia starina* mentioned that although the donations were coming comparatively slowly, still they were coming from the wide circle of donors, who often sent 2, 3, 5 kopecks, which allegedly meant that Kotliarevski was deeply honoured by the Ukrainian people – see: "Po povodu postanovki pamiatnika nad mogiloi Ivana Petrovicha Kotliarevskogo v Poltave," *KS* 3 (1896): 103–106.

the “Ukrainians” was emphasised by Ivan Karpenko-Karyi in his play of 1900, when he described two landowners discussing the possibility of donating money for the monument:

Puzyr: What strange people they are! You feed the hungry ones, you cure the sick, you build the schools, erect some monuments! They will first invent themselves a yoke and then carry it around, even if it hurts them, even if it tears their pockets. Strange people!

Zolotnytsky: Which monuments? I do not understand anything. Why on earth do monuments matter here?

Puzyr: Do not you understand? You had better read this letter now then, before lunch.

(Hands Zolotnytsky a letter.)

Zolotnytsky (reads): It is now allowed to erect a monument to the first Ukrainian poet Ivan Petrovych Kotliarevsky in Poltava. For this monument the money is to be raised formally in the Poltava region, but privately one can donate from everywhere. As your name is still absent from among the donors, it appears that you simply do not know of such a noble enterprise. Therefore I am informing you now of it, to bring you the pleasure of donating together with other compatriots for the poet’s monument. The money is to be sent to the Mayor of Poltava...

[Finishing his reading, he stares at Puzyr, and continues]

So what?

Puzyr: So I ask you – so what? What do they want?

Zolotnytsky: But who are you? A Little Russian?

Puzyr: Yes, and I do not hide it – a native Little Russian.

Zolotnytsky: Then donate for the monument to the people’s poet.

Puzyr: But for what reason should I do it? I myself donate for asylums.

Zolotnytsky: And why is it so? Do you expect a reward?

Puzyr: Well, I do not hide it. And what about Kotliarevsky – I do not need him!

Zolotnytsky: Are not you ashamed to say that? Such a master, such a respectable landlord [...], but now you are speaking as an uneducated peasant: “Kotliarevsky – I do not need him!” It is disgusting to hear that! Poets are the salt of the earth, the pride and fame of the people among whom they appeared; they serve the highest ideals [...] Every nation respects its poets and erect monuments to them.

Puzyr: Do you mean that you will donate?

Zolotnytsky: Certainly! I will send 300 roubles tomorrow!

Puzyr: Well, that will be enough for them; they will not get anything from me!⁸⁶

The same type of person was later adversely described by the leading Ukrainian activist of the time, Ievhen Chykalenko, who in 1909 met Ivan Ianevsky, a landlord from the Kiev gubernia, “a nice, kind provincial landowner, who had a spontaneous love for Ukrainianness but did not believe in the revival of the nation, and had never considered it. He was ashamed of the Ukrainian language, considered it a mangling of the people’s language which was so dear to his heart. He would like *Rada* to be published

⁸⁶ Ivan Karpenko-Karyi, *Dramatychni tvory* (Kyiv: Naukova Dumka, 1989), 364–365. The name of the intractable Puzyr became a nickname, used by the Ukrainians to underline someone’s national unconsciousness. See, for instance, S. Iefremov, “Pamiatnyk Shevchenkovi i kyivs’ki Puzyri,” *Rada* 261 (20 November 1907): 1.

in the language of Shevchenko and Kotliarevski, and when one lacked his own words, he had to use well-known Russian ones.”⁸⁷

Still, all hardships aside, by 1902 the architect had finished the work (Figure 7.4), the local commission had agreed about the location and the unveiling of the first monument to a Ukrainian writer in the Romanov Empire was arranged on Kotliarevski’s birthday, August 30–31, 1903.

The initial program of celebration consisted of unveiling and consecration of the monument, which was followed by a solemn session of the Town Council. The second day comprised a literary-musical morning open to all, a dinner for the honorary guests and those who paid for it, and a solemn play in the theatre. Both of these days were to be very official, organised by the local authorities who took charge of everything, from the program to the invitations. However, everything was “spoiled” by the “Ukrainian” guests.

Our delegation left Kyiv on August 28 by the late train, which departed Kyiv at 11 p.m. It was a strange train, one which, perhaps, has never been seen before. Everywhere one could hear the Ukrainian language and discussions of Ukrainian topics – we felt closely united, our community filled the carriages. [...] “The Ukrainian appearance” of the train grew with every station, for the outsiders got off on the way, and the number of people who were going to the celebration was growing and growing. Closer to Poltava the Ukrainian element was in the decisive majority in all carriages, especially in those of the third class, where a more “democratic” public was riding. [...] When the train stopped in Poltava it immediately emptied – the public spewed from the carriages and immediately filled the station, giving it the same Ukrainian colouring because of its language.⁸⁸

This train brought to Poltava not only Kyivan activists, but also representatives from all over Ukraine, from the Kuban and Kharkiv gubernia to Austrian Ukraine:

The news about the unveiling of a monument to the Ukrainian poet Kotliarevski flew around the whole of Ukraine, reaching the Black Sea as well. We were drawn there – to Ukraine, to white houses, cherry gardens, where the memory of our fatherland’s singer was honoured, where the monument to him was erected. But the rumours, which floated around were less than pleasant: they told that Poltava would not accommodate so many people who were coming there. Almost the whole of Galicia was going there, the delega-

⁸⁷ Ievhen Chykalenko, *Shchodennyk*. Vol. 1 (Kyiv, 2004): 68–69.

⁸⁸ Serhii Iefremov, “Na sviati Kotliarevs’koho,” *Kyivs’ka starovyna* 5 (1998): 151, 153. Mykola Lysenko was even able to get a whole separate Pullman carriage of the third class for 65 members of his orchestra after he asked the head of the Kyiv-Poltava railroad to make his transportation to Poltava easier – *Ivan Kotliarevs’kyi u dokumentakh*, 524.

tions from all corners of Russia were coming, so many of them were to live simply under the sky. We came to Poltava on August 28. It was indeed overcrowded.⁸⁹

Gathered in one place the Ukrainians nationalised the “Ukrainian” town by their sole presence there:

For Poltava with its quiet Little Russian idyll everything happened somehow unexpectedly. As always, poured by the summer sun, its sleepy streets with their boarded sidewalks were napping... Although the monument was already ready, it still remained under cover. The holiday was approaching, but that policeman near the kiosk with Selters... he could not even think that during this holiday except for “Hurray” people will shout “Glory!” This one could hear with every new wave of arrivals at the station. Every train brought more and more Ukrainians. For Poltava this was not a surprise – it had its own Ukrainophiles. But they were only a handful, they could be poked at, and they even got accustomed to being mavericks in a Little Russian scene. There were many of these newcomers – they were leaving carriages as whole groups, some of them had known each other for a long time, some of them got acquainted during the trip. They brought their atmosphere with them. They had their own background. And these did not seem like mavericks for the philistine Little Russians. [...] Philistines walked around, observed everything with different eyes, but somewhere deep down they had already crystallised a thought: “If not us, then our children.”⁹⁰

I come back to the importance of national travel in the next chapter. At this point I want to emphasise that geography was not the only obstacle which the Ukrainians triumphed over: for the first time a public event brought together the Ukrainian activists of different generations, from the wife of *Osnova*’s founder, Hanna Barvinok (born in 1828), to Borys Hrinchenko’s daughter, Nastia (born in 1884).⁹¹ For the first time one could see sixty-eight of the most important Ukrainian activists of the time of different ages and gender (ten of them were women) from all over “Ukraine” together in one picture.⁹² It seems that Ievhen Chykalenko had good reasons to recall a famous Czech joke that “if our train had crashed, the revival of our nation would have been interrupted for a long time.”⁹³

⁸⁹ Kh. Alchevskaia, “Tri dnia v Poltave,” *Iuzhnyi krai* 7844 (1903): 3. The pan-Ukrainian character of this event was underlined in: “Vsenarodne sviato Ivana Kotliarevs’koho v Poltavi,” *Uchytel’* (1903): 273–276; “Pamiaty Ivana Kotliarevs’koho,” in *Tovarysh. Illiustrovanyi kalendar* (Lviv, 1903), 206–213.

⁹⁰ S. Pryhara, “Persha khvyliia (v desiati rokovyny odkryttia pamiatnyka I. Kotliarevs’komu),” *Rada* 198 (30 August 1913): 2.

⁹¹ M. Huts’, “Malovidomi materialy z zhyttiepyssu Oleny Pchilky,” *Slovo i chas* 10 (2005): 62.

⁹² Iu. P’iadyk, “Fotohrafiia z bahat’ma nevidomymy,” *Vitchyzna* 2 (1989): 194–205.

⁹³ Chykalenko, *Spohady*, 238.

Another significant aspect of the celebration was a linguistic one. The thought that the Galician Ukrainian language was not a proper one had for a long time haunted the Ukrainian national movement.⁹⁴ However here, in Poltava, after hearing the Galicians delivering their greetings in their “Ukrainian,” one of its staunchest opponents, Olena Pchilka, noted that “the success of the Galician representatives was enormous! A strange thing happened: back in the day one could often hear reprimands aimed at the Galician Ukrainians, especially on the side of the Poltava activists. This time Poltavans were enchanted by it.”⁹⁵ Even considering that Pchilka explained it simply by the richer experience of the Galicians in delivering public speeches, one cannot underestimate the significance of this detail. Moreover, this meeting was also considered as crucial for the Galician Ukrainians to start using “Ukraine-Rus” and “Ukraine” instead of simply “Rus” as the name for the whole Ukrainian territory from the Carpathian Mountains to the Don River.⁹⁶

The unveiling of the monument which brought all of these guests together was scheduled for August 30, but some time in advance the head of the town council, Tregubov, warned the Ukrainian activists that according to the order of the Minister of Internal Affairs he would not allow the delegates’ speeches in Ukrainian during the solemn evening in the theatre. Deciding between the two options of how to respond to this, either by boycotting the unveiling or by taking the biggest possible part in it and permeating it with “a conscious Ukrainian character,” using every opportunity to come forward with a protest against violence and articulate a Ukrainian position, the choice was made for the latter.⁹⁷ The reason for this decision reminds one of the entanglement

⁹⁴ Iurii Shevel’ov, *Vnesok Halychyny u formuvannia ukraiïns’koiï literaturnoiï movy* (Kyiv, 2003).

⁹⁵ Huts’, “Malovidomi materialy,” 64.

⁹⁶ A. Duchyns’kyi, “RUP na Poltavshchyni,” *Za sto lit* 2 (1928): 242.

⁹⁷ Zhuk, “Na vidkrytti pamiatnyka,” 89.

of Central European national movements. Pchilka mentioned that such a decision was inspired by the Polish example: when the Poles were also banned from delivering speeches in Polish during the unveiling of the statue of Mickiewicz in Warsaw, they did not boycott the unveiling but deliberately decided to place the wreaths on the monument in silence.⁹⁸

In this way the unveiling of the monument turned into an unimportant prelude to the solemn evening in the theatre. Both Iefremov and Pchilka did not even describe it in any detail, recounting it only as an overture to what was going to happen later: “Everything went splendidly and made an enormous impression upon the thousand-large crowd. [...] At first shouts of ‘Hurray!’ and ‘Glory!’ competed with each other, but with time an official ‘Hurray!’ was becoming silent and only a thunder-like “Glory!” and applause remained. [...] We left the monument with a happy feeling, in an elevated mood, but the main objective still awaited us, that battle between the official Russia and Ukrainianness.”⁹⁹

“The battle” began from the introduction of the representative of the town council, Hryhorii Markevych, who underlined that the largest number of donations for the monument (3,800 roubles out of 7,000) had come from “the Cossacks and peasants of the Poltava gubernia,” which he interpreted as a sign that this indeed was “the monument to the people’s poet.”¹⁰⁰ His speech was followed by the greetings of Galician deputies. As subjects of another Empire they were allowed to deliver their speeches in Ukrainian, which turned “their every word into a Ukrainian protest. [...] A deputy of parliament, a university professor, a writer and then more and more *intelligentsia* –

⁹⁸ Huts’, “Malovidomi materialy,” 63.

⁹⁹ Iefremov, “Na sviati Kotliarevs’koho,” 155. For the similar description see Alchevskaia, “Tri dnia v Poltave,” 3.

¹⁰⁰ S. Iefremov, “Prazdnik ukrainskoi intelligentsii,” *KS* 10 (1903): 173.

everyone from abroad, publicly and from the tribune, spoke Ukrainian – for many of those present it was something unprecedented!”¹⁰¹ In their addresses the Galician deputies especially underlined the unifying aspect of this event; as one of them put it, “the hearts of the sons of Rus’ Troy were echoing from all of its corners. [...] That day all the children of Ukraine-Rus’ from the peaks of the Carpathians to the Kuban’ had united into one family.”¹⁰² Using the general excitement, the next speaker also managed to deliver his speech in Ukrainian, claiming to represent “a green Bukovyna,” and being indeed from the Khotyn district of the Russian Empire. Next came the representatives of different town councils, zemstvos and universities, delivering their addresses in Russian. But when Mykhailo Kotsiubynsky, the delegate from Chernihiv, finished his speech in Ukrainian and the next speaker, Olha Nedolia-Andriievskia, started hers in Ukrainian as well, Tregubov intruded and “stopped the demonstration.”¹⁰³ After the initial confusion Mykola Mikhnovsky entered the stage, stating that as he brought his greeting in Ukrainian as well and if he could not deliver it in his language he demanded a copy of the town council’s decision to appeal against it in the Senate. Leaving the empty greeting jacket to Tregubov, he left the stage and the theatre, and was followed by the rest of the guests.¹⁰⁴

It was precisely this act which became the most important event of both days of celebrations. Neither the performance of Lysenko’s choir nor the first art exhibition of Ukrainian painters made such an impression upon the audience. At the same time it is rather complicated to estimate the outcome of this *démarche*. The subsequent opinions

¹⁰¹ Iefremov, “Na sviati Kotliarevs’koho,” 156.

¹⁰² IR NBUV, F. 106–5, No. 5: 15.

¹⁰³ Huts’, “Malovidomi materialy,” 62.

¹⁰⁴ Simovych, “Trydtsiat’ rokiv vid vidkryttia pamiatnyka,” 463; Zhuk, “Na vidkrytti pamiatnyka,” 93. This appeal by Mikhnovsky indeed was examined by the Senate only in 1906, it decided to satisfy it and reproached the Minister for the illegitimacy of his behaviour. The correspondence of the Chernihiv and Poltava gendarmes about the accident see in Duchyns’kyi, *Revoliutsiina ukraiins’ka partiia*, 295.

of the events of 1903 even on the Ukrainian side were quite different, depending on one's moderate or radical political stance: from calling the whole event "a Ukrainian *Risorgimento*,"¹⁰⁵ "the first Ukrainian national feast,"¹⁰⁶ and one of the most powerful protests of the Ukrainian activists, which proved "the existence of the Ukrainian movement for the first time showing how powerful their organised actions were. Many of the contemporary conscious Ukrainians counted the beginning of their consciousness from that memorable day – 30 August 1903. It was the turning point in the history of the Ukrainian movement,"¹⁰⁷ or "the Kotliarevski's jubilee of 1903 had an enormous impact not only upon those present but, via the Russian press, upon the wider circles of the whole of Ukraine,"¹⁰⁸ to a more radical one, claiming that "in any event, nothing special had happened. The whole course of the celebration did not and could not become a push to the serious, fundamental treatment of a Ukrainian holiday by the press because of its exceptionally loyal Ukrainophile character."¹⁰⁹ Therefore, it seems that the only way to understand if the scandal could have had some impact is to find out whether the event was covered by the media, and if so to what extent and how.

The liberal Russian press from the capitals covered the event, but not in a way that would be preferred by the Ukrainophiles. Generally the articles which were published in St. Petersburg and Moscow explained to their readers the meaning of Kotli-

¹⁰⁵ V. Lukasevych, *Rozdumy na skhylku zhyttia* (New York, 1982), 16.

¹⁰⁶ T. Mytrus, "Lektsiï Katerynoslavs'koi 'Prosvity'," *Ridnyi krai* 41 (1908): 13.

¹⁰⁷ Iefremov, "Na sviati Kotliarevs'koho," 158. See also Iefremov, "Prazdnik ukrainskoi intelligentsii," 168–169, 200.

¹⁰⁸ Chykalenko, *Spohady*, 239.

¹⁰⁹ Zhuk, "Na vidkrytti pamiatnyka," 94.

arevski for the Little Russians, reported on his life and works,¹¹⁰ in some cases republished some of the greetings,¹¹¹ with one of them even recognising the meaning of Kotliarevski and Poltava for the revival of Ukrainian identity,¹¹² but reported nothing on the scandal itself. Provincial Russian newspapers provided more details and described the service in the cemetery, the unveiling of the monument, emphasised the presence of the Galician deputies and underlined the predominance of the Ukrainian language around the town,¹¹³ but as in the case of the central press nothing about the protest was mentioned.

The scandal received expectedly detailed coverage in Austro-Hungary. The major Ukrainian newspaper published in Lviv, *Dilo* [Cause], assigned its whole front page to the article “In the day of all-Ukrainian feast!” While underlining the importance of the monument’s erection in the town, which became “a grave of Ukrainian freedom,” its author put his main emphasis on the idea of the unity of their “indivisible Fatherland,” which was demonstrated by the geography of the celebration’s participants (“from all corners of Ukraine-Rus”), and by the monument to Kotliarevski as well, which “from that moment on became the embodiment of that unity.”¹¹⁴ Later on, *Dilo* regularly informed its readers about the details of the unveiling during the

¹¹⁰ G.V., “I.P. Kotliarevskii. K otkrytiiu pamiatnika v Poltave,” *Novoe vremia* 9870 (27 August 1903): 5–6; S-ii, “Otkrytie pamiatnika Kotliarevskomu v Poltave,” *Oblastnoe obozrenie i vestnik kazach’ikh voisk* 35 (31 August 1903): 534–535; A. Lotockii, “Literaturnyi prazdnik,” *Novosti i birzhevaia gazeta* 238 (30 August 1903): 2; *Russkie vedomosti* 240 (31 August 1903): 1–2; “Iz Poltavy ot nashogo korrespondenta,” *Russkie vedomosti* 248 (8 September 1903): 2; *Russkoe slovo* 239 (30 August 1903): 3; “K torzhestvam v Poltave,” *Russkoe slovo* 241 (1 September 1903): 3; *Russkoe slovo* 242 (2 September 1903): 3.

¹¹¹ A. Lotockii, “Otkrytie pamiatnika I.P. Kotliarevskomu v Poltave,” *Sankt-Peterburgskie vedomosti* 236 (30 August 1903): 1; *Sankt-Peterburgskie vedomosti* 238 (1 September 1903): 4.

¹¹² Ef, “Pered otkrytiem pamiatnika,” *Birzheve vedomosti* 419 (3 August 1903): 3; A. Irpenskii, “Poltavskii prazdnik,” *Birzheve vedomosti* 428 (30 August 1903): 2.

¹¹³ “Otkrytie pamiatnika I.P. Kotliarevskomu,” *Dneprovskii vestnik* 25 (2 September 1903): 2. Almost identical article was published in *Donskaia rech’* together with the greeting addresses from Kharkov and Odessa: “Otkrytie pamiatnika Kotliarevskomu,” *Donskaia rech’* 233 (3 September 1903): 2; S. P-ra, “Zachinatel’ ukrainskoi literatury,” *Donskaia rech’* 229 (30 August 1903): 3; “Pamiati Kotliarevskogo,” *Donskaia rech’* 232 (2 September 1903): 2.

¹¹⁴ “V den vseukraiins’koho sviata,” *Dilo* 195 (30 August 1903): 1. The same ideas were more explicitly expressed in the article “Hori imiem sercia,” *Dilo* 203 (10 September 1903): 1.

whole of September: from publishing short telegrams¹¹⁵ to providing a detailed description of the unveiling together with the story of the scandal in the theatre (and along the way appropriating Tregubov into their own faction, calling him “a true Ukrainian” and blaming the Russian government for the incident),¹¹⁶ or publishing some of the addresses delivered.¹¹⁷ Quite symbolically in this context of thinking of a monument as a symbol of the national space, simultaneously to informing its readers about the unveiling in Poltava, *Dilo* also denied the right of the Poles to erect their monument to King Władysław Jagiełło in Horodok (a town close to Lviv) and mark it as Polish national space.¹¹⁸ The events were similarly related in *LNV*¹¹⁹ and in the Viennese *Ruthenische Revue*, with the latter also drawing its readers’ attention to the contrast between the monument to the Ukrainian national poet and Poltava as the place of Peter I’s victory.¹²⁰

Finally, the newspapers that covered the events in Poltava extensively were local publications of the Southern provinces of the Russian Empire. However, not all of those who at first glance should have written about the event wrote about it; for instance, it was completely ignored by *Poltavskie gubernskie vedomosti* [Poltava gubernia news], which published only one article in its unofficial section on the history of

¹¹⁵ *Dilo* 196 (1 September 1903): 3.

¹¹⁶ “Sviato Kotliarevs’koho v Poltavi,” *Dilo* 198 (3 September 1903): 1–2; “Druhyi den’ sviata Kotliarevs’koho v Poltavi,” *Dilo* 199 (4 September 1903): 1; *Dilo* 202 (9 September 1903): 1–2.

¹¹⁷ *Dilo* 208 (16 September 1903): 1–2; *Dilo* 209 (17 September 1903): 1–2; *Dilo* 210 (18 September 1903): 1–2; *Dilo* 211 (19 September 1903): 1–2.

¹¹⁸ R., “Pamiaty korolia Iagiella,” *Dilo* 206 (13 September 1903): 1.

¹¹⁹ V.D., “Pamiatnyk I.P. Kotliarevs’komu,” *LNV* 23 (1903): 144–145; V., “Vidslonenie pamiatnyka I. Kotliarevs’koho v Poltavi,” *LNV* 24 (1903): 51–59; I. Fedorchenko, “Pered pamiatnykom Iv. Kotliarevs’komu,” *Ibid*, 89–90; M. Voronyi, “Na sviato odkryttia pamiatnyka Iv. Kotliarevs’komu,” *Ibid*, 90–92; B. Hrinchenko, “V spravi poltavs’koho sviata,” *Ibid*, 139; V., “Vidholos sviata I. Kotliarevs’koho v Poltavi,” *Ibid*, 233–234.

¹²⁰ “Ein Nationales Fest in Poltawa,” *Ruthenische Revue* 9 (15 September 1903): 207–210, 215–218; and especially I. Karenko, “Die Ruthenische Nationalfeier in Poltawa,” *Ruthenische Revue* 10 (30 September 1903): 228–232 (for the abovementioned contrast see p. 228); “Nachlange zur Ruthenischen Nationalfeier in Poltawa,” *Ruthenische Revue* 12 (30 October 1903): 285–288.

monuments to Kotliarevski at his grave site.¹²¹ The largest number of pages dedicated to the unveiling was in *Volyn'* [Volhynia],¹²² *Vestnik Iuga* [Herald of the South],¹²³ *Iuzhnyi krai* [Southern Country],¹²⁴ and naturally in the local *Poltavskii vestnik* [Poltava Herald].¹²⁵ The latter was the most significant, for many of its articles were later republished in other Russian and Galician newspapers. Smaller articles and news from Poltava were published in *Iug* [South], *Iuzhnaia Rossiia* [Southern Russia], *Iuzhnoe obozrenie* [Southern Review], *Odesskii listok* [Odessa Leaflet], or *Khar'kovskii listok*

¹²¹ V. Buchnevich, "O pamiatnikakh na mogile I.P. Kotliarevskogo," *Poltavskie gubernskie vedomosti* 65 (3 September 1903): 2.

¹²² "K otkrytiiu pamiatnika Kotliarevskomu," *Volyn'* 164 (22 August 1903): 3; Ef', "Otryvki," *Volyn'* 170 (29 August 1903): 2; "K otkrytiiu pamiatnika Kotliarevskomu," Ibid: 3; L. L-skii, "Ukrainskii prazdnik," *Volyn'* 171 (2 September 1903): 2; V. Myrovets', "Pamiati I.P. Kotliarevskogo," Ibid; "K torzhestvam imeni Kotliarevskogo," Ibid; "Torzhestvo otrytia pamiatnika Kotliarevskomu," *Volyn'* 172 (3 September 1903): 2; "Zhizn' i deiatel'nost' Kotliarevskogo," *Volyn'* 173 (4 September 1903): 2; "Vystavka v chest' Kotliarevskogo," Ibid, 3; *Volyn'* 175 (6 September 1903); "S ukrainskikh gazet," *Volyn'* 178 (11 September 1903); *Volyn'* 179 (12 September 1903): 2.

¹²³ S.P.B., "K otkrytiiu pamiatnika Kotliarevskomu," *Vestnik Iuga* 529 (29 August 1903): 3–4; *Vestnik Iuga* 531 (1 September 1903): 3; *Vestnik Iuga* 532 (2 September 1903): 2–3; *Vestnik Iuga* 533 (3 September 1903): 2; A. Lisovskii, "Po povodu odnogo otcheta," *Vestnik Iuga* 535 (5 September 1903): 2; A. Lisovskii, "Eshche po povodu odnogo otcheta," *Vestnik Iuga* 536 (7 September 1903): 2; Gr. Sio-gobochnyi, "O Poltavskom intsidente," *Vestnik Iuga* 542 (13 September 1903): 2; *Vestnik Iuga* 545 (17 September 1903): 2.

¹²⁴ V. Ivanov, "Pamiatnik Kotliarevskomu," *Iuzhnyi Krai* 7835 (30 August 1903): 2; Ibid, 2–3; M.D., "Otkrytie pamiatnika Kotliarevskomu," *Iuzhnyi Krai* 7837 (1 September 1903): 2; "Otkrytie pamiatnika Kotliarevskomu," *Iuzhnyi Krai* 7838 (2 September 1903): 2; *Iuzhnyi Krai* 7839 (3 September 1903): 3; Kh. Alchevskaia, "Tri dnia v Poltave," 3; *Iuzhnyi Krai* 7851 (16 September):

¹²⁵ "K predstoiashchemu otkrytiiu pamiatnika I.P. Kotliarevskomu," *Poltavskii vestnik* 90 (25 March 1903): 2; "K otkrytiiu pamiatnika Kotliarevskomu," *Poltavskii vestnik* 127 (18 May 1903): 2; *Poltavskii vestnik* 154 (20 June 1903): 2–3; *Poltavskii vestnik* 198 (13 August 1903): 2–3; *Poltavskii vestnik* 199 (14 August 1903): 2; "K predstoiashchemu otkrytiiu pamiatnika I.P. Kotliarevskomu," *Poltavskii vestnik* 201 (17 August 1903): 2; "K otkrytiiu pamiatnika I.P. Kotliarevskomu," *Poltavskii vestnik* 202 (19 August 1903): 2; *Poltavskii vestnik* 204 (21 August 1903): 2; *Poltavskii vestnik* 209 (27 August 1903): 2; "K predstoiashchemu otkrytiiu pamiatnika I.P. Kotliarevskomu," *Poltavskii vestnik* 210 (28 August 1903): 2; Baian, "Shtrikhi i eskizy," *Poltavskii vestnik* 211 (29 August 1903); B. Grinchenko, "Opisanie ego zhizni," *Poltavskii vestnik* 212 (30 August 1903): 1; Ibid, 2; P. L., "K torzhestvu otkrytia pamiatnika Kotliarevskomu," Ibid; G. Kovalenko, "Epokha Kotliarevskogo," Ibid, 2–3; "Kotliarevskii i malorossy pisateli," Ibid, 3; Ivan Pavlovskii, "Poltava vremen Kotliarevskogo," Ibid; Baian, "Shtrikhi i eskizy," Ibid, 3–4; V. Buchnevich, "K biografii Kotliarevskogo," Ibid, 4; "Chestvovanie pamiati Kotliarevskogo," *Poltavskii vestnik* 213 (31 August 1903): 2–3; Baian, "Shtrikhi i eskizy," Ibid, 3; Ch., "U pamiatnika," Ibid; N. Dmitriev, "Po povodu knigi P. Zhitetskogo 'Eneida Kotliarevskogo'," Ibid; "Chestvovanie pamiati Kotliarevskogo," *Poltavskii vestnik* 214 (2 September 1903): 2; K.V., "Iubileinyi prazdnik vrozozhdeniia ukrainskoi literatury v Galitskom L'vove," Ibid, 3; "K chestvovaniuu pamiati Kotliarevskogo," *Poltavskii vestnik* 215 (3 September): 2–3; *Poltavskii vestnik* 216 (4 September 1903): 2–3; "K chestvovaniuu pamiati Kotliarevskogo," *Poltavskii vestnik* 218 (6 September): 2; Nechaiannyi, "Videniia," *Poltavskii vestnik* 219 (7 September): 2; "K chestvovaniuu pamiati Kotliarevskogo," Ibid, 3; "K chestvovaniuu pamiati Kotliarevskogo," *Poltavskii vestnik* 221 (11 September 1903): 2; "K chestvovaniuu pamiati Kotliarevskogo," *Poltavskii vestnik* 222 (12 September): 1–2; *Poltavskii vestnik* 224 (1903): 3; V. Vasilenko, "O nasazhdeniakh v ograde pamiatnika Kotliarevskomu," *Poltavskii vestnik* 225 (16 September 1903): 2; "Schety s pamiat'iu ob Kotliarevskom," *Poltavskii vestnik* 226 (17 September 1903): 2; *Poltavskii vestnik* 228 (19 September 1903): 1; Pevnyi, "Pis'mo v redaktsiiu," *Poltavskii vestnik* 233 (25 September 1903): 2–3.

[Kharkov Leaflet].¹²⁶ In almost all of these cases even if the newspapers reported the scandal, they did it in a very informative and, at the same time, colourless style.

Furthermore, one cannot consider all the newspapers which reported about it as “Ukrainian”: they should be divided into two groups, Ukrainian and Little Russian, presenting their own vision of the event. Clearly “Little Russian” papers either published brief news on the unveiling, calling it a scandal and occasionally making mistakes in the names of the Ukrainian speakers,¹²⁷ or paid some more attention to the events, describing them in a negative light with more details. For instance, *Pridneprovskii krai* [Dnepr Country], in addition to the simple narration of the unveiling,¹²⁸ also published a couple of feuilletons mocking the unveiling, the deputies’ speeches “touching the Ukrainian chords” and the real character of the feast, which became the feast of “a militant word, the manifestation of local patriotism, the so-called *patriotism du clocher*,” a simple chance for the Ukrainians to shout since “for a Southerner to shout is the same as to dine.”¹²⁹ In the following issues during his polemics with one Ukrainophile, their columnist clearly manifested his Little Russian stance:

Mr. Lisovski is not pleased with my “spirit.” [...] And my “spirit” is a Russian one – the “spirit” of a person who is proud to be the son of the greatest and most powerful country in the world; of a person who from the height of his Russian outlook indulgently and friendly, but without any irony, observes the fruitless attempts of different petty people to create the impossible and comprehend the incomprehensible; of a person who firmly believes in the unifying power of the Russian nation and in the final triumph of Russian ideas.¹³⁰

¹²⁶ *Iug* 1572 (22 August 1903): 2; *Iug* 1573 (2 September 1903): 2–3; *Iug* 1574 (3 September 1903): 1; *Iug* 1575 (4 September 1903): 2; *Iuzhnaia Rossiia* 222 (31 August 1903): 2; *Iuzhnaia Rossiia* 224 (3 September 1903): 1–2; *Iuzhnoe obozrenie* 2258 (3 September 1903): 3; *Iuzhnoe obozrenie* 2261 (6 September 1903): 2; *Iuzhnoe obozrenie* 2291 (9 October 1903): 1; *Khar'kovskii listok* 1179 (30 August 1903): 2–3; *Khar'kovskii listok* 1182 (2 September 1903): 3; *Khar'kovskii listok* 1186 (6 September 1903): 2; *Odesskii listok* 222 (29 August 1903): 1–2, 4; *Odesskii listok* 224 (1 September 1903): 2; *Odesskii listok* 225 (2 September 1903): 3; *Odesskii listok* 226 (3 September 1903): 1; *Odesskii listok* 229 (6 September 1903): 2; *Odesskii listok* 230 (7 September 1903): 4.

¹²⁷ “Skandal,” *Krymskii kur'ier* 231 (11 September 1903): 3.

¹²⁸ *Pridneprovskii krai* 1920 (31 August 1903): 2; P. Gerasimenko, “Pamiaty I.P. Kotliarevskogo. Bednyi poet,” *Ibid* 1921 (1 September 1903): 1–2; *Ibid* 1925 (5 September 1903): 2–3.

¹²⁹ Sam, “Poltavskoe torzhestvo,” *Pridneprovskii Krai* 1922 (2 September 1903): 2–3; Sam, “Poltavskoe torzhestvo,” *Pridneprovskii kraï* 1923 (1903): 2.

¹³⁰ Sam, “Otvét na klevetu g-na Lisovskogo,” *Pridneprovskii kraï* 1926 (6 September 1903): 3. See also Sam, “Vtorichnaia ekzekutsiia nad g-nom Lisovskim,” *Pridneprovskii kraï* 1928 (8 September): 3.

Another strategy which a Little Russian newspaper could employ in dealing with the celebrations in Poltava was to pass over it in silence: the major Little Russian newspaper, *Kievlianin* [A Kievan], almost completely ignored and downplayed the event, publishing only the greeting addresses from Kiev University and the Polytechnic Institute (which were composed in the Little Russian spirit), and briefly informing its readers that the monument had been unveiled. Only in October did it published an ironical and jeering article on “the scandal, which the Ukrainians call a feast,” still not providing any details about it.¹³¹

Hijacking the celebration or silencing the commemorations of the opposing group were not the only manifestations of memorial politics of the time. As some representatives of the Ukrainian movement became more radical, according to Iosyp Hermaize, since the end of the nineteenth century they had started to discuss the idea of simply clearing Ukraine of imperial monuments. Thus during one of the annual Shevchenko parties Dmytro Antonovych allegedly suggested the Ukrainians should blow up a monument to Nicholas I which had been erected in front of Kiev University.¹³² In 1904 the Ukrainian National Party, the only Ukrainian political party which manifestly stated its aim of gaining independence for Ukraine, decided to commemorate the 250th anniversary of the Pereiaslav treaty by destroying some detested imperial symbolic places. During the night of 30–31 October an explosion thundered on Kharkiv Theatre Square near the monument to Pushkin.¹³³ The proclamation, spread after the action, stipulated that the territory of Sloboda Ukraine and Ukraine in general was not a place for a monument to a foreigner: “Shevchenko is our

¹³¹ *Kievlianin* 239 (30 August 1903): 3; *Kievlianin* 242 (2 September 1903); *Kievlianin* 244 (4 September 1903); *Kievlianin* 245 (5 September 1903): 3; “Beseda,” *Kievlianin* 296 (26 October 1903): 2–3.

¹³² Osyp Hermaize, *Narysy z istoriï revoliutsiinoho rukhu na Ukraïni* (Kyiv, 1925), 45.

¹³³ *Kievlianin* (3 November 1904): 1.

great poet, Pushkin is yours, so which of them deserves a monument in Ukraine more?"¹³⁴ Alas for the organisers, only the monument's pedestal suffered some slight damage and the failed action was criticised even by moderate Ukrainian activists.¹³⁵ However, yet another Ukrainian attempt to blow up an imperial monument occurred in Poltava in 1909, when the representatives of the same party tried to contribute their part to the bicentennial celebrations of the battle of Poltava by dismantling the monument to Peter I, and although this time they managed to damage the monument considerably, it survived.¹³⁶

Justifying his activity, Mikhnovsky referred to the absence of a monument to Shevchenko. The only two existing monuments to Shevchenko were his modest busts erected in private estates of Little Russian families in 1900 and 1903.¹³⁷ Thus the project to erect a great national monument to Shevchenko in Kyiv, "the heart of Ukraine," did indeed become the symbol and the main preoccupation of the Ukrainian movement before the First World War, which, I would like to argue, also signified its weakness. As I mentioned before, the first ideas to commemorate Shevchenko with a monument had already been published in *Osnova*. This talk became especially active closer to the end of the century and the coming centennial of his birth in 1914, but when the petition from the Union of Mutual Aid of Russian writers to build monuments to Shevchenko and Belinski appeared in November 1900, it was rejected.¹³⁸ In 1904 the thought of erecting a monument to Shevchenko appeared in the Zolotonosha zemstvo council,¹³⁹ then in 1905 this petition was enlarged to be able to call for dona-

¹³⁴ S. Naumov, "'Zamakh' na pamiatnyk O.S. Pushkinu v Kharkovi (1904 r.)," *Skhid-Zakhid* 1 (1998): 126.

¹³⁵ Ibid, 120.

¹³⁶ Fedir Turchenko, *Mykola Mikhnovs'kyi: zhyttia i slovo* (Kyiv, 2006), 126–127.

¹³⁷ *KS* 12 (1900): 156; *KS* 3 (1900): 188; Nimenko, 6.

¹³⁸ "Pamiatnik Shevchenko," *KS* 1 (1901): 14; "Otkaz v postanovke pamiatnika Shevchenko," *KS* 4 (1901): 27.

¹³⁹ "K sooruzheniiu pamiatnika T.G. Shevchenko v Kieve," *KS* 6 (1905): 258.

tions from all over the entire Empire and now it was also supported by the Poltava gubernia zemstvo.¹⁴⁰ Simultaneously in 1905 this question appeared before the Kievan deputies, who at first elected their own commission but later agreed to unite with the representatives of Poltava: in 1909 there appeared a joint Poltava-Kiev monument committee.¹⁴¹ However, it did not receive permission to gather money for it from over the Empire; Shevchenko was not raised to the rank of Gogol, whose monument was built with the subscription allowed all over the state.

Ukrainians tried to disseminate news about this fundraising campaign as widely as possible: they underlined the legal nature of this project, published numerous appeals to readers to donate money, together with lists of those people who had already contributed (especially praising peasants participating in it¹⁴²), condemned those “Ukrainians” who turned out to be “Little Russians” and refused to donate money out of principle,¹⁴³ reported the latest news and discussions about the appearance of the monument (occasionally printing pictures¹⁴⁴) and its future location,¹⁴⁵ and constantly polemicised on this matter against local Russian nationalists.¹⁴⁶

As in many other situations, the Ukrainian movement was by no means separated from the other current European national movements. Apart from the references

¹⁴⁰ “K sooruzheniiu pamiatnika T.G. Shevchenko,” *KS* 10 (1905): 29.

¹⁴¹ I. Shchitkivs’kyi, “Pamiatnyk Shevchenkovi u Kyivi ta kyivs’ka administratsiia,” *Ukraina* 1–2 (1925): 162–170.

¹⁴² “Z Khersonshchyny,” *Rada* 104 (6 May 1907): 3.

¹⁴³ “Pro pamiatnyk Shevchenkovi,” *Rada* 73 (8 December 1906): 3; Hr. Siohobochnyi, “Podla natsiia!” *Rada* 189 (21 August 1907): 1; A.B., “Shche pro pamiatnyk T.H. Shevchenkovi,” *Rada* 217 (26 September 1907): 1. S.O., “Pravoberezhni zemstva i pamiatnyk Shevchenkovi,” *Rada* 238 (18 October 1908): 3; “Pamiatnyk Shevchenkovi i kurs’ki zemtsi,” *Rada* 13 (17 January 1909): 1; *Rada* 26 (1 February 1909): 3; S. Tytarenko, “Pamiatnyk T. Shevchenkovi,” *Svitlo* 6 (1914): 42–43.

¹⁴⁴ P.S., “Oboviazok zhyvykh,” *Maiak* 25 (1913): 9–10; *Iliustrovana Ukraina* 5–6 (1 April 1914): 75.

¹⁴⁵ O. Kuz’mins’kyi, “Pro mistse dlia pamiatnyka Shevchenkovi,” *Rada* 90 (19 April 1908): 3; Roman, “Pro mistse dlia pamiatnyka Shevchenkovi,” *Rada* 90 (19 April 1908): 3; D. Doroshenko, “V spravi pamiatnyka T. Shevchenkovi,” *Rada* 130 (7 June 1908): 1; Hr. Siohobochnyi, “Shcho zh dali robyty?” *Rada* 64 (19 March 1911); S. Tytarenko, “Pamiatnyk T. Shevchenkovi,” *Svitlo* 6 (1914): 46–47.

¹⁴⁶ This article seemed to me the best example of such discussion: S. Iefremov, “D. Savenko v slyvakh,” *Rada* 100 (1 May 1908): 1.

to the similar Polish activity around monuments to Mickiewicz or Chopin in Warsaw,¹⁴⁷ Polish national commemorations in Lviv,¹⁴⁸ or to the campaign to erect monuments to Pushkin even in small towns of the Empire,¹⁴⁹ the Ukrainian activists tried to transfer other European experience in dealing with the same problem. Thus, for instance, in 1908 in its attempt to invigorate fundraising *Rada* published a story by Viacheslav Prokopopych from Loschwitz, near Dresden. There Prokopovych saw how the Germans sold special postcards, twice as expensive as the best ordinary ones, with half of the price to be transferred for the prospective monument to Schiller. Prokopovych finished his article with a call to the best Ukrainian artists to paint a similar postcard.¹⁵⁰ Although at the moment I have not found any proof of some relation between the two events, but it is noteworthy that the same year Opanas Slastion drew a similar postcard (Figure 7.5) which had already been sold out by the end of the same year.¹⁵¹

One more source of inspiration for the whole project of erecting Shevchenko's monument was Galicia and at least one case shows how the contemporary Ukrainian public sphere did in fact worked. In 1908 *Ridnyi krai* published an article sharing the Galician experience of gathering money for some social need during various family holidays.¹⁵² Some issues later it published a letter from one Russian Ukrainian village whose peasants had read the article about the Galicians and decided to act in a similar way.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁷ "O pamiatnike Shevchenko," *KS* 2 (1898): 41–42; D. Doroshenko, "Pro pamiatnyk Shevchenkovi," *Rada* 45 (5 November 1906): 1; "V spravi pamiatnyka Shevchenkovi," *Rada* 63 (16 March 1907): 2; *Rada* 23 (29 January 1909): 3; *Rada* 108 (14 May 1909): 3.

¹⁴⁸ M. Lozyns'kyi, "Pol's'ke sviato u L'vovi," *Rada* 94 (26 April 1909).

¹⁴⁹ D. Doroshenko, "Pro pamiatnyk Shevchenkovi," *Rada* 45 (5 November 1906): 1.

¹⁵⁰ S. Volokh, "Tsehlyna na pamiatnyk," *Rada* 229 (8 October 1908): 2.

¹⁵¹ *Ridnyi krai* 33 (1908): 12.

¹⁵² "Pam'iatnyk Shevchenkovi," *Ridnyi krai* 7 (1908): 3.

¹⁵³ Iukhym Kolesnichenko, "Pro pam'iatnyk Shevchenkovi," *Ridnyi krai* 19 (1908): 14.

However, despite the absence of any major hindrances on the side of the authorities, the Ukrainians neither managed to agree about the monument's project (four competitions were held in 1909, 1911, 1912, 1914, but even the last of them ended only with numerous discussions and controversies¹⁵⁴) nor where to put it (even when Kiev city council in 1909 allocated Mykhailivska Square for it, near St. Michael's monastery, close to St. Sophia cathedral, where it could be seen by numerous pilgrims attending Kiev and thus would become a part of the city's public space, something which was clearly understood by the Ukrainian activists,¹⁵⁵ but still they did not take advantage of the opportunity and in 1911 the place was re-given to the monument to St. Olga, which the Ukrainians could later only regret¹⁵⁶), nor to gather the required sum of money.¹⁵⁷

The final accords of this story provide a clear example of the decision-making process in the Russian Empire: despite the purported grievances of the Ukrainian nationalists, the repressive measures against them were not necessarily initiated by St. Petersburg. It seems that the local administration, in this case Kievan, often tried to implement much harsher decisions than the authorities in the capital. In July 1912 Kievan Governor-General F. Trepov addressed the Senate with a petition to cancel the 1905 decision of the Kiev city council about the erection of a monument to Shevchenko. He argued that the above-mentioned decision of the Kiev city council touched upon a subject that did not belong to its sphere of competence.¹⁵⁸ However, after gathering all the relevant materials, in May 1913 the Senate decided that, as allo-

¹⁵⁴ D.A., "Chetvertyi konkurs proektiv pamiatnyka Tarasu Shevchenkovi," *Dzvin* 3 (1914): 166–169.

¹⁵⁵ "Pamiatnyk Shevchenkovi," *Ridnyi krai* 12 (1909): 3.

¹⁵⁶ "Novi kyivs'ki pamiatnyky," *Ridnyi krai* 28–29 (1910–1911).

¹⁵⁷ "V spravi pamiatnyka Shevchenkovi," *Rada* 63 (16 March 1907): 2; Dmytro Doroshenko, "Bo-liucha sprava," *Rada* 195 (28 August 1907): 1; "Chas ne zhde! (pro pamiatnyk T. Shevchenkovi)," *Rada* 47 (26 February 1908): 1.

¹⁵⁸ RGIA, F. 1341, Op. 409, No. 356: 1–3.

cating a special place for a monument concerned city's interests and also the erection of monuments in the city was in the competence of its city council, it would leave the report of the Kievan Governor-General as it was.¹⁵⁹ A year later this decision was used as a precedent to deny the request of the Poltava Governor to prohibit the erection of Shevchenko's monument in Romny.¹⁶⁰ As Shchitkivsky remembered, a positive decision of the Senate could be made not only because all the papers gathered by the Senate were legal, but also because Leonid Zhebuniov, one of the leading Ukrainophiles of the time, sent their copies to his senator-friend, who settled the case.¹⁶¹

Meanwhile, the other side of the picture, which has often been left out, was the memorial activity of Little Russians, who became very active in memorial politics in the *fin-de-siècle* period. In 1908 they initiated a plan to erect a monument to Gogol in Kiev, emphasising that "this must be a monument to our countrymen, without any donations from Great Russia: 'Give at least one Great Russian rouble for a monument and its national-political meaning will disappear'."¹⁶² A year later, in 1909, Little Russians started to promote the idea of "the Historical pathway" – a half-kilometre line of nine monuments of various statesmen of Kievan Rus'. At first it was suggested they should erect the monuments along the Bibikov Boulevard, but then for some reason (maybe to block Shevchenko's monument) it was decided to create it between St. Michael's monastery and St. Sophia cathedral. In 1909 only one projected monument was actually unveiled – the one to Princess Olga.

The main endeavour of Kievan Little Russian activists was the monument to the famous Prime-Minister, Petr Stolypin. Discussing the projects for the monument,

¹⁵⁹ RGIA, F. 1341, Op. 409, No. 356: 15.

¹⁶⁰ RGIA, F. 1288, Op. 7, No. 248: 2–7.

¹⁶¹ Shchitkivs'kyi, "Pamiatnyk Shevchenkovi," 169.

¹⁶² *Kievlianin* 318 (1908).

Kievan activists especially emphasised its need to embody Russianness. The monument was accompanied by a woman in national Russian dress, personifying Sorrow, and a figure, personifying Russian Might, which allegedly was always embodied by the late Prime-Minister.¹⁶³ The sculptor was especially advised to use Viktor Vasnetsov's paintings for the examples of these figures.¹⁶⁴ The monument was opened on August 28 in front of Kiev city council and was particularly significant for its inscriptions. One of its tablets was decorated by Stolypin's quote, popular in Kiev at the time: "I firmly believe that the light of the Russian national idea, which began to glow in the Russian west, would not be extinguished, but soon will illuminate all Russia." The author of the most famous contemporary book on Ukrainian nationalism, Sergei Shchegolev, finished it in the following way: "To you, dear beautiful Kiev, we dedicate the last page of our work. [...] You will not change your name – *Materi gorodov russkikh* [The Mother of Russian cities] – to the name of *Nen'ka* [The Mother (in Ukrainian)] of the conscious Ukrainians. A monument to a Russian hero, Petr Arkadievich Stolypin, which has appeared today at the gates of your magistrate, will be our guarantee of it."¹⁶⁵

Other Little Russian memorial projects which annoyed the local Ukrainians were the erection of the memorial to Iskra and Kochubei,¹⁶⁶ which also had to be built "by the Russian workers and exclusively out of Russian materials,"¹⁶⁷ and the activity of the Pochaev monks around the commemoration of the Cossacks killed at Beres-

¹⁶³ "K sooruzheniiu pamiatnika P.A. Stolypinu v Kieve," *Kievlianin* 5 (5 January 1913): 4; "K sooruzheniiu pamiatnika P.A. Stolypinu v Kieve," *Kievlianin* 13 (13 January 1913): 4.

¹⁶⁴ "K sooruzheniiu pamiatnika P.A. Stolypinu v Kieve," *Kievlianin* 14 (14 January 1913): 3.

¹⁶⁵ Sergei Shchegolev, *Sovremennoe ukrainstvo. Ego proiskhozhdenie, rost i zadachi* (Kiev, 1914), 156.

¹⁶⁶ Arkhimandrit Adrian, *Pamiaty Kochubeia i Iskry, geroev Ob'iedineniia Rusi Pravoslavnoi, Kievskoi i Moskovskoi* (Kiev, 1911); "K sooruzheniiu pamiatnika Kochubeiu i Iskre v Kieve," *Kievlianin* 64 (5 March 1913): 3.

¹⁶⁷ "K sooruzheniiu pamiatnika Kochubeiu i Iskre v Kieve," *Kievlianin* 103 (13 April 1913): 3.

techko in 1651, appropriating in this way Cossack history, usually glorified by the Ukrainians.¹⁶⁸ Some Ukrainians could only recognise their failure to do something similar.¹⁶⁹ As Olena Pchilka put it,

Activity around a memorial on the Berestechko field caused hostile views from some Ukrainians on this affair, saying that it would better had it not started. We will not say this. Still it will remind our people about the past [...] The very existence of the Berestechko memorial on the Cossack graves can be compared with the existence of the monument to Bohdan Khmelnytsky in Kyiv. It was not the Ukrainians who erected it, [...] it was erected by the people hostile to the Ukrainians. Well! Let it be erected by them, but still it is good that the monument to Khmelnytsky stands: numerous people see it in the middle of Kyiv, look at the beautiful hetman's figure. Would it be better if it did not exist? Was it worth waiting for the Ukrainians to erect it? Well, we can see what is happening about the monument to Shevchenko.¹⁷⁰

Unsuccessful in memorial politics, the Ukrainian activists also tried to symbolically appropriate urban space by erecting buildings in “the national Ukrainian style.” Such an endeavour was characteristic to all contemporary Central-European national movements, but unlike stories of Ödön Lechner, Josef Plečnik or Stanisław Witkiewicz, similar Ukrainian invention of tradition surprisingly has not been extensively dealt with by historians.¹⁷¹

Although the idea that the Ukrainians might be distinguished from their neighbours by the way their huts were built was for the first time voiced by Mykhailo Levchenko in *Osnova* in 1861, during that period it did not cause any attempt to start building in a Ukrainian style. Only few houses which might be called “Ukrainian” were purposely built. According to the traditional story, the first “Ukrainian” building

¹⁶⁸ Denys, “Pid Berestechkom,” *Rada* 129 (9 June 1909): 1; “I tut sebe pokazaly,” *Rada* 129 (9 June 1909): 3; S.Ie., “Zakutnie sviato,” *Rada* 130 (10 June 1909): 1; Pospolytyi, “Na Berestets'komu poli,” *Rada* 185 (18 August 1911): 2–3.

¹⁶⁹ K. Polishchuk, “Ukraiins'kyi muzei na kozats'kykh mohylakh pid Berestechkom,” *Ridnyi krai* 16–17 (1910–1911): 18–25.

¹⁷⁰ Olena Pchilka, “Volyns'kyi pamiatnyk,” *Ridnyi krai* 16–17 (1910–1911): 25–27.

¹⁷¹ My research shows that there is only one book which might be considered as an attempt to bring this story back to life: Viktor Chepelyk, *Ukraiins'kyi arkhitekturnyi modern* (Kyiv, 2000), and another one about the chief representative of this style: Vadym Pavlovs'kyi, *Vasyl' Hryhorovych Krychevs'kyi* (New York, 1974). Otherwise, alas, it seems to be ignored and forgotten not only by the Soviet scholars, but even by the contemporary Ukrainian ones.

was commissioned by Grigorii Galagan for his estate in Poltava gubernia. Galagan, a wealthy landlord with a Little Russian identity, in 1850 hired Ievgenii Chervinski from St. Petersburg to build him a guest house in “an ancient Ukrainian style,” and to try “to recreate an antique Little Russian building.”¹⁷² Lev Zhemchuzhnikov described the consecration of the house in the following way:

Everyone greeted this historical, newly born child. The house looked so cozy, so cordial; by its face it showed us the life which had passed so long ago, and unintentionally inspired many of those present to build the same for themselves. But why *the same*? G.P. Galagan tried and was very successful in resurrecting the past; with different detailing in the house he wanted to remind us of the lives of grandfathers and great-grandfathers; this is very praiseworthy [...], but an imitation, which constantly chases us appeared even here. Why do not we make a step forward and move further than our ancestors could? When I started to say that we have to build according to the remnants of the past, according to the taste and needs of people, not many of those around understood me. [...] Every nation has its own style, its needs, – just give them a chance to advance, and do not suppress them.¹⁷³

This house was a *Gesamtkunstwerk* and its every detail was discussed by Galagan and Chervinski. As a result, its gates were made in a similar way to some ancient gates seen in Kyiv in 1845, its roof was made out of straw similarly to peasant houses around Poltava, its wooden walls were made of linden, and inside there were numerous pieces of furniture made according to “the ancient standards,” and the icons were decorated with the Ukrainian towels.¹⁷⁴ However, it seems that its most important element was the trapezoid hexagonal entrance door (Figure 7.7). One more similar house was built in 1868 for another Cossack descendants, the Zakrevsky family.¹⁷⁵

In my opinion, Serhii Iekelchuk wrongly attributed some (proto-)national characteristics to these houses. When in 1858 Galagan boasted of his hut and gave details

¹⁷² “Pismo G.P. Galagana o Malorossiiskom budynke v sele Lebedintse prilukского uезда,” *KS* 7–8 (1904): 2.

¹⁷³ Lev Zhemchuzhnikov, “Poltavshchyna. Iz zapisnoi knizhki 1856 goda,” *Osnova* 10 (1861): 86–88.

¹⁷⁴ K. Moshchenko, *Ukraiins'kyi budynok H.P. Halahana* (Miunkhen, 1962), 3–17. More contemporary impressions of the building were published by *KS*: V. Vasylenko, “‘Pans’kyi budynok’ v d. Lebedintsy Prylukского uезда Poltavskoi gubernii,” *KS* 6 (1895): 115–116; A. Stepovych, “Lebedinskii budynok,” *KS* 11 (1895): 45–49; V. Vasylenko, “V Lebedinskom ‘budynke’ G.P. Galagana,” *KS* 7–8 (1900): 19–24.

¹⁷⁵ *Istoriia ukraiins'koho mystetstva*. Vol. 4.2 (Kyiv, 2005), 30–31, 36, 261.

of it to Taras Shevchenko, the latter wrote in his diary: “I spent the evening with Galagan. He read the description of his house, which he built in the old Little Russian style in Pryluky district. Haughty, but a good venture, worth of emulation.”¹⁷⁶ It seems that both this and the Zakrevsky house were commissioned by the heirs of old Cossack families as mere sentimental whims, built in the old spirit of *Istoriia Rusov*, belonging more to the Cossack / Little Russian autonomist past than to the Ukrainian national future. It happened only *post factum*, in the beginning of the 1900s, that these houses were proclaimed to be predecessors of the Ukrainian architectural style¹⁷⁷ and some of their most distinct elements were used by the new generation of artists who associated themselves with the Ukrainian movement.

This was done by the graduates of St. Petersburg Academy of Arts. Traditionally many students from the southern gubernias studied there (Taras Shevchenko was the most famous). However, Opanas Slastion, Serhii Vasylkivsky and Porfyrii Martynovych started to rebel both against academical classicism and against contemporary Russian realism, embodied by the movement of the *peredvizhniki*, only towards the end of the nineteenth century.¹⁷⁸ Their chance to speak out appeared when in 1902 the Poltava gubernia zemstvo started to discuss the project of the prospective zemstvo house. Two of its initial projects were Renaissance ones, but when the three above-mentioned architects joined the discussion they started to criticise their historicist style and managed to convince the zemstvo deputies to build it in the Ukrainian style, more suitable for the house of the “Ukrainian” zemstvo. Before the final vote *Poltavskii*

¹⁷⁶ Taras Shevchenko, *Povne zibrannia tvoriv*. Vol. 3 (Kyiv, 1949), 265.

¹⁷⁷ “Halahanivs’kyi budynok,” *Ridnyi krai* 3 (1914): 8–10.

¹⁷⁸ As Vasyl Krychevsky sarcastically remarked about Aleksei Savrasov’s famous painting, “the rooks had arrived, the art had departed.”

vestnik published a series of articles by Slastion arguing for the need to build exactly in this style. According to him,

We already have three projects and all of them in the Renaissance style, but why do we consider the templates developed by foreign nations, which are alien to us, to be the ideal of art [...] Enough for us to build Greek temples, which in our climate do not even fulfil the needs and comforts of horse stables and manage in no way to satisfy the requirements of an everyday building. Why should we have to put pull on ourselves old-Greek togas or Italian Renaissance raincoats and gowns, why and until when will this *raznesans* continue?¹⁷⁹

Interestingly, and most probably to overcome the resistance of Poltava Little Russian deputies and to not cause any controversy, in the documents related to the construction, the “Ukrainian” style was at first called “pseudo Moorish,” and during the competition in 1903 its name was changed to “South-Russian Renaissance.”¹⁸⁰ Maybe this helped a young architect from Kharkiv, Vasyl Krychevsky, to win this commission in June 1903. Inspired by the ideas of John Ruskin and William Morris, Krychevsky wanted “to revive the Ukrainian national” style of building houses.¹⁸¹ Thus after his project was chosen, Krychevsky started extensive research in museums and libraries, for the first time measured and described Galagan’s house in Sokyryntsi, began to collect and study Ukrainian ornaments, and thus completely changed the original project of the building.

He divided the symmetrical facade into three parts by singling out three risalits, flanked its central part with two towers which ended lightning rod-spires with a decorative sun instead of a simple spike, and covered its high roof with blue and green glazed tiles (Figure 7.8). The house was covered with majolica decorations which Poltava region was famous for,¹⁸² among which were majolica coats of arms of Poltava

¹⁷⁹ *K vrozozhdeniiu ukrainskogo arkhitektturnogo stilja* (Kiev, 1903): 3–7.

¹⁸⁰ Vadym Pavlovs’kyi, *Vasyl’ Hryhorovych Krychevs’kyi* (New York, 1974), 25–26; Hnat Hotkevich, “Zems’kyi dom’ u Poltavi,” *Artystychnyi visnyk* 9–10 (1905): 141–143.

¹⁸¹ Pavlovs’kyi, *Vasyl’ Hryhorovych Krychevs’kyi*, 20–21. At that time he worked as an assistant of Kharkiv city architect, Alfred Spiegel, whose wife was from England and got Krychevsky acquainted with ideas of English theorists.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 86.

districts in the Ukrainian language. Krychevsky purposely immured them and covered them until the unveiling so that the local officials did not know about them; only the Tsar's positive reaction during their unveiling saved these coats of arms from being demolished.¹⁸³ The interior of the house was also richly decorated with majolica panels, floral and geometrical ornamental decorations, and fretwork (Figures 7.10 – 7.11).

This example of “the revived Ukrainian architectural art” was widely described in the press¹⁸⁴ and its pictures were published in books and newspapers.¹⁸⁵ The building was to become a model for similar projects in the future,¹⁸⁶ and thus it is no surprise that even Ukrainian architects from Galicia were visiting Poltava to study it.¹⁸⁷ The Ukrainian public sphere actively promoted the construction of similar buildings: newspapers published news about buildings constructed in the Ukrainian style,¹⁸⁸ conducted a campaign of collecting photos of old Ukrainian buildings,¹⁸⁹ subsequently publishing some of them;¹⁹⁰ they advertised architects working in the Ukrainian style,¹⁹¹ provided their contact details in response to their readers¹⁹² and forwarded the

¹⁸³ Pavlovs'kyi, *Vasyl' Hryhorovych Krychevs'kyi*, 88.

¹⁸⁴ “Pershyi hromads'kyi budynok na ukraiins'kyi zrazok,” *Ridnyi krai* 2 (1907): 12; “Pershyi hromads'kyi budynok v ukraiins'komu styliu,” *Rada* 13 (17 January 1907): 4; “Poltava (ukraiins'kyi arkhitekturnyi styl’),” *Rada* 268 (29 November 1907): 4; “Ukraiins'kyi budynok Poltav's'koho hubern's'koho zemstva,” *Ridnyi krai* 34 (1908): 5. “Ukraiins'kyi budynok poltav's'koho hubern's'koho zemstva,” *Rada* 279 (6 December 1908): 4.

¹⁸⁵ *Ridnyi krai* 27 (1908): 13; *Ridnyi krai* 34 (1908): 5; V. Shcherbakivs'kyi, *Arkhitektura u rizhnykh narodiv i na Ukraini* (Lviv–Kyiv, 1910), 247; *Ridnyi krai* 4–5 (1910–1911); *Ridnyi krai* 6 (1910–1911): 4–5.

¹⁸⁶ “Pershi budynky Kyieva v ukraiins'komu styli,” *Rada* 146 (28 June 1909): 2; E.S., “Poklyk do ukraiins'kykh arkhitektoryv,” *Rada* 144 (26 June 1910): 1–2.

¹⁸⁷ *Rada* 66 (21 March 1909): 3.

¹⁸⁸ Hr. K., “Pershyi budynok v ukraiins'komu styli na Chernihivshchyni,” *Rada* 236 (19 October 1910): 1; M. Miller, “Budynok u Kharkovi v ukraiins'komu styli,” *Rada* 44 (24 February 1911): 1; “Budynky v ukraiins'komu styli v Katerynoslavi,” *Rada* 134 (15 June 1911): 2; “Ukraiins'kyi styl’ u Kharkovi,” *Rada* 179 (5 August 1912): 3; K. L., “Proekt novoho budynku v ukraiins'komu styli,” *Rada* 189 (20 August 1913): 3.

¹⁸⁹ *Snip* 10 (1912): 8; *Snip* 17 (1912): 8; *Maiak* 13 (1913): 7.

¹⁹⁰ V.K., “Shkola imeni Serhiiia Hrushevs'koho,” *Rada* 239 (23 October 1911): 3; *Maiak* 10 (1913): 4; *Maiak* 13 (1913): 7; *Maiak* 17 (1913): 5; *Maiak* 25–26 (1914): 7.

¹⁹¹ *Slobozhanshchyna* 1 (25 March 1906): 1; *Rada* 236 (16 October 1908): 1; *Rada* 237 (17 October 1908): 1; *Rada* 98 (1 May 1911): 1; *Iliustrovana Ukraina* 10 (1 June 1914): 1.

¹⁹² “Lystuvannia redaktsii,” *Rada* 88 (20 April 1911): 4; “Lystuvannia redaktsii,” *Rada* 126 (1 June 1908): 4; “Lystuvannia redaktsii,” *Rada* 78 (5 April 1912): 4.

letters of their readers to these architects,¹⁹³ they also discussed¹⁹⁴ and gave advice on relevant literature,¹⁹⁵ which had started to appear since 1907.¹⁹⁶ Simultaneously, lectures about the Ukrainian architectural style were conducted in Kyiv,¹⁹⁷ Moscow,¹⁹⁸ and St. Petersburg.¹⁹⁹ In 1913 a special exhibition of Ukrainian architectural art was organised in Kharkiv,²⁰⁰ and in 1912–1914 three exhibitions of Ukrainian architectural style were organised by the Ukrainian student society at the St. Petersburg Institute of Civil Engineers.²⁰¹

As with other aspects of the Ukrainian national movement, its artistic component also did not evolve outside the international context and thus was influenced by the neighbouring examples. For instance, in 1910 Vadym Shcherbakivsky advised Ukrainians to follow the Polish example, when “every young couple before getting married, first composes a plan of how to furnish the house so that it would be in the Zakopane style,” and recommended the publishing of a special illustrated journal

¹⁹³ *Rada* 27 (4 February 1911): 4; *Rada* 46 (26 February 1911): 5; “Lystuvannia redaktsii,” *Rada* 99 (1 May 1911): 4.

¹⁹⁴ M. Miller, “Vidrodzhennia ukraiins’koho natsional’noho mystetstva,” *Rada* 86 (17 April 1911): 2; A. Novitskii, “Po povodu stat’i ‘Ukrainskii arkhitekturnyi stil’ (Iz pisem v redaktsiiu),” *Ukrainskaia zhizn’* 9 (1912): 71–72; V. Hrebeniak, “Hr. Kovalenko, Pro ukraiins’kyi styl’ i ukraiins’ku khatu. Kyiv, 1912,” *ZNTSh* 114 (1913); D. Antonovych, “Kharakter doslidiv nad ukraiins’kym arkhitekturnym stylem,” *Dzvin* 2 (1913): 481–486; M. P-s’kyi, “Ukraiins’ke mystetstvo v 1913 r.,” *Rada* 4 (5 January 1914): 2; M. P-s’kyi, “Iskusstvo iuzhnoi Rossii’ (№№4–5, 6, 7–8),” *Rada* 26 (1 February 1914): 3.

¹⁹⁵ “Lystuvannia redaktsii,” *Rada* 253 (10 November 1907): 4; “Lystuvannia redaktsii,” *Rada* 33 (9 February 1908): 4.

¹⁹⁶ “Pershi budynky v Kyievi v ukraiins’komu styli,” *Rada* 146 (28 June 1909): 2; “Pro ukraiins’ku arkhitekturu,” *Rada* 279 (9 December 1910): 2; Shcherbakivs’kyi, *Arkhitektura*, 207–252; V.K., “Shkola imeni Serhiia Hrushevs’koho,” *Rada* 239 (23 October 1911): 3; Avar, “Z nahody ukraiins’koiu artystychnoiu vystavy,” *Rada* 279 (11 December 1911): 4; Hr. Kovalenko, *Pro ukraiins’kyi styl’ i ukraiins’ku khatu* (Kyiv, 1912); A.L., *Ukrainskii arkhitekturnyi stil’* (Moskva, 1912); Mykola Shumyts’kyi, *Ukraiins’kyi arkhitekturnyi styl’* (Kyiv, 1914); Vol. Hrebeniak, “Zi zmahan’ do stvorennia ukraiins’koho arkhitekturnoho styliu,” *Iliustrovana Ukraina* 10 (1 June 1914): .

¹⁹⁷ R., “Ukraiins’kyi styl’ u mynulomu i suchasnomu,” *Rada* 94 (25 April 1911): 2–3; *Iliustrovana Ukraina* 3 (1 February 1913): 10–11.

¹⁹⁸ Ie. S-k, “Pro domo sua,” *Snip* 2 (1912): 8.

¹⁹⁹ RZ, “Ukrainskoe zodchestvo na V-m vserossiiskom s’iezde zodchikh,” *Ukrainskaia zhizn’* 1 (1914): 105.

²⁰⁰ “Ukraiins’ka arkhitekturna vystavka u Kharkovi,” *Rada* 7 (9 January 1913): 3; M. K-yi, “Persha vystavka ukraiins’koho budivnytstva,” *Rada* 29 (5 February 1913): 2.

²⁰¹ *Snip* 13 (1912): 4; *Ukraiins’kyi student* 3 (1914): 91.

where one would find examples of “a pure style.”²⁰² A year later he repeated the same reference to the Zakopane style in *Rada*.²⁰³

As a result of this campaign, numerous buildings in the Ukrainian style slowly started to appear throughout “Ukraine”: zemstvo museums, scientific laboratories, hospitals, churches, exhibition pavilions, ambulance stations, private and apartment houses appeared not only in Poltava, Lviv, Kharkiv, Kyiv, but also in Katerynoslav, Chernihiv and Odessa (Figures 7.6, 7.10, 7.12). In 1910, when new plans for the railways on “Ukrainian land” appeared, one of *Rada*’s authors suggested they should build railway stations in the Ukrainian style: “Thus this art would immediately come out into the wider world, drawing the attention of a huge number of people who will travel that line both from the nearest and distant lands.”²⁰⁴ For the moment I have not found information as to what happened to this project but in 1911 *Rada* announced that the Black Sea – Kuban railway planned to build all its stations in Ukrainian style.²⁰⁵

It seems that the main project related to Ukrainianising space through architecture was the construction of schools. Built in the Ukrainian style as “an organic part of nature,” they had to Ukrainianise their pupils by their outward appearance.²⁰⁶

Every really living people’s school has to become a stylish school: everything which surrounds a pupil when he approaches a school and enters it, timidly grabbing his mama’s hand – everything has to remind him neatly who he is, whose parents. [...] Our enemies have not yet paid attention to this side of the question and we have to use it at the first opportunity wherever possible. The decoration of school houses using the traditional geometric forms of our architecture and ornaments is a serious matter because a school, which is unkind inside, becomes even more disgusting for a pupil when its outside appearance is too “formal,” that is too “rational” and indifferent to any beauty.²⁰⁷

²⁰² Shcherbakivs’kyi, *Arkhitektura*, 251.

²⁰³ V.K., “Pro potrebu styliu v domashniomu zhytti,” *Rada* 213 (22 September 1911): 2.

²⁰⁴ L.P., “Do uvahy ukraiins’kym budivnychym,” *Ridnyi krai* 37 (1910): 9. Similar call was published by *Rada*: Kh. Iakusha, “Blyz’ki maibutni novyny v ukraiins’kim budivnytstvi,” *Rada* 153 (8 July 1910): 1.

²⁰⁵ *Rada* 138 (19 June 1911): 3.

²⁰⁶ D. PISOCHYNETS’, “Ukraiins’kyi styl’,” *Rada* 183 (14 August 1910): 2; Ol. Nazariiv, “Ukraiins’kyi natsional’nyi arkhitekturnyi rukh,” *Iliustrovana Ukraina* 2 (1 February 1914): 35.

²⁰⁷ Ie. S-k, “Do styl’noi narodnoi shkoly,” *Snip* 15 (1912): 6.

The first school in the Ukrainian style, with hexagonal windows and majolica decorations, was built in Poltava in 1903–1905. Within a few years one Ukrainian activist, Hr. Kovalenko, suggested to David Margolin that he should build his school for the children of workers at his steamship company in the Ukrainian style.²⁰⁸ Schools in the Ukrainian style subsequently were built in Kuban,²⁰⁹ the Kharkiv gubernia,²¹⁰ Kyiv²¹¹ and Kharkiv.²¹² The main endeavour was undertaken in the Lokhvytsia district of the Poltava gubernia,²¹³ where in 1910–1914 the local zemstvo commissioned schools for classes 1, 2, 3, 4 from the already mentioned Opanas Slastion. Out of ninety-eight schools which were to be built thirty were finished by 1914. All of them had large hexagonal windows to light the rooms and some towers as decorations (Figures 7.13). Calls to spread information about these schools²¹⁴ and pictures of Slastion's projects were published in *Iliustrovana Ukraina*.²¹⁵ Inspired by this example, in 1913 Kaniv district zemstvo decided to build all the schools of 1914 in the Ukrainian style.²¹⁶

²⁰⁸ Hr. Siohobochnyi, "Druhyi bik spravy (do uvahy D.S. Marholina)," *Rada* 100 (1 May 1908): 3.

²⁰⁹ "Z Kubani. Shkola v ukraiins'komu styli," *Rada* 272 (2 December 1911): 3; "Shkola v ukraiins'komu styli," *Svitlo* 4 (1911): 67.

²¹⁰ "Shkola v ukraiins'komu styli," *Svitlo* 6 (1914): 69; *Rada* 41 (19 February 1914): 3; *Rada* 41 (19 February 1914): 3.

²¹¹ *Rada* 118 (22 May 1908): 3.

²¹² "Konkurs na pomeshkannia dlia khudozhn'oii shkoly v ukraiins'komu styli," *Rada* 149 (3 July 1911): 4; K. B-l, "Konkurs na budynok v ukraiins'komu styli," *Rada* 150 (5 July 1911): 2; D. PISOCHYNETS', "Konkurs na fasad khudozhnioii shkoly v Kharkovi," *Rada* 224 (6 October 1911): 2; Ievhen Ma-lyk, "Konkurs na fasad khudozhnioii shkoly v Kharkovi," *Rada* 224 (6 October 1911): 2; D.P., "Ukraiins'kyi styl' (lyst z Kharkova)," *Rada* 250 (5 November 1911): 2; "V spravi fasadu budynka Kharkivs'koi khudozhnioii shkoly," *Snip* 17 (1912): 5; Ie. S-k, "Ukraiins'kyi styl' u Kharkovi," *Snip* 29–30 (1912): 14; "Ukrainskii stil' i khar'kovskaia дума," *Ukrainskaia zhizn'* 5 (1912): 86.

²¹³ *Selo* 47 (1910): 3; "Z hazet i zhurnaliv," *Rada* 176 (5 August 1910): 2; "Ukraiins'kyi budivnychyi konkurs," *Ridnyi krai* 1 (1910–1911): 27–28; "Shkil'nyi budynok v ukraiins'komu styli," *Rada* 182 (12 August 1911): 4; "Shkola v ukraiins'komu styli," *Rada* 201 (18 August 1911); H.N., "Narodni shkoly v ukraiins'komu styliu," *Rada* 207 (14 September 1911): 1–2; "Shkoly v ukraiins'komu styliu," *Svitlo* 9 (1912): 86; "Shkoly v ukraiins'komu styliu," *Svitlo* 1 (1913): 59; *Maiak* 35 (1913): 14.

²¹⁴ Iv. Horizdra, "Dbaimo pro ukraiins'ke budivnytstvo," *Maiak* 13 (1913): 10.

²¹⁵ *Iliustrovana Ukraina* 2 (1 February 1914): 31–35.

²¹⁶ "Ukraiins'kyi styl'," *Rada* 255 (7 November 1913): 2.

It is noteworthy that the Ministry of Education supported this project and secured 200 roubles of support for each school built in such a style.²¹⁷ It was not the state, but local Little Russians who were the major opponents of this project. In 1909 a correspondent of *Kievlianin* described

an extremely ugly building of the Kotliarevski school. It is built in the allegedly “Ukrainian” style. Excursionists were racking their brains trying by collective efforts to define what was peculiarly “Ukrainian” in the “style” of that building? Finally, one of them found it: – Look, gentlemen, ... absolutely all windows are situated at different distances from one another. Inasmuch as this “style” does not have any more peculiarities, we have to assume that this is the essence of “the Ukrainian style.”²¹⁸

After a while the participants went to see the building of the Poltava zemstvo, appreciated by Nicholas II: “This is a huge and rather a nice house, built also supposedly in the nonexistent “Ukrainian” style. There is absolutely nothing “Ukrainian” in the style of this building either.”²¹⁹

Still, nationally engaged Ukrainian artists not only tried to cover the Ukrainian territory with Ukrainian buildings, they also tried to represent it on canvas and here I would like to touch upon the question of the presentation of typical Ukrainian space in painting. According to Daniel Cosgrove, human perception of nature is not direct and unmediated; it is not “natural” and thus must be understood as a product of culture and history.²²⁰ Thus, in my opinion, the question of Ukrainian landscape painting needs further research and further contextualisation as contemporary Ukrainian authors take their heroes for granted and do not connect the Ukrainian national movement with Ukrainian artists of the time.

²¹⁷ “Bor’ba s ukrainskim stilem,” *Ukrainskaia zhizn’* 9 (1912): 75-76; “Shkoly v ukraiins’komu styliu,” *Svitlo* 3 (1912): 86–87.

²¹⁸ Uchastnik ekskursii, “Poezdka na pole Poltavskoi bitvy,” *Kievlianin* 149 (1909): 2.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Quoted from Ely, 9.

At the end of the century there existed wide agreement of to what was meant under the term “Ukrainian landscape.” The nineteenth-century image of Ukraine remained strikingly the same for competing Russian, Polish and Ukrainian visions of it as a space of constant birdsong, magnificent carpet of steppes, heavenly and idyllic cherry garden buried in blossom, the cockchafer’s rumbling and nightingale song.²²¹ The famous unfinished project of Taras Shevchenko (1844) and its sequel by Lev Zhemchuzhnikov (1861) were even called “Picturesque Ukraine.” In his diary Shevchenko put it in the following way:

Independent of this profound politics, the Great Russian people have some inborn antipathy towards greenery, towards this lively, shining riza of smiling mother-nature. A Great Russian village is, as Gogol said, a heaped pile of logs with black holes instead of windows, eternal mud, eternal winter! Nowhere will one see a green twig, and to its sides impenetrable forests turn green, and a village as if on purpose cut down to the big road from the shadow of this impenetrable garden, stretched itself into two rows along the road, built coaching inns, and a chapel with a tavern some distance away, and it does not need anything else. Its incomprehensible antipathy to the charms of nature... In Little Russia everything is completely different. Here a village and even a town cover their white and friendly huts with the shade of cherry gardens. Here poor peasants cloak themselves with splendid, always smiling nature and sing their melancholic, sincere songs with a hope for a better life. O, my poor, my beautiful, my darling fatherland! When will I breath your crisp, sweet air?²²²

Even in the beginning of the century, in 1908, Petro Haienko repeated the same description in his verse “There is my country,” which depicted Ukraine as “a wide steppe, cherry gardens, poor huts, the deep Dnipro, tender flowers, sound of songs and of kobza, green and luxuriant forest.”²²³

Some typical examples of this image were created by Josef Chelmoński, Nikolai Dubovskoi or Mykola Pymonenko. The most famous painting of this kind was “The Ukrainian night” by Arkhip Kuindzhi (1876), which until the end of the century

²²¹ N. Shugurov, “Andriolli i Mateiko kak avtory risunkov i kartin iz malorusskogo byta,” *KS* 1 (1894): 106; Vasyl’ko, “Krai, gde vse obil’iem dyshit...,” *Rada* 264 (18 November 1908): 2; *Shevchenkove sviato, 1861–1911* (Kamianets’-Podil’s’kyi, 1911), 51.

²²² Taras Shevchenko, *Zhurnal* (Kiev, 1954), 62. Even though Shevchenko did not paint any Ukrainian landscape, he reaffirmed the above-described image of Ukraine in his poetry: Volodymyr Vynnychenko, “Henii Ukrainy,” *Dzvin* 3 (1914): 118.

²²³ *Moloda Ukraina* 3 (1908): 7–8. In 1912 similar description was made by Havrylo Levchenko in his “Kazka zhyttia,” *Maiak* 1 (1912): 4.

“made everyone bored with its numerous reproductions,”²²⁴ but nevertheless struck Ukrainophiles with its beauty. Ivan Trush recalled the impression which it made on one of the leading Kyivan Ukrainophiles, Pavlo Zhytetsky: “The Dnipro, the moon, a garden somewhere near Kyiv! What luxury! Zhytetsky was peering at the landscape for a long time, was admiring, remembering, dreaming, felt relieved – then a turn of the head and darkness. He was carried unconscious out of the gallery.”²²⁵

Ukrainian artists of the end of the nineteenth century were encouraged to paint this landscape²²⁶ so that it would be hanging on the walls of all Ukrainians instead of the Russian lubok²²⁷ or pictures of Ukraine by Russian²²⁸ or Little Russian painters.²²⁹ As one *Rada* author put it, “Ukrainian painters should not forget that our nation is absolutely nationally unconscious and that is why they are obliged not only to develop the artistic taste of the Ukrainians, but also to awaken their patriotism and develop a national consciousness.”²³⁰ Ukrainian art was to become available in cheap reproductions,²³¹ and the Ukrainians were encouraged to buy it.²³² Thus postcards and reproductions with “Ukrainian” views were advertised,²³³ some “Ukrainian landscape” decorated the walls of the Ukrainian club in Kyiv,²³⁴ in 1898 the Club of Ukrainian

²²⁴ M. Zhuchenko, “Ukrainskii narod,” *Rada* 121 (31 May 1914): 2.

²²⁵ I. Trush, “Dva typy,” *Rada* 151 (6 July 1911): 2.

²²⁶ P. Perekyd’ko, “Po maliars’kykh vystavakh u Moskvii,” *LVN* 22 (1903): 210–212; M. M., “Vystavy kartyn S. Vasyl’kivs’koho,” *LVN* 13 (1901): 146. The same ideas were expressed by P. Perekyd’ko, “Po maliars’kykh vystavakh u Moskvii,” *LVN* 22 (1903): 210–212; M. Voronyi, “Serhii Vasyl’kivs’kyi (artyst-maliar),” *LVN* 22 (1903): 20; “Z hazet ta zhurnaliv,” *Rada* 290 (29 December 1907): 2.

²²⁷ “Lubochnye kartinki na malorusskie temy,” *KS* 12 (1890): 503; O. Katrenko, “Iz zapysok ukrains’koho narodoliubtsia,” *LVN* 14 (1901): 141–142; “Narodnye kartinki na temy iz ukraiinskoi zhizni,” *KS* 2 (1906): 23; *Ridnyi krai* 32 (1908): 12; O. Novyts’kyi, *Taras Shevchenko iak maliar* (Lviv–Moskva, 1914), 31–32.

²²⁸ B.K., “Pro potrebu styliu v domashniomu zhytti,” *Rada* 213 (22 September 1911): 2.

²²⁹ *Rada* 48 (27 February 1913): 2; M. Iakymovets’kyi, “Pro M. Pymonenka i B. Lazarevs’koho,” *Rada* 81 (7 April 1913): 3.

²³⁰ “Z hazet ta zhurnaliv,” *Rada* 245 (26 October 1908): 2.

²³¹ “Lystovni kartky z maliunkamy Fotiia Krasys’koho,” *Rada* 261 (14 November 1908): 3; *Ridnyi krai* 32 (1908): 12. Another one was complaining for the absence of someone like Ukrainian Pavel Tretiakov: N. Sh., “Kartyny iz malorusskogo byta na kievskikh vystavakh,” *KS* 3 (1894): 542–543.

²³² M. Hrushevs’kyi, “Druha vystava obraziv Iv. Trusha,” *LVN* 15 (1901): 111.

²³³ *Rada* 20 (25 January 1909): 4; *Rada* 123 (2 June 1909): 4; *Maiak* 11 (1914): 15.

²³⁴ “Z zhyttia ukraiins’koho klubu v Kyivi za pershyi misiats’,” *Rada* 251 (2 November 1908).

Artists was created in St. Petersburg with the financial help of Chykalenko,²³⁵ and in 1904 the Society of Adherents of Ukrainian Science, Literature and Art appeared in Lviv; in 1911–1913 three exhibitions of Ukrainian artists were organised in Kyiv and Poltava. Describing the second exhibition of 1913, one *Rada* author criticised the participants because their landscapes were too pale, their grey sky was “not Ukrainian,” they did not paint “the steppe’s black earth, floods, clear or even grey sky, autumn, spring, Galicia, Podillia and Volhynia with their beautiful nature, ship pines, the Dnister and the Buh, old castles and picturesque spurs of the Carpathians – all this material, rich in beauty, was not used by these Ukrainian landscape painters, just as they have not used other Ukrainian motifs. [...] They need to have a more serious attitude towards their national obligations because during the exhibitions like this they manifest not so much themselves as the national Ukrainian cause.”²³⁶

The most famous Ukrainian landscape painters of the time, who were most praised for their works, were Mykola Burachek and Serhii Vasylykivsky.²³⁷ Their distinctive features were the abundance of colour and light and air and space in their pictures.²³⁸ As one reviewer wrote about Vasylykivsky,

Here we saw almost normal decorative colouring, but not similar to that seen in other countries. Petersburg, the Baltics, Warsaw, Crimea and Western Europe do not have such colourings. This is exclusively a colouring of Ukraine. Look closely at it, remember when you were in the steppes, amidst the broad Ukrainian steppes, or even amidst grain fields...: the same evening heat and the same light azure and the same playful and charming clouds.²³⁹

However, the problem was that, on the one hand, exactly the same pictures were almost for half of a century considered as portraying a Russian or Polish national

²³⁵ Mykola Lysenko *u spohadakh suchasnykiv*. Vol. 1 (Kyiv, 2003): 214.

²³⁶ K. L-o, “Vystavka kartyn ukrains’kykh khudozhnykiv u Kyivi,” *Rada* 191 (22 August 1913): 3.

²³⁷ Dmytro Antonovych, “Ukrains’ka artystychna vystava u Poltavi,” *Dzvin* 3 (1914): 49–51.

²³⁸ D. Evarnitskii, “Po povodu kartiny khudozhnika S.I. Vasil’kovskogo,” *KS* 1 (1886): 184; Hnat Hotkevych, “Zemskii dom’ u Poltavi,” *Artystychnyi visnyk* 9–10 (1905): 144; K. Slipko-Moskal’tsev, *S. Vasylykivs’kyi* (Kharkiv, 1930), 35; O. Nikolaev, *Serhii Vasylykivs’kyi* (Kharkiv, 1927), 16.

²³⁹ E. S-k, “Kharkivs’ki vystavy kartyn,” *Slobozhanshchyna* 1 (25 March 1906): 2.

landscape (cf. figures 7.14–7.15 with 7.16–7.17). According to Christopher Ely, it was with Nikolai Gogol that the idea of a distinctive Ukrainian landscape started to become problematic. “Unlike some authors, like Ukrainian Somov, who incorporated ‘Little Russia’ into Great Russia as a part of the same national territory, Gogol described Ukraine as a self-contained space in opposition to Russia; Ukraine possessed a distinctive and more satisfying beauty.”²⁴⁰ After Ely, “Gogol’s dizzy celebration of Ukrainian nationality ironically helped build the myth of ‘a broad Russian soul’ [...] Although the ground of *Taras Bulba* was explicitly Ukrainian [...] this was an innovative approach to landscape description that would soon be applied to images of Great Russian landscape, and the notion of boundless and freedom inspiring terrain would soon become a hallmark of Russian territory as well.”²⁴¹

On the other hand, even some Ukrainian intellectuals criticised Ukrainian artists for their excess of ethnographism²⁴² and for not paying attention to “the new landscape of the nineteenth century: a landscape of steam engines, automatic factories, railroads, vast new industrial zones” (according to Marshall Berman):

When everywhere people are interested in the novelties, we have old times. The poetry of cultured people describes delicate feelings, beautiful forms, bright as living silver, and ours old matter: Sich, Cossack, girl in a wreath and with buckets and in old-fashioned clothes. While science leads to inventions, we sing about the seventeenth century; people have electricity, steam and various Zeppelins – we have an oil lamp, pack animals and a bone-winged bat. In a word, we dawdle with bucolic *paysans*, with graves, with Arcadian Oksanky and various ichthyosaurs of patriotism somewhere behind all life; wander the old paths through the old field and sow old seeds into the modern soil, which resolutely demands changes in the system of the cultural household.²⁴³

Until 1914 no attempt was made to solve this dilemma and present the Ukrainian national landscape in some different way than Russian or Polish artists were, or in a new

²⁴⁰ Ely, 91.

²⁴¹ Ibid, 94.

²⁴² V. Kopyr’, “Ukraiins’ka artystychna vystavka,” *Rada* 6 (8 January 1912): 2; Slipko-Moskal’tsev, *S. Vasyl’kivs’kyi*, 26–35.

²⁴³ M. Shapoval, “Novyny nashoi literatury,” *LNV* 7 (1910): 135.

way by leaving behind the traditional peasant image of it. On the eve of the First World War Ukrainian landscape remained one of huts and rural steppes.

At the end of this chapter, I would like to argue that art in its different manifestations was an important tool in the dissemination of the idea of territorial Ukraine. First, one could signify this territory as Ukrainian with the help of monuments to Ukrainian activists and buildings in the Ukrainian style. As Vadym Shcherbakivsky put it in 1913, “despite tearing Ukrainian territory apart, despite different political conditions of life, the Ukrainian nation managed to preserve its common nature across the length and breadth of its large territory.”²⁴⁴ However, its representation in landscape painting remained the same as in the middle of the nineteenth century in its subject matter; only artists’ technique changed. Ukrainian space was presented as steppe with beautiful villages in picturesque ravines under a blue sky, and contrary to architecture which started to symbolise cities as Ukrainian, Ukrainian painters started to appropriate urban space only in the 1920s.

²⁴⁴ Vadym Shcherbakivs’kyi, *Ukrains’ke mystetstvo* (Lviv, 1913), xvii.

Figure 7.1. Taras Shevchenko's grave near Kaniv

Source: Mykola Arkas, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusi* (Krakiv, 1912), 406.



Figure 7.2. Fotii Krasysky, *Prokydaite's'!*
[Wake up!]

Source: *Shershen* '8 (1906): 4.



Figure 7.3. Monument to Bogdan Khmelnitski in Kiev, 1888

Source: <http://past.kiev.ua/261-улиця-владимирская-и-памятник-богдан/>



Figure 7.4. Monument to Ivan Kotliarevski in Poltava, 1903

Source: Mykola Arkas, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusi* (Krakiv, 1912), 399.



Figure 7.5. Opanas Slastion, *Zhertvuite na pamiatnyk T. Shevshenkovi u Kyivi* (Poltava, 1908) (postcard)
[Donate for Shevchenko's memorial in Kyiv]

Source: V. Iatsiuk, *Shevchenkiivs'ka lystivka iak pamiatka istoriit ta kul'tury, 1890–1940* (Kyiv: Krynytsia, 2008), 356.



Figure 7.6. Map of buildings in the Ukrainian architectural modern style before 1917

Source: Viktor Chepelyk, *Ukrainiins'kyi arkhitekturnyi modern* (Kyiv, 2000), 18.

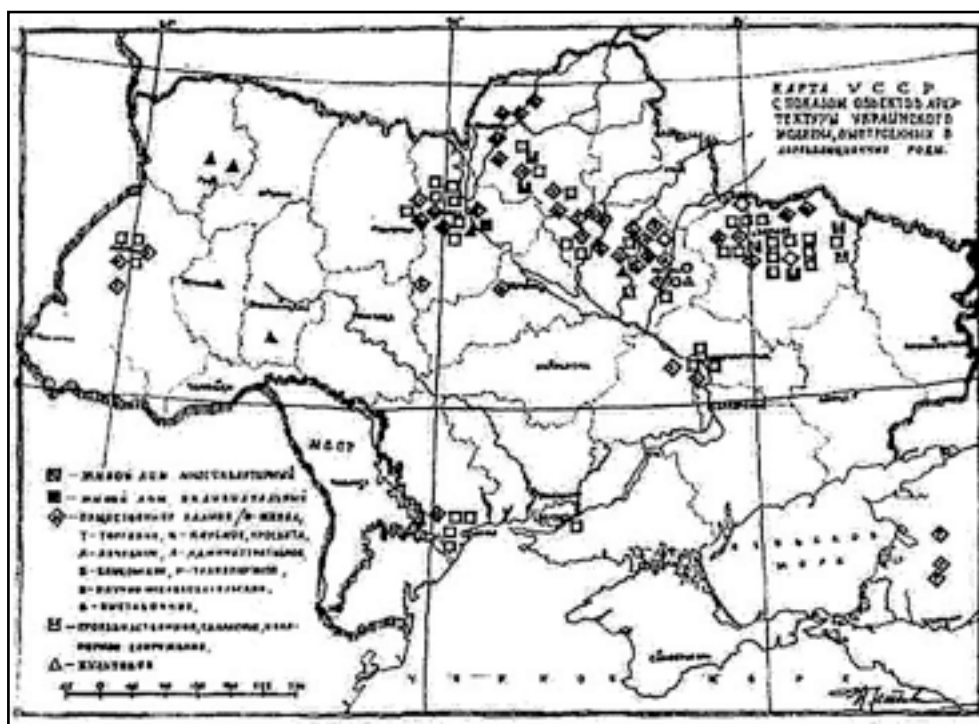


Figure 7.7. Galagan's house, 1850s.

Source: Valentyna Ruban-Kravchenko, *Krychevs'ki i ukrains'ka khudozhnia kul'tura 20 stolittia: Vasyl' Krychevs'kyi* (Kyiv: Krynytsia, 2004), 107.



Figure 7.8. Vasyl Krychevsky, House of the Poltava gubernial zemstvo, 1903–1907

Source: Vadym Pavlovs'kyi, *Vasyl' Hryhorovych Krychevs'kyi* (New York, 1974).



Figure 7.9. Vasyl Krychevsky, House of the Poltava gubernial zemstvo, main entrance

Source: Vadym Pavlovs'kyi, *Vasyl' Hryhorovych Krychev's'kyi* (New York, 1974).

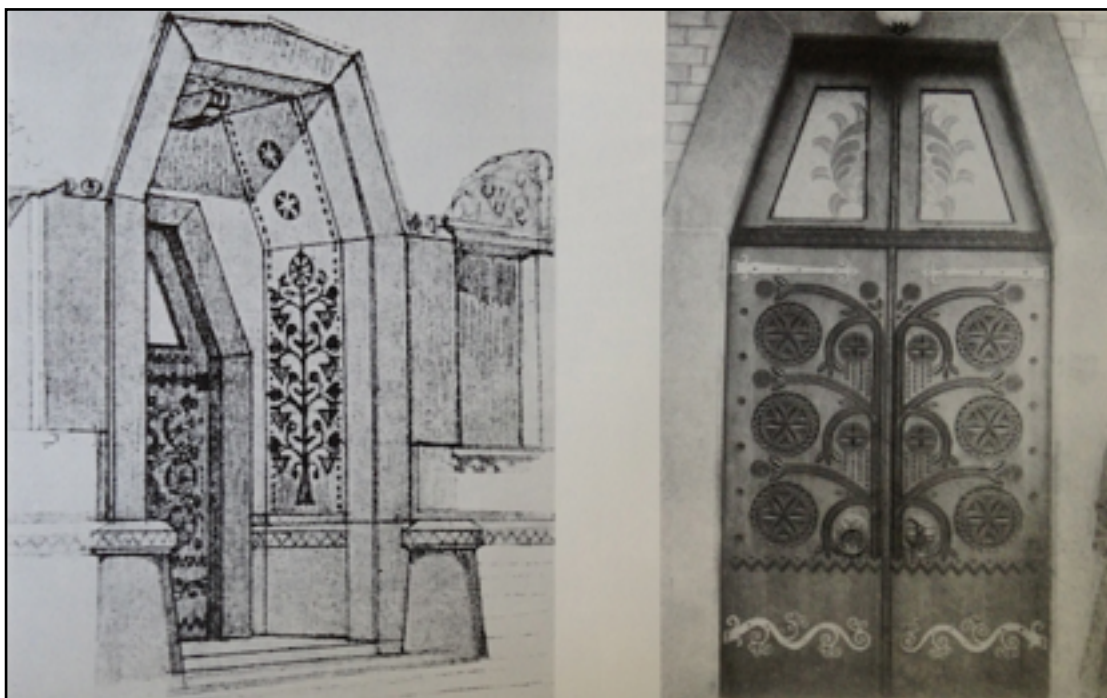


Figure 7.10. Vasyl Krychevsky, House of the Poltava gubernial zemstvo, main stairs

Source: Vadym Pavlovs'kyi, *Vasyl' Hryhorovych Krychev's'kyi* (New York, 1974)



Figure 7.11. Serhii Tymoshenko, Railway station in Katerynodar (Kuban), 1911–1912

Source: Viktor Chepelyk, *Ukraiins'kyi arkhitekturnyi modern* (Kyiv, 2000), 140.

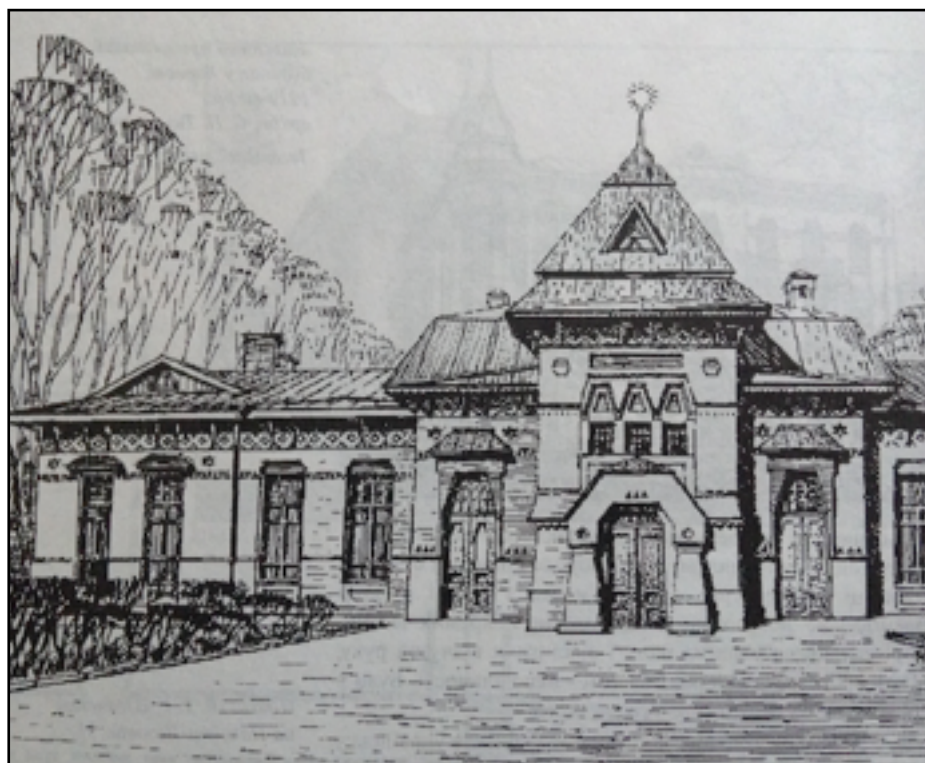


Figure 7.12. Volodymyr Khrennikov, Apartment house in Katerynoslav, 1909–1913.

Source: Chepelyk, 199.



Figure 7.13a: Opanas Slastion, Projects of people's schools in the Ukrainian style

Source: *Iliustrovana Ukraina* 2 (1 February 1914): 31.



Figure 7.13b: Opanas Slastion, Projects of people's schools in the Ukrainian style

Source: *Iliustrovana Ukraina* 2 (1 February 1914): 32.



Figure 7.13c. Opanas Slastion, Projects of people's schools in the Ukrainian style

Source: *Iliustrovana Ukraina* (1 February 1914): 33.



Figure 7.13d. Opanas Slastion, Projects of people's schools in the Ukrainian style

Source: *Iliustrovana Ukraina* 2 (1 February 1914): 35.



Figure 7.14. Nikolai Dubovskoi, *Fatherland* (1905)

Source:

http://www.artussia.ru/russian/artists/bio.php?rarity=1&about_p=1&pic_id=426&foa=f&list=1



Figure 7.15. Józef Chelmoński, *Landscape from Podolia* (1910)

Source: <http://www.polski.pro/photo/20-0-1033-3>



Figure 7.16. Petro Levchenko, *In Ukraine* (1907)

Source: Zoriana Lyl'io-Otkovych, *Ukraiins'kyi peizazhnyi zhyvopys 19 – pochatku 20 stolittia* (Kyiv, 2007), 48.



Figure 7.17. Serhii Vasylykivs'kyi, *Chumak Romodan Road* (1910)

Source: Lyl'io-Otkovych, 41.



Chapter 8. Teaching the nation: The idea of Ukrainian national geographical knowledge

As is the teacher – so will the children be,
As are the children – so will the nation be!
Volodymyr Shukhevych, 1893

Where do we live? What is the name of the land where we live?
Lev Iurkevych, *Zamist' mahnativ*, 1912

Our neighbours – the Poles – have left us far behind; their journals for the youth are widely sold. We predominantly think that children will grow up and understand everything on their own. But is not a proverb “it is much better to bend an oak when it is young” right?
Dmytro Doroshenko, 1914.

As I already mentioned education is considered one of the most crucial tools for internalising one's cognitive maps.¹ Teaching children their national geography helps nation builders to overcome total ignorance of future citizens about what and where their fatherland is. Ukrainian intellectuals of the nineteenth century were keenly aware of this at least since the 1860s, when they became active members of the Sunday schools movement in Kiev. Geography was one of the subjects taught there, and its Ukrainian textbook was discussed.² Nothing came out of this project and soon the public sphere was closed for the Ukrainians, but as I mentioned previously, it developed in Galicia. In December 1868, the first national pedagogical society *Prosvita* [Enlightenment] was created there (and in 1874 – its rival Moscowphile “Kachkovski's Society”) and closer to the turn of the century numerous pedagogical journals accompanied it.³

As I mentioned before, there was no Ukrainian Ministry of Education in either Empires. In the Romanov Empire this sphere stayed under a strict control of the central government, which stipulated it to be clear of any Ukrainianness. According to the

¹ Downs and Stea, 25.

² Sofiia Rusova, “Dumky Drahomanova pro osvitu,” *Svitlo* 4 (1910): 32.

³ “Dom i shkola,” “Shkola,” “Uchytel’,” “Hazeta shkol’na,” “Narodna shkola,” “Shkol’na chasopys,” “Promin’,” “Prapor,” “Ukraiins’kyi uchytel’.”

Ems decree the Ministry of Public Education was ordered “1) to strengthen the control exercised by the local educational authorities so as not to allow in elementary schools any instruction in the Little Russian dialect, regardless of the subject; 2) to purge the libraries of all elementary and middle schools in the Little Russian gubernias of books and booklets prohibited by the second paragraph of the present project.”⁴

After the reemergence of the Ukrainian public sphere in the Russian Empire, one of its most persistent demands in 1905–1914 was to nationalise the existing school system. Ukrainian national activists felt that the sphere of education was one of the most responsible for denationalising Ukraine and turning “Ukrainians” into “Little Russians”:

They call themselves “also Little Russians” and consider dumplings and lard as their most precious sacred object – ordinary lard, which is ripped off the spines of most ordinary pigs. As children they are normal. But later these children are being looked after by their fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, teachers and policemen, and all those whose lives are the sour cream collecting on the surface of the nation, setting the tone of life, establishing customs, and keeping dumplings and lard as a shrine for their souls. Ordinary salted pig lard. Poor children of the world! To make their ears deaf to all the sounds of the world, their teachers glue them with pieces of old Ukrainian lard; to stop them from seeing what happens on earth and up above, they stick lard in their eyes. This way is better, they say.⁵

Even though the main Ukrainian demand was to introduce the Ukrainian language as the language of instruction “for the Ukrainian population on the territory of the Ukrainian nation,”⁶ one of the side requests was related to introducing national geography into the curriculums of school institutions on Ukrainian territory.⁷ In the end this could “make a pupil accustomed to look at Ukraine not only as something real, but even native, make him consider himself not an orphan, a non-national crea-

⁴ Miller, *The Ukrainian question*, 268.

⁵ M. Cherniavs'kyi, “Poet ukraiins'kyi,” *Rada* 118 (22 May 1908): 2.

⁶ Borys Hrinchenko, “Iakoi nam treba shkoly,” *Hromads'ka dumka* 6 (6 January 1906): 3; *Nasha shkola* (1909): 2–3; Ia. Z-kevych, “Gruntovni pryntsyipy normal'noi shkoly,” *Svitlo* 1 (1911): 3–7.

⁷ Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, “Ukraiins'ki kafedry,” *Hromads'ka dumka* 23 (4 February 1906): 1–2; S. Rusova, “Sovremennye shkol'nye nuzhdy v Ukraine,” *Ukrainskii vestnik* 2 (1906): 116; S. Iefremov, “Vony ne prosiat’,” *Svitlo* 4 (1911): 23; S. Tyt-ko, “Novi stezhky do ridnoi osvity,” *Svitlo* 1 (1912): 52.

ture, but a member of a particular national community.”⁸ What was meant by that and what was waiting for the Ukrainian children otherwise was demonstrated by two publications of 1910 and 1912. The first one was a story by Ivan Dobrovolsky, who published his conversation with some random, supposedly “Ukrainian,” children, which took place some time after the Russian-Japanese war. He asked them if they heard anything about Ukraine and Ukrainian nation, and one of the children replied that Ukraine was “Japan” and Ukrainians were “Japanese.” Dobrovolsky denied an anecdotal nature of his story:

Someone will tell that this is an accident, but, alas, almost the same accident happened to me in five schools in a row, and I am sure that it would rather be an accident, if the children knew of Ukraine. After I asked pupils what people we were and what the name of our country was, boys answered that we were Russian Christians, and in the end that “Little Russians”, and our country is called Russia, Europe, Kyiv gubernia and even “Little Russia.” One had to see their surprise when they heard that they themselves were Ukrainians, who lived in Ukraine. [...] Will our children, and maybe their parents, consider Ukraine an *Aponia*?⁹

Another publication appeared in the major Ukrainian pedagogical journal *Svitlo*. It was a story of a confused Volhynian pupil (Volhynia was the most backward region in the opinion of Ukrainians), fond of studying a geographical map of Russia, who nevertheless could not understand what the country where he lived was:

– In the genuine Little Russia, around Poltava, people say – *kazhu, robyt’, buriaky, bytymu*, but not *rrobyt, burraky, budu byty* and...
 – And in our genuine Little Russia, – Ladyk tried to argue...
 – Where do you have the genuine Little Russia here? You are all *psheliaks* here: *pshe, pshe, pshe, pshe*...
 – And you are – serfs!
 – What?
 – Serfs... All the Poltavans are serfs. [...]
 On the next day the friends made peace, but the quarrel about where the “genuine Little Russia” was, around Poltava or here, became an eternal thorn between them. [...] For Ladyk this was a great and unexpected grief. [...] Where do we live? What is the name of the land where we live? And Ladyk unfolded the map of Russia:
 – This is Great Russia, right? The geography textbook says that it is. And this is White Russia, is it not? Not only the geography textbook, but Pavlusha Levytsky, the Russian language teacher’s brother, a born Whiterussian, testifies that this is indeed White Russia. Is this New Russia? And this – Poltava, Chernihiv and Kharkiv gubernias, or Little Russia?
 – This is it indeed, – says confidently Petrus’, – our Poltava region.
 – And what about these: Kyiv, Podillia, Volhynia?
 – The Poles.

⁸ Hryhorii Nash, “Idim hoch manivtsiamy,” *Svitlo* 5 (1911): 59.

⁹ Ivan Lastivka, “Selians’ki shkoliari i ukraiins’ka mova,” *Rada* 73 (31 March 1910): 2.

– You are lying, this is where Poland is: above the Vistula.

– Still Poles...

Who knows what these explorations of the map of the Russian Empire would end like, if a fourth-grader did not enter the discussion, a silent Vas'ka Bilevsky:

– Fools, why do you wrangle? Ask Rafalovych, he will find it out for you.

But they decided not to address the teacher, so that he would not shout. And at this moment the overseer entered the “study.” Ivashchenko asked him. Looking at one, then at the other, the overseer turned to the doors, saw someone’s hood lying on the floor, shook his head, and already touching the handle said:

– The South-Western region!

– Indeed, – Ivashchenko dared again, – but ... by its population?

– Russian...

– Yes, but Ievgenii Nikolaievich, a Little Russian, or not?

– Yes, a peasant.

And he left the study. Petrus’ was grinning:

– It appears that not me, but you, Charnetsky, are a peasant! And your whole region is not Little Russian, but the South ... how is it ... the South-Western, peasant. [...]

Even Foka Makarovych could not explain the truth to Ladyk... But he stood for the “Ekaterinoslavl’ gubernia.”

– This is an authentic Little Russia! My brother serves in cavalry there. Oh, there, my brother told me, it existed ... in its genuine condition: and what about here? There’s nothing here...

All this disappointed and irritated Ladyk: how is it possible? Which language does the father speak? And aunt Hlasha, aunt Mania... all peasants, Jews... which language do they speak? [...]

Eh, to hell with it! It is better not even to think about it. [...] Meanwhile Foka Makarovych betrayed even the Katerynoslav region:

– Leave it, Palladii Mykolaiovych, that Little Russia of yours, seriously, leave it... Why do you need it! If the overseer or an inspector hears about it, there might be a trouble. And I will get into it. Because you know that Little Russia is not allowed and full stop!

– But why, Foka Makarovych?

– Not allowed. In Kyiv they imprison for it. Have not you heard?

– But what for?

– Because we have one state – Russia, and nothing more! Excuse me, I have to go to the chancellery, read something here...

– Grandpa, are you a Cossack?

– Me?

– Yes.

– Yes, a Cossack.

– Of Chernihiv gubernia?

– Of Chernihiv gubernia, Oster *v'iezd*, sloboda Tetervanivka, drafted in Nizhyn.

– A Little Russian Cossack?

– What?

– A Little Russian.

– I would not know... in the letter of enfranchisement I am called a Cossack from the Chernihiv gubernia Cossacks, and what is it and why is it so... A Christian and that is it! That is a Jew, and that is a Christian: here it is the same.¹⁰

In the end, Ladyk started to draw Little Russians not having found any remedy to his worries. However, this long quote is rather telling about the problem encountered by the Ukrainian national activists in teaching thousands of confused children like Ladyk what and where their homeland was: a space on both banks of the Dnipro River, not Russian (note how the official names of “Ekaterinoslavl’” and “the South-Western region” were mocked above), not Polish, but Ukrainian.

¹⁰ Iurii Stryzhavs'kyi, “Zamist' mahnativ (uryvok z povisti),” *Svitlo* 5 (1912): 36–48.

The only discordant note in the quote above seems to be with the name, about which young Ladyk persistently asked everyone around him: “Little Russia.” As I showed previously, the Ukrainian activists actively challenged it in all of their publications, including pedagogical journals as well. In Galician pedagogical journals the “name problem” was discussed at least since the 1890s, when one of the major Ukrainian pedagogical journals, *Uchytel* [A Teacher], published a statement that “the name of ‘Little’ Rus’ is historically wrong and inaccurate, it was related exclusively to the Galician-Volodymyr kingdom. [...] Rus’ is an ancient Kyivan name. [...] Only after joining Muscovy was Ukraine Rus’ called Little and Muscovy – Great. The name of ‘Ukraine’ is also an ancient one, historical, and is attributed in the chronicle not only to the Dnipro Ukraine, but partly to Galicia. The names Ukraine-Rus’, Ukrainian-Rus’ are the best to remove inaccuracy and confusion; they were used already by M. Shashkevych.”¹¹ In twenty years another Galician journal addressed this problem again, although this time it dedicated the whole editorial to it. Its author argued that the confusion in national names was a symbol of Ukrainian national immaturity and a proof of the unfinished character of the modern Ukrainian nation-building process. Correcting this “minus,” which “put us behind cultural nations of Europe,” was the task of the Ukrainian national school. According to the author, the provincial “Ruthenian” terminology was unsuitable and harmful because 9/10 of Ukrainians lived outside Austro-Hungary: “If we want to be one nation with one language then we have to use only one national name. To make it happen we have once and for all to introduce one common national term: ‘Ukraine,’ ‘Ukrainian’ to the school and government, leaving the old one what it is – a historical term.”¹² Despite the geographical over-

¹¹ “Ohliad ukraiins’ko-rus’koi literatury,” *Uchytel*’ (1892): 71.

¹² *Nasha shkola* 4–5 (1913): 195.

tones of “Ukraine,” it was better for it was different from Rus’ used “by our enemy” and on the other hand it was over-confessional and not tied to any particular religion, Orthodox or Greek Catholic:

Considering all of this we want [...] *to accelerate* the present process of change of our national name in such a way that we will remove the old name from that domain, where it is still anachronistically used, namely from school and government, and will substitute it with a newer one, which prevailed exclusively among the Russian Ukrainians and has a huge majority behind it among the conscious part of Ukrainian population in Austria. [...] And there is no doubt that if we ourselves in private and public life do not use any other name except for *ukrainets*’, *ukraiins’kyi*, then the authorities, legislative and executive, will sanction this state of affairs below. [...] **Considering all of this we allow ourselves to appeal to all our teachers, starting from the coming school year, to constantly and exclusively use the terms *ukrainets*’, *ukraiins’kyi* verbally and in writing.** [highlighted by the author – AK]¹³

Thus I would assume that in the lengthy quote above about Ladyk the text could have been changed by the censor: while the manuscript must have had “Ukraine” someone could have changed it to “Little Russia” before the publication.

Geography was one of the most suitable subjects to complete the task of teaching Ukrainian children what and where their fatherland was. As the editor of *Uchytel*, Ivan Iushchyshyn, wrote in one of his texts: “Geography plays the same role in the upbringing of youth, as poetry, singing and art. It teaches to know one’s native land, and together with it – to love it sincerely. [...] And to teach someone to love one’s land by geography one has to be good at two things: 1) to write a good and entertaining geography; 2) to teach it in the same way.”¹⁴

A bit later Sofia Rusova echoed Iushchyshyn by stipulating that

for us, Ukrainians, teachers and all conscious activists the geography of Ukraine has a special meaning for the strengthening of our political consciousness. [...] Our first duty is to find out where our territory is, what the constitution of our land is, what people – on the side of anthropology – live in this territory, which we until now unconsciously, but so much fervently loved, and which now we must treat completely seriously in order to

¹³ *Nasha shkola* 4–5 (1913): 196–198. The article had an important postscript which stipulated an understanding of the author not to promote anarchistic usage of “Ukrainian.” He stipulated that he does not want to cross out the term *rus’kyi* from history, since “Volodymyr the Great will still be a *rus’kyi* prince, similarly to Marbod – a Germanic one and Charles the Great – a Frankish one, but not German rulers”: Ibid, 198.

¹⁴ Ivan Iushchyshyn, “Opys ridnoho kraiu,” *Uchytel* 9 (1914): 286.

know what our land needs, how to help our people in its immediate economical and cultural demands.¹⁵

There existed no suitable books to perform this task either in Galicia or in the Russian Ukraine.¹⁶ Geography was presented as dry facts and did not pay attention to regional units both in Russia and in Austria.¹⁷ There were also no school maps to be used in teaching. Thus in 1890 *Uchytel* wrote that “libraries for pupils and a map of Rus’ – is for now a minimum of our desires, which can be fulfilled.”¹⁸ In 1893 two university students, Myron Kymakovych and Liubomyr Rozhansky, after the order of Ruthenian pedagogical society for secondary schools, drew the ethnographical map of “Rus’-Ukraine and White Russia” (Figure 8.1). Their map not only depicted Ukrainian national territory, but also contained a small map of Europe with an indication of Ukraine’s place in it. As one of the reviewers wrote, although “this map is published mainly for secondary schools, we do not have a doubt that every patriotic family, every *rusyn* will decorate the walls of their rooms with it.”¹⁹

At the same time, at the end of the 1880s, another Galician educational society, *Prosvita* launched its own major project of creating an all-Ukrainian ethnographical

¹⁵ Sofiia Rusova, *Metodyka pochatkovoi heohrafiï* (Kyiv, 1918), 6.

¹⁶ See the list of books for teaching geography in Galician schools in *Uchytel* 18 (1890): 292; V.D., “Taki buvaiut’ rosiis’ki pidruchnyky dlia shkil,” *LNV* 23 (1903): 226.

¹⁷ A. Krushel’nyts’kyi, “Ukraiins’ki pidruchnyky v serednikh shkolakh u Halychyni,” *Nasha shkola* 3–4 (1909): 90; M. Korduba, “Ukraiins’ki pidruchnyky v serednikh shkolakh na Bukovyni,” *Nasha shkola* 3–4 (1909); “Novyi shkil’nyi zakonoproekt,” *Rada* 193 (26 August 1910): 1; Iur. Siryi, “Pryrodoznavstvo v narodnii shkoli,” *Svitlo* 4 (1911): 29; V. Prokopovich, “Narodnaia shkola i rodnoi iazyk na Ukraine,” *Ukrainskaia zhizn* 3 (1914): 25–26.

¹⁸ “Plan nauky rus’koi movy v himnaziakh,” *Uchytel* 12 (1890): 193.

¹⁹ “Rus’-Ukraiina i Bila Rus’,” *Uchytel* (1893): 109.

map and even invited Drahomanov to draw it.²⁰ The latter willingly agreed, emphasising the “burning need” for such a map, which “would eliminate a glaring unfamiliarity of Galicians with Ukraine and Ukrainians with Galicians and with the Austrian Rus’ in general.”²¹ According to Drahomanov, it had foremost to show ethnographic and state borders, “both in colour,” and to have the largest possible size “to be used in schools on the walls.”²² However, for reasons unknown, this plan did not work out and in 1892 *Prosvita* commissioned a recent university graduate Hryhorii Velychko for the enterprise.²³ After several proof-readings, Velychko’s map was published in 1896 (Figure 8.2). It indeed came out a large one and could be used in classrooms or as a wall decoration. However, it was spread even more widely when in 1897 *Prosvita* published 10,000 copies in a smaller scale, also including it in its annual calendar for 1897 (Figure 8.3).²⁴ It was this map which became one of the sources for the revised editions of Hrushevsky’s geographical introduction to his “History of Ukraine-Rus’” and its short and popular Russian translation.²⁵ Simultaneously, this map became significant for it was widely popularised not only in the Austrian and Russian Ukraine,

²⁰ The story of its creation is best told by Drahomanov himself in his correspondence. See: Mykhailo Drahomanov, *Perepyska z Pavlykom*, Vol. 1 (Lviv, 1901), 79–96, and *Lystuvannia Ivana Franka ta Mykhaila Drahomanova* (Lviv, 2006), 483. Steven Seegel wrongly ascribes the initiative for the appearance of Velychko’s map to Drahomanov himself, who supposedly at that moment was “the editor of *Prosvita*,” for three years from 1889 to 1892 was gathering sources for it, later even planned to send Velychko to study to Vienna to make this map adhere to the highest standards of French and German geography, and in 1893, when the map was complete, according to Seegel it was Drahomanov and Franko, who “fretted about the map’s quality and content. Drahomanov agreed to write an in-house review; the result was a rebuke to Velychko for relying heavily on statistics of Great Russian moskali (Muscovites) that limited Ukrainian presence in the borderlands. What followed was a two-year delay.” After the map was published in 1896, according to Seegel, in 1902 Velychko “published in Ukrainian the data he had collected to the map as *The geography of Ukraine-Rus’*.” Seegel, *Mapping Europe’s borderlands*, 201–202.

²¹ Drahomanov, *Perepyska z Pavlykom*, Vol. 1, 93.

²² *Ibid.*, 87, 94.

²³ *Uchytel* (1892), 374.

²⁴ *Illiustrovanyi kalendar “Prosvity” na 1897 r.* (Lviv, 1897). The map was accompanied by his “Description of Rus’ land,” where Velychko explained that Ruthenians and Ukrainians are the same people, living in different states, and described their borders, mountains, rivers, soil, population, history, and economy.

²⁵ Mykhailo Hrushevs’kyi, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusi*. Vol. 1 (Lviv, 1904), 2; *Idem*, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusi*. Vol. 1 (Kyiv, 1913), 6; Mikhail Grushevskii, *Ocherk istorii ukrainskogo naroda* (St. Petersburg, 1904), 11.

but was also actively promoted abroad. For instance, in 1896–1898 Fedir Vovk actively corresponded with Hrushevsky on the matter of popularising Velychko's map in France,²⁶ and even published it along with his positive review of Velychko's work in the Parisian *Bulletins de la Societe d'Anthropologie* in 1897 (Figure 10.1).²⁷

However, not all Ukrainian activists were satisfied with this map. Whereas some of them criticised its certain peculiarities on the whole agreeing with its publication,²⁸ Drahomanov's antagonist from Kiev, Oleksandr Konysky, published an excessively critical opinion of it. Velychko's map seemed to him too flawed, among other reasons because of its artistic negligence (wrong choice of colour design and its discrepancy with the legend), inconsequency (partly local, partly governmental) and some crude mistakes (*Bedrians'k* instead of *Berdians'k*, *Voronivska* instead of *Voronizhska* gubernia, some strange designation of *Krymska* for Crimea) in toponyms and, it seems, especially for Velychko's term "Little Russian" for the lands on his small hypsometric map and in the eastern half of "Ukraine."²⁹ Nevertheless, as late as 1910 the editor of *Rada* answered the Ukrainian students from Derpt that Velychko's map was the best available map of Ukraine at the moment and informed them about its price and availability for order.³⁰

Apart from the maps, *Prosvita* also initiated an attempt to create the first textbook in Ukrainian geography. In 1902, Velychko tried to complete his map with a textual geographic description of Ukraine-Rus'; however, only 32 pages of it were pub-

²⁶ *Lystuvannia M. Hrushevskoho*. Vol. 2 (Kyiv, 2001), 119, 121–122, 125, 131–132, 151, 154.

²⁷ Th. Volkov, "Carte ethnographique de la nation rutheno-ukrainienne, publiée par la Société de l'Instruction publique ('Prosvita'), à Léopol, 1984," *Bulletins de la Societe d'Anthropologie* 8 (1897): 147–151.

²⁸ Drahomanov, *Perepyska z Pavlykom*, Vol. 1, 95, 96.

²⁹ Oleksandr Konys'kyi, "Narodopysna karta ukraiinsko-rus'koho narodu Hr. Velychka (Lviv, 1896)," *ZNTSh* 16 (1897): 43–45.

³⁰ *Rada* 60 (14 March 1910): 4.

lished and the rest of it was declined after the criticism of Stepan Rudnytsky.³¹ In September 1906, *Prosvita*'s publishing commission devoted special attention to composing a register of topics for popular-scientific books, amongst others – on the geography of Ukraine.³² In 1907, the same commission met again and decided to write a geography textbook with a special chapter on Ukraine.³³ In the next year, Viacheslav Lypynsky published a special article recommending *Prosvita* to use Polish textbooks as examples, in particular recommending the book *Opisanie Królestwa Polskiego* by Paweł Sosnowski (Warsaw, 1901).³⁴ However, as I mentioned previously, *Prosvita* managed to publish only some separate books by Domanytsky on Galicia and Bukovyna and even though in 1909 it asked Domanytsky to write another book, this time on “Ukraine,”³⁵ this project ended with nothing.

Two main volumes which were to teach “Ukrainians” what their fatherland was, appeared only in 1910 and 1911. The first one was published by Stepan Rudnytsky – a recent graduate of the Lviv University, who also studied in Berlin under Albrecht Penck. His book appeared as a part of a series of “Popular library” of the *Lan* publishing house, owned by Hrushevsky's brothers, and was called “A short geography of Ukraine.”³⁶ In his introduction Rudnytsky underlined his desire to write a “new geography, which gives one a chance to describe the territory, occupied by some people, in the same way as some time before was used to describe only the spaces occupied by states.”³⁷ In this particular volume, which was the first part of a planned two-volume work (the second one described as an “anthropogeography” of the area, but it was lost

³¹ Hryhorii Velychko, *Heohrafiia Ukrainy-Rusy* (Lviv, 1902). For the story of Velychko's work on this book see his letters to Hrushevsky: TsDIAK, F. 1235, Op. 1, No. 378: 1–6.

³² *Rada* 9 (24 September 1906): 3; *Rada* 22 (10 October 1906): 2.

³³ “Z kyivs'koi ‘Prosvity’,” *Rada* 83 (8 April 1907): 3.

³⁴ Viacheslav Lypyns'kyi, “Na uvahu nashym vydavnytstvam,” *Rada* 62 (14 March 1908): 2–3.

³⁵ “Z zhyttia ‘Prosvit’,” *Rada* 81 (11 April 1909): 3.

³⁶ Stepan Rudnyts'kyi, *Korotka heohrafiia Ukrainy*. Vol. 1 (Lviv, 1910).

³⁷ *Ibid*, 5–6.

by the publisher and Rudnytsky had to write it again; it was published only in 1914³⁸), the author described the physical geography of the territory occupied by the Ukrainian people:

So I decided in this little book to describe in a short way a space of land, inhabited by the Ukrainian people. There is little consciousness among them, that is why they call their land by different names: Polishchuk – as Polissia, Hutsul – as Verkhovyna, Kharkivets’ – as Slobozhanshchyna and so on. Our fatherland has had many-many local names, but not many people would think that this is all one land, one country – Ukraine. There are many of those who call themselves Little Russians, and their region Little Russia. But this is not our name but a foreign one, and therefore not suitable. In a similar way the name Rus’, Ruthenians is commonly used in Galicia, Bukovyna and Hungarian Rus’. It remained here from the ancient times, but does not suit us either, since it refers to all the three Rus’ people and their lands together – Ukraine, White Russia and Muscovy. We use the names Ukraine, Ukrainian, which were used by our ancestors, who made it a glorious one. We are the Ukrainians. The land, where we live, is called Ukraine, be it under the Russian state, or under Hungary. Although it is divided by the borders, although it is torn into pieces, it is inhabited by one people, with one language, morals and customs.³⁹

As a geographer, Rudnytsky also used scientific arguments to prove that Ukraine constitutes one united whole: “Even among the independent states there are not many similar to Ukraine according to their geographical peculiarities. The Black Sea unity of heights, leaned against the Eastern Carpathians and reaching the Sea of Azov, by its borders almost corresponds to the borders of Ukraine. Rivers also give Ukraine much of its unity, and even more its climate, flora and fauna.”⁴⁰ A diligent student of Hrushevsky, Rudnytsky could not omit a historical passage, noting that the Ukrainian people “sit in this space more than a thousand years, not only having preserved it, but having also enlarged it.”⁴¹ According to Rudnytsky, the Carpathians were its native granite wall (Rudnytsky noted that until recently the Crimean Mountains were foreign to the Ukrainians during the whole of their history), and the Dniπρο had the same sacred meaning for the Ukrainians as the Volga for the Russians, the Rhine for the Germans, and the Vistula for the Poles. This book was accompanied by

³⁸ For the initial project of the book and the story of its publication see Rudnytsky’s letters to Hrushevsky: TsDIAK, F. 1235, Op. 1, No. 724: 1–21.

³⁹ Rudnyts’kyi, *Korotka heohrafiia Ukrainy*. Vol. 1, 6.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 6–7.

⁴¹ Ibid, 7.

the map by Volodymyr Herynovych, which clearly presented the united Ukrainian territory, separated from its neighbours by the red borders (Figure 8.4).

In his attempt to show how Stepan Rudnytsky “contributed to Ukrainian nation-building” Ihor Stebelsky suggested that since the print run of his book was left unknown we could only assume if the book had any impact.⁴² However, in my opinion numerous announcements about the book being published, advertisements and reviews of it and even republication of its pictures in *Selo*⁴³ give one reasons to argue that at least among intellectuals the book was noticed and promoted. One reviewer especially stipulated that this was “the *first* geography of Ukraine. Written with a full knowledge of one’s work, ‘Short geography of Ukraine’ by doctor Rudnytsky can completely satisfy a need of a conscious Ukrainian to know the territory of our own people,”⁴⁴ although for its second edition the reviewer recommended some corrections. It seemed especially important for her to indicate the boundaries of Ukraine more clearly in the text by adding the names of gubernias (or countries) and districts, especially on the border, which are the part of Ukraine, and also those of its neighbours:

When in the geography of some states their borders are described by short and deaf indications to which countries they border in the east, the north, etc., this is not enough for us, since the state borders are fixed and well-known. It is a totally different case when one has to indicate the borders of the territory of some non-state people; in this case this is not enough to say that it borders with the territory of this or that people, but it is needed to name also those units of administrative division which are included into the territory of the indicated people. One has to map these units especially carefully in the borderland, since only then it will be possible to imagine this territory specifically. And this is even more required for the geography of Ukraine, since the borders of the Ukrainian territory are very little known to our citizenry.⁴⁵

⁴² Ihor Stebelsky, “Putting Ukraine on the map: the contribution of Stepan Rudnytsky to Ukrainian nation-building,” *Nationalities Papers* 39 (2011): 595. Stebelsky’s answer is that the book had a “lasting impression,” although he did not substantiate in any way.

⁴³ *Rada* 210 (17 September 1910): 3; *Rada* 216 (24 September 1910): 4; *Selo* 39 (1910): 2, 4; “Karta Ukrainy,” *Selo* 39 (1910): 3; *Selo* 40 (1910): 3, 9; *Selo* 44 (1910): 1.

⁴⁴ Iu. Vichenko, “Stepan Rudnytskyi, Korotka heohrafiia Ukrainy. Lviv, 1910,” *Svitlo* 3 (1910): 72.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 73.

The reviewer also criticised the map by Herynovych for its being the only one in the book, and therefore not able to satisfy all its pedagogical needs: for instance, it showed no separate mountains, no smaller rivers, and also, as the book itself, it did not show the existing administrative division of Ukraine and absolutely did not indicate whom the Ukrainian people border upon: “And without it to remember the borders of the territory of Ukraine would be almost impossible.”⁴⁶ Generally, I would argue that the book by Rudnytsky was so long awaited that its errors were considered unimportant. One reviewer even refused to write about them in his assessment,⁴⁷ and in his review Hrushevsky underlined the most important thing: “Written by the specialist [...] with a full knowledge of his work [...] and still easy to understand, even in a picturesque way, filled with sincere, cordial love to Ukrainian nature and its peculiar beauty, to Ukrainian country and the Ukrainian nation. The author not only wants to get a reader acquainted with his land, but also wants to teach him to love it, see and feel its beauty, its original features, understand its individual physiognomy.”⁴⁸

Another book followed Rudnytsky's in a year, and was written by Sofia Rusova. This one was a world geography and hence advertised, but not as much as Rudnytsky's, and in these texts their authors underlined that a big part of this book described the Russian and Galician Ukraine.⁴⁹ Rusova started from the assertion directed towards the intended peasant audience that everyone knew their village, district and gubernia, but not many “of us” knew all of “our native land, which was called Ukraine, a

⁴⁶ Vichenko, “Stepan Rudnyts'kyi,” 74. The same problem was indicated by some other reviewers: S.Ch., “Stepan Rudnyts'kyi, *Korotka heohrafiia Ukrainy*. Lviv, 1910,” *Rada* 238 (21 September 1910): 2; V. Bilets'kyi, “Stepan Rudnyts'kyi, *Korotka heohrafiia Ukrainy*. Lviv, 1910,” *Nasha shkola* 2–3 (1911): 63–64.

⁴⁷ N-skii, “Stepan Rudnyts'kyi, *Korotka heohrafiia Ukrainy*. Lviv, 1910,” *Ukrains'ka khata* 2 (1911): 135–136.

⁴⁸ Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, “Stepan Rudnyts'kyi, *Korotka heohrafiia Ukrainy*. Lviv, 1910,” *LVN* 10 (1910): 195.

⁴⁹ *Rada* 81 (11 April 1909): 4; *Rada* 25 (1 February 1911): 4; “Novi knyhy,” *Selo* 7 (1911): 8.

land where people spoke Ukrainian, or as some of them said, the Little Russian language everywhere. It was necessary that everyone knew its region, for his land was like a big family, and compatriots were like relatives.”⁵⁰ Even being a world geography her book contained a separate chapter on Ukraine. However, unlike Rudnytsky’s book, the map which accompanied Rusova’s work did not overstep the state border of the Russian Empire and depicted only “the Russian Ukraine” (Rusova redirected those willing to know more about Galicia and Bukovyna to the works by Domanytsky, mentioned above, and added information on the Austrian Ukraine only in the second, 1918 edition of her book). Her main aim was to dissolve the readers’ idea of their villages in the greater picture of vast Ukrainian space: “Here is a map of Ukraine with the most important rivers; Kyiv on it is marked by a small spot, and our village is not depicted at all” (Figure 8.5).⁵¹ Rusova’s work was also lauded by some reviewers as an “excellent book, which, in our opinion, will break the last ice of uncertainty of the inveterate sceptic and will persuade him that all that we need is only a national school, and the textbooks we need will be composed. Therefore, we consider the appearance of such books of this geography also significant socially.”⁵² The reviewer pointed out that this book appeared independently of Rudnytsky’s book, but it might serve as an introduction to it. Its language was considered as popular, understandable even for an uneducated person, which was the requirement [my emphasis – AK].⁵³ And even though Rudnytsky, who slowly became the main Ukrainian geographer, demolished it in his

⁵⁰ Sofiia Rusova, *Pochatkova heohrafiia* (St. Petersburg, 1911), 5.

⁵¹ Ibid, 15.

⁵² N. Buhs’kyi, “S. Rusova. Pochatkova heohrafiia. St. Petersburg, 1911,” *Svitlo* 2 (1911): 69. See another favourable review in Pedahoh, “S. Rusova. Pochatkova heohrafiia. St. Petersburg, 1911,” *Rada* 32 (10 February 1911): 3.

⁵³ Buhsky, “S. Rusova,” 69.

review as an amateur joke especially for its chapter on Ukraine,⁵⁴ both these works were included into the canonical books, which every Ukrainian had to study.⁵⁵

Almost simultaneously with the geography textbooks, the first Ukrainian school geographical atlas appeared in 1912. It was produced by Myron Korduba and it received positive reviews immediately: “One lacks words to express a burning need in it.”⁵⁶ Nevertheless, it was criticised from the pedagogical point of view for the lack of cartographical site maps: those which are to teach a pupil to draw and read a map. It was also criticised for the lack of colour depiction of different regions inside the Habsburg Monarchy.⁵⁷ However, one of the main achievements of this atlas was the inclusion of the geographical map of Ukraine: “This is the first atlas in the world which shows Ukraine in its ethnographical borders,” although at the same time reviewers pointed out that the ethnographical borders of Ukraine were not visible and that it would be better to mark it in a continuous dark purple colour⁵⁸ (Figure 8.6).

Having the above mentioned maps and books at one’s disposal one could start to teach Ukrainian geography to students, although this was possible only in the Austrian Ukraine. The first geography class in the Ukrainian language by Stepan Rudnytsky took place in the Lviv University in 1908 and attracted numerous students.⁵⁹ In Bukovyna, the pedagogical society “Ruthenian talk” conducted its own systematic

⁵⁴ Rudnyts’kyi, “S. Rusova. Pochatkova heohrafiia. St. Peterburg, 1911,” *Nasha shkola* 4 (1911): 91–96.

⁵⁵ O. Smereka, “Iakykh nam treba knykh,” *Rada* 247 (2 November 1911): 1; F. Sliusar, “Ohliad shkilnykh pidruchnykh,” *Svitlo* 2 (1911): 41–42; S. Rusova, “Shkil’ni ekskursiï i iikh znachinnia,” *Svitlo* 8 (1911): 32; Ia. Chepiga, “Ukraiïnskaia pedagogicheskaia literatura,” *Ukraiïnskaia zhizn’* 5 (1912): 116; D. Pischynets, “Narodni chytannia ukraiïns’koiu movoiu,” *Svitlo* 6 (1912): 12–13; *Ukraiïns’kyi student* 1 (1913): 26.

⁵⁶ M. Iushchyn, “M. Korduba. Heohrafichnyi atlas. Kolomyia, 1912,” *Uchytel’* 7 (1913): 221–222.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid. In his own review Rudnytsky added that the borders of Ukraine were too cut in the west and in the east, Right Bank highland was in the Polish way called “Ukrainian” whereas there were many Ukrainian highlands; Russian and Polish names for some cities (Tarnopol, Kishiniov, Argeiov, Bel’tsy, Lebedin and Alioshki); its was also too expensive and not worth its price: Stepan Rudnyts’kyi, “M. Korduba, Heohrafichnyi atlas. Kolomyia,” *Nasha shkola* 4–5 (1912): 64–66.

⁵⁹ “Z Halychyny,” *Rada* 232 (11 October 1908): 3.

course for the Bukovynians in 1910–1912 with geography as one of its subjects.⁶⁰ In Galicia, the Society of Petro Mohyla started its own popular-scientific course in 1911 and “The Ukrainian land and people” was one of the subjects, taught by the same Rudnytsky (Figure 8.7).⁶¹ In the Russian Ukraine, Kyivan *Prosvita* worked out a course of lectures of Ukrainian studies and geography was one of its topics, but it seems that it did not take place.⁶²

Another strategy to make children know their fatherland was to make them travel between its different parts. In 1909, *Uchytel* published a long article urging Ukrainian teachers to pay utmost attention to this question. It stated that “to love a fatherland one had to know it.” Thus one had to make national tourism as available for Ukrainian youth as possible and take care of appropriate roads and paths, guides and hotels. On the one hand, Ukrainian pupils could get acquainted with diverse Ukrainian nature; on the other hand, meeting locals they could bring them Ukrainian consciousness; third, encountering already nationalised locals they could nationalise themselves.⁶³

In 1912, Sofia Rusova especially stressed the importance of national travel, referring to Jean Jacques Rousseau:

To develop his conscience further, Jean Jacques studied the benefit of different travels, during which his pupil would study a new foreign life, comparing it with his native. Generally, Rousseau, as we have seen, was not interested in any special education of his pupil and set a general humanistic aim for himself; this is why he did not stop at the national way of upbringing. But from one of his works we can realise that he treated it with sympathy and in his own way very real: “I want that there would not be a sea, a river, a well in the area, which a boy would not know, that he knew all birds in the sky, all trees, bushes and valleys on earth! [...] I want that every young Pole, who starts to learn how to read, reads his folk writings; that turning ten years old he knew all of them; that turning

⁶⁰ *Rada* 10 (14 January 1910): 3; “Tretii kurs vyshchoii narodnoi osvity im. prof. d-ra Stefana Smal'-Stots'koho,” *Rada* 17 (21 January 1912): 3. Interestingly, the idea of such a course was based on contemporary Danish and Scandinavian courses for peasants: *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Rada* 249 (4 November 1911): 3; *Rada* 188 (18 August 1912); “Ukrainskie vysshie narodnye kursy,” *Ukrainskaia zhizn'* 10 (1912): 98; “Kursy vyshchoii osvity u L'vovi,” *Rada* 9 (11 January 1913): 3; *Iliustrovana Ukraina* 7 (12 April 1913): 12, 13; *Rada* 255 (7 November 1913): 3.

⁶² “Do prosvitnikh zahodiv,” *Rada* 213 (18 September 1908): 1.

⁶³ A. Alys'kevych, “Vid liubovi ridnoi storony do liubovi vitchyny,” *Uchytel'* 8–9 (1909): 120.

twelve years old he knew all the countries of his land, all the ways, all towns; that when fifteen he knew the history of his own land well, and when sixteen he knew all its laws; that there would not exist any glorious event, any famous person in the whole of Poland that he had not taken into his mind and his heart.”⁶⁴

Her reference to the European authority and experience was not the only one of its kind.⁶⁵ However, the calls to conduct national trips could also have been inspired by the similar efforts in the Romanov Empire. Although cries of intellectuals about “Russia is not known to us” were voiced there for a long time,⁶⁶ only in the beginning of the twentieth century was the Russian public heard by the Ministry of Education. In 1900 it issued the first circular, according to which summer vacations of pupils were cancelled and school’s pedagogical councils were recommended to organise educational excursions and trips for pupils instead.⁶⁷ Furthermore, it lobbied for special railway tariffs for all students leaving for such educational trips: since March 1902, all Russian railways provided all groups of excursionists with cheaper tickets in the third class carriages.⁶⁸ This opportunity was immediately used by the teachers of Russian gymnasia. Their usual points of destination were Crimea, Kiev, the Dnepr, the Caucasus and the Volga. Kiev was considered to be a sacred city of Russia, which had the same meaning for “a Russian as Jerusalem for a Jew and Mecca for an Orthodox Muslim. Hundreds of thousands of pilgrims gather in Kiev from the most remote corners

⁶⁴ Sofiia Rusova, “Zhan Zhak Russo,” *Svitlo* 1 (1912): 25–33.

⁶⁵ Another references to Europe see in: S. Volokh, “Vony znaiut’ svii ridnyi kraj,” *Rada* 267 (21 November 1908): 3; Sofiia Rusova, “Narodna pochatkova shkola v Bel’hiu,” *Svitlo* 1 (1910): 33–35; Sofiia Rusova, “Shkil’ni ekskursii i ikh znachinnia,” *Svitlo* 8 (1911): 29; I. Kryp’iakevych, “Nahliadnist’ pry nautsi heohrafiu,” *Nasha shkola* 2–3 (1911): 54; Ivan Kazanivs’kyi, “Znachinie naukovykh prohuliok dlia molodizhi, a zokrema dlia uchyteliv shkil narodnykh,” *Uchytel* 10 (1912): 267–271.

⁶⁶ V., “Reka Vaga,” *Ekonomicheskii ukazatel* 76 (1958): 543.

⁶⁷ Dolzhenko, *Istoriia turizma*, 51.

⁶⁸ Tim. Buniakin, “Uchenicheskie poezdki i puteshestviia s obrazovatel’noi tsel’iu,” *Russkii turist* 4 (1901): 103–104; Tim. Buniakin, “O shkol’nykh puteshestviiakh i obrazovatel’nykh ekskursiiakh,” *Russkii turist* 5 (1901): 135–136; “K voprosu ob obshcheobrazovatel’nykh ekskursiiakh v srednei shkole,” *Russkii turist* 6 (1901): 175–178; “Uchenicheskie ekskursii i obrazovatel’nye progulki,” *Russkii turist* 9 (1901): 275–279.

of our fatherland to worship its shrines.”⁶⁹ Therefore, in 1901 Kiev became a destination for the pupils of a school from the Vasilkov district,⁷⁰ in 1902 for the pupils of Ananiev gymnasium⁷¹ and in 1903 for the pupils of the First Vilna gymnasium.⁷²

In their attempts to nationalise school, the Ukrainian activists tried to make use of this opportunity. Excursions for schoolchildren and their importance were discussed in the journal *Svitlo*. Its main contributor was Sofia Rusova, who considered excursions the best method of teaching⁷³ and suggested that Ukrainians should create a special tourist society in Kyiv which could facilitate the organisation of excursions all over Ukraine.⁷⁴ Another author of *Svitlo* further emphasised this aspect in almost Karl Deutsch’s words almost half a century before him:

Every citizen has to love its fatherland, its native land. [...] It is possible to love only those, who we know through the external feelings (eyesight, hearing, etc.), or whom we imagine in mind: one cannot love those whom he never heard, never saw, or what he cannot imagine himself even in ones thoughts (or dreams). One cannot see the whole fatherland in its integrity; via external feelings we can only know some small bits of it. But knowing these bits well we, with the help of our *creativity*, can imagine it as a whole [...] when in ones head there is no material, or very little of it, or it lies there as some heap, where one cannot find anything, there is nothing to do with it. The same happens when a child knows any corner or some bits of its native land, it can imagine the whole native land from this material; and the more of these bits there are, the better he knows them, the more integral image of a native land will be easier, truthfully and better created in his thoughts; and the more pleasant impressions are left of these bits, the deeper and stronger love will it feel towards the native land. Vice versa: if a child did not see not only steppe, or forest, or mountains, or sea, but even a small forest, garden, vegetable garden, then in the child’s head there can not exist any image of a native land; a native land will remain an empty sound for him, and he will try to create a feeling of love in its soul towards this sound in vain.⁷⁵

Consequently, in the same issue *Svitlo* informed its readers about the current tariffs and discounts for pupils’ travels,⁷⁶ and in one of the issues of *Uchytel* of the same year

⁶⁹ I. Shtivelman and M. Kiselev, *Illustrirovannyi putevoditel’ po g. Kievu i kievskoi vystavke 1913 g.* (Kiev, 1913), 9. This topos was repeated in numerous other books. See, for instance: I. Boguslavski, *Ves’ Kiev v miniatiure* (Kiev, 1912), 11–12; E. Gorchakova, *Kiev* (Moskva, 1885), 142–143; *Kiev, ego sviatyni i dostoprimechatel’nosti* (Odessa, 1904), 5; G. Naumovskii, *Illustrirovannyi putevoditel’ po g. Kievu* (Kiev, 1914), 5–6; M. Trifonov, *Putevoditel’ po gorodu Kievu* (Kiev, 1914), 1.

⁷⁰ “Po belu svetu,” *Russkii turist* 5 (1901): 144–145.

⁷¹ I. Verevskii, *Ekskursiia uchenikov mladshikh klassov Ananievskoi gimnasii* (Odessa, 1903).

⁷² *Ekskursii uchenikov Vilenskoi pervoi gimnasii v 1902 godu* (Vilna, 1903).

⁷³ Sofia Rusova, “Ideini pidvalyny shkoly,” *Svitlo* 8 (1913): 37.

⁷⁴ Sofia Rusova, “Shkil’ni ekskursiit i ikh znachinnia,” *Svitlo* 8 (1911): 33.

⁷⁵ D. Zbir, “Pro vykhovannia liubovi do ridnoho kraiu,” *Svitlo* 2 (1912): 9–12.

⁷⁶ “Shkil’na khronika,” *Svitlo* 2 (1912): 9, 71.

Ivan Kazanivsky underlined this information about discounts for those Galicians willing to visit the Russian Ukraine.⁷⁷

How successful were these calls? Did anyone travel according to the programs designed by Rusova and Prokopovych?⁷⁸ It is complicated to answer this question. In 1906, *Hromads'ka dumka* published two stories – one about pupils from Kaniv visiting the grave of Shevchenko⁷⁹ and one of a village school from the Vasylkiv district going to Kyiv.⁸⁰ In 1908, *Rada* mentioned some pupils who came to Kyiv from the Poltava gubernia,⁸¹ and in 1911 it published a detailed account of Bukovynian seminarists visiting the Russian Ukraine.⁸² But generally, it does not seem that any intensive activity started and many pupils travelled around Ukraine, not even mentioning Galicia.

However, there was one more strategy to make children not only aware of Galicia and local Ukrainian life, but even turn them into “the conscious” Ukrainians. This was the idea of sending children from the Russian Ukraine to study in the Austrian Ukraine. In 1901, Iulian Bachynsky tried to persuade Hrushevsky that a stipend fund of Shevchenko Scientific Society for students ready to study medicine abroad and come back to the Lviv University as teachers “**now** does not make sense. To give money for medical studies for future professors in the future Ukrainian university [...]

⁷⁷ Ivan Kazanivskyi, “Znachynie naukovykh prohuliok dlia molodizhi, a zokrema dlia uchyteliv shkil narodnykh,” *Uchytel* 10 (1912): 267–271.

⁷⁸ Rusova suggested to centre on the Dnipro and the Kyiv region, then visit Kaniv, Cherkasy, Kremenchuk, the rapids, Khortytsia and all the places related to the Cossacks: Rusova, *Shkil'ni ekskursionsii*, 25–32. In Prokopovych's opinion, one also had to start in Kyiv, but then go to Chernihiv with Tarnovsky's museum, then go to Katerynoslav and the rapids, after go to Poltava and end in Kaniv. He also mentioned the desire of organising inter-imperial trips to Galicia: S. Volokh, “Vony znaiut' svii ridnyi krai,” *Rada* 267 (21 November 1908): 3.

⁷⁹ Tarakhan-Bereza, 240.

⁸⁰ *Hromads'ka dumka* 79 (8 April 1906): 4.

⁸¹ “Ekskursanty seliany,” *Rada* 138 (17 June 1908): 2.

⁸² “Ekskursanty z Bukovyny,” *Rada* 150 (5 July 1911): 2; *Rada* 156 (12 July 1911): 3; “Z Poltavshchyny. Bukovyns'ki hosti v Poltavi,” *Rada* 157 (13 July 1911); “Bukovyns'ki hosti v Manuilivs'kii ‘Prosviti’,” *Rada* 161 (19 July 1911): 4.

is at least uneconomical, [...] and even more uneconomical if that money could be used much more successfully for the tasks which now are more urgent and important.”⁸³ Instead he suggested they should handle that money **“for the Ukrainian students from Russia willing to study the Ukrainian movement and life in Galicia** [highlighted by the author – AK].”

Dear Professor! Would it not be more useful and successful for the Ukrainian idea and affairs – especially in Russia? Is it not more urgent? One cannot stand it any more – that indolence and hopelessness of the Ukrainian community in Russia and its unskillfulness in propagating the Ukrainian idea in the Russian Ukraine. And one cannot help it in other way – texts, letters, newspapers will not help, but only a chance for those people to see in their own living eyes how this idea lives, grows and strengthens there, abroad, in Galicia, if they do not watch closely all those organisational, propaganda and agitational work which is conducted by the youth in Galicia and will not become sure in the strength of that idea. Then they would understand this idea better, would become more sure in it and more inspired by it, and after coming back to Russia they would start to work with more power and confidence than before. [...] And would it not be possible to make those “Southerners” interested in the Galician movement, tie them to Galicia and show that the Ukrainian idea is not that dead and unattractive, and not necessarily everything the most reactionary and most obscure hides under the name of “Ukrainian,” and that the Ukrainian movement can also be a renovating power, which does not necessarily have to strengthen Russia’s fetters, but on the contrary breaks those fetters. [...] This is why, Mr. Professor, I suggest that those stipend funds for further medical studies abroad for future candidates for medical chairs with Ukrainian as teaching language in Lviv should be aimed for Ukrainian students from Russia to study Ukrainian life and movement in Galicia.⁸⁴

This idea could may have been borrowed from other contemporary national movements. Four years prior to Bachynsky, Ivan Franko wrote about a Romanian seminary in Leipzig, which was “established to encourage studies in Romanian history, language and literature,” and asked rhetorically: “What does united Ukraine do to support at least that weak light of scientific work which started to glow around us after sixty years of our ‘revival’? [...] Is it not possible to find a pan-Ukrainian scientific seminary in Lviv to send young scholars from Ukraine there either for studies, or at least for finishing their studies?”⁸⁵

⁸³ Ihor Hyrych and Olha Todiichuk, “Lysty ukrainiis’kykh sotsial-demokrativ do Mykhaila Hrushevs’koho,” *UAShch* 11/12 (2004): 641.

⁸⁴ Ibid, 641–642.

⁸⁵ Ivan Franko, “Z novym rokom,” *Zhytie i slovo* 1 (1897): 6.

Something similar to these projects was realised in 1904, when the Shevchenko Scientific Society conducted the first (and only) pan-Ukrainian summer school in Lviv for the university students. The decision to organise it was made in June 1904 after the suggestion from Ievhen Chykalenko who also provided it with his financial backing.⁸⁶ The main aim of the school was “to allow our compatriots from Russia, absolutely deprived of national school, to take systematic courses in the most important social sciences in the Ukrainian-Rus’ language.”⁸⁷ Thus Hrushevsky himself lectured on the history of Ukraine, Franko – on Ukrainian literature, Vovk – on archeology and anthropology, Hankevych – on the history of revolutionary movements in Western Europe, Rudnytsky – on the geography of Ukraine and Tomashivsky – on Hungarian Rus’.⁸⁸ The school lasted for twenty-five teaching days from 10 June to 9 July (90 teaching hours) and was attended by 135 students, the majority of whom still came from Galicia (Figure 8.8).⁸⁹

However, the school ended in a rather disappointing way. While during the first two weeks the majority of students still attended classes, during the last two weeks not more than a third of them made it for lectures.⁹⁰ As one of the participants from the Russian Ukraine, Dmytro Doroshenko, remembered later, “the majority of the courses were scientific, and we wanted politics. [...] Somehow we started to look at Galicians as some backward ‘*burzhui*,’ and instead of looking closely at achievements of

⁸⁶ *Ukraiins’ko-rus’ki naukovi kursy vakatsiini 1904 r.* (Lviv, 1904), 3, 12; O. Kupchynsky, “Statut i protokoly zasidan’ tovarystva prykhyl’nykh ukrains’koi literatury, nauky i shtuky u L’vovi,” *ZNTSh* 227 (1994): 401–402. Altogether the participants paid 345 crowns, the rest, 1213,4 crowns, was paid by Chykalenko.

⁸⁷ *Ukraiins’ko-rus’ki naukovi kursy vakatsiini 1904 r.* (Lviv, 1904), 6.

⁸⁸ Inna Zabolotna, “Spohady Ivana Krypiakevycha,” *UASHch* 15 (2010): 483; Ivan Krypiakevych, “Ukraiins’ki naukovi kursy u L’vovi 1904 r.,” *Dilo* 143 (29 June 1929).

⁸⁹ *Ukraiins’ko-rus’ki naukovi kursy*, 14; Dmytro Doroshenko, *Moi spohady pro davnie mynule* (Winnipeg, 1949), 51–60. Hrushevsky still thought the number of participants as large considering all the difficulties they had to overcome to get to Lviv: *Ukraiins’ko-rus’ki naukovi kursy*, 14.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 6–7.

cultural-national movement in Galicia we gathered into a closed group of emigrants and local socialists, thinking of the rest of Ukrainians as in Russia we thought of ‘a bourgeois society,’ expanding this concept too much.”⁹¹ Doroshenko (as some of the school’s Galician students) found the majority of lectures uninspiring and even though Hrushevsky was rather positive about their outcome and called to continue this project,⁹² such a school was never held again (maybe because of Chykalenko’s financial troubles and the lack of other sponsors).

Still, Ukrainian intellectuals endorsed all endeavours of sending Ukrainian youth to study in Galicia. For instance, in 1906 Oleksandr Rusov suggested that *Prosvita* should create a special scholarship fund for the Russian Ukrainians willing to become teachers in the future, to allow them to study in Galicia.⁹³ On the other hand, students could organise themselves. For instance, in 1912 several newspapers published a call of a group of Kyivan Polytechnical students to join them on a trip to Galicia.⁹⁴ This news immediately reached Galicia and student society of the local Polytechnic school organised a special tourist committee which took care of all the logistics for Kyivan students. According to a later report of one of the participants, during the four weeks of their trip they visited Lviv, Peremyshl, Drohobych, Boryslav and other smaller towns and villages. Apart from a stronger national consciousness of Galicians, they were impressed by

the sincere love towards us and our Ukraine in every word to us, in every deed. [...] It was clear that the border, in fact, could not divide our people, could not destroy a feeling of unity in our hearts. We felt ourselves completely among ours, completely at home, and not in the foreign land, not abroad, and a hope for a better future grabs a soul with a great power. Thus to assist this unity is a duty – and we have to say, a very pleasant duty, – of every Ukrainian citizen. Such trips as ours are aimed at unity and acquaintance with life

⁹¹ D.D., “Z nedavn’oho mynuloho. Spomyny pro litni naukovi kursy u L’vovi 1904 roku,” *Ukrains’kyi student* 3 (1914): 51–53.

⁹² *Ukrains’ko-rus’ki naukovi kursy*, 15

⁹³ TsDIAK, F. 1235, Op. 1, No. 726: 300ob.

⁹⁴ “Mandrivka po Halychyni,” *Rada* 76 (3 April 1912): 3; “Mandrivka po Halychyni,” *Snip* 16 (1912): 5.

of our foreign brothers; they have to be held every year, and, of course, have to be mutual both on our side and on the side of Ukrainians-Galicians and Bukovynians.⁹⁵

The only pity Shumytsky felt was related to the number of participants: only six students from Kyiv, Kharkiv and St. Petersburg decided to go. Maybe, such small number of participants in this first trip explains that a similar endeavour was undertaken only in 1914 when *Ukraiins'kyi student* published a rather gloomy announcement about an “exchange trip,” initiated by Galicians:

We are asked from Galicia to make publicly known the following: “On one and another side of the border we look for ten – fifteen intelligent and wealthy families, who would agree to support a student from abroad during a month (during the holidays) for free. This work is not difficult, but such *sui generis* exchange of “children” could bring a great benefit for mutual acquaintance.” We gladly accept this, but in what concerns our “families” this initiative seems hopeless.⁹⁶

Although the paragraphs above deal with high-school students, the Ukrainian activists also tried to persuade Russian Ukrainians to send their schoolchildren to study in Galicia. In 1911, *Rada* published an article about two girls and one boy studying in Galician gymnasias. Its author condemned Ukrainian “patriots” for not sending their children to Galicia to study and, interestingly, even in this case remarked: “I think that the best argument for sending children is the one that the Poles from Russia overfill Galician high and special schools, that many children from the Kingdom of Poland study in secondary schools. Obviously, the Russian Poles see a great benefit for themselves here. Only we do not see and do not want to see any benefits.”⁹⁷ At the same time he was glad to describe the satisfaction of a mother who sent her children to Galicia, “who, despite their young age and short stay in the Ukrainian milieu, became Ukrainians. Not the shallow Ukrainians who they were in their parents’ houses and who we have so many of among us, but profound, comprehensive ones who testify by everything that they live a peculiar national life, that everything in national life is ac-

⁹⁵ A. Shumyts'kyi, “Mandrivka po zakordonnii Ukraïni,” *Rada* 162 (17 July 1912): 3.

⁹⁶ *Ukraiins'kyi student* 3 (1914): 91.

⁹⁷ A.V., “Pryklad, vartyi nasliduvannia,” *Rada* 148 (2 July 1911): 2.

cessible for a child, is not alien to them, that without a truly national atmosphere which we have only in Galicia, in Galician schools, would feel as fish without water.”⁹⁸ In the next issues Rada continued this article with further clarification of the advantages of studying in Galicia, its price (cheaper than in Russia with some private scholarships available) and conditions (when and where to apply).⁹⁹

This activity of Ukrainians was also closely watched by the Kievan Russian nationalists. In his article, reprinted as a separate book in Kyiv in 1915 “to familiarise those who were interested in the truth about aims and goals of mazepinism,”¹⁰⁰ O. Markov included a separate chapter on “how mazepinites were fabricated.” One of its stories dealt exactly with “the problem” of Ukrainians trying to promote inter-imperial study tours to Galicia: “The story of these boys is an interesting illustration of the ways and methods how the mazepinite propaganda is conducted.”¹⁰¹ It was a story of nine peasant children taken to Galicia from Kyiv and Poltava gubernias, whose parents were allegedly promised a scholarship from the Austrian emperor to study in Galician gymnasias.

Thus children from their native villages of Kyiv and Poltava gubernias were taken to Galicia and the aim of such abduction was clear: to turn them, by the way of corresponding upbringing and education, into “conscious” mazepinites, who after the substantial training in this direction would come back to the native Kyiv and Poltava regions and would engage in the mazepinite propaganda.¹⁰²

The story was told already in 1915, when these boys “were found” in Galicia by count V. Bobrinski, who “took care of them, rescued and sent them home.” “This was the end of one of the mazepinite ventures. But the question is left open: were these nine boys taken from the Little Russian gubernias to Galicia with the aim to fabricate

⁹⁸ A. V., “Pryklad, vartyi nasliduvannia”: 2.

⁹⁹ V. Chepelians’kyi, “Ukraiins’ke vykhovannia i vkrains’ki himnaziii,” *Rada* 180 (11 August 1911): 1; “Shche pro navchannia nashykh ditei v Halychyni,” *Rada* 185 (18 August 1911): 3; M. Lozyns’kyi, “Ukraiins’ki shkoly v Halychyni,” *Rada* 200 (4 September 1911): 2.

¹⁰⁰ O. Markov, *Vragi edinstva russkogo naroda – mazepintsy. Kainova rabota* (Kiev, 1915), 3.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 28–30.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

them into the mazepinite agitators alone, or are there other children, torn from their native families, who suffer the same bitter fate?”¹⁰³ asked the author. We do not know for sure, but such projects of sending pupils from the Russian Ukraine to study in Ukrainian gymnasia in Galicia were indeed promoted by *Svitlo*.¹⁰⁴ On the other hand, Ukrainian authors ringed alarm when Russian nationalists pursued similar projects. For instance, when in 1913 they organised a second annual gathering in Berestechko – a village in Volhynian gubernia where in 1651 Cossacks under Khmelnytsky were defeated by Jan-Casimierz and later had to conclude a peace treaty significantly reducing the territory of the Cossack Hetmanate. The main organiser of these trips was the Pochaev Lavra – “this fireplace of bellicose nationalist in Volhynia,” with its “countrymen who bravely and inveterately lead nationalist politics in school. Surely, neither pedagogy, nor science is in their thoughts, but politics”¹⁰⁵:

And what about those “-enkos”, *gente rutheni, natione poloni*, or already *russi*, and in nowadays parlance – those “the true-Russians (although the native *khokhols*),” who are now bringing their schoolchildren to Cossack graves, they also had their ancestors among the “heroes” of Berestechko: they are true Cossack offsprings; not of the Cossacks who died in the battle for freedom but of those “faithful” ones (as the contemporary Polish sources lauded them, and now in the same conditions probably would Russian do), or “serpents, who do not have to live.”¹⁰⁶

Thus in the end one might conclude that prior to the World War One Ukrainian activists paid utmost attention to the sphere of education. When in 1910 Ivan Ohienko wrote his article about ignorant Ukrainian peasants, he was blaming school and expressed his hope that “sometime the sun will shine above our villages, education will come and with it a knowledge of everything native.”¹⁰⁷ However, as my research shows, apart from publishing two textbooks on Ukrainian geography, one geographical atlas and some maps of Ukraine, the Ukrainian activists were not successful in

¹⁰³ O. Markov, *Vragi edinstva russkogo naroda – mazepintsy*, 28–30.

¹⁰⁴ “Nashym bat’kam na uvahu,” *Svitlo* 8 (1913): 51.

¹⁰⁵ S. Volokh, “Istorychni zhadky,” *Svitlo* 2 (1913): 8.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁰⁷ Ivan Ohienko, “Ukraiins’ka samosvidomist’ nashykh selian,” *Rada* 125 (4 June 1909): 2.

promoting the unity of Ukraine among Ukrainian pupils and students of two of its parts. As Dmytro Doroshenko put it, they still gave too little “spiritual food for the children. Our neighbours – the Poles – left us far behind; their journals for youth are widely sold. We predominantly think that children will grow up and understand everything on their own. But is not the proverb right that says ‘it is much better to bend an oak when it is young?’”¹⁰⁸ Doroshenko asked his question in 1914 and was to get an answer to it in three years.

¹⁰⁸ D. D-ko, “Pro natsiona’nu svidomist’ ditei,” *Maiak* 17 (1914): 11.

Figure 8.1. Myron Kymakovich and Liubomyr Rozhans'kyi,
Rus'-Ukraiina i Bila Rus' (Lviv, 1893)
 [Rus'-Ukraine and White Russia]



Figure 8.2. Hryhorii Velychko, *Narodopysna karta ukraiins 'ko-rus 'koho narodu*
(Lviv, 1896)
[Ethnographical map of Ukrainian-Rus' nation]



Figure 8.3. Hryhorii Velychko, *Mala narodopysna karta ukraiins'ko-rus'koho narodu* (Lviv, 1897)
[Small ethnographical map of Ukrainian-Rus' nation]

Source: *Illustrovanyi kalendar "Prosvity" na 1897 rik* (Lviv, 1897).

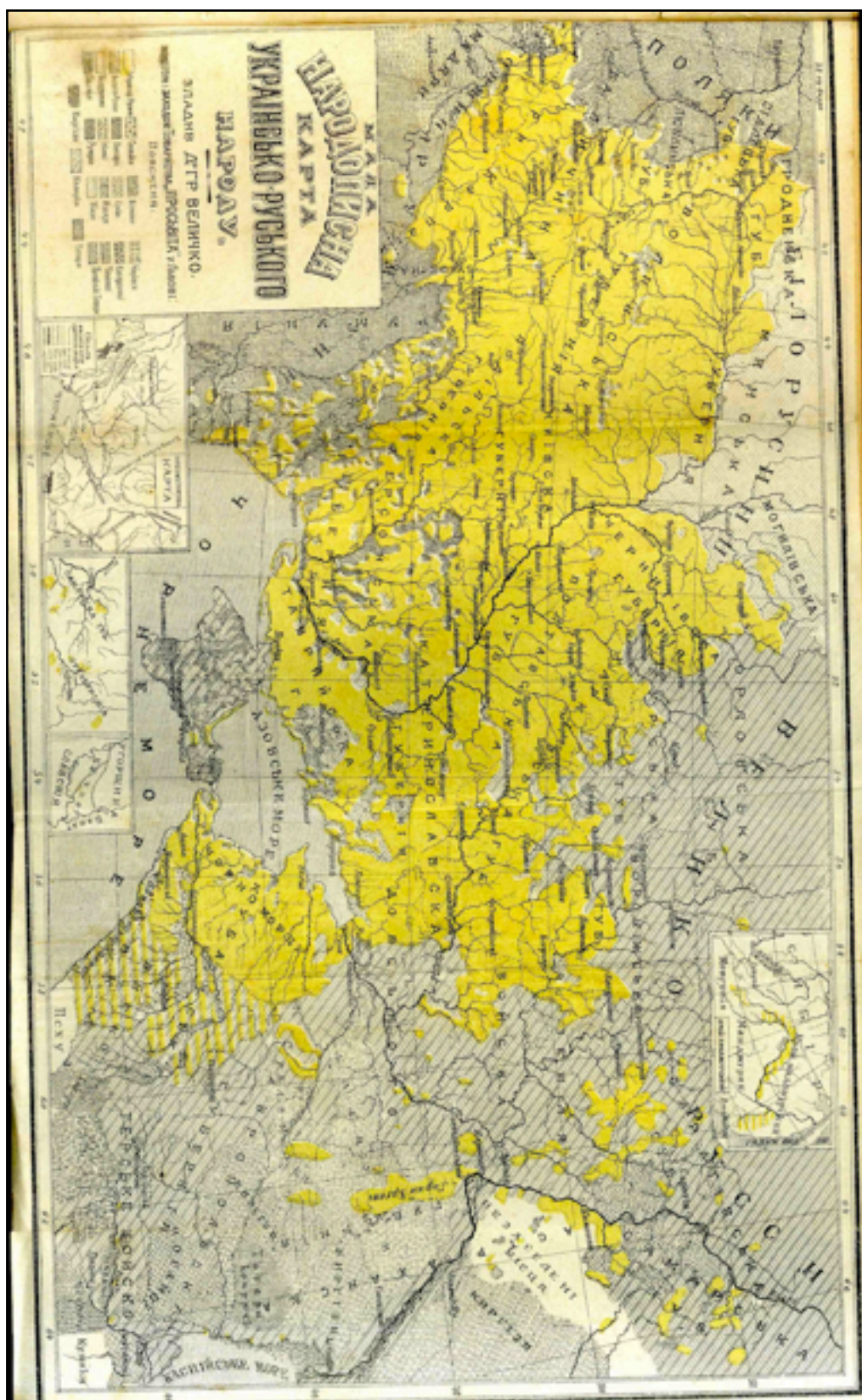


Figure 8.4. Volodymyr Herynovych, *Heohrafichna karta zemel', de zhyvut' ukraiintsi* [Geographical map of lands where the Ukrainians live]

Source: Stepan Rudnytsky, *Korotka heohrafiia Ukrainy* (Lviv, 1910).



Figure 8.5. *Karta rozselennia ukraiintsi* [Map of settlement of the Ukrainians]

Source: Sofiia Rusova, *Pochatkova heohrafiia* (St. Peterburg, 1911), 15.



Figure 8.6. Myron Korduba, *Ukraina*
[Ukraine]

Source: M. Korduba, *Heohrafichnyi atlas* (Kolomyia, 1912), 8.

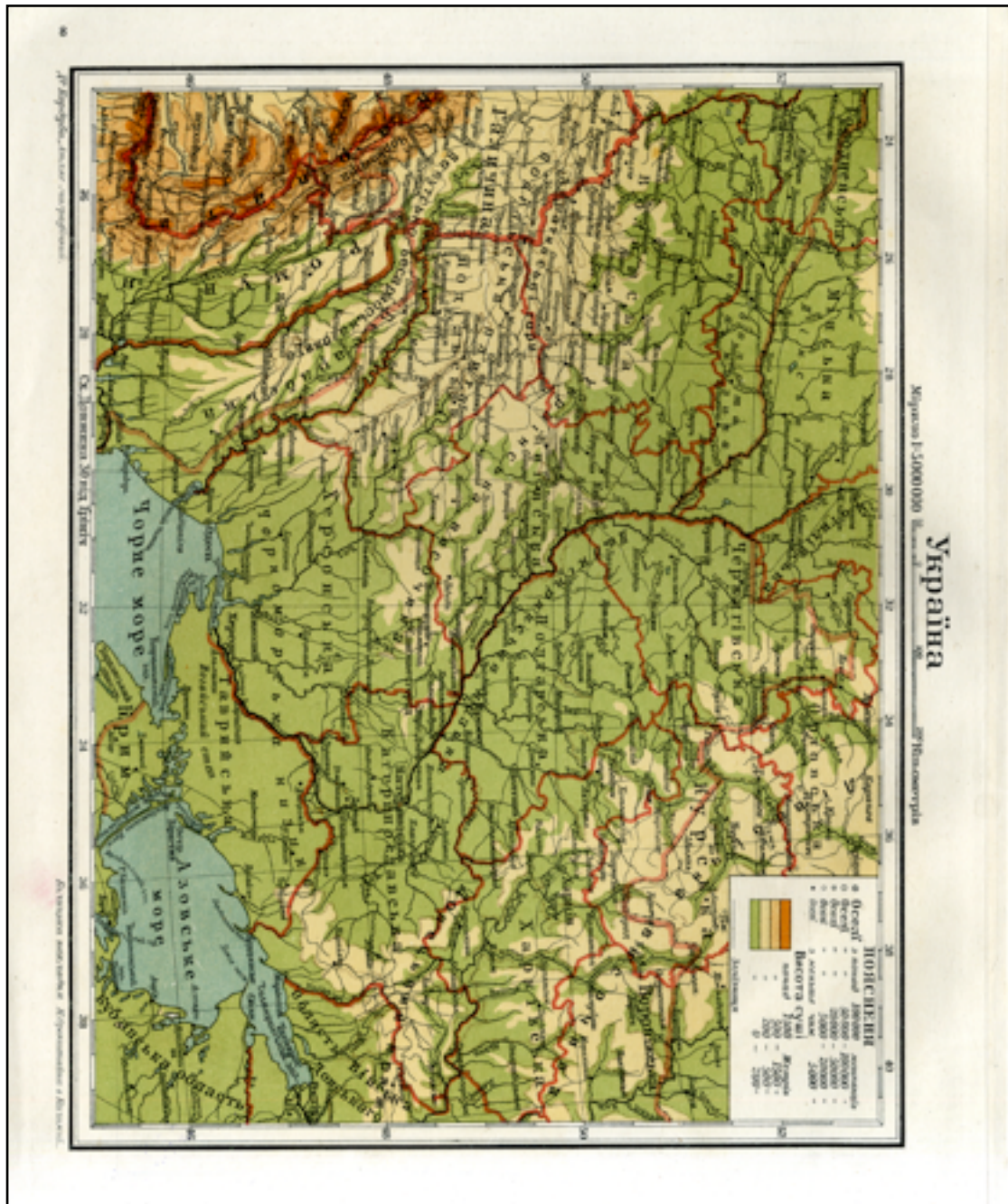


Figure 8.7. Students of the course of higher education in Lviv, 1913

Source: *Illustrovana Ukraina* 7 (12 April 1913): 12.



Figure 8.8. Students of the pan-Ukrainian summer school in Lviv, 1904

Source: Thomas Prymak, *Mykhailo Hrushevsky: the politics of national culture* (Toronto, 1987), xxiii.



Chapter 9. Travelling around Ukraine as a means of internalising national space

National differences are more visible “on the border”! Who wants to be forever sure if we, Ukrainians, are a separate nation, – stay on the border and common folk will teach you and show what the difference is and whether assimilation is possible.

Mykyta Shapoval, 1913

For many years has the mighty Dnipro-Slavuta rushed on its waves special steamships full of palmers, to the famous grave of its singer, singer of Ukraine, to the grave of the mourner of all destitute and offended. Old and young, rich and poor, man and women, people of all classes and ranks, as true believers to Mecca and Medyna, – go palmers with one aim – to bow to the famous grave of Kobzar, to morally cleanse in front of this white, clean cross, to get new strength, new energy for further struggle for the Ukrainian idea.

Fedot Sheludko, 1913

Serhii Iefremov, one of those Ukrainians who came to Poltava in 1903, later recalled that this was the first time that he had travelled there; for the whole night he did not step away from the window of his compartment, familiarising himself with the space behind it.¹ If this ride was so important for a person from Kyiv, one can only imagine how much more significant such a visit was felt by the Galician delegates, many of whom came to the Russian Ukraine for the first time in their lives. This national trip to the unveiling of the monument, which I described before, got previously armchaired Ukrainian activists from various regions acquainted not only with each other,² but also with the Ukrainian territory behind their carriages, which they had previously known only from books, articles and maps.

The idea that mobility and travel indeed is one of the major forces which sets nation-building in progress was suggested by Karl Deutsch. In his opinion, communication and mutual contacts between members of any imagined community turn various particular social, linguistic, and cultural groups into coherent nations, holding

¹ Iefremov, “Na sviati Kotliarevs’koho,” 151.

² Even when they quarrelled, as when, for instance, Borys Hrinchenko was reprimanding some Galician delegates for smoking in the carriage: Chykalenko, *Spohady*, 239.

them “together by facilities for transportation and separated from each other by relative discontinuities in their effectiveness.”³ Evidently, one should not overestimate the role of communication as the most crucial one in the forging of a national identity since, of course, people do “spend most of their hours living and working, and not in ships, trains or airplanes. [...] With whom they live, with whom they work, and with whom as a result of these experiences they will continue to communicate in daily life will be decisive.”⁴ Nevertheless, “if Ruritanians do not communicate more easily with each other than with outsiders, if they cannot understand more readily each other’s behaviour, and if they do not experience more quickly or drastically the effects of one another’s political or economic actions, then all attempts to cultivate a sense of ‘Ruritanity’ among them will retain an artificial flavour.”⁵ Or, one might add, will never be cultivated at all.

Eugen Weber convincingly applied Deutsch’s ideas in his celebrated account of how after 1870 the national or imperial political entity called France was turned from an abstraction into a community and showed that it was not only “the inkwell and the pen that worked for France,” but also roads, canals and railroads. In his book Weber agreed that

there could be no national unity before there was national circulation. The Pyrenees, Brittany, Flanders, and the Massif Central were either self-contained or parts of entities to which the larger entity, France, was largely irrelevant. The railways closed down the mule passes of the Pyrenees and eventually (as the economy and the mentality they spread caught on) made those peaks a wall for France. On the other hand, railways breached the Chinese wall that fenced in Lower Brittany and helped homogenise the lands along their routes. It was more than a coincidence that the old Breton minstrels first disappeared along the new railways. Or that the building of a local railway line from Fumes to Poperinghe turned the Flemish peasants’ ancient north-south trade across the Franco-Belgian border to a more purely French direction. So roads, of stone or steel, welded the several parts into one.⁶

³ Karl Deutsch, *Nationalism and social communication* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1953), 23.

⁴ Ibid, 95–96.

⁵ Ibid, 147.

⁶ Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: the modernisation of rural France, 1870–1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 218.

Henceforth various scholars developed the argument that communication was one of the most important tools to spread their vision of common territorial national fatherland further and substantiated it with their case studies.⁷ However, the subject of travel as a tool of nation building in the Romanov Empire has surprisingly been left mainly untouched.⁸ Even less has been done on the Ukrainian case specifically: a recent volume on the history of Ukrainian travel and tourism leaves an impression of a patchy catalogue of various travellers to “Ukraine” starting from Herodotus, rightly considering Kyi, Shchek and Khoryv as the first Ukrainian sightseers.⁹ Thus, while in this chapter I will argue that national travel was an important tool in internalising the idea of national space I will also discuss its Ukrainian story for the first time.

⁷ A recent volume on tourism in Central and Eastern Europe further highlighted its importance for the reinforcement of the national identity and creation of a greater sense of belonging to the previously imagined homeland. Gorsuch and Koenker, *Turizm*. For instance, in his article on *fin-de-siècle* Hungary Alexander Vari analysed how exactly the rise of tourism made it possible for the Hungarian nationalists to add a geographic and spatial component to the modern description of the nation by magyarising mountains, lakes, ruins and a wide array of other natural sights, and incorporating them into the fabric of national identity: tourism was proclaimed not just a sport, but a national duty, and a direct experience of nation's territory made more credible the already existing mental concepts. Alexander Vari, “From friends of nature to tourist-soldiers: nation building and tourism in Hungary, 1873–1914,” in Gorsuch and Koenker, *Turizm*, 64–81. For similar studies from other contexts see, for instance, Patrice Dabrowski, “‘Discovering’ the Galician borderlands: the case of the Eastern Carpathians,” *Slavic Review* 64 (2005): 380–402; Peter Judson, *Guardians of the nation: activists on the language frontiers of imperial Austria* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006); Rudy Koshar, “‘What ought to be seen:’ tourists’ guidebooks and national identities in modern Germany and Europe,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 33 (1998): 323–340; Susan Nance, “The Ottoman Empire and the American flag: patriotic travel before the age of package tours, 1830–1870,” *Journal of Tourism History* 1 (2009): 7–26; Marguerite Shaffer, *See America first: tourism and national identity, 1880–1940* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001); John Strachan, “Romance, religion and the republic: Bruno’s *Le Tour de la France par deux enfants*,” *French History* 18 (2004): 96–118; John Walton, ed. *Histories of tourism: representation, identity and conflict* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2005); Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, 335; Oliver Zimmer, “In search of natural identity: alpine landscape and the reconstruction of the Swiss nation,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 40 (1998): 637–665; Eric Zuelow, *Making Ireland Irish. Tourism and national identity since the Irish Civil War* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2009).

⁸ A few existing books which partly deal with history of tourism in imperial Russia touch upon the subject very superficially: Dolzhenko, *Istoriia turizma*; Lyudmila Voronkova, *Istoriia turizma i gos-tepriimstva* (Moskva, 2004). See also Marina Loskoutova, “A motherland with a radius of 300 miles: regional identity in Russian secondary and post-elementary education from the early nineteenth century to the war and revolution,” *European Review of History* 9 (2002): 7–22.

⁹ V. Fedorchenko and T. D’orova, *Istoriia turyzmu v Ukraini* (Kyiv, 2002).

As I mentioned previously, the first serious attention to welding Ukrainian national space together was paid to by the Ukrainian activists around *Osnova* in the 1860s. Among other things they actively encouraged their readers to travel around Ukraine, published their own travelogues describing various regions of it, and the journal itself crossed the imperial borders into Galicia. The Ukrainian activists of the 1870s had to organise scientific travels: during Chubynsky's ethnographic-statistical expedition organised by the RGO and supported by the local authorities he conducted three lengthy trips through the various areas from the Dnepr to the Austrian border and Brest-Litovsk with Grodno to describe the territory populated by the Ukrainian nation. Simultaneously, similar ideas of getting to know one's native land better through travel spread in Galicia, at least since the beginning of the 1880s, when some local Ukrainians came up with the idea of establishing a society to study local ethnography, statistics and geology. According to its future charter, it had to organise excursions around Ukrainian territories of the Habsburg Empire, which in turn would not only bring its people together and make them acquainted with each another, but would also provide them with the ability to exchange their thoughts and books.¹⁰ Such a society did indeed appear two years later and from 1883 it organised "periodical excursions" to various Ukrainian lands of the Habsburg monarchy.¹¹

The idea to make more nationally conscious people travel coincided with the development of new means of communication. Railways rapidly increased the number of travellers in the area. Thus, whereas in 1880 the South-Western railway carried

¹⁰ *Lystuvannia I. Franka i M. Drahomanova* (Kyiv, 1928), 29.

¹¹ Ibid, 48, 56. For the detailed itinerary of their trips see: M. Lomova, *Etnohrafichna diial'nist' I. Franka* (Kyiv, 1957), 14, 19; Ivan Franko, "Mandrivka rus'koi molodizhi," *Dilo* 85 (1884). For instance, it organised an ethnographical expedition of Ivan Kopernytsky to the Boiko and Lemko areas, four expeditions of Volodymyr Hnatiuk to the Carpathian Rus' in 1895–1899; expeditions of Ivan Verkhatsky at the end of 1880s and then in 1897, 1899; expeditions of Stepan Tomashivsky.

2,909,000 passengers, in 1903 this figure jumped at 9,388,000, reaching 11,576,000 in 1907.¹² Not only was the trip to Poltava in 1903 made possible by the newly built railway connection Kiev–Kharkov (1901), but even to travel to Kiev became much easier. In 1914, Olena Pchilka recalled how long it took to visit Kyiv in the time of her childhood and now “look! people got on the train and in a few hours they found themselves in Kyiv, right on time for an evening feast.”¹³

Therefore, when after 1906 Russian Ukrainians could express all their worries and desires in print, the idea to make more Ukrainians travel was immediately voiced. The editorial of *Snip*, edited by the only Ukrainian rightist of the time, Mykola Mikhnovsky, urged its readers to travel around Ukraine:

Here comes the spring and the whole of our country, the land of our nation, edged on both sides by the strands of the Carpathian and Caucasian Mountains, and on the third – by the sea, will shine in all of its beauty. Let us go revel in that beauty. Let us go survey our land to become inspired with love to it, since we do not have such love as we should. Let us go survey our land, since we do not know, do not realise all its beauty! Look for such a nook on our, but not ours, land, where one would at least for a minute feel oneself not a slave. Go to the Carpathians, sail along the Dnipro. Sail along the Dnipro and let oneself imagine the pictures of how your ancestors sailed. Do you feel how free blood starts to seethe through your veins? How does it bump into your face? You are free. Climb the mountains – the Carpathian Mountains – a cradle of your tribe. Thence it came, there that courage was born which spilled over the lowland and created Rus’-Ukraine, mastered the Big Country up to the Caucasian Mountains. You are free. There is no grief. There is hope.¹⁴

As previously, I would like to argue that the Ukrainian movement did not exist in a vacuum and appeals to Ukrainians to make them travel around their country more could also have been inspired by other contemporary national movements. Thus, in 1909 *Rada* published a story by Vasyl Domanytsky about an eighty-six year old Pole from a remote Russian province who finally managed to travel to Poland (to Warsaw, Krakow, Zakopane) to perform a national duty and be able to rest peacefully. This example made Domanytsky ask his compatriots:

¹² P. Andreev, *Iugo-zapadnye kazennye zheleznye dorogi* (Kiev, 1909), 146–147, table 3.

¹³ Olena Pchilka, “Doistorychnist’ i vik 20 na odnim vechori,” *Ridnyi krai* 2 (1914): 13.

¹⁴ *Snip* 15 (1912): 1. It seems remarkable how the only Ukrainian nationalist of the time used almost Pogodin’s words about Ukrainians descending from the Carpathians.

And you, Ukrainian sons, “also Little Russians” [...] “from the Caucasus to the Altai, from the Amur River to the Dnister,” [...] will you not awake this feeling, this passionate desire of my eighty-six year old man, to take a look at your native land, native people, whom you forgot. To climb not a *kopiec Kościuszki*, but the grave of our apostle near Kanev, travel to those islands where our Cossack freedom grew stronger, explore museums in Kyiv, Chernihiv, where in few hours many centuries of our past, our glory and our infamy will fly in front of your eyes – has anyone seen you there? Will they?¹⁵

This reference to the foreign example was not a single one of its kind at all: one of the Barvinsky brothers had already recalled a strong impression made on him by the German tourists travelling around Austria with national purpose in 1880;¹⁶ in yet another case Viacheslav Prokopovych mentioned the Swiss travelling around their fatherland as an inspiring example.¹⁷

Trips to Shevchenko’s grave near Kaniv, “the Ukrainian Mecca,” which every Ukrainian had to visit at least once in their life, were especially promoted.¹⁸ In 1909 a Ukrainian club in Kyiv and *Prosvita* started to organise their own annual May and July trips there.¹⁹ However, such trips could be organised even individually and in 1912 an announcement of two probable travels, one to *Mohyla* and another one to the Carpathians, appeared in *Snip* with a call to join them.²⁰ Peasants were especially encouraged to travel there²¹ and in 1906 one author expressed his desire that “this became a tradition – and then our peasants would have an annual pan-Ukrainian holiday – a holiday of visiting Taras’ grave, a holiday which would bring along all poor chil-

¹⁵ Vasyl’ Domanytsky, “Lysty z-za hranytsi,” *Rada* 21 (27 January 1909): 2.

¹⁶ Barvins’kyi, *Spomyny*. Vol. 1, 286.

¹⁷ S. Volokh, “Vony znaiut’ svii ridnyi kraj,” *Rada* 267 (21 November 1908): 3.

¹⁸ V. Podorozhnii, “Na Tarasovu mohylu,” *Rada* 117 (26 May 1909): 1; K., “Podorozh na Shevchenkiv’sku mohylu,” *Rada* 123 (1 June 1910): 2; Oleksa, “Na Tarasovii mohyli,” *Maiak* 8 (1913): 8.

¹⁹ About the Ukrainian club see: “Hulianka na mohylu Tarasa Shevchenka,” *Rada* 111 (17 May 1909): 2; *Selo* 23 (1910): 2; “Ekskursiia na mogilu T. Shevchenka,” *Ukrainskaia zhizn*’ 6 (1912): 113; “Podorozh na Shevchenkovu mohylu,” *Rada* 121 (29 May 1912): 2; Podorozhnii, “Podorozh na mohylu T.H. Shevchenka,” *Rada* 121 (28 May 1913) (that year 450 people signed for the trip); *Maiak* 19 (1913): 14; “Podorozh na mohylu T. Shevchenka,” *Iliustrovana Ukraina* 12 (25 June 1913): 8–9. About *Prosvita* see: *Rada* 163 (21 July 1909): 1; “Z zhyttia ‘Prosvit’,” *Rada* 146 (28 June 1910): 3. Sometimes lack of money became the hindrance for organising the trip: “Katerynoslavs’ka ‘Prosvita’ i iiiii filiii v 1913 rotsi,” *Svitlo* 9 (1914): 65.

²⁰ Svii, “Maibutni podorozhi,” *Snip* 16 (1912): 8. According to the call organisers needed at least 30 people to sign for it.

²¹ Vasyl’ Iemets’, “Do velykoi mohyli (vrazhinnia z podorozhi),” *Maiak* 22 (1913): 10–11.

dren of Ukraine in need of advice.”²² To emphasise peasants’ need to travel to the grave in 1913 *Maiak* even published a photo of “Peasant-travellers, who travelled to Shevchenko’s grave.”²³ In the end, in 1913 one author could already state that “traveling to the grave of our unforgettable Kobzar slowly becomes a tradition for our activists in Kyiv.”²⁴ In the same year another author put it like this:

Eight years ago [...] I was standing on the grave of Taras Shevchenko. I was thinking a lot. And as a result of these thoughts I put the following note into my diary: it is known that every year the grave of the glorious Kobzar is visited by the army of people. But these people go there on their own or as small groups, anyhow. This is why this trip smells of an accident, and seems as “a whim of the satisfied people” for the outside observer, – there is no need, so to say, to be well-fixed – to crowd to the grave of some Shevchenko! [...] In my opinion, to organise national trips to the grave of Taras Shevchenko, with a choir, etc., and then to describe these trips in the press – would be one of those means...” My thoughts-dreams came true! For many years the strong Dniro-Slavuta rushes special steamships full of pilgrims on its waves to the glorious grave of its singer, singer of Ukraine, to the grave of defender of all destitute and offended. Old and young, wealthy and poor, men and women, people of all estates, as true believers in Mecca and Medyna, – go pilgrims only with one aim – to bow to the glorious grave of Kobzar, to cleanse themselves before this white, clean cross, to get a new force, new energy for further fight for the Ukrainian idea.²⁵

All these endeavours of Ukrainians were not left unnoticed; sometimes police intruded with searches among the visitors²⁶ and in 1914 these trips were prohibited altogether.²⁷

Encouraging Ukrainians to travel around their country revealed another problem, which was the absence of information about potential places of interests. To solve this problem, Ukrainian press published numerous travelogues from many Ukrainian

²² Mandrivets’, “Z Tarasovoi hory,” *Ridnyi kraj* 8 (1906): 24.

²³ *Maiak* 8 (1913): 6.

²⁴ Podorozhnii, “Podorozh na mohylu T.H. Shevchenka,” *Rada* 121 (28 May 1913).

²⁵ Kh. Maistrenko, “Bilyi khrest (do podorozhi na mohylu T. Shevchenka 25 maia),” *Maiak* 19 (1913): 8.

²⁶ *Rada* 210 (18 September 1907): 2.

²⁷ *Rada* 97 (30 April 1914): 3; *Maiak* 17 (1914): 14.

places and regions²⁸ (*Maiak* for instance even had a special section “From travels around Ukraine” and “Around our country”²⁹). One might define three kinds among them. The first one urged Ukrainians to travel to the border with other nations, where national differences were more noticeable: “Who wants to become forever certain if we, Ukrainians, are a separate nation, – stay on the border and common folk will teach you and show you the difference and if assimilation is possible.”³⁰ The second strategy was related to internal travel, which could teach one how one’s compatriots from various regions live.³¹ The third one dealt with visiting particular places, such as Shevchenko’s grave, which could boost Ukrainian national consciousness in tourists.

As any travel around any country, such activity had to be supported by a travel guide. However, until 1914 no Ukrainian travel guide for “Ukraine” appeared. Nowhere was the absence of a Ukrainian Baedeker more felt than in Kyiv. “Why do

²⁸ *Hromads'ka dumka* 72 (30 March 1906): 1–2; V. Syven'kyi, “Vid Kyieva do Chernihova,” *Hromads'ka dumka* 81 (11 April 1906): 2; M.M., “Z Donschchyny,” *Hromads'ka dumka* 118 (25 May 1906): 3; I. Shchrah, “Z podorozhi,” *Hromads'ka dumka* 143 (23 June 1906): 1–2; Tavrychany, “Od Polissia do Tavrii,” *Ridnyi krai* 28 (1906): 12–13; Mykola Arkas, “Podorozh do Odesy,” *Ridnyi krai* 46 (1906): 5–6; “Kurs'k,” *Rada* 227 (9 October 1907): 4; Hak., “P. Kapel'horods'kyi. Ukraiintsi na Kubani. Kyiv, 1907,” *Rada* 228 (10 October 1907): 3; Khv. P., “Lyst z Kubani,” *Rada* 30 (6 February 1908): 3; “Z Kubani. Pereselennia,” *Rada* 115 (23 May 1909): 2; F. Matushevs'kyi, “Lysty z dorohy. I. Vid Kyieva do Katerynoslava,” *Rada* 195 (28 August 1909): 2–3; F. M., “Lysty z dorohy. II. V Katerynoslavi,” *Rada* 196 (29 August 1909): 2–3; F. M., “Lysty z dorohy. III. V Katerynoslavi,” *Rada* 201 (5 September 1909): 2–3; F. M., “Lysty z dorohy. IV. Z Katerynoslava do Cherkas,” *Rada* 204 (10 September 1909): 2–3; Ivan Bondarenko, “Dniprom,” *Rada* 187 (20 August 1910): 3; Idem, “Dniprom,” *Rada* 188 (21 August 1910): 2–3; Idem, “Dniprom,” *Rada* 189 (22 August 1910): 2–3; “Ukraiins'ka Kaliforniia,” *Rada* 198 (1 September 1910): 3; S. Hadiachany, “Z Volyni (Zapysky podorozhniio),” *Rada* 211 (18 September 1910): 2–3; Idem, “Z Volyni (Zapysky podorozhniio),” *Rada* 237 (20 September 1910): 2–3; P.P., “Vrazhinnia z podorozhi,” *Rada* 222 (1 October 1910): 1–2; Corvus, “Z kharkivs'kykh vrazhin,” *Rada* 157 (13 July 1911): 4; Idem, “Z kharkivs'kykh vrazhin,” *Rada* 165 (23 July 1911): 4; “Po nashomu kraiu,” *Maiak* 4 (1913): 12–13; Iukh. Vavrovyi, “Pochaiiv,” *Maiak* 16 (1913): 12–13; M. Stepura, “Po nashomu kraiu,” *Maiak* 29 (1913): 8–9; A.S., “Do Mezhyhirs'koho Spasa,” *Maiak* 30 (1913): 14; M. Stepura, “Po nashomu kraiu,” *Maiak* 31 (1913): 12–13; M. Stepura, “Po nashomu kraiu,” *Maiak* 32 (1913): 10–11; Pospolytyi, “Po Volyni,” *Rada* 245 (26 October 1913): 2–3; M. Osadchii, “Po nashomu kraiu,” *Maiak* 2 (1914): 8–9; Iukh. Vavrovyi, “Po selakh,” *Maiak* 17 (1914): 9–10; Ibid, “Kozats'ki mohyly,” *Maiak* 20 (1914): 11–12; M. Osadchii, “Cherez Kyiivshchynu,” *Maiak* 21 (1914): 9; Did, “Pyliavs'ke zamchyshe,” *Maiak* 20 (1914): 6–7; M. Osadchii, “Po volyns'kii zemli,” *Maiak* 22 (1914): 7–8; Did, “Satanivs'ke zamchys'ko,” *Maiak* 23 (1914): 8–9.

²⁹ “Po nashomu kraiu,” *Maiak* 4 (1913): 12fn.

³⁰ M. Sriblians'kyi, “Na mezhi (Hlukhivs'kyi povit na Chernihivshchyni i Sievs'kyi na Orlovshchyni),” *Maiak* 6 (1913): 11. Another border travelogues see in: P. Opravkhata, “Z podorozhi ‘Grazhdanina’ na ‘Kursy’,” *Rada* 199 (2 September 1907): 2–3; Pospolytyi, “Po Het'manshchyni (Z dorozhnikh vrazin),” *Rada* 167 (25 July 1911): 3–4; Idem, “Po Het'manshchyni (Z dorozhnikh vrazin),” *Rada* 172 (31 July 1911): 2.

³¹ M. Osadchii, “Cherez Kyiivshchynu,” *Maiak* 21 (1914): 9.

Poles visit their historical places, go to Krakow to bow to the graves of their kings, and why do we not go to Kyiv, where our princes are buried, where every step tells us about our glorious past?”³² regretted M. Ishunina in 1909 and answered: among other reasons it was because of the absence of a companion around Kyiv. Although in the same year Domanytsky mentioned in one article that “in the Russian Ukraine there appeared a thought to publish an illustrated ‘*povodatyr*’ around all Ukrainian land similar to the Moscowian ‘*putevoditeli*’ and the Polish ‘*przewodniki*’,”³³ the first and only pre-war Ukrainian guidebook for Kyiv appeared only in *Prosvita*’s calendar for 1909 (although even so it was highly praised³⁴). Still, as this was only a part of *Prosvita*’s calendar, published in Galicia, in 1914 the absence of a city guide seemed a huge problem for Ukrainians and Hryhorii Salyvon bitterly complained that no Ukrainian book could explain something about Kyiv both to peasants and to the intelligentsia:

Until now we do not have a single book devoted to this historical centre. We did not show, did not tell those ignorant people with bags and sacks on their shoulders who walk along the long hot roads to this “great and holy Kyiv of ours.” However, we need to light up, resuscitate those monuments of the past not only to the ignorant peasant masses, but not less for the intelligentsia, to resurrect the history of the town through them, provide them with some “Guidebook around Kyiv.” Demonstrate that “it is ours, not theirs,” as Mykola Hohol’ said in the wake of the national awakening. It is a great pity that we were not able to publish such a book during the last year, when during the exhibition so many people visited Kyiv, not having anything to know something about that old Kyiv from.³⁵

However, all these trips mentioned above were intra-imperial and could at best dilute the regional differences between Ukrainians by stipulating their unity in contrast to the neighbouring nations. Another important task of travel was to deepen relations of the Russian Ukraine with the Austrian one. Although, as I mentioned before, some personal contacts between Russian Ukrainians and Galicians were established in the

³² M. Ishunina, “Providnyk po Kyiivi (Lviv, 1909),” *Rada* 250 (5 November 1909): 3.

³³ V. Domanyts’kyi, “Lysty z-zahrianytsi,” *Rada* 35 (13 February 1909): 2.

³⁴ H. Kh., “Kyiv,” in *Illiustrovanyi kalendar “Prosvity” na 1909 rik* (Lviv, 1909): 43–61; V.D., “Kalendar *Prosvity* na rik 1909,” *Rada* 250 (1 November 1908): 4.

³⁵ Hr. Tysiachenko, “Kyiv – pamiatka kul’tury,” *Rada* 131 (12 June 1914): 2.

1830s, not many Ukrainians from Russia travelled to Galicia and got acquainted with it personally. Even book exchange between the two Ukraines was not active and, for instance, Shevchenko's "Kobzar" remained a rarity in Galicia until its third edition was published in 1867, and local activists used to pronounce Ukraine as *Ukráina*, not *Ukraiína*.³⁶ Thus, in 1869 Mykola Lysenko wrote to Oleksandr Barvinsky: "It is a great oversight that until now there are such weak relations between Galicia and Ukraine. There is no solidarity."³⁷ It was only in the earlier mentioned period of the mid-1870s that the idea to promote communication between the Ukrainian territories of the two Empires appeared. Not only Mykhailo Drahomanov or Volodymyr Antonovych, both of whom even signed their articles as "Tourist,"³⁸ but Oleksandr Konysky, Olena Pchilka and many other leading Russian Ukrainians started to visit Austro-Hungary to get acquainted with the Habsburg Ukrainians. Such trips could not only make Ukrainians from the Russian Empire acquainted with Galician Ukrainians and their political situation.³⁹ As Olena Pchilka described her meeting with Meliton Buchynsky in Vienna in 1872, "in her soul she was grateful to him for one more favour: her return home with stronger national convictions was made possible only thanks to him!"⁴⁰ According to Apolinarii Marshynsky, who visited Galicia in 1889, the main idea behind his travel was "to deepen one's national consciousness."⁴¹ Even in 1912 this motive of "studying from Galicians" remained valid:

Now go there, where the strongest struggle in your nation boils... Go to Galicia – go and learn how one has to fight... And then you will return home and will resume again your small, seemingly unnoticed work – make bricks for the future house – will resume being sure that without your work the big building cannot arise. You will return home to the indefatigable work, glad and happy that you saw from the mountain the "Canaan land,"

³⁶ Barvins'kyi, *Spomyny*. Vol. 1, 108.

³⁷ Ibid, 138.

³⁸ Oleksii Dei, *Slovyk ukrains'kykh psevdonimiv ta kryptonimiv* (Kyiv, 1969), 370.

³⁹ *Lystuvannia Drahomanova z Hromadoiu*, 59.

⁴⁰ Olena Pchilka, "Tovaryshky," in Idem, *Tvory* (Kyiv, 1988), 221.

⁴¹ Marshyns'kyi, "Poiizdka v Halychynu," 82.

the land which your nation will perpetually seize sometime again. And if you do not enter this land yourself, your children or the children of your children will seize it.⁴²

Thus the problem of turning travel exchange with Galicia from the personal endeavour of single individuals into the mass activity was discussed by the Kyivan Ukrainian activists at least since the beginning of the 1880s, when they started allocating money to send some young Russian Ukrainians to Galicia annually: not only to Lviv but also to the provinces to know the local life better.⁴³ As a result of this endeavour, in the first decade of the twentieth century both older activists and younger students from the Russian and Austrian Ukraine started to travel to each other: Chykalenko, Hrinchenko, Mikhnovsky, Zhebuniov, Iefremov, Mohyliansky, to name just few of them, regularly visited Galicia.⁴⁴ Occasionally some of them stayed with Hrushevsky in his summer guest house in Kryvorivnia.⁴⁵ After coming back from Galicia they emphasised that behind the border “the picture changed a little: the same huts, the same forests, the same our Ukraine as in Volhynia.”⁴⁶ The only differences were related to “the German order,” “the European property right” and “cleanliness,”⁴⁷ with people being “more brisk, more conscious, as if they were more clever. Everyone knows which nation they are sons of, who are their enemies and friends.”⁴⁸ Some of such travelogues were afterwards presented in public as, for instance, one by D. Radetsky, who after his visit to Galicia, Bukovyna and Hungarian Rus’ in the summer of 1906 conducted a lecture about it in Odessan *Prosvita*.⁴⁹ Generally, to know Galicia

⁴² *Snip* 15 (1912): 1.

⁴³ V. Doroshenko, “Halychyna i velyka Ukraïna,” in *Kalendar-almanakh “Dnipro”* (Lviv, 1924), 14–15.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁴⁵ M. Lozyns’kyi, “Zviazky M. Kotsiubyns’koho z Halychynoiu,” *Chervonyi shliakh* 10–11 (1929): 96–98.

⁴⁶ Vadym Shch., “Lysty z podorozhi,” *Rada* 36 (13 February 1908): 2; Iur. Stryzhavskii, “Ukrainskoe dukhovenstvo v Galitsii (iz vpechatlenii turista),” *Ukrainskaia zhizn’* 1 (1913): 87.

⁴⁷ Natalia Romanovych, “Manivtsiamy. Druha chastyna trylohiii ‘Mandrivnytsia’,” *LNV* 3 (1914): 502–503.

⁴⁸ P. Davydenko, “Z Halyts’koi Ukraïny,” *Maiak* 3 (1914): 3.

⁴⁹ S. Shelukhin, “Odes’ka Prosvita,” *Ridnyi krai* 44 (1906): 7.

better Ukrainians were encouraged to go there themselves.⁵⁰ This became even more urgent since to transport books from Galicia to the Russian Ukraine remained a complicated enterprise even after 1906. Whereas in 1876 authorities prohibited the carrying of any books in Ukrainian from Galicia to the Russian Empire, in 1906 the new law established a special tax for books published in Russian abroad, according to which, as the Ukrainian language was considered a vernacular of Russian, they became twice more expensive and thus it was too costly to bring them from Lviv to Kyiv.⁵¹ Still, the problem remained and in 1902 Lesia Ukraiinka wrote to Mykhailo Pavlyk from Italy that they could correspond more frankly while she was there: “I do not think that ‘the abyss’ between Austria and Italy was the same as an abyss between two Ukraines,”⁵² in 1910 *Rada*’s author repeated that

The Russian Ukraine and Galicia are separated from one another as if by insuperable walls. We do not speak, of course, of a few individuals, people from Galicia and Ukraine who often go abroad and are a little acquainted with the life of neighbours-compatriots. We speak of the general masses of people. Not even every reader of Ukrainian newspapers imagines oneself clearly what state administration (government) and social and national relations in the neighbouring country are like. Every year only a few *intelligents* go from the Russian Ukraine to Galicia for a short time. A Galician *intelligent* in Ukraine is also a very rare guest. In Galicia, national-cultural life is fairly intensively developed. [...] Our people have a lot to study from them, and this could have a great influence on our movement. Travels abroad really could be of great help in this cause. Thus we have to pay more attention to it. In summer, whole groups of our school youth and teachers usually travel for excursions to the Crimea, the Caucasus, and even leave for abroad. Let them not miss Galicia. There they will find more nourishment for their mind and heart than in any other place. On the other hand, more frequent visits of Galician compatriots to the Russian Ukraine might have helped them to start closer and more intimate relations with our people...⁵³

In 1912 *Rada* published yet another article urging Ukrainians to travel around Ukraine and to Galicia in particular:

Summer is coming, a time for rest and holidays. Many people are leaving for foreign countries and there is nothing to say about its usefulness. A question of “where” has great importance. We, Ukrainians, have so little of educational tools that every opportunity is to be used for leaving a trace in our national-cultural life. Thus we need to turn travels, this best way for rest and practical science, into a tool of our national education with our

⁵⁰ *Hromads'ka dumka* 97 (29 April 1906): 4.

⁵¹ “Biurokratychnе krutiistvo,” *Hromads'ka dumka* 107 (11 May 1906): 1; “Beznadiine stanovyshe,” *Rada* 19 (24 January 1909): 1; *Rada* 108 (14 June 1914): 2.

⁵² O. Kosach-Kryvyniuk, *Lesia Ukraiinka: khronolohiia zhyttia i tvorchosty* (New York, 1970), 594.

⁵³ M. P-kyi, “Halyts'ko-ukraiins'ke zblyzhennia,” *Rada* 245 (29 October 1910): 1.

country and our nation. From this point of view, travels to the foreign Ukraine have especially great meaning. Apart from pure curiosity – how do our compatriots live there under different circumstances – such trips will have a great educational impact, becoming our way to national self-understanding and self-consciousness. For it is known that our foreign compatriots in many respects are ahead of us, leaving behind all those stages of life which we are only entering. We will have to follow them in many respects... Not only those forms of their contemporary life matter here, but that spirit, mood and interests, which they live with and which they fight with for their national existence. From personal experience we know what impression those forms and mood make on our people who had a chance to observe the life of our foreign compatriots closely. For instance, cold and indifferent people very often became passionate workers, and half-conscious ones got some consciousness after studying Ukrainian life abroad. Ukrainians entered a completely different life there, became a real power, and this persuades more and better than any theoretical thoughts and talks – this is the best school for national education and development of consciousness. Thus whoever wants and has a chance to go abroad, do not miss the foreign Ukraine. Such centres of Ukrainian intellectual life abroad as Lviv, Chernivtsi, etc. will give you practical lessons of conscious work for the benefit of the native country; Galician villages will show them how conscious folk masses are formed; mountains will amuse you with their landscapes, their splendid, majestic nature. These one or two months which our Ukrainians will spend abroad in a native environment will be repaid by those impressions and that knowledge, and finally with those live relations which might be only be formed there, on the spot, which cannot be replaced otherwise...⁵⁴

Vice versa, travelling to the Russian Ukraine and Kyiv became an obligation for any “conscious” Galician Ukrainian.⁵⁵ They started to travel to the Russian Ukraine for inspiration and support since the 1880s when the Barvinsky brothers came up with a plan to establish more permanent relations between Galicia and Ukraine. The first attempt ended in a rather disappointing way: when in the autumn of 1881 Volodymyr Barvinsky came to Kyiv to meet the most prominent local Ukrainians, his hosts did not appreciate the etymological orthography of Barvinsky’s newspaper *Dilo* and seemed uninterested in Galician political affairs.⁵⁶ In December 1882 he desperately wrote to one of the Kyivan activists that “among fifteen million there were not even fifty people who would value their native language and were interested in what their brothers in Galicia and Bukovyna were doing.”⁵⁷ Maybe this dissatisfaction was the reason why in 1888 Oleksandr Barvinsky complained that not many Galicians trav-

⁵⁴ “Pro podorozhi” *Rada* 89 (19 April 1912): 1.

⁵⁵ For instance, in 1903 this point was added into the “to do” list of seventeen-year old Ivan Krypiakievych: Inna Zabolotna, “Himnaziyni shchodennyk Ivana Krypiakievycha 1903–1904 rokiv,” *UAShch* 12 (2007): 465.

⁵⁶ Barvins’kyi, *Spomyny*. Vol. 1, 297.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 298.

elled to the Russian Ukraine.⁵⁸ The same grievances were the subject of a letter from Franko to Drahomanov in 1884. The former prepared to visit “Ukraine” for a couple of times, but “as he heard from one man who lived in Kyiv, all of them there, with small exceptions, treated them, Galicians, with contempt, as some useless sticker, the fifth wheel in the cart of Ukrainian case which should not be paid attention to.”⁵⁹ He resentfully asked Drahomanov “what Ukraine did for Galicia both absolutely and in the proportion to the quantity of local learning and bigger possibilities of local people? [...] Almost nothing. And probably at the same time not one of those who called themselves Ukrainophiles, dissipated thousands of roubles per year and what for!”⁶⁰ Drahomanov probably managed to find assuring words for his young disciple since Franko finally visited Kyiv three times in 1885, 1886 and 1909, entering an explicitly pan-Ukrainian marriage with Kyivan Olha Horuzhynska in 1886.⁶¹

After 1906 Galicians’ visits to Ukraine were especially praised in *Rada*.⁶² The usual program of their trips consisted of visiting Kyiv and then sailing along the Dni-pro to Crimea, most probably because of Shevchenko’s grave and of the Cossack myth, widely spread in Galicia. Galicians were particularly active in their coming to Ukraine for various pan-Ukrainian national events, anniversaries and funerals (anniversaries of Shevchenko, Kotliarevski, Ivan Nechui-Levytsky and Mykola Lysenko,⁶³ funerals of Lesia Ukraiinka, Borys Hrinchenko, Mykhailo Kotsiubynsky and

⁵⁸ Barvins’kyi, *Spomyny*. Vol. 1, 393–398.

⁵⁹ *Lystuvannia Franka i Drahomanova*, 81.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Hrushevsky’s family was another example of the pan-Ukrainian marriage. In 1889 one of the leading Ukrainian writers of the time Natalia Kobrynska was joking that the “unity of Ukraine with Galicia in the first place had to be put in life by marriages of Ukrainians with Galicians, and Galicians with Ukrainians.” Quoted by Marshyns’kyi, “Poiizdka v Halychynu,” 87.

⁶² “Halychany-ekskursanty,” *Rada* 158 (10 July 1908): 2–3; “Hosti-ukraiintsi z Halychyny,” *Rada* 140 (21 June 1909): 2; L. Perevala, “Podorozh na mohylu Shevchenka,” *Maiak* 8 (1914): 6.

⁶³ Barvins’kyi, *Spomyny*. Vol. 1, 393–395; S. E., “Iubilei N.V. Lysenka,” *Iuzhnye zapiski* 5 (1904): 61.

Lysenko).⁶⁴ It seems that participation in such events had important symbolic meaning on both sides of the border and could boost national feeling of both the hosts and the guests. Thus, in response, Russian Ukrainians were pushing their compatriots to go to Galicia on similar occasions. For instance, when Galician *Prosvita* was celebrating its fifty-year anniversary in 1909, Andrii Horlenko harshly criticised Russian Ukrainians for hesitating whether they should visit the event or not. Apart from usual lamentations about Russian Ukrainians not knowing Galicians, Horlenko underlined that while Russian Ukrainians still walked along a cultural path and worked on “butterflies and translations of sermons together with the Gospel,” Galician Ukrainians had already organised a network of cooperatives. He finished his article with a call:

Life of Galician Ukraine makes therapeutical impression on everyone who visited Lviv [...] Dear members of *Prosvita*, give them money for this trip. Send them, as they send the sick, dear sick to a resort, and so you send them to the Galician sanatorium. And I am sure that they will return from there not only with new strength, with new supply of spiritual energy, but also with a large baggage of new knowledge and half-a-century of historical experience! Give them an *otpusk* at least on Ukrainian national holiday, on our Christmas!⁶⁵

In yet another article *Rada* repeated the same appeal:

We would like to underline the importance of the moment for manifesting the spiritual unity of the Ukrainian nation on both sides of the border. [...] Remember what active and sincere part our Galician countrymen took in such national celebrations in Ukraine as the unveiling of the monument to Kotliarevsky in Poltava, anniversaries of Lysenko and Nechui-Levytsky in Kyiv! Galicia, which is also buried in urgent work in all fields of communal life, did send tens of its representatives then and the participation of the Galician Ukrainians gave the celebrations more grandeur, and gave more weight to the all-Ukrainian unity. We know that the journey abroad from Russia has more difficulties, maybe bigger than for the Galicians to visit us, but in any case these are not so big that it would not be possible to overcome them. “Ours to ours!” – let this excellent motto, spread among the Galicians, be the motto for us in these times, when all our strength and hope for the future is in strong unity and uniting of national forces around a common cultural work.⁶⁶

To underline the pan-Ukrainian character of this congress *Rada* published greetings to it from various Ukrainian towns⁶⁷ and emphasised that it was “one of those rare mo-

⁶⁴ “Smert’ i pogrebenie N.V. Lysenko,” *Ukrainskaia zhizn’* 11 (1912): 83–84.

⁶⁵ Andrii Horlenko, “Peterburz’ki lysty. XIII: Rizdvo Ukraïny,” *Rada* 3 (4 January 1909): 1–2.

⁶⁶ “Svii do svoho!” *Rada* 4 (6 January 1909): 1.

⁶⁷ *Rada* 18 (23 January 1909): 3; “Prosvitnio-ekonomichni konhres u L’vovi,” *Rada* 20 (25 January 1909): 3.

ments when representatives of both parts of Ukrainian land had an opportunity to meet in public and attest our national unity and solidarity by their common work,”⁶⁸ praising those Russian Ukrainians who took part in it.⁶⁹ At the same time the congress itself was inaugurated by the chairman’s introduction of delegates from the Russian Ukraine, using a word *ukraiins’kyi* in the pan-Ukrainian meaning.⁷⁰ However, despite all calls from *Rada* and its authors, it seems that they were futile; as one of the Russian Ukrainians who went there recalled,

We stood up, bowed and [...] in that moment especially keenly felt that the Russian Ukraine treated the first pan-Ukrainian congress a little bit thoughtlessly [...] This may be unpleasant but this is true. Ten delegates for such a territory as ours, especially taking into consideration the multitude of representatives which a small Galicia provided (the congress gathered more than 800 participants), is a very small number. On the other hand, we also keenly felt some absence of our older celebrated people among the representatives of the Russian Ukraine. One had to see with what enthusiasm the hall met every name of our celebrated activists, who were invited to the congress’ honorary presidium, and with what disappointment they realised that these people were absent.⁷¹

Similarly, in 1909 and 1913 two conventions of the Ukrainian youth were held in Lviv, which was attended by Ukrainians from Kyiv, Kharkiv, Odessa, Moscow, Derpt and even from Tomsk,⁷² and in 1912 *Snip* encouraged its readers to attend a *Sokil–Sich* convention in Lviv.⁷³ On the other hand, in 1911 the whole carriage of twenty-six Galician exhibitors went to the Odessa exhibition of 1911 and even decorated their

⁶⁸ “Po z’iizdi,” *Rada* 20 (25 January 1909): 1.

⁶⁹ *Rada* 19 (24 January 1909): 2; “Ekonomichno-prosvitnii konhres u L’vovi,” *Rada* 19 (24 January 1909): 3; M. Lozyns’kyi, “Persnyi ukraiins’kyi prosvitnio-ekonomichnyi konhres u L’vovi,” *Rada* 23 (29 January 1909): 2; K.P., “Ukraiins’kyi ‘Prosvitn’o-ekonomichnyi z’iizd u L’vovi,’” *Ridnyi krai* 3 (1909): 12. Anatoli Savenko described this congress in *Kievlianin* as organised by the Austrian General Staff: “Poza mezhamy pravdy i sumlinnia,” *Rada* 31 (8 February 1909): 1.

⁷⁰ V. Domanyts’kyi, “Lysty z-zahrianytsi,” *Rada* 35 (13 February 1909): 2. It is also interesting that, according to Domanytsky, during the congress one of Galician delegates suggested they should create a Ukrainian tourist society which would promote tourism among Ukrainians.

⁷¹ V. Pryhod’ko, “Z konhresu,” *Rada* 69 (25 March 1909): 3.

⁷² V., “Persnyi z’iizd ukraiins’koi molodi u L’vovi,” *Rada* 148 (2 June 1909): 1; V.H., “Z’iizd ukraiins’koi akademichnoi molodi u L’vovi,” *Rada* 151 (5 July 1909); M. Lozyns’kyi, “Pislia z’iizdu ukraiins’koi molodizhi,” *Rada* 168 (26 July 1909): 1; *Nasha Shkola* 4–5 (1913): 271.

⁷³ “Sichove sviato,” *Snip* 16 (1912): 8.

pavilion with a sign “Galicia (Austrian Ukraine).”⁷⁴ In 1913, describing the future ethnographical exhibition in Kyiv, *Rada* underlined that

this exhibition can play a huge role in drawing together separate parts of Ukraine. Wide masses of Galician Ukrainians do not have a chance to visit our Ukraine to get acquainted personally with our national and public life on the spot. Similarly, wide groups of Russian Ukrainians do not have a chance to get personally acquainted with the life of Galician Ukrainians in reality. There exists press, which connects both parts of Ukraine, but this connection is an abstract one, which in any case cannot substitute immediate acquaintance. Periodical exhibitions in Ukraine and in Galicia and an active participation of Russian Ukrainians in Galician exhibitions, and of Galicians – in Russian-Ukrainian exhibitions, may be the greatest and the best way to substitute a personal familiarisation with each other.⁷⁵

Therefore, in 1913 in his letter to Chykalenko about the same exhibition, Hrushevsky underlined that he would “very much warn you not to separate Ukrainian and Galician pavilions.”⁷⁶ Chykalenko replied that he had a similar stance on this issue.⁷⁷

Everything said above still does not tell us anything about how both sides viewed each other and I would argue that the answer to this question is not necessarily as unequivocal as it seems to be. Russian Ukrainians did not feel at home in Galicia and were complaining about its unusual landscape, language and people.⁷⁸ On the other hand, when in 1901 Stepan Tomashivsky visited Odessa, “the only Ukrainian city with a big European commercial importance,” he immediately noted that “in the city itself there was not even a trace that it lay on Ukrainian land.” Then he left for Kyiv, where they spoke some Ukrainian, but after that Kharkiv did not seem Ukrainian either. Tomashivsky’s impression was that “Ukraine was a dead ethnographical mass which held its separateness only due to its size,” and “the Ukrainian language in Russia in the intelligent’s mouth was more of a *Romantic sport* than a living need.”⁷⁹

⁷⁴ *Rada* 177 (6 August 1911): 2; Hr. T-ko, “Halyts’ko-ukraiins’kyi viddil na odes’kii vystavtsi,” *Rada* 180 (11 August 1911): 2–3; “Avstriis’ka Ukraïna na vystavi v Odesi,” in *Ilustrovanyi kalendar “Prosvity” na 1910 rik* (Lviv, 1910): 123–124.

⁷⁵ P.A., “Kyivs’ka vystavka 1913 r. i ukraiins’ka sprava,” *Rada* 187 (17 August 1912): 1.

⁷⁶ *Lystuvannia Mykhaila Hrushevs’koho ta Ievhena Chykalenka* (Kyiv, 2010), 124.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 125.

⁷⁸ Nataliia Romanovych, “Manivtsiamy,” *LNV* 3 (1914): 529–531; Nataliia Romanovych, “Manivtsiamy,” *LNV* 4 (1914): 121.

⁷⁹ Stepan Tomashivs’kyi, “Vrazhinnia z pobutu na Ukraïni,” *Dilo* 29 (6 February 1903): 1; Idem, “Vrazhinnia z pobutu na Ukraïni,” *Dilo* 34 (12 February 1903): 1–2.

Osyp Makovei had similarly “depressing” feelings after coming to Kyiv in 1897. Departing to “Ukraine” as her “son” to his “mother” he returned rather disappointed. The “offsprings of old Cossacks” seemed annoying to him with “their moustaches as the only thing that remained of old Cossacks.”⁸⁰ Kyiv seemed the most upsetting to him: “This is our capital, but it is not ours now!” he proclaimed. “I walk in Kyiv and feel so sad that when I look into the *putevoditel’* [guidebook],⁸¹ I always read that everything ours is theirs. [...] Oh, Kyiv, the mother of all towns, what has happened to you! Now you are not the mother any longer, but only a stepmother after you had married a *Moskal’*.”⁸² The monument to Khmelnytsky was especially painful for Makovei: “Hetman, sitting on an angry bronze horse on some rock” seemed to him “separated from the people like a criminal and sad because of the direction of his hand pointing to the north.” Looking at it, Makovei had the only desire to climb up on it to abuse Khmelnytsky and break off his arm.⁸³ Lionhyn Tshelsky had the same gloomy impressions: Kyiv did not seem a Ukrainian city to him, although “in reality this was Ukrainian Rome!”⁸⁴ Not only “Ukrainian Rome” was not Ukrainian. Iulian Romanchuk, remembering his 1903 trip to Poltava, mentioned that he could not hear a word in Ukrainian not only in Kyiv, but even in the “Ukrainian Poltava.” Everyone replied to them in Russian or even in Polish, not only in restaurants or shops but even in private situations, which made him wonder why the locals did not speak Ukrainian: “No despotism can forbid to speak native language in family, at home and in private gatherings.”⁸⁵

⁸⁰ Osyp Makovei, *Podorozh do Kyieva* (Chernivtsi, 1897), 6.

⁸¹ He used a Russian word for a guidebook in otherwise Ukrainian poem to underline the Russian-ness of Kiev.

⁸² Makovei, *Podorozh do Kyieva*, 10.

⁸³ Ibid, 27.

⁸⁴ *Rada* 208 (11 September 1913): 2.

⁸⁵ *Rada* 3 (5 January 1910).

Probably the most detailed Galician travelogue which I have found by now is Olena Kysilevska's story of her travel to the Russian Ukraine in 1910. Her impressions were rather downhearted as well. From the very beginning she and her friend were called "the Galicians" in Odessa and were treated not as Galician Ukrainians but as Austrians; "our Galician relations, sympathies and antipathies towards Russia were absolutely unknown to them, they were even reluctant to know."⁸⁶ Only after six weeks in Russia did they find some "Little Russians," from Kyiv and Cherkasy, one of whom confessed that he was also "a Little Russian" only in a fit of sincerity and started to speak "in a beautiful Ukrainian language."⁸⁷ The same story happened in Kyiv, where the local priest only murmured a confession that he "was also a Little Russian," read "Kobzar" and asked them for an uncensored version of Shevchenko's "Caucasus."⁸⁸ Still, the main disappointment awaited for the author in Kanev. "Ukrainian Mecca" appeared to them "a small Jewish town, where it was not even possible to buy a card with Taras' grave";⁸⁹ a local coachman who took them to the grave did not know who Shevchenko was and suggested that the latter was buried there since he had large estates.⁹⁰ And then, while reading a visitors' book with the impressions of people who came to the grave, they found Russians, Poles, Germans and Jews, but only few people from Galicia:

And this is not strange! Except for some pietism for Ukraine and its biggest poet, except for the annual rows of celebrations and concerts in his honour, until this time there appeared no people who would initiate such a simple thing as annual trips of young people, students and even peasants to Kyiv and Kaniv, and further by the Dnipro to Katerynoslav, to the rapids and the place of the ancient *Sich*. It was not about price, not about hard work, but only about some indifference, which did not allow to start this tradition, which from various points of view could have an unusually positive influence both on Galician and on Russian Ukrainians.⁹¹

⁸⁶ Olena Halychanka, *Vrazhinnia z dorohy* (Lviv, 1910), 16.

⁸⁷ Ibid, 57.

⁸⁸ Ibid, 64, 72–75.

⁸⁹ Ibid, 76.

⁹⁰ Ibid, 80.

⁹¹ Ibid, 83.

Still, when Stepan Tomashivsky visited Ukraine again in 1902 he came back in a calmly optimistic mood. In his opinion

denationalisation of Ukraine is artificial, it is limited only to the large cities. Odessa is an exception. It is completely not Ukrainian. Although it is also not Moscowian. It is international and its only language is a state one. This character can give hope that Odessa could easily accept another appearance if the Black Sea coast was a part of another state, Ukrainian for instance. What are the sources of denationalisation? Government – army – commercial-industrial flow – education – religion. In other cities and villages only officials and soldiers speak Moscowian.⁹² [...] Denationalisation of Ukraine is not a *memento mori*, but a product of Russian absolutism. After it falls, a new era in the life of the Ukrainian nation will begin.⁹³

Naturally, Ukrainians were not pursuing such travelling projects alone. Restating Peter Judson, during their travels national activists “may well have shared train compartments or seats [...] with other kinds of nationalist travellers.”⁹⁴ Moreover, the importance of new means of communication for the creation of national identity at the time was understood not only by Drahomanov. As I mentioned previously, it was one of the arguments in the discussion how to lay the tracks of the Southern railway in the Russian Empire. A note of 1864 informed the tsar that

At present, Little Russians feel their bond to Russia through the tsars and religious kinship, but this kinship will become even stronger, even more indissoluble [...] The road to this unity is paved with rails and sleepers. Apart from goods, books, thoughts, customs and ideas also travel along this railroad [...] The capitals, views, thoughts, and traditions of Great and Little Russians will mingle and these two peoples, already so close to each other, will fuse into one. So let the Ukrainophiles preach, even through the seething poems of Shevchenko, about Ukraine, her struggle for independence, and the good old days of the Hetmanate.⁹⁵

On the other hand, opponents of Ukrainians discovered this territory as Russian by their own travelogues. In this way Anatoli Savenko travelled from Kiev along the Dnepr and in his “Guidebook to the Dnepr and the Desna from Kiev to Ekaterinoslav and Chernigov” tried to appropriate “Ukrainian Mecca” in Kaniv, the grave of Shevchenko, for his audience, describing it in a very positive way. He claimed the

⁹² Tomashivs'kyi, “Vrazhinnia z pobutu na Ukraïni,” *Dilo* 30 (7 February 1903): 1–2.

⁹³ Ibid, *Dilo* 34 (12 February 1903): 1.

⁹⁴ Peter Judson, *Guardians of the nation*, 74.

⁹⁵ Quoted from: Miller, *The Ukrainian question*, 135. More about discussions about railway direction see in: Rieber, 371–397.

poet's grave, the "sacred place" of the Ukrainophiles and even their name for a different political movement: "[...] there rises a white cross under which T.G. Shevchenko lies. The surroundings of the grave impress by its beauty. Not without reason a poet and artist desired to be buried exactly in this corner of Ukraine, which he passionately loved."⁹⁶

At this time Russians also became generally active in travelling and appropriating Galicia and Bukovina. As A. Lopukhin wrote about his visit to Galicia in the summer of 1895: "If our brothers, Galicians, sons of the Red Rus' know Russia enough, this can not be said about us Russians, among whom the majority has the most vague idea of Red Rus', and many of us do not even know at all that in Austria, at the foot of the Carpathians, lives a more than three-million branch of the pure-blooded Russian people which, because of the fatal mistake of Russian or rather German diplomacy, was cut from its native all-Russian tree and thrown outside of Russia to languish and pine under the inhospitable Austrian sky."⁹⁷ E. de Vitte described her trip in a similar tone: "This summer during our travel through the Slavonic lands we chose the way to Bukovina, the way, totally unknown for our travellers, except for Slavists, who chose this Russian land as subject of their research from the times immemorial."⁹⁸ The same feeling was contended by another traveller to Lvov, who felt "the area around not only familiar for a long time, despite one sees it for the first time, but really *native*. [...] Occasionally a balmy trickle will get *gently* into ones

⁹⁶ Anatolii Savenko, *Putevoditel' po Dnepru i Desne ot Kieva do Ekaterinoslava i Chernigova* (Kiev, 1902), 43–44.

⁹⁷ A. Lopukhin, *Iz poezdki v Chervonnuiu Rus'* (St. Peterburg, 1897), 4.

⁹⁸ E. de Vitte, *Iz putevykh vpechatlenii: Bukovina i Galichina* (Kiev, 1903), 1; Idem, *Putevye vpechatleniia (s istoricheskimi ocherkami). Leto 1903 g. Bukovina i Galichina* (Kiev, 1914).

nose, that one will absolutely fall into illusion – so much that it will remind one about the dearest fatherland!”⁹⁹

Occasionally, the Ukrainian press had to counter other travelogues which stipulated the differences between different parts of Ukraine.¹⁰⁰ They criticised Galician Moscowphiles coming to Kiev and Pochaev especially, emphasising the small number of these “fooled” travellers:¹⁰¹

Needless to say that Moscowphile travels [...] only assist in deepening the vertigo of those unlucky Galician peasants who accidentally got into Moscowphile paws. For the organisers of such trips [...] this is only a political demonstration, which has to show one nation on both sides of the border, but not the real nation which really lives here, but that fantastical nation, invented in the Moscowphile editorial offices and Russifying chancelleries in Russia.¹⁰²

At the same time, Ukrainians tried to win the favour of neutral observers by guiding their potential allies during their travels around Ukrainian institutions to make them fully aware of the Ukrainian movement and its demands. For instance, when in June 1909 a group of students from St. Petersburg with Aleksandr Pogodin as their head were travelling around Slavonic countries they were especially invited to visit Ukrainian institutions in Kyiv and Lviv.¹⁰³

However, despite the optimistic claims that “more frequent travels of our people from Galicia to Russian Ukraine and Ukrainians from here to Galicia were a pleasant sign of the rise of Ukrainian national consciousness and a feeling of national unity on

⁹⁹ E. Vitoshinskii, *Po Galitsii. Putevye ocherki* (Varshava, 1904), 3–5.

¹⁰⁰ *Rada* 1 (1 January 1909): 4. The article under question was by V. Vladimirov from № 108881 of *Birzhevyiye vedomosti* which *Rada* summarised in the following way: “The border cannot break the unity of our nation.”

¹⁰¹ *Ridnyi krai* 24 (1908): 5; “Pryiizd halychan v Kyiv,” *Rada* 182 (9 August 1908): 2; “Z Pochaeva,” *Rada* 186 (14 August 1908): 4; “Z Volyni. Prochany z Halychyny,” *Rada* 149 (29 June 1908): 2; *Rada* 184 (12 August 1908): 2; M. Lozyns’kyi, “Shpions’ka sprava molodoho Monchalovs’koho,” *Rada* 87 (18 April 1909): 1–2; “Hosti-halychany,” *Rada* 168 (26 July 1909): 2; Denysenko, “Moskvofil’s’ki prochany z Halychyny,” *Rada* 183 (14 August 1909): ; H-chenko, “Moskvofily-halychany v hostyni u pochaiivtsiv,” *Rada* 187 (20 August 1911): 3; M. Slavhorods’kyi, “Z podorozhnikh vrazhin’,” *Rada* 163 (18 July 1913): 2; M. Osadchii, “Pochaiivs’ka Holhofa,” *Maiak* 23 (1914): 6–8.

¹⁰² “Moskvofil’s’ka podorozh na Ukraïnu,” *Rada* 184 (15 August 1909).

¹⁰³ “Studenty ekskursanty,” *Rada* 123 (2 June 1909): 2; *Rada* 123 (3 June 1909): 2; *Rada* 126 (5 June 1909): 2; *Rada* 126 (5 June 1909): 4; *Rada* 135 (16 June 1909): 3.

both sides of the border,”¹⁰⁴ I would argue that persistent appeals of the Ukrainian activists on both sides of the border to their co-nationals testify at least about their concern about this problem and their desire for Ukrainians to travel more. In the beginning of the twentieth century many peasants were leaving Ukraine and emigrated abroad. Thus, travelling to Poltava in 1903 Ievhen Chykalenko was sad to note that

from Peremyshl or Lviv it takes one almost the whole day to Kyiv. One needs half of a day to get to Poltava, and in both cases one rides through the territory inhabited by the Ukrainian people, meeting the colonists only in the steppes near the Black Sea. Otherwise, there is the Ukrainian language everywhere, almost without differences, dialects, from the Carpathians to the Caucasus. Why do our people from the western Ukraine, being pressed by the Poles, leave for somewhere behind the ocean, to Canada or Brazil, and are lost in the third generation, when such an endless space of black earth untouched by a plough waits here for the hardworking hands and experienced heads, which will bring culture, prosperity and bread to all of Europe.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ “Hosti z rosiis’koi Ukrainy,” *Rada* 174 (2 August 1909): 2.

¹⁰⁵ Chykalenko, *Spohady*, 238.

Chapter 10. Internationalising the nation: Ukrainian advocacy of its territory abroad

This summer we went to Palavas to swim [...] and here were the same questions I have been hearing in all my European encounters during the last twenty years: *L'Ukraine – quel est ce pays? Quel est ce peuple?*
Sofia Rusova, ca. 1890

Frankly speaking, I feel very happy when at the end of each year I see a couple of lines near a word 'Ukraine' in the alphabetical indexes of the latest issues of these publications.
Fedir Vovk, 1895

And no one in Europe knew about us, and no one could find us as a nation on any geographical map. We could expire as a nation and no one would give it a thought – what a tragedy, the tragedy of the death of an entire nation, far from European eyes, in the expanses of the Dnipro... Meanwhile we needed to be known. Because we wanted to be a nation, to have our place in the global family, and how could we get it not joining the activity of that family and – foremost – not getting the family acquainted with ourselves – as we were before and as we are now?
Borys Hrinchenko, 1906

In the previous chapters I described the ways in which Ukrainian national activists tried to disseminate the idea of Ukrainian national space among the Ukrainians of both the Habsburg and the Romanov Empires to make them aware of Ukraine and of its difference from its neighbours. However, one might still be wondering if Ukrainians tried to internationalise the idea of their national territory. Surprisingly, despite numerous claims that passive foreign policy of Ukrainian governments in 1917–1923 was one of the factors which hindered the survival of Ukrainian nation state after the First World War,¹ this question has not been dealt with by my predecessors. Except for the world's ignorance of Ukraine, the possible reason for Ukrainians to conduct an active foreign policy could be the contested character of Ukrainian national space. Russians, Poles, Hungarians and Romanians were the main competing national projects who claimed the territory defined as Ukrainian as their own. To counter them effectively one necessarily had to internationalise its cause.

¹ See, for instance, Pavliuk, "Dyplomatiia nezalezhnykh ukraiins'kykh uriadiv," 388.

Close reading of Ukrainian publications of 1905–1914 reveals that Ukrainian national activists put a great emphasis on informing the European and Russian intellectuals of their aspirations. Therefore, contrary to the existing scholarship, in this chapter I would like to argue that getting the world acquainted with Ukraine as a separate territorial entity got onto agenda of the Ukrainian activists and was actively pursued by them not only on the eve of the First World War, but long before 1914.

After the emergence of the Ukrainian public sphere in the Romanov Empire in 1906 one could immediately realise that Poles remained the main competitor and opponent of the Ukrainian national project. The Ukrainian activists at once started to criticise the idea of “historical Poland” according to which “Ukraine” was only one of its regions,² condemned Polish intellectuals for their use of “wrong” conceptual terms for Ukraine such as *Rus’*, *Mala Rus’*, but not *Ukraina*,³ and especially denounced the Polish idea of Ukraine as Polish *kresy* [borderland].⁴ As one of *Rada*’s authors indignantly put it in 1912, “Ukraine was not someone’s borderland, but a country with its own people, which had its language, history, literature and culture, and wanted to remain by itself, and not an appendix to something.”⁵ In 1913 this polemic against the idea of *kresy* got a specific cartographical meaning, when one of *Rada*’s authors criticised Stanisław Tomaszewski’s “Map of Poland” (Krakow, 1908), which depicted the

² M.L., “Pol’s’ka zemlia,” *Hromads’ka dumka* 46 (27 February 1906): 2; S. She-chyn, “‘Pol’s’ke kolo’ i avtonomiia Lytvy ta Ukraïny,” *Hromads’ka dumka* 163 (17 July 1906): 1–2; V. Kushnir, “Ukraiins’ke pytannia v pol’s’kii pryzni pered Ievropoiu,” *Nova hromada* 10 (1906): 21–22; *LNV* 5 (1908): 284; “Pobrekhen’ka pol’skykh natsionalistiv,” *Rada* 98 (1 May 1909): 3; M. Lozyns’kyi, “Khto zh tse vony – ti ukraiintsi?” *Rada* 114 (21 May 1911): 2–3; *Snip* 3 (1912): 3.

³ M. Hrushevs’kyi, “Jan Babirecki, Mapa rzeczypospolitej Polskiej,” *ZNTSh* 54 (1903): 56–57; M.L., “Pol’s’ka zemlia,” *Hromads’ka dumka* 46 (27 February 1906): 2; M. Cherkavs’kyi, “Ukraiintsi i poliaky v Dumii,” *Nova hromada* 6 (1906): 137; V. Domanyts’kyi, “‘Otrechennaia’ knyzhka ta pro-pashchi liudy,” *Rada* 127 (4 June 1908): 1; Kar-meliuk, “Ukraiintsi u Varshavi,” *Rada* 7 (11 January 1911): 3; *ZNTSh* 102 (1911): 204; M. Zalizniak, “Istoriia Ukraïny Oleksandra Iablonovs’koho (Alexander Jablonowski, Historya Rusi Poludniowej do upadku Rzeczy pospolitej polskiej. Kraków, 1912),” *ZNTSh* 116 (1913): 190–199; *Ukraiins’kyi student* 3 (1914): 92–94; V. Picheta, “Novye trudy pol’skikh istorikov po istorii Ukrainy,” *Ukrainskaia zhizn’* 5–6 (1914): 99–101.

⁴ “Z pol’s’koho zhyttia i hazet,” *Rada* 14 (18 January 1907): 3; M. Pylypovych, “Dva postupy, dvi intryhy i odna brehnia,” *Rada* 129 (7 June 1907): 3.

⁵ Romul, “Nevyrazne stanovyshe,” *Rada* 175 (1 August 1912): 1.

lands of historical Poland including, of course, the Right Bank Ukraine and Galicia.⁶ At the same time Ukrainians praised the program of those Poles who either put forward the old slogan of Ukrainian *khlopomans* and when answering the question “Rus’ or Ukraine?” chose the latter as the correct option (as *Przegląd Krajowy* did⁷) or abandoned all ideas of historical Poland (like Leon Wasilewski).⁸

Except for the Poles the Ukrainian press was predominantly full of positive articles about other national movements of both Empires, often referring to them as examples of successful national projects. Thus in various publications one could find favourable texts about Czechs⁹ Slovaks,¹⁰ Latvians,¹¹ Finns,¹² Chuvashi,¹³ Belarusians,¹⁴ and Lithuanians.¹⁵ The latter were especially praised for their position as po-

⁶ Iu. B., “‘Od morza do morza’,” *Rada* 8 (10 January 1913): 2.

⁷ “Z hazet i zhurnaliv,” *Rada* 104 (9 May 1909): 1; “Z hazet i zhurnaliv,” *Rada* 118 (27 May 1909): 1–2.

⁸ D. Dontsov, “Leon Wasilewski, Ukraina i sprawa ukrańska. Krakow, 1911,” *Ukrainskaia zhizn’* 1 (1912).

⁹ Viktor Pisniachevs’kyi, “Krasna Praha,” *Rada* 157 (9 July 1908): 1; Idem, “Dvi kul’tury,” *Rada* 163 (17 July 1908): 1; Pavlo Smutok, “Malen’kyi fel’ieton. Khlopchyk bezshtan’ko i pan Beztiarko,” *Rada* 205 (7 September 1908): 3; *Rada* 243 (24 October 1908); Lg, “Ches’ko-nimets’ke zmahannia,” *Rada* 255 (7 November 1908): 1–2; Lg, “V oboronu natsional’nykh shkil,” *Rada* 260 (13 November 1908): 1–2; N.V., “Ches’ke slovianofil’stvo i ukraiins’ke pytannia,” *Rada* 295 (28 December 1908): 3; V. Doroshenko, “Slovanstvo. Praha, 1912,” *ZNTSh* 111 (1912): 225; M. Rakovs’kyi, “Chekhy i ukraintsi,” *Maiiak* 22 (1914): 10–11; K. Mikhalchuk, “Iz ukrainskogo bylogo,” *Ukrainskaia zhizn’* 8–10 (1914): 84.

¹⁰ V. Domanyts’kyi, “Slovak,” *Rada* 276 (3 December 1908): 1–2; Idem, “Slovak,” *Rada* 277 (4 December 1908): 2–3; Idem, “Slovak,” *Rada* 278 (5 December 1908): 2–3; Idem, “Slovak,” *Rada* 281 (10 December 1908): 2; Idem, “Slovak,” *Rada* 282 (11 December 1908): 2–3. In 1909 these articles were published as a separate book: V. Domanyts’kyi, *Slovak. Pro iikh zhyttia ta natsional’ne vidrozhennia* (Kyiv, 1909).

¹¹ V. Domanyts’kyi, “Pro vidrozhennia letholiv,” *Rada* 7 (10 January 1909): 2–3.

¹² M. Tkachenko, “Lyst z Finliandiii,” *Rada* 188 (17 August 1908): 2; B. Hrinchenko, *Opovidannia pro harnyi narod* (Kyiv, 1912).

¹³ M.L., “Vidrozhennia chuvashiv,” *Rada* 216 (25 September 1909): 2.

¹⁴ V. Hnatiuk, “E. Karskii, Belorusy. Vol. 1. Varshava, 1903,” *ZNTSh* 67 (1905): 52–55; D. Doroshenko, “Bilorusy i iikh natsional’ne vidrozhennia,” *Rada* 246 (28 October 1908): 1–2; Idem, *Rada* 247 (29 October 1908): 2; Idem, *Rada* 249 (31 October 1908): 2–3. These articles were consequently published as a separate book: D. Doroshenko, “Bilorusy i iikh natsional’ne vidrozhennia” (Kyiv, 1908). In 1909 Belarussian nationalist newspaper *Nasha niva* translated the book into Belarussian. In 1909 one of Kievan Belarussians even asked Hrushevsky to found a “small Belarussian department” in *LNV* bookshop to sell there Belarussian books, newspapers and postcards: *Rada* 15 (20 January 1909): 4.

¹⁵ Vyrovnyi, “Pryvit lytovtsiam! (Na 10-litnii iuvilei lytovs’koho ruhu),” *Maiiak* 21 (1914): 7; “Z hazet ta zhurnaliv,” *Rada* 120 (26 May 1907): 1; F. M-i, “Vilens’ka demonstratsiia,” *Rada* 252 (4 November 1908): 1; V. Domanyts’kyi, “Shliakh do zhody,” *Rada* 30 (7 February 1909): 2–3; Idem, “Shliakh do zhody,” *Rada* 31 (8 February 1909): 2–3; D. Doroshenko, “Z vilens’kykh vrazhin,” *Rada* 114 (22 May 1909): 2; Idem, “Z vilens’kykh vrazhin’ (II),” *Rada* 123 (2 June 1909): 1.

tential allies of Ukrainians versus Poles and Russians.¹⁶ For instance, in 1903 *LNV* published a story about Antanas Macijauskas, who was taken to court for publishing his “Map of Lithuanian and Latvian lands” in St. Petersburg using Latin orthography for Lithuanian hydro- and toponymy. The map was freely disseminated for eight months until the head of the Main Department for Press forbade it on the territory of the whole Empire. In response, Macijauskas submitted a complaint to the Senate arguing that the official exceeded his power and could not confiscate the map. Senate decided the case in favour of Macijauskas.¹⁷ On the other hand, Ukrainians could also become an example for Lithuanians, as it happened for instance in 1910 when *Allgemeine Lithauische Rundschau* appeared after the example of Ukrainian journal.¹⁸

Still, it seems that the dissemination of information about Ukrainians in Europe and a search for powerful European allies was the main task of the Ukrainian activists. In the beginning of 1906 the first concern about the lack of information about Ukraine abroad appeared in the first volume of Borys Hrinchenko’s journal *Nova Hromada* [New Community]. The author rued the absence of “Ukraine” on the maps of Europe and Russia: even though its geographical territory was there with its rivers, steppes and mountains, there was no mention of its “national name” and it was presented as populated by “Little Russians,” “Kleinerussen,” or “Petits Russiens.” According to Hrinchenko, although some information about Ukraine was available in foreign languages from the works of Reclus and Drahomanov (see Chapter 4), it was not noticed and was already long forgotten.¹⁹

¹⁶ “Ukraiinstvo i ioho spil’nyky,” *Rada* 14 (18 January 1909): 1.

¹⁷ “Konfiskata na bukvy,” *LNV* 21 (1903): 218.

¹⁸ *Rada* 214 (1910): 2.

¹⁹ B. Hrinchenko, “Pam’iati Romana Sembratovycha,” *Nova hromada* 1 (1906): 101–102.

It seems that Hrinchenko was exaggerating a bit. The first attempts to internationalise the Ukrainian movement that I have found after Drahomanov were related to Fedir Vovk and his activity in Paris. In October 1895 Vovk wrote to Hrushevsky that he had begun to contribute his texts to some French journal “at least to a small degree to include Ukrainian work to all-European science to remind people more often that there existed Ukraine in the world and to achieve its recognition if not in politics then at least in science.”²⁰ His attempts of this period were specifically related to the newly published ethnographical map of Ukraine-Rus’ by Velychko (see Chapter 8). In March 1896 Vovk asked Hrushevsky for eleven copies of it to present them to the Parisian Anthropological Society, Geographical Society and Muséum d’Histoire Naturelle. He asked to send them directly to him, since if they were sent directly to the Museum they would be deposited in the library, not in the Museum, and thus would not be displayed on the wall and in the classes during lectures.²¹ Recognising the high cost of such enterprise he explicitly asked Hrushevsky not to be lavish and to send the maps, “since if they did not do their best people would have a blank look to the end of their lives when one would tell them about Ukraine.”²² At the moment I do not know if Vovk provided the maps to the institutions mentioned above, but for sure he reviewed Velychko’s map and even published its translation in *Bulletins de la Société d’Anthropologie* (Figure 10.1). In the beginning of 1897 Hrushevsky sent him a letter of satisfaction, praising both of them for “a great work of popularising the ethnographical map.”²³

²⁰ *Lystuvannia M. Hrushevs’koho*. Vol. 2 (Kyiv, 2001), 106.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 119.

²² *Ibid.*, 122.

²³ *Ibid.*, 125.

Despite the French debut it seems that the German language was a priority for making Ukrainian cause known in Europe. Asking Hrushevsky for the copies of Velychko's map Vovk excused himself: "This will cost a lot – I know – but this needs to be done so that we and this map will be talked about and known because otherwise maybe in some five years someone will remember something, nothing else, and even this will happen only in case if Germans remember something."²⁴ Most probably this reference to the Germans and this preference for the German language could be explained by the fact that at the time the Ukrainian cause was promoted in Europe by Galicians who belonged to the German-speaking intellectual world. Thus, the idea to publish a permanent journal which could perform the role of Ukrainian mouthpiece in Europe supposedly came from the editor of *Frankfurter Zeitung* Josef Stern, who in 1900 wrote to Roman Sembratovych that

even if you publish a hundred scientific volumes on history and ethnography of your people, even if you write a thousand articles in foreign newspapers, you still will not interest European journalists to such an extend that they will start speaking of your affairs themselves. Scientific volumes will rot on the shelves of bookshops and will be read by only two–three scientists, and articles will soon be forgotten. [...] But organise your propaganda, create a permanent tribune, where from the representatives of your people could speak – start to publish at least a small weekly journal in one of the European languages; a journal which will contain political, historical and literary studies and translations of your best novelists, in a word, publish a journal which will be a mirror of political and cultural life and will permanently remind the world of your forgotten people, and you will see that this is the most certain path towards achieving your aim.²⁵

Inspired by Stern, in 1901 Sembratovych started to publish the weekly *X-Strahlen* in Vienna. Even though due to the lack of financial means he closed it at the end of the year, in the beginning of 1903, together with some Ukrainian deputies of the Austrian parliament, he founded a biweekly *Ruthenische Revue*. As two of its main participants recalled later, the journal had two main objectives:

Its main aim was to make Western Europe acquainted with political and cultural life of Ukrainians. Until that time the European world had only a vague view of the Ukrainian cause. They either considered Ukrainians the same as Great Russians, providing only a

²⁴ *Lystuvannia M. Hrushevs'koho*. Vol. 2, 121.

²⁵ D. Doroshenko, "Ukraiinskaia tribuna v Evrope," *Ukrainskii vestnik* 4 (1906): 255.

territorial meaning to the name of “Ukraine,” or again recognised Galicians as a separate nation from the Russian Ukrainians. [...] Understanding the authority of the world opinion various enslaved nations tried to create themselves world tribunes in the form of journals in foreign European languages. In this way Fins published “Finnlandische Rundschau,” Armenians “Pro Armenia,” Poles have their “Polnische Korrespondenz” in Vienna, the same is true about Young Czechs and so on. Apart from the political significance, our journal has a great importance as an informational publication.²⁶

Contemporaries valued *Ruthenische Revue* as a very successful initiative: its articles were supposedly widely read, republished and used as a source material for the journalists not only of the German press, but also for the Swedish, Norwegian, Spanish, Italian, French and even Japanese journalists.²⁷ However, it seems that already from its very cover *Ruthenische Revue* had a big problem, which was related to its name: Ruthenian. Even its first editorial and the editor’s article spoke of “Die Ruthenen oder Kleinrussen.”²⁸ Thus in 1906 after Sembratovych’s death the journal resumed its publication but already under the new name of *Ukrainische Rundschau*. As its new editor explained it in *Rada*, “having ended very anxiously the third year of their publication with death of Roman Sembratovych, they decided to make one important change by naming their journal *Ukrainische Rundschau*. They dared to make this step since the old name *Ruthenisch*, *Ruthene* could not and did not have right to be used for designation of all Ukrainians.”²⁹ Replying to those readers who criticised the editors for changing the journal’s name, Volodymyr Kushnir quoted Johan August Lundell, who considered “the name *Ukrainisch* for designating people and language very fortunate.”³⁰ Close attention of the new team around the journal to Ukrainian na-

²⁶ “Lyst do redaktsiii Vasylia Iavors’koho, vydavtsia *Ruthenische Revue*, ta Volodymyra Kushnira, odvichal’noho redaktora,” *Hromads’ka dumka* 15 (18 January 1906): 2.

²⁷ Borys Hrinchenko, “Pam’iati Romana Sembratovycha,” *Nova hromada* 1 (1906): 104–105; “Pam’iati Romana Sembratovycha,” *Shersten* 2 (1906): 2; “Roman Sembratovych,” *Hromads’ka dumka* 2 (1 January 1906): 2.

²⁸ “An unsere Leser!” *Ruthenische Revue* 1 (1903): 1; Roman Sembratowych, “Eine vergessene Nation (Zur Lage der Ruthenen in Russland),” *Ukrainische Rundschau* 1 (1903): 3–9.

²⁹ “Lyst do redaktsiii Vasylia Iavors’koho, vydavtsia *Ruthenische Revue*, ta Volodymyra Kushnira, odvichal’noho redaktora,” *Hromads’ka dumka* 15 (18 January 1906): 2; *Ukrainische Rundschau* (1906): 1.

³⁰ V. Kushnir, “Ukraiins’ke pytannia v pol’s’kii pryzmi pered Ievropoiu,” *Nova hromada* 10 (1906): 39fn.

tional space was revealed from the new cover of the journal: from the third issue of 1908 it depicted the ethnographical map of Ukraine (Figure 10.2).³¹ It seems that the editors of the journal were also somehow related to the creation of David Aitoff's "Ethnographical map of Ukrainians," which in 1908 was actively promoted by the journal and was sent as a free copy to all of its subscribers for 1908 (Figure 10.3).³²

All in all, the journal was very lauded³³ and, at least discursively, was effective.

As one *Rada* author recalled later,

I remember one friend of mine, a Spaniard, who could scarcely be persuaded that any Ukrainians existed. It was difficult for him to believe in this, since he, so to speak, had not studied this at school. And even if he studied at university, he has never met such a name. "Let it be as you wish, that Ukrainians do exist, – he said when I showed him the Ukrainian ethnographical map and the last issue of *Ukrainische Rundschau*, – but do not think of me as a fool and do not think that I will believe you that Georgians exist as well. No, this is absolutely too much."³⁴

Therefore, when in 1909 *Ukrainische Rundschau* got into financial problems *Rada* published an urgent call to Ukrainians "not to allow our only tribune in Europe to fall!"³⁵

Ukrainians praised some other German publications, originating from *Ukrainische Rundschau*,³⁶ polemicised with others,³⁷ but in my opinion the second major endeavour of the Ukrainian activists of the time in the German language was

³¹ Although in this dissertation I left this problem aside of my research, but I would like to note that in the years prior to the First World War all this activity of Ukrainian nationalists was carefully watched by the diplomats of the opposing sides. For instance, Russian diplomats in Vienna evaluated this change of *Ukrainische Rundschau*'s cover as a clear sign of Ukrainian willingness to create a separate Ukrainian state in future: M. Klopova, "Ukrainskoe dvizhenie v Avstro-Vengrii," in *Ukraina i ukrainsky: obrazy, predstavleniia, stereotypy*, ed. by Elena Borisenok (Moskva, 2008), 110.

³² Die Redaktion, "An unsere geehrten Abonnenten!" *Ukrainische Rundschau* 11–12 (1907): 376; *Ukrainische Rundschau* 1 (1908): 1, 41; *Rada* 258 (16 November 1907): 4; "Ukrainische Rundschau," *Rada* 11 (13 January 1908): 1; "Karta naselennia ukraiins'koho naroda," *Rada* 12 (15 January 1908): 4.

³³ A. Sh., "Ievropa i Ukrainiia," *Rada* 60 (15 March 1911): 1–2.

³⁴ Ia. F., "Ukraiins'ka trybuna v Ievropi," *Rada* 13 (17 January 1909): 1.

³⁵ S. Podolianyn, "Ukraiina i Ievropa," *Rada* 115 (22 May 1910): 1–2.

³⁶ Z. Kuzelia, "Naukova khronika. Heohrafichni chasopysy," *ZNTSh* 78 (1907): 181; Z. Kuzelia, "Paul Dehn, Die Völker Südosteuropas und ihre politischen Probleme. Frankfurt, 1909," *ZNTSh* 106 (1911): 223; M. Den'ko, "Otto Hoetzsch. Russland. Eine Einführung auf Grund seiner Geschichte von 1904 bis 1912. Berlin, 1913," *Rada* 53 (19 March 1914): 1–2.

³⁷ V. Kushnir, "Nebezpechnist' dlia Ievropy," *Nova hromada* 10 (1906); S. Tomashivs'kyi, "Dr. Wladimir Milkowicz, Osteuropa," *ZNTSh* 80 (1907): 201; M. Hrushevs'kyi, "F. Rauter, Zur Geschichte der alten Handelsstrassen in Deutschland (1906)," *ZNTSh* 75 (1907): 169.

the translation of the first volume of Hrushevsky's "History of Ukraine-Rus'." In September 1902 Hrushevsky wrote to Vovk that he would like to see his "History" translated into some European languages, since "among other things this would allow to popularise our national idea (as Germans still cannot distinguish between *Ruthenen* and *Rumänen*)."³⁸ In 1906 he succeeded to publish the German translation of the second edition of his "History" in Leipzig. The importance of making the world aware of Ukrainians was underlined by the author himself. In his preface he emphasised the importance of getting European readers acquainted with the history of "one of the largest Slavonic people, which repeatedly was protecting European civilisation from the destructive influences of the Steppe hordes."³⁹ It was also praised by the contemporary Ukrainian press.⁴⁰ As one of his students summarised it, "the appearance of such solid scientific work would make more for our people in 'Europe' than entire hundreds of political journalist articles."⁴¹ The book was indeed used and read,⁴² not only by the sympathisers but also by the fellow Central-European competitors, some of whom tried to undermine its impact. At the moment I have found only one such answer to Hrushevsky, although even this might be very telling about the entanglement of Central-European national movements of the time.

The reply came from those whom Hrushevsky wanted the Germans to distinguish from Ukrainians: Romanians. The latter were active in elaboration of their national-historical geography at least since the 1875 foundation of the Romanian So-

³⁸ *Lystuvannia M. Hrushevs'koho*. Vol. 2 (Kyiv, 2001), 167.

³⁹ Michael Hruševskýj, *Geschichte des Ukrainischen (Ruthenischen) Volkes* (Leipzig, 1906).

⁴⁰ *KS* 2 (1906): 31.

⁴¹ Vitalii Tel'vak, "Nimets'komovna 'Istoriia ukrains'koho narodu' Mykhaila Hrushevs'koho v otsinkah suchasnykiv," *Ukraiinskyi istorychnyi zhurnal* 3 (2007): 176.

⁴² For instance, it was one of the sources for G. Raffalovych's only book on Ukraine in English. See: Bedwin Sands, *The Ukraine* (London: Francis Griffiths, 1914), 8.

ciety of Geography,⁴³ but its most solid version was created by Nicolae Iorga, the best known Romanian adherent of geography's role for nation's existence. Iorga thought of Romania as of a living body whose "bloody borders" were "tugged across the bleeding national body."⁴⁴ Although the Hungarian province of Transylvania remained the main contested territory for him and other Romanian intellectuals, the second most important was the Austrian province of Bukovyna, populated by "Ruthenians / Ukrainians," "Romanians," Germans and Jews. Considering Bukovyna as a part of Romania, Iorga was especially active in intellectually tying it to the Romanian mainland. In 1904–1908 he endorsed the idea of organising a summer course for the Transylvanian, Bukovynian, and (to a lesser extent) Bessarabian youth to promote the idea of Romanian national unity among them.⁴⁵ Thus when in 1907 Iorga reviewed Hrushevsky's history in *Literarischen Zentralblatt für Deutschland*, even praising Hrushevsky's overall knowledge, he criticised the book exactly for its "exaggeration" of Ukrainian settlement in pre-historical times (see chapter 5), his use of ethnonym *Ukrainisch* and Hrushevsky's reluctance to use ethnonym *Rumänen* (according to Iorga "Hrushevsky verabscheut den Namen: Rumänen") instead of the *dortigen Vlach*en. Iorga concluded his review with the assertion that

Alles in allem hat man es mit einem Werke zu tun, das den nationalistischen Bestrebungen der Ruthenen, die als ein eigenes Volk von 34 Millionen, mit eigener Kultur und eigener Staatsbildungen, erscheinen wollen, dient.⁴⁶

⁴³ Ion Şandru and Vasile Cucu, "The development of geographical studies in Rumania," *The Geographical Journal* 132 (1966): 45.

⁴⁴ Nicholas Nagy-Talavera, *Nicolae Iorga: a biography* (Iaşi, 1998), 86–93.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 159–160.

⁴⁶ Vitalii Tel'vak, "Retsenziia Nikolaie Iorgy na 'Geschichte des ukrainischen (ruthenischen) Volkes' Mykhaila Hrushevs'koho," *UASHch* 12 (2007): 842–843. However, Ukrainian-Romanian relations were not a one-way street, but rather had a situational character. Occasionally they could cooperate with each other when both sides had a common aim. In the indicated period the only goal shared by Ukrainians and Romanians was to undermine the historical Hungarian state. Thus, for instance, in 1911 Volodymyr Kushnir, the editor of *Ukrainische Rundschau*, managed to publish an article on Hungarian Ukrainians in *Romanuli: Rada* 84 (15 April 1911): 4.

It seems that the French direction was not so successfully pursued by Ukrainians. Although in August 1903 Hrushevsky wrote to Vovk that he had read a French translation of his manuscript and disagreed only with some of the “conventional things” (when, for instance, a translator used *Petit-Russiens* instead of *Ukrainians*),⁴⁷ French version of Hrushevsky’s magnum opus has never appeared. On the other hand, in 1903 Hrushevsky accepted an invitation of the Russian Higher School of Social Sciences in Paris and conducted a series of lectures on the history of Ukraine. Otherwise, the Ukrainian cause was presented in France only by the articles of separate authors, both Ukrainian and European. For instance, in 1906, inspired by *Ruthenische Rundschau*, a famous Norwegian writer Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson published an overview article “Las Ruthene” in *Le Courrier Europeen*,⁴⁸ becoming a hero of Ukrainian press.⁴⁹ Apart from that I have not found any large article in French about Ukraine until 1913, when Iaroslav Fedorchuk published his text “The Ukrainians” with the map in *Le courrier Europeen*⁵⁰ and in Lviv Vadym Shcherbakivsky published his book on Ukrainian art in two languages: Ukrainian and French. The latter was accompanied by the already mentioned map (Figure 10.4), which was cut from the book on the Russian border, although one reviewer criticised it for using some middle form between “Ukraine” and “Oukraïne” – “Ukraïne,” and “Kiev” instead of “Kyiff.”⁵¹ Therefore it seems that the most important Ukrainian project in the French language was the col-

⁴⁷ *Lystuvannia M. Hrushevs'koho*. Vol. 2 (Kyiv, 2001), 192.

⁴⁸ “Shche z pryvodu statti B’iernstjerne-B’iernsona pro ukraiintsiv,” *Rada* 59 (22 November 1906): 3.

⁴⁹ *Rada* 142 (23 June 1907): 1–2; *Rada* 144 (26 June 1907): 2; *Rada* 87 (1910): 2; *Rada* 92 (24 April 1910): 1–2. Although at the same time he was criticised In 1907 Franko wrote that Bjørnson’s preface to Sembratovych’s book “makes one sad: for some years he’s interested in Ukraine, but apart of some Ukraine which is “la grande et invincible nation des Ruthénes,” has thirty million of population and suffers from Poles and Russians, knows nothing about it. Ivan Franko, “R. Sembratovych, *Le Tsarisme et l’Ukraine*. Paris 1907,” *LNV* 2 (1907): 373.

⁵⁰ *Rada* 148 (29 June 1913): 3.

⁵¹ O. Nazariiv, “L’art der l’Ukraine (Kyiv–Lviv, 1913),” *ZNTSh* 116 (1913): 217–220.

lection of eleven articles on Ukraine in volume 3–4 of *Les Annales des Nationalites*. They were written by the famous Ukrainians (Hrushevsky, S. Iefremov, M. Voronyi, O. Pchilka, L. Tsehelsky and Fedorchuk), and the first of them was a review of Ukrainian geography and population; the collection was also accompanied by the map. However, although it seems that the aim of informing a wider reading public about Ukraine was reached and this publication was positively reviewed by the Ukrainian press and severely criticised by the Polish press,⁵² some prominent Ukrainians still criticised this major Ukrainian endeavour in French on the eve of the First World War. In their opinion, its editors, Charles Segnobos, presented the Ukrainian movement “as exclusively innocent cultural provincialism”; the journal also used “a wrong transcription of the name ‘Ukraiina,’ ‘ukraiins’kyi’ writing ‘Ukraine,’ ‘ukra-nien,’ and not ‘Oukraïne,’ ‘oukraïmien’,”⁵³ and its cartographical appendix did not provide any clarity and understanding as to where the majority of Ukrainians lived.⁵⁴

In the English language some articles sympathetic towards Ukrainians started to appear at least since 1903. Ukrainians published them in the *Russian Review* and the *Saturday Review*,⁵⁵ stipulating, for instance, the idea to represent Ukrainian life during the Russian exhibition in London in 1911⁵⁶ and the necessity to send Ukrainian books to the British museum, which already possessed a large collection of Ukrainian books

⁵² *Gazeta Warszawska* (№162) in its review supposedly tried to reduce possible impact of this journal by claiming that the majority of its authors were freemasons: *Rada* 136 (15 June 1913): 2; Iurii B., “Natsionalistychne zasliplennia,” *Rada* 266 (20 November 1913): 2.

⁵³ M. Zalizniak, “Les Annales des Nationalites 3–4 (1913),” *ZNTSh* 115 (1913): 235–236; “Z hazet ta zhurnaliv,” *Rada* 177 (3 August 1913): 2.

⁵⁴ “Frantsuz’ka presa pro ukraiins’kyi narid,” *LNV* 5 (1913): 379–380; Sofiia Rusova, “Ukraiina na sudi Ievropy,” *Rada* 110 (1913): 2–3.

⁵⁵ V.D., “Anhlychanyn pro ukraiins’ke vydannia,” *LNV* 21 (1903): 291; T. Volkov, “The Ukraine question,” *The Russian Review* (November 1912); S. Podolianyn, “Russian Review v ukraiins’kii spravi,” *Rada* 76 (3 April 1912): 1; *Snip* 33–34 (1912); *Rada* 37 (14 February 1913): 2; Geo. Raffalovich, “The Ukraine,” *The New Age* (10 April 1913); Geo. Raffalovich, “The problem of the Ukraine,” *The Outlook* (31 May 1913); Geo. Raffalovich, “The future of the Ukraine,” *New Age* (23 October 1913).

⁵⁶ V. S-kyi, “Na uvahu nashomu hromadianstvu,” *Rada* 142 (24 June 1909): 1.

even marked as “Ukrainian.”⁵⁷ Such activity was more than urgent since, according to *Rada*, the most influential English newspaper, *Times*, conducted clearly anti-Ukrainian politics, thinking of it as of the Austro-German intrigue, and supported the unity of Russia. Thus, *Rada* urged “to start working on paralysing this harmful job so that English population did not get news from muddy sources. [...] The only way to do so was to organise an informational bureau. *Ukrainische Rundschau* did it for the German-speaking audience, *Les Annales* did for the Roman public. It was time they did something similar in English.”⁵⁸ No such bureau has appeared though and Ukrainian dissemination of their cause among the English speaking audience resulted only in some articles published on private initiative.

In this way Volodymyr Stepankivsky gave a presentation about Ukraine in the London club *Nobodies* in 1912 with a map to support his arguments.⁵⁹ Later the same year he published an article in *Rada* describing twenty old maps of Ukraine he had discovered in the British Museum, arguing that there was no need to “invent clumsy new words like various *l’Oukraine*, *Ookraina*,” when there existed a long Western European tradition to call Ukraine as “Ukraine” since the sixteenth – seventeenth century.⁶⁰ The same year the article by Mykola Biliashivsky on Ukraine was included into the collection of *The Studio* journal and although on the one hand it was the only article accompanied by the map (Figure 10.5) and its text was telling the story of “Ukrainian” peasant art, on the other hand the title of the article was “The peasant art of Little Russia (The Ukraine),” making its reviewer regret that instead of putting

⁵⁷ S. Podolianyn, “Ukraiins’ki knyzhky v Brytans’komu muzeii,” *Rada* 76 (3 April 1910): 2.

⁵⁸ *Rada* 53 (19 March 1914): 1. On the anti-Ukrainian stance of *Times* see ““Pravda’ gr. Bobrinskogo o Galitsii,” *Ukrainskaia zhizn’* 5 (1912): 108; *Rada* 21 (25 January 1913).

⁵⁹ S. Podolianyn, “Ukraiinets’, moskal’ i rosiianyn (Lyst z Londona),” *Rada* 69 (23 March 1912): 1–2; S. Podolianyn, “Lektsiia pro Ukrainu (Lyst z Londonu),” *Rada* 145 (26 June 1912).

⁶⁰ S. Podolianyn, “Ukraina seu Terra Cosaccorum,” *Rada* 219 (26 September 1912): 2. This article was summarised in “Karty Ukrainy v Britanskom muzee,” *Ukrainskaia zhizn’* 10 (1912): 100.

“Little Russia” into brackets, someone preferred to put “Ukraine” there.⁶¹ The same year George Raffalovych gave a presentation on contemporary Ukraine in the London club *Nobodies*, which was enthusiastically summarised by *Ukrainskaia zhizn'*, *Snip* and *Rada*.⁶² This lecture became the foundation for the book he published in 1914 which was enthusiastically greeted by the Ukrainian reviewers in *Rada*, *Ukrainskaia zhizn'* and *LNV*⁶³ and which seems to me the most substantial work on Ukraine published in Europe on the eve of the war.

In the book its author devoted his considerable attention to the geographical description of Ukraine, its borders and its position in Europe, providing its existence with a clear geopolitical meaning on the eve of the coming war:

Should the movement that is now afoot – the movement by which a nation is becoming alive to its rights – should that movement succeed in obtaining the attention of England and the whole civilised world – and I trust it will – the ghost of Pan-Slavist expansion, the ghost of the ambitious Muscovite Nationalism, will be removed for ever from the nightmares of our English political leaders. German expansion is much less probable than Russian expansion, as we all know. A day may come when we shall all recognise that, failing the British, German expansion may mean salvation to European civilisation, as much as Russian expansion would endanger it. If you will kindly look at the map of the world, you can realise that it will be the end of Russia – not, indeed, by any means as a great Power, but as a European danger – if the Ukraine ever secedes from the Empire. And if the Ukraine gets anything, it will be full independence, as a rich and worthy nation. Think of the Black Sea and the key it holds. It matters comparatively little to her if Russia loses Poland, and even Finland. But without the Ukraine, Russia becomes an Asiatic Power. I submit to you that it is her place, the only one she is fit to hold. It is not that I wish to destroy your inborn sympathy for the wretched Russian peasant. [...] When I speak of Russia, I mean only that section of the leaders of her unreliable, ever-changing policy, which is called here the Russian Nationalist party – wrongly called, for if the destinies of Russia were in their hands, then, indeed, God help the Russian nation, and England and the world!⁶⁴

In particular, Raffalovych underlined that the name of this country was “Ukraine” and “at the moment the term ‘Little Russia’ was only applied to Ukraine by Russian Nationalists, who thereby tried to persuade themselves that there was really no difference of race and nationality in the south of the Russian Empire, and that the Ukrainians

⁶¹ S. Podolianyn, “Ukraiins’ka selians’lka umilist’,” *Rada* 223 (30 September 1912): 4–5. Stepanivsky blamed the publisher for the last minute change of the title.

⁶² “Lektsiia ob Ukraine v Londone,” *Ukrainskaia zhizn'* 10 (1912): 99; *Snip* 40 (1912): 6; S. Podolianyn, “Nova lektsiia pro Ukraïnu,” *Rada* 217 (23 September 1912): 2–3.

⁶³ *Rada* 86 (17 April 1914): 2; *Ukrainskaia zhizn'* 5–6 (1914); *LNV* 1 (1914): 206–207.

⁶⁴ Sands, 5–6.

were only a branch of the Muscovite race, if such a race had ever existed at all.”⁶⁵ At the end of his book he even listed “some of the names used for Ukrainians,” which had to disappear in the future and be substituted by “Ukrainians”: Malorussians / South Russians / Little Russians / Yugoruss / Roosini or Rusniaks (as opposed to Russianin) / Ruthens / Ruthenians / Galicians / Hutzuls (Highlanders in the Carpathians) / Bukovinians / Lvovians. Necessarily, his arguments were supported by the maps: one of Ukraine and the other one presenting the picture of Ukraine with Ukraine as part of Russia and as an independent state (Figures 10.6a – 10.6b).

Europe was not the only direction for Ukrainian propaganda. Naturally, putting forward the idea of national-territorial autonomy in the future Russian federation the Ukrainian activists had to promote their case in Russia as well. Thus in 1906 *Ukrainskii vestnik* [Ukrainian Herald] was founded in St. Petersburg and almost immediately it was explicitly compared with *Ukrainische Rundschau* for its role as Ukrainian tribune in Russia.⁶⁶ According to its program, the main tasks of this journal were “to spell this hesitation and this lack of information, clarify Ukrainian national question from the historical, everyday life, social and economical side, point to Ukraine’s place among other regions of democratic Russia, – assist in fair solution of national and regional question in general.”⁶⁷ In the fourth issue it supported its claims by the meticulous article of Oleksandr Rusov and a map of Ukrainian population in “Southern Russia” (Figure 10.7). However, after this journal stopped being published in September of the same year, another Ukrainian journal aimed at the Russian-speaking audience, *Ukrainskaia zhizn* [Ukrainian life], was founded in St. Petersburg only in 1912. In its

⁶⁵ Sands, 34.

⁶⁶ D. Doroshenko, “Ukrainskaia tribuna v Evrope,” *Ukrainskii vestnik* 4 (1906): 256; B. Hrinchenko, “Narodni vchyteli i ukraiins’ka shkola,” *Hromads’ka dumka* 170 (25 July 1906): 1.

⁶⁷ “Zadachi Ukrainskogo vestnika,” *Ukrainskii vestnik* 1 (1906): 6.

program it referred to the Viennese publication again: “*Ruthenische Revue* made European society in general and the Germans in particular acquainted with peculiarities of life of these millions in Vienna. There was no such publication in Russia those days, although the need in it was not smaller than in Austria.”⁶⁸

Both journals promoted the idea of federal reconstruction of Russia and Ukrainian national-territorial autonomy as the first step towards the federal reconstruction of Russia.⁶⁹ Various public lectures in Moscow and St. Petersburg were conducted about Ukraine and its territory.⁷⁰ Hrushevsky published his popular history of Ukraine in three editions (1904, 1906 and 1911), all of which included maps of the Ukrainian population (Figures 10.8 – 10.10). However, the most famous Ukrainian project in the Russian language for Russian-speaking audience was a two-volume collection “The Ukrainian people in its past and present,” a joint venture of Petersburg liberals and leading Ukrainian activists. Initially was meant to have four volumes on the Ukrainian language, literature, culture, economy, art, and one of those was meant to be a geographical description of Ukraine by A. Kaufmann.⁷¹ Although only two of its volumes were published, the second one contained a detailed description of Ukraine by Stepan Rudnytsky⁷² and a description of its population by Rusov and Vovk.⁷³ Although this book had neither a separate physical, nor political map of Ukraine, it contained four maps by Vovk, depicting the anthropological landscape of Ukrainian territory and the

⁶⁸ “Nashi zadachi (ot redaktsii),” *Ukrainskaia zhizn'* 8 (1912).

⁶⁹ Mikhail Grushevskii, “Natsional'nyi vopros i avtonomiia,” *Ukrainskii vestnik* 1 (1906): 8–14; M. Grushevskii, “Iedinstvo ili raspadenie,” *Ukrainskii vestnik* 3 (1906): 150–151; M. Mogilianskii, “Postanovka voprosa ob avtonomii,” *Ukrainskii vestnik* 12 (1906): 807.

⁷⁰ V. D-ko, “Vidchyt pro Ukrainu,” *LNV* 21 (1903): 217; *Hromads'ka dumka* 40 (21 February 1906): 2; S.P., “Dopys iz Sankt Peterburgu,” *Ridnyi krai* 7 (1906): 13.

⁷¹ See the list of all prospective articles in: “Ukrains'ka entsyklopediia,” *Rada* 133 (12 June 1912): 3–4; “Ukrains'ka entsyklopediia,” *Rada* 154 (7 July 1912): 1; An. V., “Ukrainskii narod,” *Rada* 157 (11 July 1912): 1–2.

⁷² Stepan Rudnytskii, “Ocherk geografii Ukrainy,” in *Ukrainskii vopros v ego proshlom i nastoiashchem*. Vol. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1916), 361–380.

⁷³ Vovk, 452.

geographical distribution of Ukrainian huts according to the building material (Figures 10.11).

Thus, in the end of this chapter I would like to argue that Ukrainians did try to pursue an active propaganda of their territory abroad and persuade various foreigners that Ukraine was neither someone's *kresy*, nor someone's *okraina*.⁷⁴ At the same time, making Europeans and Russians aware of Ukraine could also boost the Ukrainian movement at home and legitimise it in front of local "unconscious" population. Further comparative research into the period beyond 1914 will help to evaluate the success of this activity.

⁷⁴ M. Pylypovych, "Dva postupy, dvi intryhy i odna brehnia," *Rada* 129 (7 June 1907): 3.

Figure 10.1. Gr. Velytchko, *Carte ethnographique de la nation rutheno-ukrainienne*

Source: Th. Volkov, "Carte ethnographique de la nation rutheno-ukrainienne, publiée par la Société de l'Instruction publique ('Prosvita'), à Léopol, 1894," *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie* 8 (1897): 150.



Figure 10.2. Covers of *Ukrainische Rundschau* (Vienna, 1908)

Figure 10.4. *Karta Ukrainy / Carte de L'Ukraine*

Source: Vadym Shcherbakivs'kyi, *Ukrains'ke mystetstvo* (Lviv, 1913).

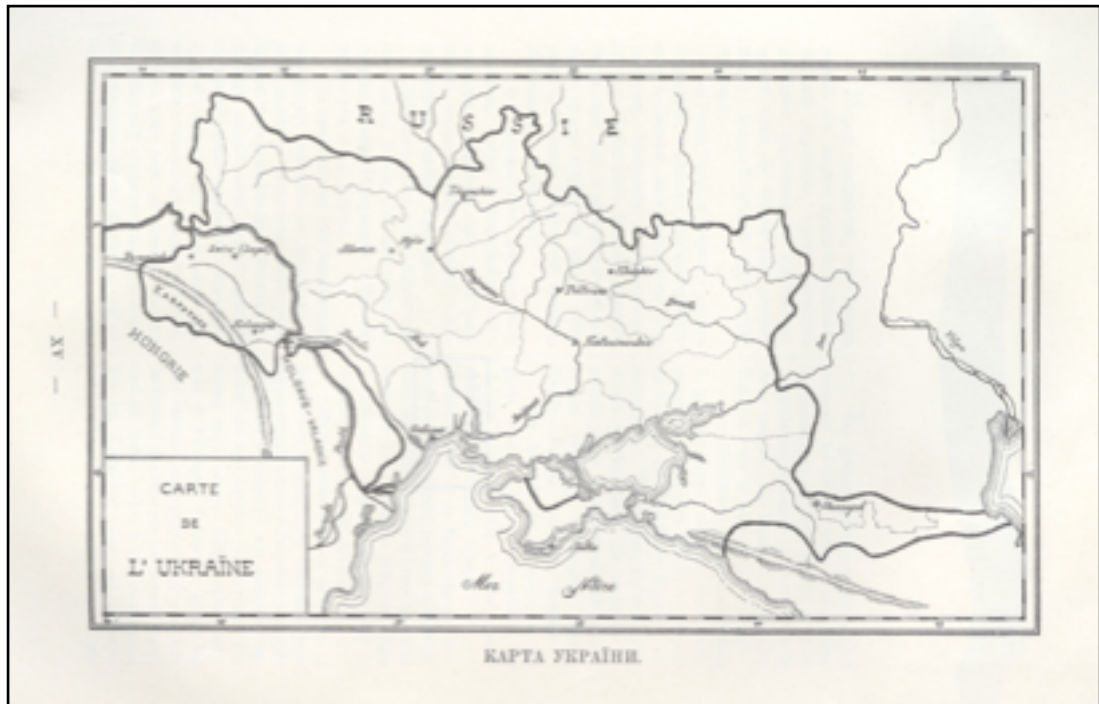


Figure 10.5. S. Drahomanova, *Little Russia (The Ukraine)*

Source: N. Bilachevsky, "Little Russia (The Ukraine)," in Charles Holme, ed. *Peasant art in Russia* (London, Paris, New York: The Studio, 1912), 17.



Figure 10.6a. *Europe With and Without the Ukraine*

Source: Bedwin Sands, *The Ukraine* (London: Francis Griffiths, 1914), 7.



Figure 10.6b. *Map of the Ukraine*

Source: Bedwin Sands, *The Ukraine* (London: Francis Griffiths, 1914), 25.



Figure 10.7. *Raspredelenie ukrainskogo naseleniia v Iuzhnoi Rossii*
[Distribution of Ukrainian population in Southern Russia]

Source: Aleksandr Rusov, "Neskol'ko slov o territorii i naselenii Ukrainy," *Ukrainskii vestnik* 4 (1906): flyleaf.



Figure 10.8. *Sovremennaia ukrainskaia territoriia*
[Present Ukrainian territory]

Source: Mikhail Grushevskii, *Ocherk istorii ukrainskogo naroda* (St. Petersburg, 1904).



Figure 10.9. *Sovremennaia ukrainskaia territoria*
[Present Ukrainian territory]

Source: Mikhail Grushevskii, *Ocherk istorii ukrainskogo naroda* (St. Petersburg, 1906).



Figure 10.10. *Sovremennaia ukrainskaia territoria*
[Present Ukrainian territory]

Source: Mikhail Grushevskii, *Ocherk istorii ukrainskogo naroda* (Kiev, 1911).

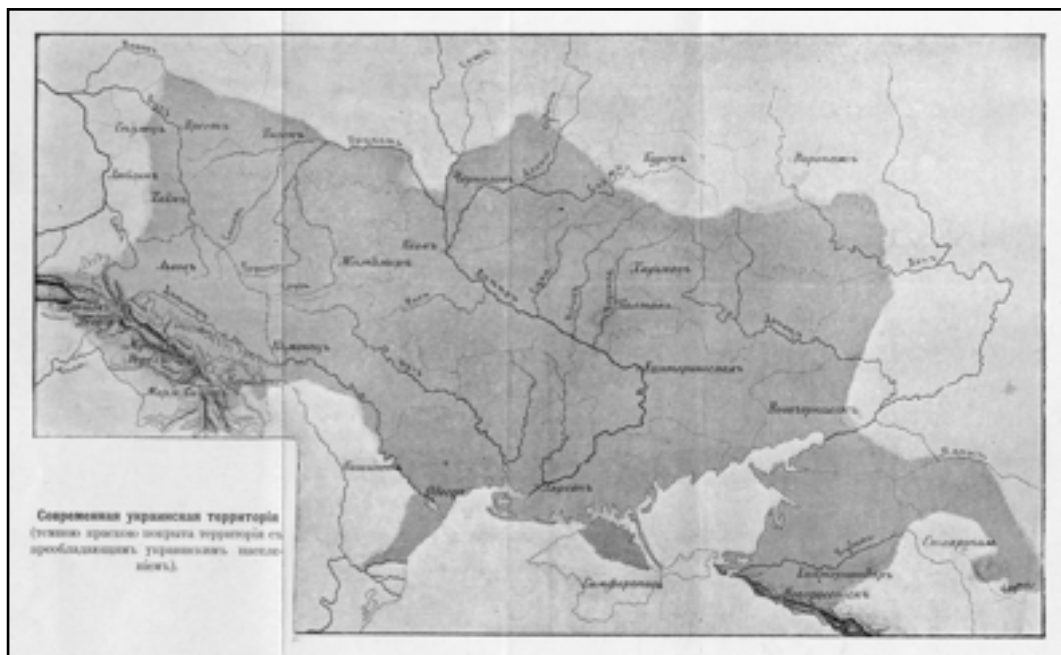


Figure 10.11. *Anthropologicheskie karty ukrainskogo naseleniia*
[Anthropological maps of Ukrainian population]

Source: Fedor Volkov, "Antropologicheskie osobennosti ukrainskogo naroda," in *Ukrainskii vopros v ego proshlom i nastoiashchem*. Vol. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1916), a) 432; b) 440; c) 448; d) 520.

Figure 10.11a. *Kartogramma tsveta volos ukrainskogo naseleniia*
[Cartogram of hair colour of Ukrainian population]

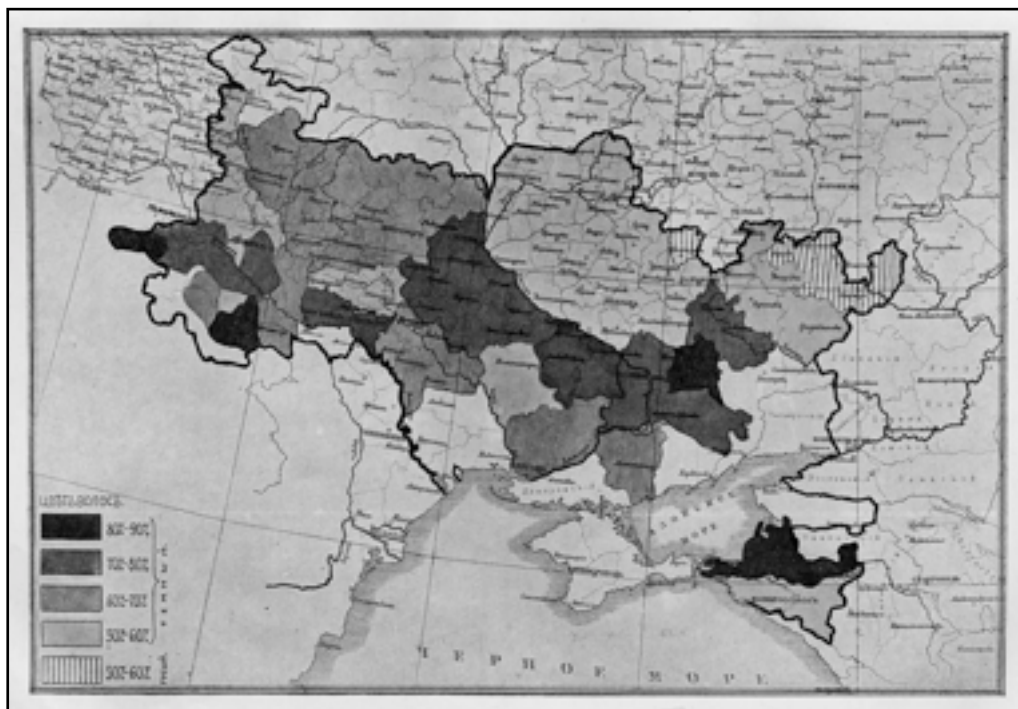


Figure 10.11b. *Kartogramma rosta ukrainskogo naseleniia*
[Cartogram of height of Ukrainian population]



Conclusions

The story of Ukrainian national territorialisation highlights crucial relation between a nation and its territory. The land indeed turns out to be “intrinsic to the very concept of a national identity,” as was suggested by Robert Kaiser, and nationalism appears as a territorial ideology *per se*. In this respect Ukrainian nationalists were not different from any other national activists in contemporary Europe and paid utmost attention to it, debating the idea of what Ukrainian national space was.

Although my main focus at the moment was largely on the Romanov Empire, I tried to use as wide a range of sources as possible, including materials from the Habsburg Ukraine as well: both new and known to my predecessors, primary and secondary, published and archival. Proceeding from them I foremost argued that modern Ukrainian nationalism should necessarily be seen not only as a campaign for cultural, economical or political emancipation as was mainly emphasised by the previous scholars, but also as a movement which carefully and consciously imagined itself even in such a seemingly most primordial characteristic as territorial. The sources which I referred to allowed me to revise the suggestions of Roman Szporluk and Serhii Bilenky that the idea of modern Ukrainian national space existed as early as in the end of the eighteenth or in the first half of the nineteenth century. Contrary to them I argue that it was created only in the middle of the nineteenth century by the Ukrainophiles from the circle around *Osnova*, who based their assertions on Pavel Josef Šafařík’s map. In the 1870s their suggestions were scientifically substantiated by Pavlo Chubynsky’s research and in the 1890s were temporalised by Mykhailo Hrushevsky’s synthesis of ideas and research of Kyivan historians of the 1880s–1890s.

Contrary to my predecessors I also argue that creation of national Ukrainian territory did not follow the logic of the twenty-first century and of contemporary idea of Ukrainian territory: one should not be surprised that at some point Volhynia could stay out of it, as could have Crimea, Bessarabia or even Galicia with other “Ukrainian” territories of the Habsburg Empire. Unlike Ivan Lysiak-Rudnytsky, I argue that the process of defining the concept of “Ukraine” was not a plain action of getting together all “Ukrainian lands.” On the contrary, it was a ceaseless process of negotiations and discussions between its main actors, depending on various reasons, not only on the participants of the discourse themselves. Moreover, as I tried to demonstrate, these discussions were not only *sui generis*, but were also closely entangled with other contemporary contexts: Russian imperial, Russian national, Little Russian, Polish, Romanian, Lithuanian and Czech among others. Thus, in the end, this thesis contributes both to the Ukrainian, Russian and wider Eastern-European historiography.

However, while classical works on similar topics usually stop at the moment when some entity is imagined, in this thesis I argue that the space previously imagined was afterwards actively worked with and turned from the imaginary space into a social one. Doing this I specified the notion of spatial practice and of the mastering of space by knitting together various stories, previously told in different contexts, for instance ethnographical expeditions and the unveiling of monuments. When after 1905 the Ukrainian activists used a chance to promote their idea of Ukrainian national space among the wider audience they started publishing articles and brochures, maps and pictures, organising common conventions and summer schools, promoting travel between its different parts and its study among schoolchildren. Thus in the end the concept of “Ukraine” turns out to be not an organic one existing from the times im-

memorial, but as a constant work in progress, behind which one sees numerous people urging mutual contacts, travels and creation of monuments and buildings in the supposedly Ukrainian style. Change and continuity, contestation and consensus, unpredictability and creation of neologisms and politicisation of concepts, discursive break with the past and *Verzeitlichung* which I described once more remind us of validity of Reinhardt Koselleck's statement that "in politics, words and their usage are more important than any other weapon." Moreover, new sources which I introduced in my thesis allowed me to tell these stories in a more detailed and nuanced way than was done by previous scholars.

My story ends in 1914 when martial law was established in Kiev and on 19 July the only daily in the Ukrainian language, *Rada*, to the great relief of its publisher, Ievhen Chykalenko, was closed by the local administration. However, the events of the next forty years became even more significant for the further development of the concept of Ukraine. In 1912 one of *Rada's* authors shared his dream with the readers. He was lying under the geographical map, with his head towards the Carpathians and his legs stretched to the Caucasus. Suddenly he woke up trying hard to breath and noticed that some struggle goes on above his blanket:

– I am not afraid of you even if you are a Rouble. Your hands are short!
 – Maybe short... Still, I will manage to deal with some Gulden.
 Some marionettes are pestling on the map. They enter fighting positions. Cause confusion. [...] I could move neither hands, not legs. Some terrible weakness constrained them. But the more I listened to the bustle, the more I lost my sleep. The bustle made its work... And then, I remember, I came up with a thought:
 – At least thank you for this!¹

The First World War, which started two years after this article, the February revolution, the establishment of various Ukrainian national representative organisations in Kiev in 1917 led to the creation of the Ukrainian People's Republic and to the

¹ S. Pryhara, "Neitralitet lezhachoho," *Rada* 217 (23 September 1912): 2.

proclamation of its independence in 1918. Subsequent political turmoil temporarily ended in 1923 when Galicia was taken by the Second Polish Republic, Bukovyna by Romania, the former Hungarian Rus' by the First Czechoslovak Republic and the majority of the former Russian Ukraine becoming the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (with parts of its included into the Russian SFSR). Nevertheless, "the Ukrainian question" emerged again in the inter-war period, during the Second World War and was solved after the Yalta Conference decision on the borders of the future Poland in 1945, the Soviet-Czechoslovak and Soviet-Romanian agreements in 1945–1947. Finally, in 1954 because of "the commonality of the economy, the proximity, and close economic and cultural relations" Crimea became a part of the Ukrainian SSR. In 1991 Ukraine became an independent sovereign state.

Nonetheless, despite the century long existence of a separate political unit with "Ukraine" as a part of its official name, the events of recent history make it relevant to ask how successfully was the idea of Ukrainian territory, created in the middle of the nineteenth century, internalised by the targeted audience, Ukrainians. This even became the subject of the most famous intellectual debate among contemporary Ukrainian intellectuals, led by Mykola Riabchuk and Iaroslav Hrytsak on the matter of deep regional division of Ukraine into two parts: Ukrainian central-western part and Creole south-eastern one.²

"The anecdote," as Hrytsak called it back then, grew only older and more "bearded." After the controversial presidential elections of 2004 and the Orange Revolution the representatives of seventeen Ukrainian oblasts gathered in Severodonetsk. Their convention, which was immediately proclaimed a separatist one in Kiev, led to

² Iaroslav Hrytsak, "Dvadtsiat' dvi Ukraïny," *Krytyka* 4 (2002): 3–6; Mykola Riabchuk, *Dvi Ukraïny: real'ni mezhi, virtual'ni viiny* (Kyiv: Krytyka, 2003).

nothing, but the rhetoric of the head of Kharkiv oblast Evgenii Kushnariov recalls virtually the same fears of some Ukrainian activists of the end of the nineteenth century, although this time the speaker was using the religious argument, most remarkably absent from the discussions century ago:

I would like to remind the hotheads under the orange flags: from Kharkov to Kiev – 480 kilometres, and the border with Russia – 40! We want to live in a state where everyone is protected. Protected, as are their rights, culture, language, history, traditions and customs. We realise that the East has the most serious differences from Galicia, we do not impose our lifestyle on Galicia, but we will never allow Galicia to teach us how to live either! We have to protect and preserve our spiritual pivot which unites us, our religion. We will not accept the lifestyle which is imposed on us, we will not accept strange symbols, our symbol is Orthodoxy.³

Even though all talks about regional separatism have become silent since then, a clear regional division into the eastern-Ukrainian and western-Ukrainian parts which supposedly are not considered as something united continues to exist in Ukrainian daily discourse. In 2010 the famous contemporary writer Iuri Andrukhovych supposedly declared that the separation of the eastern areas of contemporary Ukraine could benefit the development of the central and western part. Most recently a new scandal flared up when in August 2013 a minor newspaper from Dnipropetrovsk published a crossword with a question: “What is the capital of the ‘*khokhols*’” (the “correct” answer was “Kyiv”), and in the same month fans of Donetsk football club jeered at the supporters of Dynamo Kyiv team shouting “Let’s stick it to the *khokhols*!” The failed signing of the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement and severe beating of protesters in Kyiv during the night of 29–30 November 2013 made hundreds of thousands Ukrainians rally against the government, and was immediately used for flaring up the same anecdote about two Ukraines and its probable disintegration.

Sociology, which does not find enough grounds for such fears, but to the contrary suggests that no hyphenated-Ukrainians exist and that there are no fundamental

³ Ievgenii Kushnarev, “Moia sovest’ chista,” *Segodnia* (29 January 2012).

differences between the western and eastern Ukrainians and Ukrainians, seems much better suited to deal with such questions. However, my research shows that to become successful, the process of national space creation should not stop exclusively on imagination but has to continue into the realm of practical politics, when some “Garibaldian macaroni” has to be invented to unite the nation. Even though my work is a purely historical one, keeping in mind Quentin Skinner’s appeal to write history which is relevant for the contemporaries I do hope that the twenty-first century Ukrainian nation will unite around some newer ideas and symbols than have previously been suggested. Instead of toppling another Lenin or replacing him with Stepan Bandera (the sort of thing some of their predecessors at the beginning of the twentieth century would have done), contemporary Ukrainians might concentrate more on decorating the old symbols with rainbows and instead erect new monuments dedicated to the people equally respected around the whole country.

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