



ADAM ŚWIĄTEK

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GENTE RUTHENI,  
*NATIONE POLONI*

THE RUTHENIANS OF POLISH NATIONALITY  
IN HABSBURG GALICIA





*Gente Rutheni, Nazione Poloni:*  
The Ruthenians of Polish Nationality  
in Habsburg Galicia

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Adam Świątek

*Gente Rutheni, Nazione Poloni:*  
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in Habsburg Galicia

Translated from the Polish  
by Guy Russell Torr

Preface  
by Frank E. Sysyn



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Printed in Poland

*To my family*





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# Preface

## *Gente Ruthenus, Nazione Polonus*

When I undertook my research on a biography of Adam Kysil [Adam Kisiel, 1600–53] many decades ago, I assumed he was the classic case of a *gente Ruthenus, natione Polonus*, an appellation for an ethnic Ruthenian who belonged to the Polish political nation—a phenomenon common to the early modern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.<sup>1</sup> Although I was struck by not finding the exact term in his own voluminous writings, I did find many ways in which he juxtaposed his Ruthenian and Polish identities, and I remarked that while I could not find an instance in which he referred to the Poles as his *gens*, I could find cases in which the Ruthenians were his *natio*. I stated that I had avoided the cliché *gente Ruthenus, natione Polonus* because I found it clouded the issue of early modern nationhood more than it clarified it. But I accepted the received opinion that it had been first used by the sixteenth-century figure Stanisław Orzechowski [Stanislav Orikhovsky] and that *gens* meant tribe or ethnic group, while *natio* designated a higher identity of a national or state community. My own interests focused on how Kysil and his generation expressed Ruthenian identity, and here, following the research of Mykhailo Hrushevsky and Viacheslav Lypynsky [Wacław Lipiński], I found a maturing conceptualization of the Ruthenians as a people with its own history and language in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Through examining Kysil's writings, I perceived how the Ukrainian territories annexed by the Kingdom of Poland from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1569 were conceived of as a regional Rus' entity embodied with rights and privileges. My interests were centered on the relation of these phenomena to the rise of Cossack Ukraine.

Only after reading David Althoen's dissertation<sup>2</sup> many years later did I come to see the phrase—which became current in the literature on the early modern period—that assumed a subordination of a *gens* to a *natio* not only did not occur in the works of Orzechowski, to whom it was ascribed, but that it was essentially a creation of the nineteenth century and the age of nationalism. While the early modern period had

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<sup>1</sup> See my monograph *Between Poland and the Ukraine: The Dilemma of Adam Kysil (1600–1653)* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985).

<sup>2</sup> D. Althoen, "That Noble Quest: From True Nobility to Enlightened Society in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, 1550–1830," PhD diss. (University of Michigan, 2001).

a complex web of identities and Ruthenian nobles such as Kysil had come to see the Commonwealth as their *ojczyzna* (fatherland), the phrase *gente Ruthenus, natione Polonus* had obfuscated the study of early modern concepts of nation and diverted scholars' attention from the centrality of *ojczyzna* in explaining the Ruthenian nobles' relation to Crown Poland (Korona Polska) and the Commonwealth (Rzeczpospolita). Polish scholars, concentrating their attention on the Ukrainian lands that remained in the Commonwealth after the Khmelnytsky revolution, tended to focus on the processes of acculturation and assimilation of the Ruthenians into the Commonwealth and Poland. Ukrainian scholars were more likely to focus on the lands where the revolt succeeded and on the emergence of Cossack polities and the culture of the Hetmanate. More recent research has pointed to how "Ukraine on both banks of the Dniro" emerged as a fatherland (Ukrainian: *otchyzna*) in the late seventeenth century and how its culture and political traditions served as a crucial building block for Ukrainian nation-building, including for the Ukrainian lands that remained in the Commonwealth down to the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

Whatever the impact and use of the phrase on the study of the seventeenth century, *gente Ruthenus, natione Polonus* came to play a major role in identity discussions in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Galicia. The phrase came, above all, to describe those in the Austrian crownland of Galicia who identified themselves as in some sense "Ruthenian" and sought to integrate themselves into projects to restore the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth or find a place for Ruthenians in Polish state- and nation-building projects. Ultimately the *gente Ruthenus, natione Polonus* option proved unviable because its adherents could not create a stable Ruthenian identity within a Polish nation and because the majority of Galicia's Ruthenians chose other identity projects, conceiving themselves as a nation separate from the Poles and increasingly as part of a Ukrainian nation. In essence they took on the seventeenth-century choice of those who had rebelled against the Commonwealth. In so doing they affirmed a Cossack historical tradition that was antithetical to the Commonwealth, and they adopted a modern vernacular literary language that they shared with the Ruthenians/Ukrainians of the Russian Empire. Indeed one of the problems of the "Ruthenian of Polish nationality" project that sought to resurrect the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in its borders of 1772 was that it cut off the territories of Left-Bank and Sloboda Ukraine, whose large num-

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<sup>3</sup> For a summary of this research, see Frank E. Sysyn, "Ukrainian Nation-building in the Early Modern Period: New Research Finds," in *Theatrum humanae vitae: Studia in honorem Natala Jakovenko / Studii na poshanu Natali Iakovenko* (Kyiv, 2012), pp. 358–70.

ber of Ukrainian speakers many viewed as the same people as the Ruthenians west of the Dnipro. Hence, for those who saw nationhood as associated with the people's or folk language, the political goals of the "Ruthenians of Polish nationality" would have divided the Ukrainian speakers. Already in 1881 Mykhailo Drahomanov, who had tremendous influence on the formation of a populist and ultimately Ukrainian movement in Galicia, had condemned Polish restorationist goals and insurrections because they were aimed at dividing the Ukrainian people (whatever nomenclature one used for them) along the Dnipro.<sup>4</sup>

Adam Świątek sees this process of affirmation of an ethnos as a nation that sought to establish a state as the usual path of "nationalism." Many scholars would see the Ukrainian case as more complex than just the affirmation of an ethno-linguistic group as a nation, in that it derived in great part from the political culture of the Cossack Hetmanate, including the conceptualization of Cossack Ukraine as a fatherland. Certainly the Achilles heel of various Polish projects to encompass the Ruthenians of Galicia or of the Right Bank in nation- and state-building came from the social and cultural movements deriving from the Hetmanate, the lands that withdrew from the Commonwealth. In the same way, the Polish projects to unite Poles and Galician Ruthenians on the basis of belonging to the Catholic Church faced problems over attempts to diminish distinctions between the Latin and Greek rites or to overestimate those between the Uniates and the Orthodox majority of Ukrainian speakers. In the same way, plans to emphasize the differences between Ruthenians and Orthodox Russians—plans that in many ways worked in favour of the Ruthenians identifying themselves as a nation separate from the Russians—encountered problems because they would also have cut off the Orthodox "Little Russians" beyond the Dnipro, not to speak of those Ruthenians of the Right Bank who had affirmed the abolition of the Union of Berestia/Brest.

Dr. Świątek has undertaken a massive recovery project to restore the voices of those Ruthenians who adopted Polish "nationality," and of those Poles who aimed to gain Ruthenians' loyalty for Polish projects. In many ways his research fits recent trends examining multiple and hierarchical identities. It also contributes to research on national indifferentism. Dr. Świątek has decided to take up the course of an amorphous and ultimately losing trend that does not fit well into either the Polish or the Ukrainian national narrative. At least for the Polish

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<sup>4</sup> For a discussion of Drahomanov's views, see Serhiy Bilenky, "Preface to Drahomanov, 'Jews and Poles in the Southwestern Region'," in *Fashioning Modern Ukraine: Selected Writings of Mykola Kostomarov, Volodymyr Antonovych, and Mykhailo Drahomanov*, ed. Serhiy Bilenky (Edmonton-Toronto, 2013), pp. 307–9.

narrative, the cliché and the purported phenomenon occupied a significant place in historical and political writing and in family genealogies. For those who wish to see *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* as a positive phenomenon and a chance that was missed, Dr. Świątek's book offers many challenges. The phenomenon occupies a much more negative role in the Ukrainian popular imagination, where it is associated with the periods of national decline and individual opportunism. Above all, it is associated with those who wanted to hold back Ruthenian/Ukrainian development as a nation or culture. The upholders of *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* identity can so easily be seen as Uncle Toms or, to use the phrase that at least from the 1880s was coined for those who sold their votes, *khruni* (swine), which in Western Ukraine became a synonym for traitors. Here, too, Dr. Świątek's work will challenge stereotypes and present individuals who wholeheartedly backed a Polish alternative, yet often furthered the development of Ruthenian identity. The great strength of his book is that it examines the advocates and carriers of a series of ideas, identities, and cultural formations associated with *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* over Galicia's long nineteenth century, in fact from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century.

Written for a Polish reading public often well versed in the realia of Polish political and cultural affairs in Galicia, the volume has been adapted for the English-language reader. Still, we recognize that the reader may have to consult a wide array of books on Polish and Ukrainian history to follow all of the narrative and fill in the groups that are not examined. Fortunately recent decades have seen a great increase in such literature available in English. Translating Dr. Świątek's book has not been an easy task, which even the title makes clear. If, from the time of the writings of scholars such as Stanisław Kot, the phrase *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* for the early modern period would have been automatically translated as "of Ruthenian tribe/stock/ethnicity and the Polish nation," David Althoen has given us credible evidence that these translations of *gens* and *natio* do not correspond to early modern usage and that *natio* was frequently used to describe an ethno-linguistic community rather than a political one. Fortunately Kot's vision, though codified only in the 1930s, does coincide with the way *gente Ruthenus, natione Polonus* was employed at least from the 1860s. The groups Dr. Świątek has placed under this rubric have been called "of Ruthenian provenance and Polish nationality." Just what provenance and nationality meant in various periods and situations is the centre of his study.

The English reader should also be aware of how the terms "patriots" and "nationalists" have been used in the Polish lexicon. "Patriots" was used in the nineteenth century, and many contemporary authors con-



tinue using it thus, to describe groups who wished to restore a Polish state, usually on the territory the Commonwealth held until 1772. "Nationalists" is often reserved for those dedicated to Polish ethnicity as the criteria for Polish nationhood (or assimilation to this ethnicity) and who conceived of an independent Poland as this nation's state. The distinction was not always seen in similar terms by those who rejected Polish identity, and Ukrainian activists of the late nineteenth century used the term "*patrioty*" as a synonym for Polish chauvinists. Similar translation problems occur in the Ukrainian case for groups usually called "*narodovtsi*," who are often called populists or Ukrainophiles. The *narodovtsi* adopted a belief that the simple folk had retained their nationality and vernacular language, and that this peasantry would be the basis of the Ruthenian nation, which by the late nineteenth century came to be called Ukrainian. The term "populists" has acquired a very negative connotation today rather than being remembered as the defining name of the nineteenth-century movement for universal male suffrage and economic and political rights for the peasant majority.

The most confusing term for English readers may be the language called "Ruthenian," though this somewhat reflects the nineteenth-century situation and its carry over in the present volume. The Ruthenians of Galicia spoke Ukrainian dialects, which most observers have seen as related to the Ukrainian dialects in the Russian Empire. The literary language is a very different matter. Throughout the nineteenth century, literary forms based on an earlier book form of Ruthenian (an early modern literary language based on Ukrainian and Belarusian with Polish accretions) greatly influenced by Church Slavonic were used and called Ruthenian. At times these literary forms were heavily influenced by Russian (especially advocated by Russophiles). At other times they were closer to the vernacular and influenced by the Ukrainian literary language emerging in the Russian Empire. Battles over language and what alphabet and orthography the Ruthenians were to use played a major role in influencing identity among these Ukrainian speakers of Galicia. They were resolved in the main only at the end of Habsburg rule in favour of a codified Ukrainian language and identity. The reader should keep these differing uses of the phrase "in Ruthenian" in mind while reading Dr. Świątek's book.

The CIUS Press and the Peter Jacyk Centre for Ukrainian Historical Research at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies have undertaken the publication of this volume because it is such an important contribution to the study of Polish-Ukrainian relations and of Galicia. As many readers know, those relations were a minefield throughout most of the twentieth century, and scholarship was not the least of the battlefields. Even the term "Ruthenians" (*rusyny*) was involved in this

controversy, not least because of the reluctance of some Poles to accept the change of nomenclature to “Ukrainians” and because of the interwar Polish authorities’ attempts to divide those who called themselves Ukrainians and Ruthenians. While many Western scholars have used the term “Ukrainians” (e.g. Ivan L. Rudnytsky), we have retained Dr. Świątek’s references to the historical Ruthenians for Galicia and even for territories in the Russian Empire. This may disturb some readers of Ukrainian descent, but probably not as much as finding many of their surnames in Polish. Dr. Świątek has requested that for those Ruthenians who advocated a two-tier identity of Ruthenian provenance and Polish nationality, the Polish form of their name be the primary one used. We have ensured that such names’ Ukrainian forms also appear upon first use. The process of decision-making is obviously a difficult one since identities changed, and in this text one will find that one member of the famous Ruthenian Triad [*Ruska triitsia*], Ivan Vahylevych, later decided he was Jan Wagilewicz. But, rather than struggling over nomenclature, we have sought to convey the opinions of a scholar who has devoted such intense research to providing a multifaceted approach to examining those who were “*gente Rutheni, natione Poloni*.” As far as place names go, they appear in this book according to current geographic borders, though we know that for some nineteenth-century figures mentioned the city would have been Lwów, not Lviv, or Peremyshl, not Przemyśl. Out of such compromises come joint projects such as this translation, which was undertaken with Księgarnia Akademicka of Cracow, Poland. The result is that, in the new lingua franca, readers and scholars will have the opportunity to enter the complex world of Habsburg Galicia and Ukrainian-Polish relations.

Frank E. Sysyn

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Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta

# Abbreviations

## of Frequently Cited Sources

BJ:	Biblioteka Jagiellońska
LNNBU:	Lvivs'ka natsional'na naukova biblioteka Ukraïny imeni Vasylia Stefanyka
MNK, DJM:	Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie. Oddział Dom Jana Matejki
PSB:	<i>Polski słownik biograficzny</i>
TsDIAU:	Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi arkhiv Ukraïny u L'vovi
ZNiO:	Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu



# Introduction

In the 1890s, the teenager Mieczysław Opalek, who would go on to become a renowned Lviv [Lwów] bibliophile, left the city to visit his Ruthenian relatives, the Dykoński [Dykonsky] family. The recollections of this meeting returned to him years later when he was preparing a typed manuscript expounding his youth spent in Lviv:

Besides the mythologically themed pictures hanging on the wall, there were other lithographs displayed at the Dykoński residence; images not lacking in mustached figures clothed in traditional felt coats—*burkas*—and four-cornered caps. In recalling these prints, I feel a former sensation of pleasant amazement awakening inside me. Uncle Dykoński was a Ruthenian, an official at the Greek Catholic consistory, and he lived in lodgings that were part and parcel of the Uniate Church next to the Cathedral of St. George. Both of his daughters had been married off to Ruthenians, one of whom was a Uniate priest. At that time none of this seemed to be at odds whatsoever with the Polish subject matter of the pictures held in such esteem in [...] Ruthenian households. At times, there could be found in these same houses [...] a lithographic representation by [Edward] Stolz of Prince Lev [Danylovych], and occasionally even a portrait of Taras Shevchenko. The times had not yet arrived for a likeness of Bohdan Khmelnytsky. The curious collection of pictures that graced the flats of some Ruthenians was like an iconological documentation of the slogan contained in the Polish-Ruthenian poet Platon Kostecki's tetrastich:

In the name of the Father, and the Son  
It is our prayer,  
That the Trinity be one,  
One of Poland, Rus' and Lithuania

I also came across pictures imbued with a Polish theme in the flat of my teacher, Michał Janusz [Mykhailo Ianush] of the folk school. He was also a Ruthenian. A dozen or so years later, all was to be changed beyond recognition. The walls of Ruthenian homes were to be thoroughly cleansed of all "Polish" images, even eradicating at times the very image of Our Lady of Częstochowa.<sup>1</sup>

The author, a Pole, spoke of these times as if they were long-lost and never destined to return. They were characterized by a harmony,

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<sup>1</sup> Mieczysław Opalek, "Książka o Lwowie i mojej młodości. Kartki z pamiętnika 1881–1901" (Frysztak, 1958), pp. 15–16, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich in Wrocław (subsequently: ZNiO), sygn. 13535/II (MF 3269).

a brotherhood, a coexistence of Poles and Ruthenians joined not merely by their physical proximity in the same land but by bonds of blood, and, at times, even a shared community of values and ideas. Opalek's observations, albeit written down years after the events in question, bear witness to an array of similar recollections from this period, and to the author's perception of those most radical of changes within Ruthenian-Polish relations that were about to occur. During this period, territories under Austrian rule witnessed the rise of a modern Ukrainian nation, a nation with its own aspirations at odds with Polish interests. These were not reconcilable with Polish retrospections of the past nor with their dreams of a joint future realized on a common territory. Furthermore, for the majority of the Polish Galician-based elite, the notion of Ruthenians becoming a nation of equal standing was not only for a long time something wholly unacceptable, but quite simply unimaginable.

It is common practice of late, within the relevant subject literature, to write about the period of partitions as if Polish-Ruthenian relations had been characterized for decades by a rivalry that intensified from the beginning of the twentieth century. If this had been the case, then it would have meant that Poles and Ruthenians had, up until that moment, lived not with each other but simply beside each other, as two separate communities. At the same time, there existed a group of Ruthenians who constituted a somewhat different example of Polish-Ruthenian relations in Galicia. And here we shall add that already at the level of the very designation itself, "Polish-Ruthenian," a certain phraseological inadequacy is detectable in relation to the question examined in this study. For the notion implies, if not a complete opposition of the two elements, then at least their distinction—as if they had been two subjects independent of each other. Yet can one divide something that was in many instances joint and common or—to put things differently—in between? Zbigniew Pucek has noted that traditionally when statistics were given for the percentage of Poles, Ruthenians, and Jews amongst the inhabitants of Galicia, there was no exploration whatsoever regarding the nature of the internal relations that existed within the territory under Austrian rule. For these people functioned in an ambivalent world, their existence subject to two sometimes contrary principles of social life: the territorial (family-neighbour orientated) and national (ideologically based). They created a truly "intercultural" community, not simply through living in a single place but through mixed genealogy as a result of inter-confessional marriages. Simultaneously, the ideological principle contravened territorial integrity as it assumed the creation of a national entity, implying the separation of something that

without the use of force and family and community upheaval could not be separated.<sup>2</sup>

Today our view of the Ruthenian past as played out on those lands once under Austrian rule is often conditioned by the epilogue to this period—the Polish-Ukrainian War for Eastern Galicia, or the bloody events of the Second World War. Yet this development of a “national” option was in the Ruthenian case not the only route available, although it was the one that would prove victorious. Often in our search for the roots of the modern Ukrainian and Polish nations we are oblivious to all the branches, those that at first glance do not appear to fit onto the “trunk” of either nation. Such thinking is in line with the spirit of historical determinism. Yet these branches also had significance; although from the perspective of history they were to turn out to be secondary, they were by no means unimportant. To this end the view of the British historian Hugh Trevor-Roper is particularly pertinent: “History is not merely what happened; it is what happened in the context of what might have happened. Therefore it must incorporate, as a necessary element, the alternatives, the might-have-beens.”<sup>3</sup>

Ivan Lysiak-Rudnytsky, in developing Trevor-Roper’s thinking, showed that the historian’s obligation is to “accord full hearing to all alternatives which at a given time contended for supremacy, but he is also under an obligation to account adequately for the reasons of the success of the one that ultimately prevailed.”<sup>4</sup> In the case of the Ruthenian population, there are several historical alternatives that never came to pass. Instead of becoming Ukrainians, Ruthenians could have as easily become—in the political sense—Russians, Austrians, or Poles.<sup>5</sup> The final alternative—occasionally awkwardly worded within Polonophile literature—was to create a people that with time were to be referred to as *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni*, or “Ruthenians of Polish nationality.” The key to understanding who these people were lies in the tetrastich cited by Opalek and composed by a representative of this very group, Platon Kostecki (Kostetsky). This extract from his best-known poem “Our Prayer” [“Nasza mółytwą”], written in 1861, was

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. Zbigniew Pucek, “Galicyjskie doświadczenie wielokulturowości a problem więzi społecznej,” in *Spółczesność i gospodarka*, eds. Jerzy Chłopecki and Helena Madurowicz-Urbańska (Rzeszów, 1995), pp. 12 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Hugh Trevor-Roper, “History and imagination,” *Times Literary Supplement* no. 835 (25 Jul. 1980), quoted after: Ivan L. Rudnytsky, “Carpatho-Ukraine: A People in Search of Their Identity,” in Ivan L. Rudnytsky, *Essays in Modern Ukrainian History* (Edmonton, 1987), pp. 358–59.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 359.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Andrew Wilson, *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation* (New Haven–London, 2015), pp. 114–21, 120.

quick to appear in the press and in a poetry collection.<sup>6</sup> Throughout the decades of the nineteenth century as well as for a part of the twentieth century these words—of Poland, Rus' and Lithuania being like a "Trinity" and as "one"—were sufficient to convey the feelings and beliefs of those inhabitants of the Austrian partition who came from Ruthenian (or mixed) families, spoke in Ruthenian (though equally in Polish) and belonged to the Greek Catholic "Uniate" Church, but who felt themselves to be not merely Ruthenians but also Poles and who dreamed of an independent Poland (or rather a commonwealth of three nations: Poles, Lithuanians, and Ruthenians). This was a dual-level identity, one comprising two components, where the Ruthenian ethnicity was closely subject to the chosen Polish nationality.

Who were *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni*, what characterized their dual-level identity, what is the genesis of their formation, what conditioned their national choice, and finally, what role were they to play in the social, political, and cultural history of Galicia? These are all questions that the present book will attempt to answer.

## The Chronological and Geographical Scope of the Study

The book does not fall between neat chronological bookends, and this for two reasons. First, the very term "Galicia" means that we are dealing with history post-1772 when, as a result of the First Partition of Poland, the Habsburg monarchy had the lands of southern Poland incorporated into their empire: from the southern part of the Cracow voivodeship (province) without the city of Cracow itself right up to the Zbruch River in the east. As a result of the Third Partition of 1795, Austria was to annex subsequent lands: the northern part of the Cracow province along with the city of Cracow, the Lublin lands, and parts of Podlachia and Mazovia. The situation in these areas—with the exception of Cracow and environs—was certainly not my focus due to the short time period this region was actually held by Austria (1795–1809). Nonetheless, the above-mentioned territories, also inhabited by Ruthenians of the Uniate rite, will occasionally appear in the book as a background

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<sup>6</sup> Platon Kostecki, *Poezyi* (Lviv, 1862), p. 1. The piece was printed in *Dziennik Literacki* no. 39 (1861), p. 312. The manuscript in a later copy by the author can be found in: Platon Kostecki, "Nasza mołytywa" (Lviv, 1891), Lvivs'ka natsional'na naukova Biblioteka Ukraïny imeni Vasylia Stefanyka (subsequently: LNNBU), fond 5: Zbirka rukopysiv, avtohrافiv, hramot i dyplomiv biblioteky Natsional'noho zakladu im. Ossolins'kykh u m. Lvovi, op. 2: Avtohrافy, spr. 5146/II.



for key deliberations, for they did constitute a neighbouring territory to that of Galicia itself. Following the annulment of the Union of Brest on the occupied territories, the Uniate Church in the Congress Kingdom of Poland was headed primarily by Catholic priests of the Greek rite from Galicia; there, the gradual process of Polonizing the Uniate population also occurred—proof of which lies in the attitudes of the Uniates as evidenced by the eve of the January Uprising (1863) and immediately after the breakout of this national revolt. Finally, when in the 1870s the Uniate Church was eradicated in the Lublin region and Podlachia, those oppressed and persecuted received support from the inhabitants of the Austrian partition, where they fled and where they were warmly received. I also do not cover the area of Bukovyna, even though it belonged to Galicia—on admittedly different legal principles—for the period from 1786 to 1849. This is because this area was a borderland region of a Romanian-Ruthenian rather than Polish-Ruthenian character, despite growing Polish settlement during the Austrian period which saw an increase in the region's Polish element. The book will, however, include Cracow and in principle the lands of the Cracow Commonwealth, incorporated into the Austrian state as the Grand Duchy of Cracow, and joined with the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria into a single province in 1846. Cracow, even though located in the western, ethnically Polish, part of the region, was to play an important role in the history of Galicia as a whole, as well as in the individual lives of Ruthenians of Polish nationality, hence the frequent references I shall make to this former capital of Poland. Galicia was to exist within these borders until 1918, and following the Polish-Ukrainian War over Eastern Galicia and the victory against the Bolsheviks, it was to survive as Little Poland [Małopolska] right up until the Second World War.

The second and possibly most important reason as to why there are no bracketed dates demarcating the research period is contained in the question: can one insist on fixing temporal limits of historical processes that naturally result from earlier events and have consequences for the future, thereby creating a chronological chain of interdependence? I am of the view that this does not need to be done. As a result, this study will also make references to modern times when the gentry *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* existed in a form different from that of the nineteenth century. In the post-partition period when no Polish state existed, to answer the question "Who are you?" was to make a dramatic and necessary choice.

Although principally focused on the period of the partitions, the present study has no grand dividing line as such, despite the fact that Poland subsequently gained independence. This is simply because many Ruthenians of Polish nationality who were born in the nineteenth century were still alive after 1918. Then, the *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni*

were to find state support, since even a new concept of "Greek Catholic Poles" was created, which would separate the concept of religious rite from that of nationality (hitherto Greek Catholics had often been equated with Ukrainians, while Roman Catholics were considered Poles). The ethnic element (*gente Rutheni*) was abolished from the designation *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni*; for in the face of shaping both nationalities, Polish and Ukrainian, ethnic matters took on a secondary importance. In such an understanding, rite was no longer seen as a designation of nationality.

A certain symbolic boundary does, however, exist, and limit the research I have undertaken, one which corresponds not so much with an end to the very notion of *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni*, but rather to the conditions that would have allowed for its continuation. This is the era of growing nationalisms, which naturally excluded any further functioning of a two-layer model for identity within a territory that found itself the object of heightened attention on the part of two opposing national ideologies (conjecturing the construction of a state based on this very territory). Several culminating points and stages in the development of these nationalisms may be noted, beginning with the final years of the nineteenth century when the ideas of National Democracy [*Narodowa Demokracja*] were formulated in the Polish lands and analogically nationalist ideas amongst Ruthenians of the national camp, through to the Polish-Ukrainian War for Eastern Galicia and ending in the 1940s. At that time, as a result of the massacres witnessed in Volhynia and Eastern Galicia, the border changes, the deportations during the war and afterwards of Poles from the area of Eastern Galicia, and the deportation of Ukrainians by the Polish communist authorities during the Operation "Vistula," the demography of the Polish-Ukrainian borderland, which had existed in the eastern part of Galicia and which had been forged over centuries, was almost completely destroyed.

## Terminology and Onomastics

The problem of the spelling of ethnonyms is a crucial one facing all who research the inter-ethnic relations of Galicia. These include notions such as "Rus'," "Ukraine," as well as the terms "Ruthenian" and "Ukrainian." These problems arise from the fact that Ukraine as a state came into existence only in the twentieth century, though the name has been in existence for a considerably longer period and had been used to designate the lands lying along the Dniipro River. Similarly, during the period I am covering, this name did not apply to those lands which today constitute Western Ukraine. Consequently, in the present study I use the term "Ukraine" in its former geographical and not political

sense, employing it when referring to those lands (Kyiv, Podilia and Volhynia provinces) situated under the political control of tsarist Russia. Polish politicians (among them *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni*) rarely understood the term "Ukraine" in its contemporary borders. Not only was Eastern Galicia excluded from this term, but also Left-Bank Ukraine. While the term "Rus'" is one with an even longer history, I employ it in a most general sense as a land once under the rule of the Kyivan princes, which went on to exist with this same designation following the inclusion of these lands within the Polish state. This term covers the eastern Galician lands and consequently those of Red Rus'. Often the formulation "Rus'" appears in the book as a notion less confined by closely defined borders, whether geographical or ethnic, and more in the form of a headword intended to emphasize that former and future Poland included or was to include some Ruthenian territories. Hence the term "Rus'" does not always take on those same dimensions as understood by the authors quoted in the source works.

I have intentionally used in large parts of the book the ethnonym "Ruthenian" to define a representative of the Ruthenian ethnic group,<sup>7</sup> regardless of whether this referred to the nationally conscious elite or the Ruthenian peasantry. Ethnic Ruthenians also included representatives of *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* as well as those who chose a Russophile orientation. In order to indicate to the reader to the type of viewpoint held by a given individual, I often specify whether we are dealing with Ruthenians with a national populist outlook, Russophiles, or Ruthenians of Polish nationality. Many historians, especially during the period of the Polish People's Republic, consciously employed an anachronistic designation by assigning to all Galician Ruthenians the ethnonym "Ukrainian" for the time period when they themselves did not use such a designation. There would be nothing wrong with this per se, if it had not resulted in a muddying of the identificational ambiguity that characterized the representatives of the Ruthenian group in nineteenth-century Galicia. Ruthenians of Polish nationality are often referred to in these works as Polonophile Ukrainians, and yet this constitutes a significant difference, distorting their identity as they often considered themselves to be nationally Polish and not Ukrainians.

The term "Ukrainian" was used within Galicia to underline the union of two parts of a nation divided as a result of the Austro-Hun-

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<sup>7</sup> The term "Rusyns" ("Ruthenians") was introduced in Austria in 1843 at the request of Metropolitan Mykhailo Levytsky, rejecting other designations. This term did not cover the Ukrainian population of the Russian Empire, where the state apparatus referred to them as "Little Russians." Cf. Jan Kozik, *The Ukrainian National Movement in Galicia 1815–1849*, ed. and introd. Lawrence D. Orton, trans. Andrew Gorski and Lawrence D. Orton (Edmonton, 1986), pp. 162–63.

garian-Russian border along the Zbruch; this term already had a definite national character and not an ethnic one.<sup>8</sup> It started to be adopted within Galician society at the turn of the twentieth century, although as early as the 1860s we note the first use of the term in the magazine *Sioło* [Village] (edited by Paulin Świącicki [Pavlyn Svientsitsky]) in relation to the region's Ruthenian inhabitants. I also employ both terms, "Ruthenian" and "Ukrainian," interchangeably in those parts of the book dealing with the turn of the century or a later period, which more or less covers the beginning of the adoption by Galician Ruthenians of this new name for their nationality.

A certain problem linked to the above considerations on the correct rendering of geographical, ethnic, and national names occurs in relation to the spelling of first names and surnames. Very often the protagonists of the present study used their first names and surnames in two language variants: Polish and Ruthenian. For example, when publishing in Ruthenian the *gente Ruthenus, natione Polonus* Platon Kostecki used a Ruthenian-sounding version of his surname. Likewise, many Ruthenians who did not feel Polish appear in Polish sources and literature under Polish variants of their surnames. I have therefore decided to intentionally apply a spelling to surnames that in my opinion best reflects how the given individual felt about their identity. And if someone was to change their affiliation during the course of their life—as in the case of Ivan Vahylevych, later Jan Wagilewicz—then I have used both spellings of his name depending on the period in question. Despite a degree of artificiality in the spelling of certain surnames, I am of the view that this allows the reader to instantly recognize whether the individuals in question felt themselves to be Ruthenian or Polish. In instances where I have not been able to establish the identity of the person under consideration, I have used the spelling of the name most commonly employed by the individual and which is best known within the literature on the subject. At the request of the publisher, to the first entry of a Ruthenian of Polish nationality's name was added the Ukrainian spelling variant in brackets next to the Polish.

In the case of place names, the modern version of the name was given as the basic version for towns and villages in Ukraine and Poland. For some towns now in Ukraine, the Polish name was also given in brackets, and for some places in contemporary Poland inhabited (or formerly inhabited) by the Ukrainian population—the Ukrainian variant.

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<sup>8</sup> On the role played by the ethnonym "Ukrainian" in the shaping of national consciousness and awareness see, among others: Mirosława Papierzyńska-Turek, *Od tożsamości do niepodległości. Studia i szkice z dziejów kształtowania się ukraińskiej świadomości narodowej* (Toruń, 2012), pp. 54–57, 119–25.

## Structure of the Book

The book attempts to deal with the vast and somewhat enigmatic problem that is *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni*. The very fact that we are talking here about an amorphous phenomenon, one more concerned rather with the nature of the soul than of the body, with thoughts rather than deeds, means that the problem is difficult to present in a coherent and ordered way. Readers may even be under the impression that the book is asymmetrical, unbalanced, and what is more, unchronological. They will also note that important political problems from the epoch are mixed with trivial (from the present-day perspective) events, influential propaganda works with literary and poetical ones, great processes in social change with the personal routes taken by the book's heroes. At times Ruthenians of Polish nationality speak from the rostrum of the Galician Diet (*Sejm Krajowy/Kraiovyi soim*), at times they compose a poem or write a newspaper article in the quiet of their homes; they ride to raucous commemorations of the Union of Lublin, while at other times they give a speech at the funeral of a friend of a similar dual identity. Yet, all these facets combine to present a holistic picture of the group *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni*, a fact that has influenced the decision to construct the current analysis around problem areas rather than chronology. Consequently, some events, or the biographies of certain individuals, will seem to randomly pop up in various parts of the book; yet, it is the author's hope that the reader will understand the principle of such a presentation.

The book begins with the chapter "*Gente Rutheni, Natione Poloni: The Characteristics of the Formation*." The aim of this chapter is to gradually introduce the reader to the general problem of defining the term *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni*. Here I try to refer to concepts such as "ethnicity," "nation," and "identity." Although there is not sufficient room here to examine the huge academic debate around these terms, it does seem imperative to note that the question under consideration in this study is framed by the national changes occurring during the nineteenth century. The next part of this chapter attempts to show the structure of the two-tier (dual) identity of Ruthenians of Polish nationality, taking into consideration as broadly as possible the spectrum of issues arising within the lives of individuals as well as those factors which impacted the development of their national consciousness. In it, I try to characterize the formation of *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* in order to place the phenomenon within time and geographical expanse and to show how it manifested itself across various social strata. I also introduce the reader to the main characters of the book, dealing subsequently with those elements of daily life that often decided whether Ruthenians chose the Polish nationality option. Here mention is made of family, the Uniate

Church, school, language, conflict situations with Ruthenians of other political persuasions, and finally a fascination with Polish culture.

Chapter Two, "Rus' in the Historical Consciousness of Poles," attempts to illustrate the Polish cultural input in the shaping of the world outlook of many Galician Ruthenians. I consider nineteenth-century literature, art, and historiography to be fundamental in the creation of people's historical consciousness, and with it their identity. For Polish cultural heritage, they not only recalled the former might of a state now lost, but also built up the myth of the unbroken bonds linking Poland, Lithuania, and Rus'. With time, certain members of *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* started to adopt and develop this, as was the case with the "icon" of this formation, Platon Kosteki.

Chapters One and Two are not chronological in nature, attempting to illustrate the cultural foundations of *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* as a form of identity. The third chapter, "From Enlightened Centralism to the Romantic Brotherhood of Peoples," is effectively an introduction to Chapter Four. It presents the genesis of the political demands made by Ruthenians of Polish nationality in 1848. This part of the book returns to the Age of Enlightenment in order to illuminate the significance of the centralist views on "the state" and "the nation." These views, fused together with the Romantic slogans on matters of social change and a brotherhood of peoples, were to cause the creation of a certain stock of demands upon which the plotters of the Galician conspiracies of the 1830s and 1840s drew. This chapter attempts to shed light on those Ruthenians of Polish nationality who came to prominence at the time through their political and social activities, often risking their lives and liberty, with many receiving severe punishments of long-term imprisonment. Their life stories are important not only because of the views they expressed, but also because of the aura of conspiratorial legend that motivated them to act and excel during the Revolutions of 1848.

Chapter four, "*Gente Rutheni, Natione Poloni* during the Revolutions of 1848," shows how Ruthenians of Polish nationality emerged as political players in the revolutionary events that came to a head in 1848. The Ruthenian Council, the only political organization in history assembling Ruthenians of Polish nationality, and the journal *Dnewnyk Ruskij* [The Ruthenian Daily] published by them, were at the time entities sufficiently strong to constitute competition to the Supreme Ruthenian Council, the political organ of the Ruthenians who espoused a national orientation. In this chapter I attempt to draw attention not only to political events, but also to those contemporary dilemmas in Ruthenian circles that were to result in the lack of group consolidation later on, and consequently matters of acknowledging or refuting the existence of Ruthenian nationality. The defeat of the Galician Poles during the Revolutions of 1848 at the same time saw the failure of Ruthe-



nians of Polish nationality. Nonetheless, those who made themselves heard were to continue propagating their principles on the public stage and implementing them through the social and political posts they held in Galicia.

Chapter Five, entitled “Ruthenians and the Return of Absolutism,” depicts the situation within the Austrian partition at the time of renewed Habsburg absolutism after 1849 as it relates to the activities of Ruthenians of Polish nationality. Discussion centers on the still unresolved questions of equal status for both languages in Galicia, schooling, and finally the matter of an alphabet for the Ruthenian language. The appointment of a Pole—Count Agenor Gołuchowski—to the office of governor for Galicia during this difficult time enabled the implementation of initiatives beneficial to the interests of Ruthenians of Polish nationality. This was chiefly due to the huge role played by Euzebiusz Czerkowski [Ievzevii Cherkavsky] in aiding this immensely rich count, who was a key figure in the Galician school system of that time, and subsequently during the period of autonomy.

Chapter Six deals with the January Uprising (1863), which was the only Polish national revolt where the standards bore not only the Polish Eagle and Lithuanian Vytis coat-of-arms but also the Ruthenian Archangel Michael. The Uprising’s defeat in 1864 ended any hope for independence within a state as dreamed of by *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni*. These dreams were not to fade immediately, but only with the passing of the subsequent years and the failure of the democratic camp in Galicia to achieve Galician sovereignty after the reconstruction of the Habsburg monarchy following its defeat in the 1866 war with Prussia and the defeat of France—the Poles’ only ally in the world—to the same foe in 1871. These three defeats erased any romantic hopes for a swift liberation. The political activists of the day, including Ruthenians of Polish nationality, had to undertake, in the language of the positivists, “organic work.”

The next two chapters, “*Gente Rutheni, Natione Poloni* in Power” and “Manifestation of Ideas,” require almost parallel reading. They illustrate the efforts made by many Ruthenians of Polish nationality within political and social life to ensure decent relations between the Galician Polish and Ruthenian communities. Many important posts were held by Ruthenians of Polish nationality, particularly in the 1860s, 1870s and 1890s. This allowed them to not only display denominational outlooks (particularly on the so-called “Ruthenian question”), but also to implement many important solutions within public life (including in the education system). At the same time, from the 1880s onwards, *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* gradually disappeared from the political life of Galicia, while the programs of the Polish political parties of the time failed to take into consideration the demands of this group. There is a brief

presentation in the chapter of how Galician groupings of conservatives, socialists, 'populars' (peasant movement, *ludowcy*), and national democrats (*narodowcy, endecy*) reacted to the Ruthenian question.

Equally significant was the highlighting of Ruthenian involvement during important jubilee celebrations commemorating Polish historical anniversaries, which took the form of political demonstrations. In this way the notion of Rus' as being bound for centuries to Poland was constantly referenced and talked about everywhere from grand ceremonies to private gatherings and even funeral services. The final political position on the part Ruthenians of Polish nationality was to be Teofil Merunowicz's peace treaty project for the Versailles Congress.

## Source Base

The most difficult problem encountered during the research stage for this book was the absence of a set of sources that cover in their entirety the construct *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni*; no single archive has a collection of documents devoted exclusively to this grouping. Moreover, it is not sufficient when researching the subject simply to choose a set type of source material. For we are not able to grasp the essence of such an enigmatic formation simply through letters, memorabilia, literature, or mere press accounts. Material on Ruthenians of Polish nationality can be found in the entire historical heritage of Galicia for the period of the partitions and following Poland's recovery of independence. *Gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* and their related problems appeared in the press, propaganda publications, poetry, literary works, paintings, funerary objects, statistical materials, church and state documents, police and court protocols, parliamentary and council minutes and records, and a host of other sources. Ruthenians of Polish nationality—as a group existing through almost the entirety of the partitions—were to leave behind innumerable traces within diverse sources. The current study was able to employ only a mere fraction of the immense nineteenth-century Galician source materials. My selection of materials was chosen so as to sufficiently sketch the phenomenon of *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* on the various planes in which it manifested itself during the period of the partition.

The archival research was conducted in Lviv, Wrocław, and Cracow. At the Central Ukrainian State Historical Archive in Lviv I made use of several collections including the diaries and memoirs of Florian Ziemiałkowski (fond 93), collections of documents on the January Uprising including the police lists of those arrested for aiding the insurgents (fond 102), documents pertaining to Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky (fond 358), and viceroy acts (fond 146). Of special significance in my



research was fond 474, a sizeable collection of various documents about the November Uprising (1830–31) and particularly the period 1848–49 in Galicia. There I found numerous printed leaflets, appeals, and proclamations, which helped me especially in work on the third and key fourth chapter of the book.

Even more documents, brochures, and first and foremost rare sets of all the editions of *Dnewnyk Ruskij* — the only journal in the history of the *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* formation—were found in the Rare Books Department of the Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library in Lviv. Some of the materials relating to the 1848 Revolutions—chiefly letters and pamphlet proclamations—were found in the manuscripts department of the same library in the Pawlikowski family manuscripts and archive (fond 76). Here I also made use of other fonds created out of various former Lviv library collections. The fundamental collection here is fond 5, which is a pre-war collection of manuscripts from the Ossoliński National Institute in Lviv. I also used materials on the Revolutions of 1848, a reproduction of Henryk Bogdański's hand-written diary, the original of Józef Fedkowicz's *History of the Polish-Ruthenian-Lithuanian Commonwealth* [*Historia Rzeczypospolitej Polsko-Rusko-Litewskiej*], and finally the letters and works of Julian Horoszkiewicz and Platon Kostecki. The latter's poems may also be found in the collection of Polish autographs (fond 215). Additionally, I made use of individual items found in other fonds: the Baworowski collections (fond 4), private acquisitions (fond 9), as well as the archive of the Dzieduszycki family (fond 45).

At the Ossoliński National Institute in Wrocław, besides utilizing the rich stock of nineteenth-century journals, I also made use of individual items from a range of collections. These included the diary of Maurycy Dzieduszycki and the typed memoirs of Mieczysław Opalek, as well as manuscripts (partly preserved on microfilm) on the period of the Revolutions of 1848.

I used materials on the January Uprising in the collection of the National Archive in Cracow, as well as the notes of Bronisław Łoziński from Euzebiusz Czerkowski's diary, preserved in the Manuscript Department of the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow. I also conducted in this library the main part of my research based on old journals, prints, literary and historiographical works, diaries and memoirs, the records and minutes of the Galician Diet, as well as scholarly works.

All the assembled sources appear throughout the various chapters, their fragments showing the specific nature of the group of *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* within the context of daily life and the problems of identity based chiefly on diary, biographical, and correspondence sources. Several Ruthenians of Polish nationality wrote memoirs. Besides Eugeniusz Czerkowski, memoirs were written by Julian Horosz-

kiewicz [Iuliiian Horoshkevych], Zygmunt Sawczyński [Syhizmund Savchynsky] (during his school days), Platon Kostecki [Kostetsky] (manuscript 3063/II at the Stefanyk Library, entitled *On the Ruthenian Question* [W sprawie ruskiej], contains autobiographical information), Mikołaj Zyblikiewicz [Mykola Zyblykevych] (a short autobiographical sketch of life in the pages of *Czas* [The Time]), Antoni Dąbcański [Antin Dombchansky] (his diary and the reminiscences about him by his daughter—Helena Dąbcańska), Józef Doboszyński [Iosyf Doboshynsky] (a diary reflecting the perspective of an ordinary civil servant), Józef Matkowski [Iosyf Matkovsky] (recollections from the period of the Napoleonic Wars), and Klemens Mochnacki [Klyment Mokhnatsky] (memories from the period of the Galician conspiracies). Information on Ruthenians of Polish nationality may be found in other diaries, ones kept by those who knew the heroes of the present study (a detailed list is given in the bibliography).

The second chapter of the book, devoted to ideas and consequently literature, painting, and historiography, obviously draws on poetic and prose works, pictures, and historiographical works from the epoch.

In Chapters Three to Eight, where the subject matter concerns the political and social activity of the group *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni*, and subsequently its gradual disappearance, I have referenced publications and works of a political character, newspaper articles, the aforementioned archival sources, stenographic minutes and reports of the Galician Diet, and finally numerous books from the period of interest.

The sources selected, despite any negative consequences deriving from the selection process itself, are as a whole sufficient to present the basic problems associated with the functioning of the group of Ruthenians of Polish nationality in nineteenth-century Galician society. For there emerges from the varied spectrum of sources not only the individual perspective of particular Ruthenians of Polish nationality themselves, but also the views of external observers. It is important to not merely establish the biographical facts about Ruthenians of Polish nationality, but also to grasp an understanding—in as far as this is possible—of their own reflections upon their identity and the life choices they made.

### ***Gente Rutheni, Natione Poloni* in the Subject Literature**

Interest in *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* can be seen in the literature of the interwar period in Poland, undoubtedly a result of the recent Polish-Ukrainian war over Eastern Galicia and the dispute regarding the area's subsequent sovereignty. Firstly, the annexation of the said territory, now known as Eastern Little Poland, required substantiation that

the lands of Red Rus' should be joined to Poland as a result of their historical associations. Secondly, the identity of *gente Rutheni, nazione Poloni*, which in the nineteenth century had been a natural phenomenon resulting from the fluidity of national formulae and the mixing of cultures, was now to become a slogan in a political state striving to assimilate minorities. The colonization of the Ruthenian minority was to occur in various aspects of daily life, taking on the most varied of forms and affecting an array of aspects of social life from the army,<sup>9</sup> through journalism, and ending with religion. It is obviously a usual state of affairs that a country aims for an integration of its citizens. Fears over potential separatist acts on the part of the national minorities inhabiting interwar Poland resulted in many preventative actions, particularly in the face of the various acts of resistance and terror often employed by Ukrainian nationalists. On the one hand this resembled the multi-ethnic Poland of yore, while on the other it represented a struggle against difference.

It is worth mentioning here the recollections of Marian Tyrowicz, the well-known historian and researcher of Lviv. He wrote thus about the former capital of Galicia:

A manoeuvring between periods of calm and peace and sudden outbursts and explosions was to constitute a permanent feature of life in the city, although the take on matters presented in the newspapers was somewhat different. The government attempted to neutralize nationalism with Ukrainian economic concessions, school and educational sweeteners, while on the other hand carrying out a search for the so-called minor gentry, i.e., families once Ruthenian of the genus *gente*

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<sup>9</sup> For more on this subject see: Maciej Krotofil, "Ukraińcy w Wojsku Polskim w okresie międzywojennym," in *Mniejszości narodowe i wyznaniowe w siłach zbrojnych Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej 1918–1939. Zbiór studiów*, eds. Zbigniew Karpus and Waldemar Rezmer (Toruń, 2001), pp. 123–52; Tadeusz Antoni Kowalski, *Mniejszości narodowe w siłach zbrojnych Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej (1918–1939)* (Toruń, 1997); Piotr Siwicki, "Duszpasterstwo greckokatolickie w Wojsku Polskim 1918–2003," in *Historia duszpasterstwa wojskowego na ziemiach polskich*, eds. Jan Ziółek et al. (Lublin, 2004), pp. 383–408; Piotr Stawecki, "Kilka uwag o roli wojska w procesach integracyjnych i dezintegracyjnych II Rzeczypospolitej," in *Drogi integracji społeczeństwa w Polsce XIX i XX w.*, ed. Henryk Zieliński (Wrocław, 1976), pp. 193–215; Piotr Stawecki, "Polityka narodowościowa w wojsku Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej," in *Mniejszości narodowe i wyznaniowe*, pp. 11–36. The Polish military authorities attempted to integrate the army and assimilate minorities doing military service through an educational program, and also by sending Greek Catholic soldiers to the western territories of the Polish Republic. It was expected that the recruits would be impressed by the higher civilizational level of life when compared to the less developed east of the country (Stawecki, "Polityka narodowościowa," p. 19). An important instrument in the process of instilling a sense of loyalty towards the Polish state was the presence of Greek Catholic priests in the Polish army. The military authorities expected these clergymen to educate the Greek Catholic soldiers through talks, choosing appropriate topics for sermons, and giving relevant speeches to mark various anniversaries and celebrations (Siwicki, "Duszpasterstwo greckokatolickie," p. 391).

*Rutheni, natione Poloni.* Archivists, teachers and young unemployed historians (oh, and how many there were!) hastily rummaged through parish and local authority ledgers, searching for documents of royal issue bestowed on those distinguished in battle to cement Polishness east of the San River. Stories of such ilk intertwined on the pages of the Lviv press with others, ones more harrowing, discussing the pacification of villages in Eastern Little Poland.<sup>10</sup>

The Second Polish Republic created favourable conditions for those Ruthenians who wished to be neither Ukrainians nor Russians but Poles. Within the social sphere, these conditions were reflected by the existence of relevant organizations and journals. We shall mention the Friends of the Union Association in Cracow and the Poles and Greek Catholics Union in Lviv, as well as journals such as *Unia* [Union] and *Greko-Katolik* [Greek Catholic]; the latter would change its name twice. On the one hand, organizations and journals of this type gave their members and readers a sense of security and tolerance for their ethnicity; on the other, they constituted an instrument of inciting rivalry between Ukrainians and Russians.

Let us consider the organ of Polish Greek Catholics, *Greko-Katolik*. The journal was established in 1933 in Cracow, with the editorial board situated at 14 Szewska Street. The editor-in-chief was one Teofil Stupnicki [Stupnytsky], a former Polish legionnaire, with the editorial committee comprised of Prof. Mikołaj Mazanowski [Mykola Mazanovsky], Mikołaj Ilnicki [Mykola Ilnytsky], Włodzimierz Sawulak [Volodymyr Savulak], and Michał Paślowski [Mykhailo Paslavsky].<sup>11</sup> The first edition of 1934 (carrying the subtitle of *A Monthly for Greek Catholic Poles*) proclaimed in the introduction the magazine's whole ethos, something worth quoting at length:

*Greko-Katolik* aims at defending Polish tradition, the Polish national and state course amongst those Greek Catholic citizens in Poland who considered themselves Poles and who went under the designation: "Gente Ruthenus—natione Polonus" ("Ruthenian by birth—Pole by nation"). It desires to renew, strengthen, and maintain a Polish spirit amongst the younger generation, their children. Our journal has finally set itself the goal of familiarizing Polish society with the Greek Catholic and Ruthenian ethnicity issue, to bring both sides closer to each other: the Greek Catholic to Polishness and Polishness to Greek Catholicism; for

<sup>10</sup> Marian Tyrowicz, *Wspomnienia o życiu kulturalnym i obyczajowym Lwowa 1918–1939* (Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow–Gdańsk–Łódź, 1991), p. 69.

<sup>11</sup> Tadeusz Jagmin, *Polacy grekokatolicy na ziemi czerwieńskiej* (Lviv, 1939), p. 21. Cf. also: Bogumił Grott, "Nacjonalizm ukraiński w cerkwi grekokatolickiej i jego praktyka dyskryminacji Polaków i polskości w latach II Rzeczypospolitej," in *Różne oblicza nacjonalizmów. Polityka, religia, etos*, ed. Bogumił Grott (Cracow, 2010), p. 274.

in days of yore the Polish nation was composed of two equal parts, though two differing in rite: Roman and Greek Catholics. We aspire for the great ideal of our forefathers to rule once again in the resurrected Poland, within our ranks that have been weakened in this respect by the occupiers.<sup>12</sup>

The journal contained articles about the threat posed for Poland and its populace by Ukrainians. Various examples of disgraceful acts on the part of the Ukrainian side were given to create the atmosphere of a "besieged fortress." Recalled were honoured figures for the whole *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* movement, whether from the period of the Galician conspiracies, the Revolutions of 1848, or the war over Eastern Galicia,<sup>13</sup> but also lesser known individuals and events. The goal was to cultivate the long tradition of loyalty amongst Ruthenians, especially Uniates, in relation to Poland. That the phenomenon of *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* still existed was demonstrated by, for example, the giving of the number of "Greek-Poles" in tertiary education.<sup>14</sup> The journal also tried to prove to its readership the validity of the nineteenth-century assertion that there was but a single Polish nation, and a single Polish language, differentiated merely by dialects.<sup>15</sup> From 1935 the journal began to include the posthumous recollections of select Ruthenians of Polish nationality, from which we are able to learn the names of more or less well-known individuals from this group for the period under discussion.<sup>16</sup> The journal's editorial board also spoke out on political matters. For example, when elections to the Polish lower house [*Sejm*] were taking place in 1935, it called on its readership to vote not for Ukrainians but for Poles. At the same time it expressed regret that no *gente Ruthenus, natione Polonus* was standing for office.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>12</sup> "Od Wydawnictwa," *Greko-Katolik* 2, no. 1 (Mar. 1934), p. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. the articles: "Zwycięstwo wiary nad ukraińską polityką," *Greko-Katolik* 2, no. 2 (Apr. 1934), pp. 1–2; "Rocznica obrony Lwowa," *Greko-Katolik* 2, no. 5 (Nov. 1934), p. 1–2; "Udział Unitów w obronie Lwowa," *Greko-Katolik* 2, no. 5 (Nov. 1934), p. 4.

<sup>14</sup> In one of the editions it was stated that in 1931 at the Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv 81 such persons studied there, while only 30 studied at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow. It was joyfully proclaimed that "This is a symptom of the Greek Catholic return to Polishness". See "Greko-Polacy w szkołach," *Greko-Katolik* 2, no. 4 (Oct. 1934), p. 4.

<sup>15</sup> "Jedna Polska—jeden naród," *Greko-Katolik* 3, no. 1 (Jan. 1935), p. 1.

<sup>16</sup> The paper recalled: Jarosław Korczyński [Iaroslav Korchynsky] the builder ["Z żałobnej karty," *Greko-Katolik* 3, no. 1 (Jan. 1935), p. 8], the editor of the journal *Ruski selanyn* [Ruthenian Villager] Witold Demiańczuk [Vytovt Demianchuk] ["Zgon niezłomnego rycerza," *Greko-Katolik* 3, no. 3 (Mar. 1935), p. 6.], the editor of *Kurier Krakowski* [The Cracow Courier] and also an association member of the Friends of the Konstanty Srokowski Union [Kostiantyn Srokovsky] ["Zgon wielkiego Polaka greckiego obrządku," *Greko-Katolik* 3, no. 6–7 (Jun.–Jul. 1935), p. 6] and also Father Henryk Polański ["Z żałobnej karty," *Greko-Katolik* 3, no. 10 (Oct. 1935), p. 5].

<sup>17</sup> "Wybory do Sejmu a Greko-Polacy," *Greko-Katolik* 3, no. 8–9 (Aug.–Sep. 1935), p. 1.

In 1936 the journal proposed a new term to designate Poles of the Ruthenian rite, "Greek Pole," with the journal adopting the same name. At the same time the journal started to become increasingly bold in stating its case, speaking of the persecution of the Polish language in the Greek Catholic Church and consequent attacks on the entirety of Polish Uniate society.<sup>18</sup> It went on to again change its title, this time to *Polak Greko-Katolik* [The Greek Catholic Pole], with the magazine becoming a sociocultural publication abandoning its strict religious-political origins. Its mandate was to inform its readers about all aspects of life in the Second Republic, not merely on matters concerning the persecution of Uniate Poles by Ukrainians. The full title of the journal now read: *Polak Greko-Katolik. Czasopismo miesięczne dla grekokatolików polskiej narodowości (religione Ruthenus—nazione Polonus)* [The Greek Catholic Pole. A Monthly Magazine for Greek Catholics of Polish Nationality (*Religione Ruthenus—Nazione Polonus*)]. From 1 September 1938 it was published every two weeks, continuing its observation and analysis of events important for Greek Catholic Poles.<sup>19</sup> It built up the tradition of the entire movement, recalling the history of Uniate Poles in a series of non-specialist articles<sup>20</sup> as well as appealing for the construction of memorials or the unveiling of plaques to commemorate the Greek Catholic conspirators of the 1830s and 1840s.<sup>21</sup> The grassroots activities of Teofil Stupnicki were aimed at countering the growing Ukrainization of Galician Uniates, and were also an attempt to regain the "stolen souls" of the Ruthenian minor gentry. Additionally, proposals were advanced for the creation of a Polish Greek Catholic clergy. This was to be aided by the establishment of halls of residence for Uniate Poles and support for the creation of Polish sections at Greek Catholic seminaries, with the ultimate aim of establishing separate Polish Greek Catholic seminaries.<sup>22</sup>

Besides surfacing in the press, *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* started to become a topic of discussion in academic literature. Here the foremost mention should be made of the eminent historian Stanisław Zakrzewski, president of the Lviv Section of the Polish Historical Association and publisher of the journal *Ziemia Czerwieńska* [The Cherven

<sup>18</sup> "Zamiast 'Greko-Katolik' — 'Greko-Polak,'" *Greko-Polak* 4, no. 1 (Jan. 1936), p. 1.

<sup>19</sup> With great joy it was announced that on 17 July 1938 the Greek Catholic military parish in Lviv would have a new parish priest—Father Stefan Hrab. At the time the Mass was celebrated in Polish, with a sermon given in Polish and Ukrainian, Polish hymns (including "Boże, coś Polskę" ["God save Poland"]) and the national anthem played at the end. See "Nowy lwowski proboszcz grekokatolicki," *Polak Greko-Katolik* 5, no. 13–14 (ed. B) (Jul. 1938), p. 4. With similar pomp it was announced that on 21 May Jerzy Kuryłowicz had been victorious in the elections to the Lviv Municipal Council. See: "Zwycięstwo polskich grekokatolików," *Polak Greko-Katolik* 6, no. 10 (30 May / 1 Jun. 1939), p. 9.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. for example, about Kasper Ciegłewicz: "Grekokatolicy związani z polską kulturą," *Polak Greko-Katolik* 6, no. 12 (1 Jul. 1939), p. 8.

<sup>21</sup> "O uczczenie gr. kat. księży i kleryków," *Polak Greko-Katolik* 6, no. 12 (1 Jun. 1939), p. 4.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Grott, "Nacjonalizm ukraiński," pp. 276, 281.



Land] (concerned with the eastern Galician past<sup>23</sup>). His work frequently formulated theses and opinions arguing for the Jagiellonian idea as historically justified, something that was to be of significance in the course of Poland's struggle for independence and the subsequent delineation of its borders, as these drew upon varied conceptions of the territorial shape of the revived state and the eastern lands which had once comprised part of Poland-Lithuania. While still a student at the Jagiellonian University in the 1890s, he had opposed the views of the Ukrainian writer and historian of literature Ivan Franko, advocating instead for the harmonious coexistence of Poles and Ruthenians.<sup>24</sup> Later, as a lecturer in the auxiliary historical sciences at Lviv University, he concentrated his research on the Poland of the Piast dynasty, as well as the question of Poland's genesis. He equated nationality with national sentiment, which enabled him to think about the notion of nation in political categories and not ethnic ones. Paradoxically, during the first decade of the twentieth century he was to be associated with the camp of the Polish nationalist leader Roman Dmowski, which centred on the concept of ethnic nationality. Zakrzewski was of the view that a Pole—in the understanding of state nationality—could be a Lithuanian or Ruthenian. As Zakrzewski's biographer Krystyna Śreniowska notes, in 1902 the historian wrote a highly criticized article about the Ruthenian origins of St. Stanislaus. Later, he pointed out the non-Polish roots of the Renaissance humanist and writer Stanisław Orzechowski [Stanisław Orikhovsky]. In the book *The West and the East in Polish History* [*Zachód i Wschód w historii Polski*] he traced the links between Poland and Rus' from the depths of the Middle Ages onwards, accentuating the impact of Ruthenian elements on Polish culture and finally concluding that in the former Poland, Poles and Ruthenians were so close to each other that they created not a dual but a single coherent society. He believed that if it had not been for a difference in rite, Poles and Ruthenians would not differ from each other at all.<sup>25</sup> Here he noted the free will that had accompanied Poland's union with Rus', the religious tolerance within the joint state, and the benefits brought by the Polish expansion of Latin culture into Ruthenian territory.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> On the *Ziemia Czerwieńska* and its community see: Helena Madurowicz-Urbańska, "Karta z dziejów lwowskiej nauki. 'Ziemia Czerwieńska'—Rocznik Oddziału Polskiego Towarzystwa Historycznego we Lwowie (1935–1938)," in *Poprzez stulecia. Księga pamiątkowa ofiarowana Profesorowi Antoniemu Podrazie w 80. rocznicę jego urodzin*, ed. Danuta Czerna (Cracow, 2000), pp. 299–307.

<sup>24</sup> Krystyna Śreniowska, *Stanisław Zakrzewski. Przyczynek do charakterystyki prądów ideologicznych w historiografii polskiej 1893–1936* (Łódź, 1956), pp. 23–24.

<sup>25</sup> Stanisław Zakrzewski, "Zachód i Wschód w historii Polski," in Stanisław Zakrzewski, *Zagadnienia historyczne*, vol. 2 (Lviv, 1936), pp. 1–50; Cf. Śreniowska, *Stanisław Zakrzewski*, pp. 64–71.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 104.

Zakrzewski expanded upon these notions a dozen or so years later in the work *Poles and Ruthenians in the Cherven Land of the Past* [*Polacy i Rusini na Ziemi Czerwieńskiej w przeszłości*], in which the author presented the core of his reflections on the Ruthenian question within the Polish historical context.<sup>27</sup> In this study Zakrzewski attempts to prove that from as early as the tenth century, even though an ethnographic division between Poles and Ruthenians existed, one cannot talk about a resistance to the flow of cultural influences. He emphasizes that since the Middle Ages Poles had been the indigenous people inhabiting the area between the Bug and San rivers and the Dnister River. His entire argument is that Poles and Ruthenians enjoyed a cordial and friendly coexistence for centuries. Zakrzewski in no way negates the impact of either Polish culture or colonization on the inhabitants of the Ruthenian lands, seeing Rus' as a net beneficiary of this process. Here he cites many examples of individuals from the *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* formation who had naturally sworn allegiance to the Polish state, though in doing so were fully conscious of their Ruthenian origins. Several individuals he identifies are Stanisław Orzechowski, as the son of a Pole and a Ruthenian woman; Father Józef Wereszczyński [Iosyf Vereshchynsky] of the Chełm [Kholm] lands and subsequently bishop of Kyiv; and finally, Jan Andrzej Próchnicki, the archbishop of Lviv. Zakrzewski does not refute that these individuals were, in fact, the product of Polonization, but he also does not see anything negative in this fact: "the process of Latinization and Polonization conducted within the very core of Ruthenian families was done in a way that was wholly domestic, family-driven against a background that was purely sociocultural in its coloration."<sup>28</sup> According to him, it was the Union of Brest that had acted as the dominant factor in bringing the adherents of Orthodoxy from the eastern part of the Polish-Lithuanian state to Polishness. This was to endow the Polish nation with Ruthenians such as the magnate and Grand Hetman of Lithuania Kostiantyn Ostrozky [Konstanty Ostrogski]—who was, according to Zakrzewski, "the true deputy king and deputy patriarch of the Ruthenian Church"—Ipatii Potii [Hipacy Pocij], Iosyf Veliamyn Rutsy [Józef Welamin Rucki], and first and foremost Adam Kysil [Kisiel], the voivode of Kyiv who "during the most difficult periods of the Cossack wars represented the

<sup>27</sup> Stanisław Zakrzewski, "Polacy i Rusini na Ziemi Czerwieńskiej w przeszłości," in Eugeniusz Romer, Stanisław Zakrzewski, Stanisław Pawłowski, *W obronie Galicyi Wschodniej* (Lviv, 1919), pp. 15–57. Another in-depth study into the historiographic views of Zakrzewski on Polish history besides the mentioned text *Zachód i Wschód w historii Polski* may be found in the article "Ze studiów nad dziejami unji polsko-litewskiej," in Zakrzewski, *Zagadnienia historyczne*, vol. 2, pp. 177–229.

<sup>28</sup> Zakrzewski, "Polacy i Rusini," p. 43.



notion of loyalty to the Commonwealth across the entirety of Rus'."<sup>29</sup> Evidence of Rus' loyalty to the state as a whole was seen by Zakrzewski in the approach adopted by cities such as Lviv or Zamość, which defended themselves staunchly against the Cossacks. He explains the acts of plunder and murder carried out at this time by Ruthenian peasants as "acts of disorder socially motivated not derived from national issues."<sup>30</sup> He saw the vitality of *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* in the Ruthenian support for Polish independence, starting from 1794. The Ruthenian dislike of Poles that he witnessed was explained in relation to the impact of Austrian Habsburg administration. Zakrzewski's study was published in 1919, during the Polish-Ukrainian War for Eastern Galicia. He crowns it with the hope that "in the future the Ruthenian people would want to belong to Poland as they had in centuries past."<sup>31</sup>

Zakrzewski placed great score on the Union of Lublin, and even more on the Treaty of Hadiach. He was critical of the Polish conservative historian and politician Michał Bobrzyński, who negatively evaluated both of these political acts, suggesting that a better solution would have been the absorption of these eastern neighbours into a centralized state because, otherwise, conditions for the outbreak of anarchy had been created. As a supporter of the Jagiellonian idea, Zakrzewski noted in a review of Bobrzyński's *History of Poland: An Outline* [Dzieje Polski w zarysie] that it was precisely the suppression of Rus' that resulted in Cossack revolts.<sup>32</sup> For Zakrzewski, the Treaty of Hadiach of 1659 was simply an unrealized symbol of the Jagiellonian idea.

Under communism, Zakrzewski was accused of "a nationalistic haughtiness combined [in Zakrzewski's works—A.Ś.], with a clear program of subordinating other nations."<sup>33</sup> Zakrzewski's writing and

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 45.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 46.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 57.

<sup>32</sup> Stanisław Zakrzewski, "Z powodu czwartego wydania 'Dziejów Polski w zarysie' Michała Bobrzyńskiego," in Zakrzewski, *Zagadnienia historyczne*, vol. 1, pp. 237–41.

<sup>33</sup> Śreniowska, *Stanisław Zakrzewski*, p. 71. As proof, Krystyna Śreniowska gave the example of the letter used by Oswald Balzer to Zakrzewski with the intention of increasing the remuneration of the town hall caretaker, Michał Majba, as a result of his conversion from the Uniate to the Roman Catholic faith. (See *ibid.*, p. 71, footnote 83). This example speaks more of Balzer's mindset than that of Zakrzewski's. In addition, Śreniowska herself quotes the content of Zakrzewski's lecture of 1921 (*The Impact of the Ruthenian Question on the Polish State in the Fourteenth Century* [Wpływ sprawy ruskiej na państwo polskie w XIV w.]), in which the historian states that "In the Ruthenian people, the state obtained a committed working class used extensively in the fields of feudal service, and which later also played a creative role in the area of our culture" (*ibid.*, p. 71). In her book she also gives the contents of a letter of Zakrzewski's to Father Jan Fijałek of 1922, in which the historian proposes that Ruthenian-Polish sources or their regesta be published on the model of the publication: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* (*ibid.*, p. 129). This is by far the clearest proof that Zakrzewski was especially sensitive in his approach toward Rus'.

activities were never meant to argue for the superiority of Poles over Ruthenians or the subordination of the latter to Poland. Quite the contrary; everywhere the author emphasizes the symbiotic advantages for each culture that resulted from their mutual relations. Such benefits in no way required the introduction of administratively endorsed Polonization. In the article "Germany, Russia, and the Polish Question" [Niemcy, Rosja i kwestia polska...] he underlines that there could never have been talk "about Poles having to make Poles out of Ruthenians." Further on, he notes: "a strengthening in the development of the Ruthenian nation, with the only reservation that this does not affect Poles detrimentally, has to be incorporated in the program of every Polish activist."<sup>34</sup> It is also worth recalling that in 1920 and during the peace negotiations with the Bolsheviks, Zakrzewski, sharing the views of the Polish head of state Józef Piłsudski, spoke out in favour of adopting the pre-partition borders and subsequently creating the buffer states of Ukraine and Belarus.<sup>35</sup> Zakrzewski, dreaming at this time of the development of relations between Poland and a federated Ukraine, constructed the myth—one drawn from many centuries of tradition—of a federal commonwealth that had once existed in the form of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Even though such a vision was never to be a reality, thanks to Zakrzewski and many other like-minded historians it became strongly embedded within Polish historical consciousness. Zakrzewski was undoubtedly the first historian to devote more space in his research to Ruthenians of Polish nationality.

Another work that is key to the whole discussion about *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* is the article by Stanisław Kot on national consciousness in modern Poland, published in *Kwartalnik Historyczny* [Historical Quarterly] in 1938.<sup>36</sup> Kot was the first to attempt to define what the phenomenon of *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* actually was. His notions, such as "respective *gentes* merged into a single *nation*,"<sup>37</sup> have entered into the canon of the literature on the subject and have been referred to not so much by researchers into the history of the partitions, but by those historians examining the internal state of affairs in the Commonwealth of Two Nations (Poland-Lithuania). From here onwards the notion was used to describe the Ruthenian gentry in pre-partition Poland.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>34</sup> [Stanisław Zakrzewski] Z., "Niemcy, Rosja i kwestia polska. Z powodu książki Dmowskiego pod tymże tytułem," *Ateneum Polskie* 4 (1908), p. 74. Cf. also: Śreniowska, *Stanisław Zakrzewski*, p. 99.

<sup>35</sup> Śreniowska, *Stanisław Zakrzewski*, pp. 89, 101.

<sup>36</sup> Stanisław Kot, "Świadomość narodowa w Polsce w. XV–XVII," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 52, no. 1 (1938), pp. 15–33.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>38</sup> See, for example: Teresa Chynczewska-Hennel, *Świadomość narodowa szlachty ukraińskiej i kozaczyzny od schyłku XVI do połowy XVII w.* (Warsaw, 1985), pp. 133–46; Teresa

It is also worth recalling another text of a less academic nature, which had the fortune to be published just before the Second World War broke out. Numbering a mere thirty pages, this piece by Tadeusz Jagmin<sup>39</sup> was an attempt to show the situation of Poles of the Greek Catholic rite and their relations to the Uniate hierarchy. The author clearly states his aims in the very first sentences:

The fate of Greek Catholic Poles constitutes one of the darker sides of our Polish reality as played out across those ancient lands of the Piasts and Jagiellonians.

But this booklet was not written to bemoan and enumerate grievances but to show the routes to concentrate forces and to unharness them in the rhythm of a victory for progressive Polish labour on this Earth.<sup>40</sup>

In his publication, the author explored the issues of the size of the Greek Catholic community; of how the Greek Catholic Church's attitude towards Poland and Poles changed over the centuries; and of the underprivileged and disadvantaged status of the Polish Greek Catholics. The final chapter contained seven demands made by this community. They demanded the creation of Polish Greek Catholic parishes in localities inhabited mainly by Polish Greek Catholics. Where they constituted a minority, they appealed for a Mass to be celebrated in the Polish language. They also made demands for confession, prayers, and hymns as well as religious studies to be in Polish, and called for the recruitment of Poles to Greek Catholic seminaries and the creation there of separate classes for them. Other demands were to end the practice of politicized sermons in church, and to include Greek Catholic clergy of Polish nationality in parish affairs. These petitions were obviously never to be satisfied, for they hit hard and fundamentally at the exclusively Ukrainian nature of the Uniate Church.

However, the problem was to be brutally resolved by the Second World War. The ethnic cleansing, the moving of borders, and the mass deportation of peoples resulted in the annihilation of the multicultural border region that had been former Eastern Galicia, now mainly annexed by and incorporated into the USSR. Likewise, within its new borders communist Poland was to become an almost exclusively monoethnic state, one in which ethnicity neatly overlapped with nationality. As the Polish historian Andrzej Walicki wrote:

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Chynczewska-Hennel, "Gente Ruthenus—Nazione Polonus," *Warszawskie Zeszyty Ukrainoznawcze* 6–7: *Spotkania polsko-ukraińskie. Studia Ucrainica* (1998), ed. Stefan Kozak, pp. 35–44.

<sup>39</sup> Jagmin, *Polacy grekokatolicy*.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

(...) a Polish nation created exclusively on the basis of a Polish-language-speaking ethnic group is not what was desired and what was planned by the Polish intelligentsia of the era of uprisings and its numerous ideological heirs. (...) In no way negating the massive significance of nationalist ideologies, one must admit that ethnicity was to be a hard fact of life, one resistant to the ideological constructs trying to lessen its role.<sup>41</sup>

In this way, the long generational chain of ethnoses living side by side was severed, and the Polish nation lost the ethnic input of non-Polish elements, such as that of the Ruthenians of Polish nationality as they had been in the nineteenth century. The phenomenon of *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* ceased to function as a political issue. This is not to say, however, that Poles of the Greek Catholic rite no longer existed, for we can find a series of examples of Greek Catholics publicly appearing in Polish political life during the second half of the twentieth century. Under such conditions, the subject of *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* remained merely an academic problem and one that even then was increasingly marginalized.

Researchers of Galicia from both the Polish People's Republic and the USSR were obviously aware of this group's previous existence. Nonetheless, they mention it only on the margins of broader studies, particularly those referring to Polish-Ukrainian relations in Galicia. The matter is most commonly raised in political contexts, and more precisely when describing the revolutions of 1848 or the work of the Galician Diet. The *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* were rarely examined in a more thorough way, and thus most attention was given to the political dimension of this phenomenon instead of its cultural, social, and finally, ideological ones. That said, numerous studies into the most important political events in nineteenth-century Galicia, the biographies of well-known individuals, and source publications such as memoirs have resulted in a greater number of researchers discovering many border figures, their activities and works, and the processes in which the *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* were involved. Taking this into consideration, it is therefore very important to consider the following question from the outset: has the subject of *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* appeared within Polish historiography during the study of other events or phenomena?

The topic surfaces mainly during discussions of the history and society of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Teresa Chynczewska-Hennel, in particular, has examined the attitudes of the Polonized

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<sup>41</sup> Andrzej Walicki, "Koncepcje tożsamości narodowej i terytorium narodowego w myśli polskiej czasów porozbiorowych," *Archiwum Historii Filozofii i Myśli Społecznej* 38 (1993), p. 231.

Ruthenian gentry during the period of the Cossack wars, devoting an entire chapter in her book and a whole article to the matter.<sup>42</sup> In turn, Henryk Litwin has drawn attention to aspects of the Ruthenian gentry's political choices and the ambiguities of these choices. One of his texts analyzes various attitudes exhibited by the nobles in Rus': from the time of the Union of Lublin to the Khmelnytsky Uprising; from pro-Polish sentiments through conciliatory relations between Poles and Ruthenians and the attempts to broaden the Polish-Lithuanian state to include a third, Ruthenian, royal land; and finally, cooperation with the Cossacks.<sup>43</sup> No less important are the works of Janusz Tazbir, which analyze the changes taking place within the national consciousness of the Polish gentry where the adoption of Polish nationality on the part of Ruthenian boyars was widespread.<sup>44</sup> Perhaps the most prominent Ukrainian historian to research the matter at hand is Natalia Yakovenko, who has written on the identity of the Ruthenian gentry.<sup>45</sup> The American researcher David Althoen and the Ukrainian-American Serhii Plokhii<sup>46</sup> have also worked on the formula *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* within the context of the "noble nation" of former Poland.<sup>47</sup> Yet none of this research has gone much beyond the early modern epoch.

In the second half of the twentieth century, many studies appeared on the subject of Galicia. Given the socioethnic nature of the subject, these studies were unable to avoid mentioning the presence of Ruthenians of Polish nationality within the sociopolitical life of this territory under Austrian rule. It will suffice to mention the numerous studies published in Poland on the Galician conspiracies, the Revolutions of 1848, the January Uprising, or the political and national life in the Habsburg Monarchy; works by Zbigniew Fras,<sup>48</sup> Sławomir Kalemka,<sup>49</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Chynczewska-Hennel, *Świadomość narodowa*, pp. 133–46; Chynczewska-Hennel, "Gente Ruthenus," pp. 35–44.

<sup>43</sup> Henryk Litwin, "Katolicyzacja szlachty ruskiej a procesy asymilacyjne na Ukrainie w latach 1569–1648," in *Tryumfy i porażki. Studia z dziejów kultury polskiej XVI–XVIII w.*, ed. Maria Bogucka (Warsaw, 1989), pp. 47–73.

<sup>44</sup> Cf., for example: Janusz Tazbir, "Procesy polonizacyjne w szlacheckiej Rzeczypospolitej," in *Tryumfy i porażki*, pp. 9–45; Janusz Tazbir, "Tradycje wieloetnicznej Rzeczypospolitej," in *Inni wśród swoich*, ed. Wiesław Władyka (Warsaw, 1994), pp. 12–23.

<sup>45</sup> Teresa Chynczewska-Hennel and Natalia Jakowenko, "Społeczeństwo, religia, kultura," in *Między sobą. Szkice historyczne polsko-ukraińskie*, eds. Teresa Chynczewska-Hennel and Natalia Jakowenko (Lublin, 2000), pp. 111–51.

<sup>46</sup> David Althoen, "Nazione Polonus and the Naród szlachecki: Two myths of national identity and noble solidarity," *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* 52 (2003), pp. 475–508.

<sup>47</sup> Serhii Plokhii, *The Origins of the Slavic Nations: Premodern Identities in Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 169–73.

<sup>48</sup> Zbigniew Fras, *Demokraci w życiu politycznym Galicji w latach 1848–1873* (Wrocław, 1997); Zbigniew Fras, *Galicja* (Wrocław, 2000).

<sup>49</sup> Sławomir Kalemka, *Wiosna Ludów w Europie* (Warsaw, 1991), p. 188.

Stefan Kieniewicz,<sup>50</sup> Jan Kozik,<sup>51</sup> Bolesław Łopuszański,<sup>52</sup> Piotr Łossowski,<sup>53</sup> Marian Stolarczyk,<sup>54</sup> and Henryk Wereszycki.<sup>55</sup> Of special note is the article by Anna Wróbel on the subject of the portrayal of the Polish intelligentsia by foreign representatives and minorities, including Ruthenians. The problem of *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* is also dealt with in her work.<sup>56</sup>

A more detailed and direct handling of the problem, framed within the context of the period of partitions, was only to appear in 1995 when Andrzej A. Zięba published his then fundamental article on the topic in *Studies of the Eastern European Commission* at the Polish Academy of Learning.<sup>57</sup> To this day it remains the fundamental Polish-language study on the subject. In his extensive article he draws attention to the changes in the national consciousness of the Galician landed gentry and intelligentsia, providing numerous examples of individuals and families for whom the question of national identification was a straightforward one. For several years after its publication the matter was left largely unexplored; possible exceptions were Antonina Kłosowska's book which examined the difficulties cultural formations pose for any

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<sup>50</sup> Stanisław Kieniewicz, *Czyn Polski w dobie Wiosny Ludów* (Warsaw, 1948); Stanisław Kieniewicz, *Konspiracje galicyjskie (1831–1845)* (Warsaw, 1950); Stanisław Kieniewicz, "Rusyn na praznyku' i dalsze jego losy," in *Problemy wiedzy o kulturze. Prace dedykowane Stefanowi Żółkiewskiemu*, eds. Alina Brodzka, Maryla Hopfinger and Janusz Lalewicz (Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow–Gdańsk–Łódź, 1986), pp. 327–41; Stanisław Kieniewicz, *Adam Sapieha 1828–1903* (Warsaw, 1993).

<sup>51</sup> Jan Kozik, *Ukraiński ruch narodowy w Galicji w latach 1830–1848* (Cracow, 1973); Jan Kozik, *Między reakcją a rewolucją. Studia z dziejów ukraińskiego ruchu narodowego w Galicji w latach 1848–1849* (Warsaw–Cracow, 1975); Jan Kozik, "Stosunki ukraińsko-polskie w Galicji w okresie rewolucji 1848–1849. Próba charakterystyki," *Prace Historyczne* 54: *Z dziejów współpracy Polaków, Ukraińców i Rosjan* (1975), pp. 29–53. In English: Kozik, *The Ukrainian National Movement*.

<sup>52</sup> Bolesław Łopuszański, "'Wskazówka dla nauczycieli ludu ruskiego' Kaspra Cięglewicza (z literatury chłopomańskiej pierwszej połowy XIX w.)," *Rocznik Muzeum Etnograficznego w Krakowie* 5 (1974), pp. 239–56; Bolesław Łopuszański, *Stowarzyszenie Ludu Polskiego (1835–1841). Geneza i dzieje* (Cracow, 1975).

<sup>53</sup> Piotr Łossowski and Zygmunt Młynarski, *Rosjanie, Białorusini i Ukraińcy w powstaniu styczniowym* (Wrocław, 1959).

<sup>54</sup> Marian Stolarczyk, *Działalność Lwowskiej Centralnej Rady Narodowej. W świetle źródeł polskich* (Rzeszów, 1994).

<sup>55</sup> Henryk Wereszycki, *Pod berłem Habsburgów. Zagadnienia narodowościowe* (Cracow, 1986), pp. 143–44.

<sup>56</sup> Anna Wróbel, "Od 'Galileuszy' do Polaków. Wejście do polskiej inteligencji przedstawicieli ludności napływowej i mniejszości w Galicji w XIX w.," in *Inteligencja polska XIX i XX wieku. Studia* 5, ed. Ryszarda Czepulis-Rastenis (Warsaw, 1987), pp. 173–90 (particularly pp. 185–87).

<sup>57</sup> Andrzej A. Zięba, "Gente Rutheni, natione Poloni," in *Prace Komisji Wschodnioeuropejskiej PAU*, vol. 2, eds. Ryszard Łużny and Andrzej A. Zięba (Cracow, 1995), pp. 61–77.



researcher of national cultures,<sup>58</sup> and also the sociological study by Łucja Kapralska, who looked into the phenomenon of cultural and ethnic pluralism during the period of the Second Polish Republic, simultaneously bringing to the fore the notion of assimilation (citing the example of *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni*).<sup>59</sup> Andrzej A. Zięba returned to the issue a dozen or so years later with the publication of an extensive two-part article on the ethnic identity of Rusyns (Lemkos) from the Lemko region, in which examples of individuals from the group of interest to us are given.<sup>60</sup> The same author also wrote about Ruthenians sympathizing with Poland during the January Uprising, placing them amongst similar ethnic examples, in an article that constituted a part of the publication *On the Year 1863. The Jagiellonian University and the January Uprising* [*Rzecz o roku 1863. Uniwersytet Jagielloński wobec powstania styczniowego*].<sup>61</sup>

Jarosław Moklak has also dealt with the political activity of Ruthenians of Polish nationality in his research into the language issues settled during the session of the Galician Diet.<sup>62</sup> Renata Dutkova has touched on those representatives of *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* who were active in the ratification of the language act (1866/1867), and subsequently the creation of the framework for the Galicia's Provincial School Board [*Rada Szkolna Krajowa/Kraiowa Shkil'na Rada*]. Her study of *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* does not go into much detail, as this was not its aim.<sup>63</sup> In turn, the presence of Ruthenian deputies of Polish

<sup>58</sup> Antonina Kłosowska, *National Cultures at the Grass-root Level* (Budapest, 2001), p. 51, 128.

<sup>59</sup> Łucja Kapralska, *Pluralizm kulturowy i etniczny a odrębność regionalna Kresów południowo-wschodnich w latach 1918–1939* (Cracow, 2000), pp. 143–64.

<sup>60</sup> Andrzej A. Zięba, "Tożsamość etniczna jako obiekt manipulacji politycznej. Przypadek Rusinów łemkowskich XVIII–XX w. (część pierwsza)," *Rocznik Ruskiej Bursy* (2007), pp. 59–94; Andrzej A. Zięba, "Tożsamość etniczna jako obiekt manipulacji politycznej. Przypadek Rusinów łemkowskich XVIII–XX w. (część druga)," *Rocznik Ruskiej Bursy* (2008), pp. 59–71.

<sup>61</sup> Andrzej A. Zięba, "Inne 'Tamte światy'," in *Rzecz o roku 1863. Uniwersytet Jagielloński wobec powstania styczniowego*, ed. Andrzej A. Zięba (Cracow, 2013), pp. 83–87.

<sup>62</sup> Jarosław Moklak, "Stanowisko posłów polskich gente Ruthenus i ruskich (ukraińskich) w Sejmie Krajowym galicyjskim wobec projektu ustawy o języku wykładowym w szkołach ludowych i średnich w 1866 r.," *Biuletyn Ukrainoznawczy* 8 (2002), pp. 28–41; Jarosław Moklak, "Spór polsko-ukraiński o język obrad sejmiku galicyjskiego (1865–1866). Wnioski Antona Petruszewycza i Aleksandra Borkowskiego. Przyczynki do kształtowania się nacjonalizmów w Galicji Wschodniej," *Biuletyn Ukrainoznawczy* 9 (2003), pp. 40–51; Jarosław Moklak, *W walce o tożsamość Ukraińców. Zagadnienie języka wykładowego w szkołach ludowych i średnich w pracach galicyjskiego Sejmu Krajowego 1866–1892* (Cracow, 2004).

<sup>63</sup> Renata Dutkova, "Polityka szkolna w Galicji 1866–1890," in *Nauka i oświata*, eds. Andrzej Meissner and Jerzy Wyrozumski (Rzeszów, 1995), pp. 137–49; Renata Dutkova, *Polityka szkolna w Galicji. Między autonomią a centralizmem (1861–1875)* (Cracow, 1995).

leanings—including Ruthenians of Polish nationality—at the Imperial Council (*Reichsrat*) in Vienna in the 1860s and 1870s has been mentioned by Stanisław Pijaj.<sup>64</sup> It is also relevant to mention Włodzimierz Osadczy, a researcher of Russophilism in Galicia, in whose works the subject of *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* as a competitive formation also appears.<sup>65</sup> This historian has also written an article devoted to the myth of the Polish-Lithuanian-Ruthenian union, one especially cultivated by Galician Ruthenians of Polish nationality.<sup>66</sup> The *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* attitudes prevalent amongst the minor gentry of the Sambir district have been dealt with by Magdalena Kwiecińska,<sup>67</sup> while Czesław Partacz, in writing about Polish-Ukrainian relations on the eve of the heyday of nationalism, has concentrated on rural Greek Catholic Poles at the close of the epoch studied here.<sup>68</sup> It is also worth mentioning three recently published books on the question of the shaping of Ruthenian/Ukrainian identity, in which the matter of *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* is also examined. Here we are speaking about Bernadetta Wójtowicz-Huber's book on the role of Uniate priests in the process of creating national awareness amongst Ruthenians,<sup>69</sup> the book *Another Galicia [Inna Galicja]* by Danuta Sosnowska, in which the author in an original, though contestable, way shows the various national dilemmas that appeared within nineteenth-century Galician society,<sup>70</sup> and Magdalena Nowak's book which deals with the problem of shaping Andrei Sheptytsky's national identity.<sup>71</sup> Marceli Handelsman has undertaken an examination

<sup>64</sup> Stanisław Pijaj, *Między polskim patriotyzmem a habsburskim lojalizmem. Polacy wobec przemian ustrojowych monarchii habsburskiej (1866–1871)* (Cracow, 2003); Stanisław Pijaj, "Posłowie ruscy w parlamencie wiedeńskim w latach 1848–1879," in *Ukraińskie tradycje parlamentarne. XIX–XXI wiek*, ed. Jarosław Moklak (Cracow, 2006), pp. 95–126; Stanisław Pijaj, *Opozycja w wiedeńskiej Radzie Państwa w latach siedemdziesiątych XIX w. (skład, organizacja, funkcjonowanie)* (Cracow, 2011).

<sup>65</sup> Włodzimierz Osadczy, *Święta Ruś. Rozwój i oddziaływanie idei prawosławia w Galicji* (Lublin, 2007), p. 85.

<sup>66</sup> Włodzimierz Osadczy, "Galicyski mit unii polsko-litewsko-ruskiej," in *Unia lubelska. Unia Europejska*, ed. Iwona Hofman (Lublin, 2010), pp. 169–75.

<sup>67</sup> Magdalena Kwiecińska, "Poczucie tożsamości stanowej i narodowej rodu Kulczyckich z Kulczyc koło Sambora, na Ukrainie Zachodniej," *Literatura Ludowa* no. 4–5 (2004), pp. 105–24; Magdalena Kwiecińska, "Drobna szlachta w Galicji—między polskim a ukraińskim ruchem narodowym," *Sprawy Narodowościowe. Seria Nowa* 34 (2009), pp. 83–97.

<sup>68</sup> Czesław Partacz, "Stosunki religijne w Galicji Wschodniej. Rusini łacinnicy i Polacy grekokatolicy," *Rocznik Przemyski* 28 (1991–92), pp. 140–46; Czesław Partacz, *Od Badeniego do Połockiego. Stosunki polsko-ukraińskie w Galicji w latach 1888–1908* (Toruń, 1997), pp. 180–84.

<sup>69</sup> Bernadetta Wójtowicz-Huber, *'Ojcowie narodu'. Duchowieństwo greckokatolickie w ruchu narodowym Rusinów galicyjskich (1867–1918)* (Warsaw, 2008).

<sup>70</sup> Danuta Sosnowska, *Inna Galicja* (Warsaw, 2008).

<sup>71</sup> Magdalena Nowak, *Dwa światy. Zagadnienie identyfikacji narodowej Andrzeja Szeptyckiego w latach 1865–1914* (Gdańsk, 2018).



of the matter of *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* in Galicia from an émigré perspective, building upon Joanna Nowak's article in which she writes about the reflections of the Great Emigration on the subject of Ruthenians.<sup>72</sup> Stanisław Grodziski deals with the disappearance of the *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* phenomenon in his popular book on Galicia, enumerating examples of Ruthenians who felt themselves to be Poles as well as reverse examples of Poles who proclaimed affiliation to Ukrainian nationality.<sup>73</sup>

The question of *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* also arises in descriptions of the more frequent phenomenon of multiculturalism. Many studies in this field, often based on the example of Galician small towns, have been conducted by Jadwiga Hoff.<sup>74</sup> It is also important to make special mention of Tomasz Pudłocki's book on the Przemyśl intelligentsia. Here he mentions the phenomenon of *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* in his region of interest within the context of a "hybridization of culture."<sup>75</sup>

The subject of Ruthenians of Polish nationality has also generated interest and research beyond Poland's eastern border. In Soviet, Russian, and Ukrainian historiography one must mention the studies of well-known historians such as Vladimir Boris,<sup>76</sup> Hryhorii Herbil'skyi,<sup>77</sup> Grigory Marakhov,<sup>78</sup> and Feodosii Steblii.<sup>79</sup> The essay by the émigré

<sup>72</sup> Marceli Handelsman, *Ukraińska polityka ks. Adama Czartoryskiego przed wojną krymską* (Warsaw, 1937); Joanna Nowak, "Gente Ruthenus, natione Polonus. Rusini w refleksji Wielkiej Emigracji," *Sprawy Narodowościowe. Seria Nowa* 23 (2003), pp. 43–62.

<sup>73</sup> Stanisław Grodziski, *Wzdłuż Wisty, Dniestru i Zbrucza Wędrówki po Galicji dyliżansem, koleją, samochodem* (Cracow, 2006), pp. 323–24.

<sup>74</sup> Jadwiga Hoff, "Żydzi, Polacy i Rusini w małych miastach Galicji Wschodniej w drugiej połowie XIX w. Sąsiedzi, obcy, wrogowie?," in *Spółeczeństwo w dobie przemian. Wiek XIX i XX. Księga jubileuszowa profesor Anny Żarnowskiej*, eds. Maria Nietyksza, Andrzej Szwarec and Krystyna Sierakowska (Warsaw, 2003), pp. 337–44; Jadwiga Hoff, *Mieszkańcy małych miast Galicji Wschodniej w okresie autonomicznym* (Rzeszów, 2005); Jadwiga Hoff, "Inteligencja galicyjska—niepokorna czy lojalna?," *Rocznik Przemyśki* 46, no. 4: *Historia* (2010), pp. 51–58.

<sup>75</sup> Tomasz Pudłocki, *Iskra światła czy kopczyca pochodnia? Inteligencja w Przemyślu w latach 1867–1939* (Cracow, 2009), pp. 418–19.

<sup>76</sup> Włodzimierz Borys, "W kręgu rewolucyjnym Szymona Konarskiego, Piotra Kotkiewicza i Ignacego Kulczyńskiego," *Przegląd Historyczny* 66, no. 3 (1975), pp. 461–72; Włodzimierz Borys, "Wyprawa J. Zaliwskiego i polskie organizacje spiskowe w Galicji w latach 1832–1835," in *Spółeczeństwo polskie i próby wznowienia walki zbrojnej w 1833 roku*, eds. Władimir Dżakow, Stanisław Kieniewicz, Wiktoria Śliwowska and Feodosij Steblii (Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow–Gdańsk–Łódź, 1984), pp. 83–105; Włodzimierz Borys, "Z dziejów walk o wyzwolenie narodowe i społeczne w Galicji w pierwszej połowie XIX w.," *Przemyskie Zapiski Historyczne* 4–5 (1987), pp. 223–30.

<sup>77</sup> Hryhorii Herbil's'kyi, *Peredova suspil'na dumka v Halychyni* (30-i – seredyna 40-kh rokiv XIX stolittia) (Lviv, 1959); Hryhorii Herbil's'kyi, *Rozvytok prohresyonykh idei v Halychyni u pershii polovyni XIX st. (do 1848 r.)* (Lviv, 1964).

<sup>78</sup> Grigory Marachow, "Polsko-ukraińskie związki rewolucyjne (50.–70. lata XIX wieku)," *Prace Historyczne* 54: *Z dziejów współpracy Polaków, Ukraińców i Rosjan* (1975), pp. 55–70.

<sup>79</sup> Feodosij Steblii, "Polskie spiski lat trzydziestych XIX w. a społeczeństwo ukraińskie w Galicji," in *Spółeczeństwo polskie*, pp. 106–18; Feodosii Steblii, "Ukraiñtsi i poliaiky

Ukrainian historian Ivan Lysiak-Rudnytsky entitled *The Ukrainians in Galicia under Austrian Rule* is particularly valuable. In this study, the author treats the phenomenon of *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* as an example of cultural mixing.<sup>80</sup> Yaroslav Hrytsak<sup>81</sup> has also made several mentions of the phenomenon of Polonized Ruthenians in his groundbreaking study of Ivan Franko. He again mentioned the phenomenon of *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* in various contexts in a book of interviews, which presents a broad spectrum of the historian's ideas.<sup>82</sup>

The leading specialist on the *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* is, however, undoubtedly the Lviv historian Marian Mudry. He has published a range of articles devoted to the political aspects of this phenomenon. In these he examines, among other things, Ruthenians in the Central National Council [*Centralna Rada Narodova*],<sup>83</sup> the organization of the Ruthenian Sobor [*Sobór Ruski/Rus'kyi Sobor*] and its members,<sup>84</sup> the ideological questions of this political organization,<sup>85</sup> its relations with the Supreme Ruthenian Council [*Holovna Rus'ka Rada*],<sup>86</sup> and the documents generated therein.<sup>87</sup> He has also explored the views of Ruthenians of Polish nationality during the pre-autonomous period, looking at the delegations that derived from this formation in the Galician Diet during the 1860s right up to the celebrations held to mark the 300<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Union of Lublin,<sup>88</sup> as well as the general attempts that were made

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Halychyny v 30–40-kh rr. XIX st. Poshuky politychnoho partnerstva," in *Polska – Ukraina. Historia, polityka, kultura. Materiały międzynarodowej konferencji naukowej*, ed. Stefan Zabrowarny (Szczecin–Warsaw, 2003), pp. 44–61.

<sup>80</sup> Ivan L. Rudnytsky, "Ukrainians in Galicia under Austrian Rule," in Rudnytsky, *Essays in Modern Ukrainian History*, p. 326.

<sup>81</sup> Yaroslav Hrytsak, *Ivan Franko and His Community*, trans. Marta Olynyk (Edmonton–Toronto, 2018).

<sup>82</sup> Jarosław Hrycak, *Ukraina. Przewodnik krytyki politycznej. Z Jarosławem Hrycakiem rozmawia Iza Chruślińska*, preface by A. Michnik (Gdańsk–Warsaw, 2009).

<sup>83</sup> Marian Mudryi, "Gente Rutheni v Pol'skii Tsentral'nii Radi Narodovii 1848 roku," *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva imeni Shevchenka* 256: *Pratsi filosof's'koi sektsii*, ed. O. Kupchyn's'kyi (2008), pp. 244–81.

<sup>84</sup> Marian Mudryi, "Rus'kyi sobor 1848 roku. Orhanizatsiia ta chleny," *Ukraina. Kul'turna spadshchyna, natsional'na svidomist', derzhavnist'* 16: *lubileinyi zbirnyk na poshanu Ivana Patera* (2008), pp. 107–26.

<sup>85</sup> Marian Mudryi, "Ideolohiia chy svitohliad? Do pyttannia pro teoretychni zasady Rus'koho Soboru 1848 roku," *Visnyk L'viv's'koho universytetu. Seriia istorychna* 44 (2009), pp. 75–106.

<sup>86</sup> Marian Mudryi, "'Jesteśmy rozdwojonymi członkami jednego ciała': Do pyttannia pro vidnosyny mizh Holovnoi Rus'koiu Radoiu i Rus'kym Soborom 1848 roku," *Zapysky naukovoho tovarystva imeni Shevchenka* 265: *Pratsi Istorychno-filosof's'koi sektsii* (2013), pp. 54–80.

<sup>87</sup> Marian Mudryi, "Rus'kyi sobor 1848 roku. Istoryohrafichnyi ta dzhereloznavchyi ohliad," *Visnyk L'viv's'koho universytetu. Seriia knyhozhnavstvo, bibliotekoznavstvo ta informatsiini tekhnolohii* 8 (2014), pp. 193–206.

<sup>88</sup> Marian Mudryi, "Ideia pol's'ko-ukraïns'koi unii ta 'Rusyny pol's'koi natsii' v etnopolitychnomu dyskursi Halychyny 1859–1869 rokiv," *Visnyk L'viv's'koho universytetu. Seriia*

in Galicia to reach agreement and reconciliation between Poles and Ruthenians.<sup>89</sup> He also has drawn attention to *gente Rutheni, nazione Poloni* within the context of the January Uprising. Here he shows the phenomenon as not merely a cultural choice on the part of Ruthenians, but also as a certain ideological mindset, an idea coinciding with the political program of the leadership of the January Uprising.<sup>90</sup> Besides the aforementioned currents of research, Marian Mudryj has analysed the formation of *gente Rutheni, nazione Poloni* more broadly—e.g., within the context of the notion of fatherland as understood by representatives of this group, or as a case of discovering one's own identity.<sup>91</sup> At present he is completing a monograph on the Ruthenian Sobor, which will undoubtedly shed further light on this research area.

Olena Arkusha has also dealt with the notion of *gente Rutheni, nazione Poloni* in her research into the political life of Galicia. The group appears in several of her articles, particularly in relation to the direction taken in the development of Ruthenian national consciousness under Austrian rule. She has also looked at a certain dependency within the political thought of various political camps in Galicia, particularly those of a conservative leaning.<sup>92</sup> Together with Marian Mudryj she has written an article on the attitude of Polish landowners to the development

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*istorychna* 39–40 (2005), pp. 83–148; Marjan Mudryj, "Dylematy narodowościowe w Sejmie Krajowym galicyjskim (na przykładzie posłów formacji gente Rutheni nazione Poloni)," in *Ukraińskie tradycje parlamentarne*, pp. 59–94.

<sup>89</sup> Marian Mudryj, "Sproby ukraïns'ko-pol's'koho porozuminnia v Halychyni (60–70-i roky XIX st.)," *Ukraina. Kul'turna spadshchyna, natsional'na svidomist', derzhavnist'* 3–4: *Zbirnyk naukovykh prats'* (1997), pp. 58–117.

<sup>90</sup> Marian Mudryj, "Sichneve povstannia ta seredovyshche 'rusyniv pol's'koi natsii' (*gente Rutheni, nazione Poloni*) v Halychyni," in *Galicia a powstanie styczniowe*, eds. Mariola Hoszowska, Agnieszka Kawalec and Leonid Zaszkilniak (Warsaw–Rzeszów, 2013), pp. 135–46; Marian Mudryj, "Powstanie styczniowe a środowisko *gente Rutheni, nazione Poloni* w Galicji," in *Powstanie styczniowe. Odniesienia, interpretacje, pamięć*, ed. Tomasz Kargol (Cracow, 2013), pp. 67–78.

<sup>91</sup> Marian Mudryj, "Rusyny pol's'koi natsii (*gente Rutheni, nazione Poloni*) v Halychyni XIX st. i poniattia vitchyzny," *Ukraina. Kul'turna spadshchyna, natsional'na svidomist', derzhavnist'* 15: *Confraternitas. Iuvileinyi zbirnyk na poshanu Iaroslava Isaievycha* (2006–7), pp. 461–74; Marian Mudryj, "Formacja *gente Rutheni, nazione Poloni* w XIX-wiecznej Galicji a pojęcie ojczyzny," in *Formuły patriotyzmu w Europie Wschodniej i Środkowej od nowożytności do współczesności*, eds. Andrzej Nowak and Andrzej A. Zięba (Cracow, 2009), pp. 285–98; Marian Mudryj, "Poszukiwania tożsamości narodowej i pojęcie ojczyzny w dzie więtnastowiecznej Galicji (na przykładzie *gente Rutheni, nazione Poloni*)," in *'Duża i mała ojczyzna' w świadomości historycznej, źródłach i edukacji*, eds. Bogumiła Burda and Małgorzata Szymczak (Zielona Góra, 2010), pp. 29–42.

<sup>92</sup> Olena Arkusha, "Ukraińskie przedstawicielstwo w sejmie galicyjskim," in *Ukraińskie tradycje parlamentarne*, pp. 13–57; Olena Arkusha, "Krakivs'kyi konservatyzm ta problema ukraïns'ko-pol's'kykh vzaïmyn u Halychyni na pochatku XX stolittia," *Zapysky naukovoï tovarystva imeni Shevchenka* 256: *Pratsi filosofskoi sektsii*, ed. O. Kupchyn's'kyi (2008), pp. 282–316; Olena Arkusha, "Polacy i Ukraińcy w Galicji wobec 'dużych i małych

of Ruthenian national aspirations where the problem area of *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* also manifested itself.<sup>93</sup>

Western researchers involved in the awakening and subsequent multi-directional development of Ukrainian nationalism in Galicia have also had contact with the subject of our research. Two notable examples are the English-Canadian historian Peter Brock<sup>94</sup> and the Canadian researcher John-Paul Himka who, in examining the trajectories of Ruthenians in Galicia, pay special attention to those of *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* orientation.<sup>95</sup>

It finally follows to devote some space to the numerous biographers of Ruthenians of Polish nationality. Mikołaj Zybkiewicz is the sole *gente Ruthenus, natione Polonus* whose biography was published in Polish. Irena Homola's broader studies also deal with the figure of Zybkiewicz.<sup>96</sup> Aleksander Skórski started a biography of another Ruthenian of Polish nationality, Euzebiusz Czerkawski, but failed to finish it; the section devoted to the first half of his life was published in fragments in the journal *Muzeum* [Museum].<sup>97</sup> The subject was taken up again in the 1920s by Zygmunt Zborucki, who published a book concerning Czerkawski's book on the educational school act of 1867.<sup>98</sup> In addition, a dozen years or so ago, Wiesława Duszkiewicz wrote an article on Czerkawski's educational views.<sup>99</sup> This same collection includes Elżbieta Głaz's text on the subject of another

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ojczyzn.' Ewolucja pojęcia ojczyzny jako wynik modernizacji świadomości narodowej na przełomie XIX i XX stulecia," in *Duża i mała ojczyzna*, pp. 43–58.

<sup>93</sup> Ołena Arkusza, Marian Mudryj, "XIX-wieczna arystokracja polska w Galicji Wschodniej wobec ruskich (ukraińskich) aspiracji narodowych," *Krakowskie Pismo Kresowe* 4: *Galicja jako pogranicze kultur* (2012), pp. 145–71.

<sup>94</sup> Peter Brock, "Ivan Vahylevych (1811–1866) and the Ukrainian National Identity," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 14, no. 2 (1972), pp. 153–90; Peter Brock, *Nationalism and Populism in Partitioned Poland: Selected essays* (London, 1973); Peter Brock, "The Polish Identity," in *The Tradition of Polish Ideals: Essays in History and Literature*, ed. Władysław Józef Stankiewicz (London, 1981), pp. 23–51.

<sup>95</sup> John-Paul Himka, "The Construction of Nationality in Galician Rus': Icarian Flights in almost All Directions," in *Intellectuals and the Articulation of the Nation*, eds. Ronald Grigor Suny and Michael D. Kennedy (Ann Arbor, 2001), pp. 109–64. Cf. also the older article: John-Paul Himka, "The Greek Catholic Church and nation-building in Galicia, 1772–1918," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 8, no. 3–4 (1984), pp. 426–52.

<sup>96</sup> Irena Homola-Dzikowska, *Mikołaj Zybkiewicz (1823–1887)* (Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow, 1964); Irena Homola-Dzikowska, *Kraków za prezydentury Mikołaja Zybkiewicza (1874–1881)* (Cracow, 1976).

<sup>97</sup> Alexander Skórski, "Euzebiusz Czerkawski," *Muzeum* 12 (1896), pp. 685–99, 751–61, 815–31; 13 (1897), pp. 12–26, 87–93, 166–71, 238–44, 342–49, 503–19; 14 (1898), pp. 99–131, 169–82, 225–37, 297–318, 583–95, 698–705.

<sup>98</sup> Zygmunt Zborucki, *Euzebiusz Czerkawski i galicyjska ustawa szkolna z 1867 r.* (Lviv, 1927).

<sup>99</sup> Wiesława Duszkiewicz, "Euzebiusz Czerkawski i jego poglądy na szkolnictwo średnie," in *Biografie pedagogiczne. Szkice do portretu galicyjskiej pedagogii*, eds. Czesław Majorek and Jerzy Potoczny (Rzeszów, 1997), pp. 25–40.

eminent teacher, Zygmunt Sawczyński, also a Ruthenian of Polish nationality.<sup>100</sup> Andrzej A. Zięba published an extensive biography in article format of Emilian Czyrniański [Emilian Chyrniński], a professor of the Jagiellonian University and a Lemko by provenance,<sup>101</sup> while Janusz Łosowski wrote about the career of another Cracow-based scholar, Anatol Lewicki [Anatol Levytsky].<sup>102</sup> Aside from the aforementioned examples, a certain amount of attention has been paid to the central ideas running through the poetry of Platon Kostecki.<sup>103</sup> Another eminent literary figure, Jan Zachariasiewicz, was also the subject of research interest, particularly by Czesław Kłak, who devoted a series of academic papers to him. It is worth adding that many of these studies not only focused on the life and fate of Jan Zachariasiewicz, but also placed him and his novels within the context of Polish-Ruthenian relations in nineteenth-century Galicia.<sup>104</sup> From the Ukrainian side the

<sup>100</sup> Elżbieta Gład, "Zygmunt Sawczyński – pedagog, polityk i działacz oświatowy," in *Biografie pedagogiczne*, pp. 41–58.

<sup>101</sup> Andrzej A. Zięba, "Profesor Emilian Czyrniański," in *Lemkowie i lemkoznawstwo w Polsce*, ed. Andrzej A. Zięba (Cracow, 1997), pp. 15–27.

<sup>102</sup> Janusz Łosowski, *Anatol Lewicki* (Przemyśl, 1981); Janusz Łosowski, "Anatol Lewicki jako historyk," in Anatol Lewicki, *Obrazki najdawniejszych dziejów Przemyśla* (Przemyśl, 1994), pp. vii–xxxviii.

<sup>103</sup> Not counting the headwords for *Polski słownik biograficzny* [The Polish Biographical Dictionary] together with the less extensive biographical notes therein, until recently only a single article about Kostecki existed within academic circles, in conjunction with an article about Calderon's text that he himself had translated. See Jarosław Komorowski, "Platona Kosteckiego Hołd Calderonowi," *Pamiętnik Teatralny* 48, no. 3–4 (1999), pp. 96–108. Recently several new texts about Kostecki have appeared: Ihor Chornovol, "Ostanii gente Rutheni, nazione Poloni. Platon Kostets'kyi," *Lvivs'ka hazeta* no. 119 (13 Jul. 2007); Adam Świątek, "Wizja Rzeczypospolitej w twórczości literackiej Platona Kosteckiego," in *Piśsudski i jego czasy*, eds. Marek Hańderek and Adam Świątek (Cracow, 2007), pp. 203–10; Adam Świątek, "'Serdeczny Mistrz, Tyś dziejów nie mierzył. Łokciem dziesiątków lat, Ty w Ruś uwierzył.' Platon Kostecki a Jan Matejko – historia niezwyklej znajomości," in *Per aspera ad astra. Materiały z XVI Ogólnopolskiego Zjazdu Historyków Studentów*, ed. Adam Świątek (Cracow, 2008), pp. 169–77; Adam Świątek, "Platon Kostecki – zapomniany propagator unii polsko-rusko-litewskiej," in *Shevchenkius'ka vesna. Materiały mizhnarodnoi naukovo-praktychnoi konferentsii molodykh uchenykh*, vol. 6, part 2: *Pratsi aspirantiv ta studentiv*, vol. 2, ed. V. Kolesnyk (Kyiv, 2008), pp. 241–44; Adam Świątek, "Kostecki Platon," in *Przemyski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 1 (Przemyśl, 2009), pp. 39–44; Adam Świątek, "Platon Kostecki – swój czy obcy w polsko-ukraińskim społeczeństwie Galicji Wschodniej drugiej połowy XIX wieku," in *'Swoj' i 'obcy'. Materiały z I Międzynarodowej Sesji Humanistycznej, Toruń 17–19 V 2009*, eds. Anna Zglińska et al. (Toruń–Warsaw [2009]), pp. 175–84; Adam Świątek, "W sprawie ruskiej Platona Kosteckiego," *Galicja. Studia i materiały* 3 (2017), pp. 350–413.

<sup>104</sup> Maria Janion, "Powieść o chłopskim buntowniku," in Jan Zacharyasiewicz, *Jarema. Studium z wewnętrznych dziejów Galicji*, ed. Maria Janion (Warsaw, 1957), pp. 5–17; Czesław Kłak, "Literacka młodość Jana Zachariasiewicza," in *Z tradycji kulturalnych Rzeszowa i Rzeszowszczyzny. Księga pamiątkowa dla uczczenia X-lecia rzeszowskiego oddziału Towarzystwa Literackiego im. Adama Mickiewicza*, eds. Stanisław Frycie and Stefan



most interest has understandably been directed towards Jan Wagilewicz, the co-creator of the Ruthenian Triad, known more commonly as Ivan Vahylevych.<sup>105</sup> The aforementioned researcher Peter Brock, in writing about Vahylevych, added as an aside that the Ruthenian Sobor was not so much an expression on the part of Ruthenians of pro-Polish tendencies as proof of their support for the evolution of a constitutional process within the state, while at the same time constituting opposition to the loyalist activities of the Supreme Ruthenian Council.<sup>106</sup> Brock develops the character of Wagilewicz further, contextualizing him within the heterogeneous group of Ruthenians of Polish nationality (something he clearly emphasized) as well as within the general Ukrainian national consciousness in the nineteenth century.<sup>107</sup> Several members of *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* were to see their own bibliographical entries in the *Polish Biographical Dictionary* [*Polski słownik biograficzny*]; these publications are cited in the bibliography of this book.

Lastly, it is worth mentioning that the subject of *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni*, although marginalized for many years by researchers, was nevertheless still present in a series of studies and compilations. The Canadian researcher Paul Robert Magocsi cited the group as an example of Polonophile tendencies amongst Galician Ruthenians.<sup>108</sup>

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Reczek (Rzeszów, 1966), pp. 141–82; Maria Grzędzińska, “Drogi Jana Zachariasiewicza,” in *Z dziejów kultury i literatury ziemi przemyskiej. Zbiór szkiców, opracowań i utworów literackich*, ed. Stefania Kostrzewska-Kratochwilowa (Przemyśl, 1969), pp. 107–24; Czesław Kłak, “Powieści biograficzne Jana Zachariasiewicza,” in *Z dziejów kultury i literatury*, pp. 125–72; Czesław Kłak, “Powieści historyczne Jana Zachariasiewicza zwierciadłem sporów politycznych między demokratami i konserwatystami galicyjskimi,” *Prace Humanistyczne. Rzeszowskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk. Wydział Nauk Humanistycznych. Komisja Historycznoliteracka* 1, series 1, no. 1 (1970), pp. 153–92; Czesław Kłak, “Głos do Czerwonej czapki Jana Zachariasiewicza,” in Czesław Kłak, *Pisarze galicyjscy. Szkice literackie* (Rzeszów, 1994), pp. 57–76; Roman Koropeczkyj, “Wizerunek narodowego ruchu ruskiego w powieści Jana Zachariasiewicza ‘Święty Jur,’” *Krakowskie Zeszyty Ukrainoznawcze* 3–4 (1994–1995), pp. 305–23.

<sup>105</sup> A more extensive subject literature is given by the publisher of one of Wagilewicz's works: Rotysław Radyszewskij, “Przedmowa,” in Jan Dalibor Wagilewicz, *Pisarze polscy Rusini wraz z dodatkiem Pisarze łacińscy Rusini*, ed. Rotysław Radyszewskij (Przemyśl, 1996), pp. 5–22. See also: Ihor Chornovol, “Ieretyk. Ivan Vahylevych,” *Lvivs'ka hazeta* 156 (2 Sep. 2005); Leonid Zashkil'niak, “Ivan Vahylevych na tli svooho chasu ta istoriohrafii,” in *Bahatokul'turne istoryczne seredovyshche L'vova v XIX i XX stolittiah / Wielokulturowe środowisko historyczne Lwowa w XIX i XX wieku* 4, eds. Leonid Zashkil'niak and Iezhy Maternits'ki (Lviv–Rzeszów, 2006), pp. 146–53; Leonid Zashkilniak, “Iwan Wahylewicz (1811–1866),” in *Złota księga historiografii lwowskiej XIX i XX wieku*, eds. Jerzy Maternicki and Leonid Zashkilniak (Rzeszów, 2007), pp. 63–80.

<sup>106</sup> Brock, *Ivan Vahylevych*, p. 179.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 180. The same article was published later in the edition of the author's collected works—see Brock, *Nationalism and Populism*, pp. 102–41.

<sup>108</sup> Paul Robert Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine: The Land and its People* (Toronto–Buffalo–London, 2010), p. 468.

Mention was also given by Andrzej Chwalba in his academic textbook on the Polish history of the nineteenth century, in which he devoted several lines to Platon Kosteki as the most clearly recognizable representative of the demographic.<sup>109</sup> Kosteki is also cited in a Ukrainian-language compilation of Polish history, published by a team of Polish academics.<sup>110</sup> Besides this, *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* has appeared (not always by name) in various works where recourse has been made to the participation of Kasper Cięglewicz [Kasper Tsenglevych] in the conspiracies of the 1830s, and first and foremost in relation to the period of the 1848 Revolutions when the Ruthenian Sobor came into being, acting as a forum for the assembly of Ruthenians of Polish nationality.<sup>111</sup>

Although several studies have indeed appeared about *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni*, especially beyond Poland's eastern border, the matter has yet to be examined with appropriate depth. In addition, aside from the texts of Andrzej A. Zięba and Marian Mudry, it still remains on the margins of academic interest. Historians have been far more eager to pursue subject matter concerning the national histories of Poles and Ukrainians or studies of the conflicts between the two nations than to research phenomena that seemed to unite Poles and Ruthenians. By creating a multifaceted narrative of *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* in Galicia, the present book aims to draw attention to the problem of fluidity within nineteenth-century national identities. Many other important Ruthenians of Polish nationality stand in the shadows of history, as does a range of different problems affecting this community. Hopefully this book will encourage readers to search for similar examples and biographies of individuals who seemed to bring together what from the present-day perspective appears impossible to combine.

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<sup>109</sup> Andrzej Chwalba, *Historia Polski 1795–1918* (Cracow, 2005), p. 478.

<sup>110</sup> Matsei Ianovs'kyi, "Syroty Rechi Pospolytoi. Vid stanovoho suspil'stva do suchasnykh natsii 1795–1918," in *Pol'shcha. Narys Istorii*, eds. Vlodzimiezh Mendzhets'kyi and Iezhy Bratsysevich, trans. Ivan Svarnyk (Warsaw, 2015), pp. 209–10.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. among others Marian Zgórnjak, *Polska w czasach walk o niepodległość (1815–1864)* (Cracow, 2001), pp. 187, 225; Władysław A. Serczyk, *Historia Ukrainy* (Wrocław, 2001), p. 188; Wilson, *The Ukrainians*, p. 116; Karol Grünberg, Bolesław Sprengeł, *Trudne sąsiedztwo. Stosunki polsko-ukraińskie w X–XX wieku* (Warsaw, 2005), pp. 154, 161, 164.

terms of thesis and argumentation the present study repeats the views expressed in the Polish original.

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Polish historians and political leaders have often used the term *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni* to characterize figures of Ruthenian/Ukrainian descent who viewed themselves as part of a Polish political or national community. The duality and hybridity of these figures' identity have excluded them from traditional Polish and Ukrainian national narratives. Adam Świątek has given us the first fully encompassing work examining the persons, organizations, and ideologies of this group from the end of the eighteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century. Based on a thorough examination of sources and literature, his monograph provides a nuanced account of how the concept and group were transformed and functioned in Habsburg Galicia. The volume is essential reading for all those interested in Polish-Ukrainian relations and those who wish to study varying national identities and historical concepts in the Galician crownland over the long nineteenth century. By undertaking an examination of a concept and group that did not succeed with the advent of modern nationalism, he enriches our understanding of the Habsburg world and modern Polish and Ukrainian nationhood.

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