

Pavlo ARTYMYSHYN

PhD (History)

Senior Research Fellow of the Department of Modern History of Ukraine

I. Krypiakivych Institute of Ukrainian Studies of the NAS of Ukraine

Senior Research Fellow

Institute of Religious Studies – branch of the Lviv Museum of the History of Religion

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7501-797X>

e-mail: p.artymyshyn@gmail.com

GALICIA AS «RED RUS'»: VISIONS OF TRANSDNIEPERIAN INTELLECTUALS AT THE END OF THE 18TH – FIRST HALF OF THE 19TH

The paper analyzed the image of Galicia as «Red Rus'», constructed in the visions of intellectuals of Dnieper Ukraine at the end of the 18th – the first half of the 19th century on the pages of the first generalizing (primarily historical and journalistic), and later – scientific works on the Ukrainian past. In the works «History of Ruthenians, or Little Russia» («History of Ruthenians»), «History of Little Russia» by Dmytro Bantysh-Kamenskyi, «History of Little Russia» by Mykola Markevych, the Galician lands as «Red Rus'» appear as an integral part of the «Ruthenian» (with an appeal to the tradition of Rus') space, about which the corresponding historical memory was preserved among the population throughout the following centuries, even when these territories were first part of the Kingdom of Poland, and then the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (ultimately, with the preservation of «Rus'» in the name of the «Ruhenian Voivodeship»). It is noted that the aforementioned works emphasized that the population of «Red Rus'» favorably treated the campaign against Bohdan Khmelnytsky's territory, although their authors defined the hetman's jurisdiction as territories east of the Sluch River. It is claimed that the first rector of the Imperial University of St. Volodymyr, Mykhailo Maksymovych, realizing the affinity of the cultural (folkloristic) material of the Transdneprian region with the Galician lands, included songs from this region in the collections of «Little Russian Songs» and «Ukrainian folk songs» compiled by him in 1828 and 1834 respectively, and in a number of his works he emphasized the historical, linguistic, church and ethnic commonality of «Southern Rus'» with «Red or Galician Rus'», which, although it was divided for several centuries after the 14th century, remained close to the Ruthenian space. On the other hand, ethnographer and folklorist Platon Lukashevych, in his collection «Little Russia and Red Ruthenian Folk Epics and Songs» emphasized the cultural and linguistic unity of the sub-Russian Transdneprian region («Little Russia») and the sub-Austrian Galicia («Red Rus'»), although, like his predecessors, he had too general ideas about Galicia and its population and did not consider these territories in the context of anympolitical/national project.

Keywords: Galicia, «Red Rus'», intellectuals, Dnieper Ukraine, «History of of Ruthenians», Dmytro Bantysh-Kamenskyi, Mykola Markevych, Mykhailo Maksymovych, Platon Lukashevych.

After Galicia was annexed to Austria, Austrian authors interpreted it as a kind of exotic, previously unknown land with a peripheral population unusual for an educated person from Vienna and previously unknown customs, and later – religious, ideological and political aspirations, at the same time territorially diverse and artificially formed with the annexation of different lands of Lesser Poland (the territories of Krakow, Sandomierz and Lublin), part of the Chełm region, part of the Belz Voivodeship, Red Rus' with the Galician land and parts of Podillia and Volhynia (Голик, 2015, с. 276–279). However, practically none of the historians expressed any doubt that the annexation of the new region was a significant territorial expansion of Austrian possessions and a sign of the growth of the power of official Vienna, which finally returned the state inheritance of the Hungarian Crown, which had previously been «unjustly taken» by the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Wolff, 2010, p. 13–16).

In such new realities, Galicia as a territory and concept against the background of the general Ukrainian modern national project began to be understood in Ukrainian («Little Russian» in the Transdnieperian region and «Ruthenian» in Galicia) intellectual circles. It is characteristic that the first to resort to such consideration were on the other side of the Zbruch River – in the sub-Russian Transdnieperian region, in the context of the unfolding of the Ukrainian national revival at the turn of the 18th–19th centuries.

The purpose of the article is to analyze the works on the ancient history of Galicia in the context of the formation of the image of «Red Rus'» from the latter, carried out by intellectuals of the Transdnieperian region in the first half of the 19th century.

The topic studied in the publication has already been partially reflected in historiography in the works by Roman Holyk (Голик, 2015), Yaroslav Hrytsak (Грицак, 1996), Oleksandra Kyrychuk and Iryna Orlevych (Киричук & Орлевич, 2018), Vitaliy Masnenko (Масненко, 2011), Ostap Nahirniak (Нагірняк, 2010), Ihor Raikivskyi (Райківський, 2006; Райківський, 2006–2007; Райківський, 2012), Ivan Lysiak-Rudnytskyi (Лисяк-Рудницький, 1994), Oleksij Yas' (Ясь, 2006; Ясь, 2009; Ясь, 2014) and others. However, this article is intended to somewhat generalize the previous works of historians, and at the same time supplement them with an analysis for a more comprehensive study of the construction of the image of Galicia as «Red Rus'» in the works of Transdnieperian intellectuals in the late 18th and first half of the 19th centuries.

The first center of intellectual understanding of the Galician lands in the Transdnieperian region was the territories of Sloboda and Left-Bank Ukraine, which actually retained signs of political and cultural autonomy until the last third of the 18th century. This contributed to the fact that the past Cossack elite and its direct descendants, «before finally leaving the historical arena and dissolving into the Russian noble environment, burst into a fireworks display of bright scientific and literary and artistic works» (Райківський, 2012, с. 180).

The movement to collect historical documents, initially dictated by the need for former Cossack elders to legally confirm their descent from ancient noble families of the times of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in order to obtain Russian nobility, grew into an interest in recreating the historical past among these circles, which eventually resulted in the appearance of the first generalizing (primarily historical-journalistic, not scientific) works on the Ukrainian past.

One of the first of them was «History of Ruthenians, or Little Russia» («History of the Rus'»), written, most likely, at the end of the 18th or beginning of the 19th century in Russian in the genre of a historical and political treatise. The work was first published in 1846 in Moscow by the famous scientist, a native of Poltava, professor of Moscow University Osyp Bodianskiy as «the work by George (Konissky), Archbishop of Belarus» (Кониский, 1846).

The key idea that the author of the «History of Ruthenians» wanted to emphasize (despite admitting a significant number of errors and inaccuracies) is that Ruthenians (Ukrainians) are autochthonous people of the Ukrainian lands, who throughout the history of these lands fought against foreign invaders – especially during the existence of the Cossacks and the Hetmanate as a form of embodiment of Cossack statehood.

In addition, the Galician territories with their population are considered in the treatise as related to the Transdneprian territories. In particular, the preface to the book emphasizes that Russia was once part of the «Slavic territory from the Danube to the Dvina, from the Black Sea to the rivers Styry, Sluch, Berezhyna, and Donets», in the southern part of which was specifically distinguished Red Rus' («Червона Русь») – «land that produced dyeing herbs and cochineal («червецъ»)» (Кониский, 1846, с. 3).

At the same time, the Galician Principality is named on the pages of the treatise as one of the «divisions» («дѣлений») (along with the Pereiaslav, Chernihiv, Siversk, Drevlian principalities and the Grand Duchy of Kyiv), of which the Ruthenian state consisted during its existence. From the 12th century, against the background of the deepening fragmentation of the Ruthenian lands, it, according to the author of the «History of the Ruthenians», began to appear as the Grand Duchy of «Galicia in Chernmorus'» («Галицкое въ Чермнорусіи»), which over the following centuries, together with White Russia (Belarus), formed «Little Russia» («Малая Россія») (Кониский, 1846, с. 3–4).

And although at that time «Galicia» as «the southern part of Rus' or Little Russia ... passed first from hand to hand, then to the Hungarian, then to the Polish Kings; finally got all of Poland according to the claimed hereditary Kings of those who married Ruthenian Princesses of Halych» (Кониский, 1846, с. 8), in fact «this part of Little Russia, as well as the whole of that land, was never conquered by Polish weapons, but only with the help of Poland and Lithuania it was freed from other owners and claimants, what were the Tatars and Hungarians» (Кониский, 1846, с. 8), and in addition, the local Ruthenian elite and people were equated in their rights and privileges with the Polish side, which significantly distinguished the status of this territory from other «Little Russian» territories (Kyiv region, Volhynia, Bratslav region and Chernihiv region), which as part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania became part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1569 (Кониский, 1846, с. 8).

The «History of Ruthenians» also tells about the campaign of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky to Galicia in 1648, during which, on the one hand, the «Ruthenianess» of the region is emphasized, since the Cossack army received orders to «clear the towns and villages of Little Russia [in Galicia – P. A.] from Polish rule ... and restore in them the former, on the rights and customs of the Rus', order and freedoms» (Кониский, 1846, с. 80), and on the other hand – and its Polonization – the territories west of the Sluch River (hence, Galician) appear on the pages of the work as such, where Poles, «who ruled and governed the Rus' people», who escaped from captivity or execution by paying contributions in favor of the Hetman's army, could return (Кониский, 1846, с. 83).

At the same time, the author of the treatise at the end of the 18th century (when its writing hypothetically began) used the term «Galicia» and noted that «Galicia, with its

districts, does not belong to the current Little Russia-Poland union», which, as a result of the divisions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, became part of the Russian Empire (Кониский, 1846, с. 8).

This approach to the vision of Galicia was also applied by Dmytro Bantysh-Kamenskyi in his «History of Little Russia, since its accession to the Russian state under Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich, with a brief overview of the primitive state of this region» («История Малой России со времен присоединения оной к Российскому государству при царе Алексее Михайловиче с кратким обозрением первобытного состояния сего края»), which was first published in 1822, and later, during the existence of the Russian Empire, was reprinted three times – in 1830, 1842, and 1903 (Бантыш-Каменский, 1903).

Despite the fact that almost 80 % of the plot of the work is devoted to the events of the 17th–18th centuries, related to the history of the Cossacks and their statehood in the Transdnierian region (Ясь, 2009, с. 174), D. Bantysh-Kamenskyi partially focused his attention on the Galician territories. They were first mentioned in the context of the western campaigns of the Kyiv prince Volodymyr Sviatoslavovych, who «united the possessions of his brothers, took the towns of Cherven (near Kholm), Peremyshl and others ... which later formed the principality of Galicia» (Бантыш-Каменский, 1903, с. 3), and therefore became part of the space of Rus'.

As in the rest of the Ruthenian lands, during the 12th–13th centuries, there were initially internecine strife for power, in particular between Hungarian and Ruthenian rulers (Бантыш-Каменский, 1903, с. 6). Later, these lands, like the rest of the Ruthenian lands, were subjected to the Mongol-Tatar invasion, against which and its influence on Rus', the head of the Galicia-Volhynia principality, Danylo Romanovych, tried to fight. However, such attempts were not entirely successful, but Danylo still «with his reasonable behavior won the respect of the khans themselves and immortalized his name in history» (Бантыш-Каменский, 1903, с. 13–14).

In the following centuries, the Galician lands appear on the pages of the «History of Little Russia» as an «apple of discord» between Hungary, Poland, Lithuania and the Mongol-Tatars, who fought for the inheritance of the Galician princes/kings, and Poland won. This further distinguished these lands, according to D. Bantysh-Kamenskyi, from the rest of the former Ruthenian territories, part of which during the 14th–15th centuries were integrated into the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and the north-eastern specific lands united around the Grand Duchy of Moscow (Бантыш-Каменский, 1903, с. 18–41).

Another striking episode related to the Galician territories concerns the time of the Khmelnytsky Uprising. Then, D. Bantysh-Kamenskyi claimed, following the «History of Ruthenians», Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, without encountering resistance from the local population, in a fairly short time marched with his army from Zbarazh and Brody to Lviv and, after receiving the last ransom from the community, continued the «solemn procession to Zamość» (Бантыш-Каменский, 1903, с. 145). However, the hetman soon completed the military campaign and, «giving freedom to the common people», solemnly returned to Kyiv by the end of 1648 (Бантыш-Каменский, 1903, с. 145).

Ultimately, the Galician lands never became part of the Hetmanate, being considered an indisputable territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. For example, D. Bantysh-Kamenskyi noted that according to the results of negotiations in early 1657 between representatives of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi and the «Polish commissioners» regarding the definition of the borders of «Ukraine and Poland», their line was outlined further east

of Galicia and even Western Podillia (Бантыш-Каменский, 1903, с. 214). Therefore, the Galician territories during the second half of the 17th–18th centuries appear on the pages of the book as components of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth – the «Ruthenian» and «Belz» Voivodeships (Бантыш-Каменский, 1903, с. 365).

During 1842–1843, the 5-volume «History of Little Russia» was published in Moscow, authored by a representative of the Cossack-foreman family, Mykola Markevych (Markevych, 1842–1843). The researcher proposed his own periodization of the history of Ukraine, built on the principle of contrast, in which periods of glory and rise alternated with eras of decline.

Although the author's focus was primarily on the Transdniperial region, particularly during the period of the Hetmanate, which M. Markevych depicted as a state entity through which democratic representative government was implemented, he also perceived Galicia, within the boundaries of which he distinguished between «Eastern», populated mainly by Ruthenians, and «Western», the majority of whose population was Poles, as an integral part of the Ruthenian space. Thus, already at the beginning of the 1st volume of the edition, outlining the ethnic borders of «Little Russia», M. Markevych wrote that this was «the expanse of land from the Slovechna [a river in Polissia in Ukraine (Zhytomyr region) and Belarus (Gomel region), a right tributary of the Prip'yat – P. A.] to the Dniester, from the Kleven' [a river in the Sumy region – P. A.] to the Orel [a river in the Dnipropetrovsk, Poltava and Kharkiv regions – P. A.] and from both Galicias [Western and Eastern in the Austrian Empire – P. A.] to the Northern Donets [the Seversky Donets – a river in the Kharkiv, Donetsk, Luhansk regions of Ukraine and in the Belgorod and Rostov regions of the Russian Federation – P. A.]». This space, as the author noted, «is one of the most beautiful countries in Europe; rich in the Dnieper and pastures, in the east and south it amazes with the immensity of fertile steppes, in the north it abounds with forests, in the west it captivates with a multitude of hills, streams and rivers» (Маркевич, 1842, с. 3–4).

Mykola Markevych wrote that when «the original Rus' in truth became Little Russia», which would soon be «separated for more than three centuries from its younger sister, Northern Rus'» (Маркевич, 1842, с. 9–10), ruler Gediminas began its incorporation into the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, «Galicia» as the previous part of «Little Russia» since 1339, through the efforts of King Casimir III the Great, became part of Poland (Маркевич, 1842, с. 11–12). Therefore, the further history of the Galician lands (as part of the «Ruthenian Voivodeship») proceeded, in the opinion of the author of the work, separately from the rest of the Rus' lands (Little Russia), even when the latter became part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the middle of the 16th century.

However, according to M. Markevych, the memory of the common past of Transdniperial Ukraine with the Galician territories was preserved among the ruling and intellectual elites. This, in his opinion, was evidenced in particular by the text of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi's first order to the ambassadors from the Zaporozhian Cossack Army to Władysław IV, which he issued in June 1648 near Bila Tserkva. Thus, in the document, among other things, it was said that the Poles, starting from the 14th century, «rebelled in vain and unscrupulously, like Cain sometimes against Abel, against the Ruthenians ... their natural brothers who have been in power since ancient times» and «subjugated our Ruthenian lands and provinces ... namely: Kyiv, Halych, Lviv, Kholm, Belz, Podillia, Volhynia, Peremyshl', Mstyslav, Vitebsk, and Polotsk, and not only in the mentioned lands and provinces of our Ruthenians, the glorious name of our Cossacks was abandoned» (Маркевич, 1842, с. 177–178). So, in response, the first leader of the Hetmanate began the struggle for «the

example of the glorious and great Ruthenians, their ancestors, for their own truth, for holy piety, for the integrity of the fatherland and for the violation of their former rights and liberties» (Маркевич, 1842, с. 182), and therefore, when his army entered «Galicia», the first thing it did was to «restore the former Rus' rule, return rights, freedom and customs» (Маркевич, 1842, с. 202), although within a few months B. Khmelnytskyi lost control over the Galician lands, recognizing only the territory east of the Sluch River as his sphere of influence (Маркевич, 1842, с. 207). In general, the «History of Little Russia», despite the author's openly pro-Russian orientation, at the same time emphasized the unity of ethnic Ukrainian lands, although the Galician lands are reflected in it disproportionately fragmentarily, unlike the Transdnieperian region.

The Galician theme was also considered in his creative heritage by the prominent Ukrainian scientist, the first rector of the Imperial University of St. Volodymyr, Mykhailo Maksymovych. In particular, in 1827, his first collection of 127 Ukrainian songs («Little Russian Songs») was published in Moscow (Малоросійські пѣсни, 1827). Apparently, realizing the affinity of the cultural (folkloristic) material of the Transdnieperian region (this «country of ... Little Russia») (Малоросійські пѣсни, 1827, с. IV) with the Galician lands, M. Maksymovych included, among other things, a song from this region – «Cossack and Dziuba», first published in the 1822 edition of the Lviv calendar «Pielgrzym Lwowski» (Козакъ и Дзюба, 1827). In addition, among the five songs presented in the book's appendix, two, as the compiler noted, are «sung in Galicia»: «Hey, the Cossacks were leaving the garrison» («Гей ѣхали козаки зъ залог») (Гей ѣхали козаки зъ залога, 1827) and «Creep, creep, green peas» («Стелися, стелися, зеленый гороше») (Стелися, стелися, зеленый гороше, 1827).

In the next collection of folklore, which M. Maksymovych published in Moscow in 1834 under the title «Ukrainian Folk Songs», he unequivocally noted: «Most of the Galician songs are not only similar to Ukrainian songs, but many songs are even one and the same – due to their homogeneity» (Украинскія народныя пѣсни, 1834, с. VI). Given this approach, in this collection, M. Maksymovych, along with songs of Transdnieperian origin, also published materials of Galician origin. Regarding Galicia, he used the term Red Rus' or Galicia, and the Ukrainian language was called South Ruthenian or Ruthenian, and he also pointed out the fact that the term «Ruthenian» in Russia was identified with «Great Russian».

The scientist emphasized the linguistic unity of the Transdnieperian region and Galicia in the article «Critical and Historical Study of the Ruthenian Language» of 1838, in which he argued that the Ukrainian language («South Ruthenian language») consists of «Little Russian» (in parallel, M. Maksymovych also used the term «Ukrainian») and «Red Ruthenian» (Galician) dialects. He also emphasized the separateness and independence of the Ukrainian language from Russian («the Great Russian language»), which together formed the eastern («Ruthenian») part of the Slavic languages (Собрание сочинений М. А. Максимовича, 1880, с. 7–8). And almost two decades later, during a long polemic with Mikhail Pogodin at the turn of the 1850^s and 1860^s, he detailed that the «Little Russian» dialect of the «Southern Ruthenian language» existed «in Ukraine, Podilia, Volhynia, and in Siveria», and the Red Ruthenian dialect existed «on both sides of the Dniester river in Galicia and in the Carpathians» (Собрание сочинений М. А. Максимовича, 1880, с. 275–276). In this case, «Ukraine» was identified with the Kyiv region as in Polish sources of the 19th century (Орлевич, 2021, с. 120). At the same time, the researcher consistently noted that this language, since the time of Kyivan Rus', existed separately and in parallel with Russian

(«Northern Ruthenian language»), although they were both «sons of the one Ruthenian language» (Собрание сочинений М. А. Максимовича, 1880, с. 190).

In general, for M. Maksymovych, the territories of «Galician, or Red Rus'» were a land that was first separated from the «Ruthenian world» for centuries by the Poles (Короткий, Головка, 2004, с. 174), and later, during the Khmelnytskyi period, it «did not obey Hetman Bohdan», which resulted in «it being annexed by Austria», although during the Rus' period it existed as «the first-named Little Russia» (Украинець 1864 года, 1864, с. 11).

Despite the fact that the scientist became one of the first Transdnieperian figures to establish stable contacts with Galician intellectuals, in particular Ivan Vahylevych, Yakiv Holovatskyi, and Denys Zubrytskyi (although they were often characterized by contradictions (Киричук & Орлевич, 2018, с. 100), and it was he who developed the «most developed view of Galicia», in the so-called «pre-Drahomanov» period, but he never personally visited this region (Райківський, 2012, с. 190).

Instead, another Transdnieperian resident succeeded – ethnographer and folklorist Platon Lukashevych, who in the spring of 1839 visited Lviv, where, in particular, he met with Yakiv Holovatskyi (Райківський, 2006–2007, с. 284), and also, probably, with Ivan Vahylevych, Mykhailo Malynovskyi and Ivan Biretskyi (Райківський, 2012, с. 263). By this time, he had gained considerable popularity, since three years earlier, in 1836, his collection «Little Russian and Red Ruthenian Folk Epics (Dumas) and Songs» was published in St. Petersburg, which included folklore recordings made in both the sub-Russian Transdnieperian region («Little Russia») and the sub-Austrian Galicia («Red Rus'») (Лукашевич, 1836).

In the preface to the «Galician» part of the book, P. Lukashevych noted that «for five centuries, both Galicia and Red Rus' have been alien to their homeland» and during this time its population has become so filled with foreigners, primarily Poles, with the subsequent «Catholicization» and Polonization of the still Orthodox Galician boyar elite and their attempts to «take into their power all the real estate of Galicians, so that the common people do not have even a fathom of Ruthenian land in their possession, it is all Polish, lordly» (Лукашевич, 1836, с. 103). Until the 19th century, this state of affairs, according to the scientist, led to the fact that «Red Ruthenians in their families did not exist at all; living in Galicia, you will never hear or even suspect that you are in Rus', because in the upper and middle classes of it, there is only one foreign thing, alien to the Ruthenian name» (Лукашевич, 1836, с. 103). The only exceptions were the representatives of the «lower class» of peasants, among whom it was still possible to culturally and ideologically move «to Southern Ruthenia, to Little Russia», and these «Red Rus'» themselves retained «to this day their attachment to their origin and name and, consequently, to Rus», and Ukraine (i. e. «Little Russia») remained «for their hearts a promised land, to which all their thoughts and ideas aspire» (Лукашевич, 1836, с. 103).

In addition, emphasizing the unity of the Transdnieper Ukraine and Galician parts of the Ukrainian lands, P. Lukashevych even exaggerated the level of awareness and interest of the Galician population in the state of affairs in the Transdnieperian region, claiming that «with ... care a Galician asks a guest who has come from Russia about the fate of his Ukrainian brothers ... about the Ukrainian Cossacks ... Who would believe that a Galician shepherd knows much more about the heroes of Ukraine and its history than a settled Little Russian Cossack. He is proud of the exploits of Little Russian as his own» (Лукашевич, 1836, с. 104).

However, the scientist had an explanation for this phenomenon: they say that Galicians often, particularly in their own folklore, turned to «the Ukraine and the Ukrainian

Cossacks, which were dear to them», because it was in the Transdnieperian region that the Cossacks began their struggle against the Poles – «those eternal oppressors ... of Galicians» (Лукашевич, 1836, с. 106). Therefore, according to P. Lukashевич, during the Khmelnytskyi's uprising, as in «both Ukraine and Podillia; in Belarus and Volhynia ... Galicia was waiting for ... saviors», and the majority of its population was «clearly on the side of the Hetman of Little Russia» (Лукашевич, 1836, с. 104–105). In addition, the intellectual expressed the assumption that if Bohdan Khmelnytskyi had not died prematurely or at least left behind a worthy heir to power in Rus', then «from the Sejm to the Vistula rivers and the Carpathian mountains, there would not be a single Pole left ... and Southern Ruthenia would have risen after four centuries of humiliation – in all its greatness», including with Galicia as part of its composition (Лукашевич, 1836, с. 104–105).

And although this was not subsequently implemented, P. Lukashевич noted that the cultural and linguistic kinship between the separated «Little Russia» and «Red Rus'» was preserved. After all, writing about the «morals and customs» of Galicians, P. Lukashевич emphasized that they «did not differ at all from Little Russians», and the Galician «dialect ... is also Little Russian» (Лукашевич, 1836, с. 107).

Thus, P. Lukashевич's merit was the awareness of the closeness of the language, cultural and historical heritage of the Transdnieperian Ukrainians and Galicians, although he, like the rest of the Transdnieperian intellectuals of that time, had too general ideas about Galicia and its population, and did not, like his predecessors, consider these territories in the context of any political/national project. Ultimately, by the early 1840^s he had lost interest in Galician subjects and never returned to them in his scientific work (Райківський, 2006–2007, с. 287).

Thus, during the 19th century, ideas about Galicia among intellectual circles in the Dnieper region went from the first generalizing (primarily historical and journalistic, not scientific) works on the Ukrainian past «History of Ruthenians, or Little Russia» («History of Ruthenians»), «History of Little Russia» by Dmytro Bantysh-Kamenskyi, «History of Little Russia» by Mykola Markevych the Galician lands as «Red Rus'» appear as an integral part of the «Ruthenian» (with an appeal to the tradition of Rus') space, about which the corresponding historical memory was preserved among the population throughout the following centuries, even when these territories were first part of the Kingdom of Poland, and then the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (ultimately, with the preservation of «Rus'» in the name of the «Ruthenian Voivodeship»). The aforementioned works emphasized that the population of «Red Rus'» favorably treated the campaign against Bohdan Khmelnytsky's territory, although their authors defined the hetman's jurisdiction as territories east of the Sluch River. The first rector of the Imperial University of St. Volodymyr, Mykhailo Maksymovych, realizing the affinity of the cultural (folkloristic) material of the Transdnieperian region with the Galician lands, included songs from this region in the collections of «Little Russian Songs» and «Ukrainian folk songs» compiled by him in 1828 and 1834 respectively, and in a number of his works he emphasized the historical, linguistic, church and ethnic commonality of «Southern Rus'» with «Red or Galician Rus'», which, although it was divided for several centuries after the 14th century, remained close to the Ruthenian space. On the other hand, ethnographer and folklorist Platon Lukashевич, in his collection «Little Russian and Red Rus' Folk Thoughts and Songs» emphasized the cultural and linguistic unity of the sub-Russian Transdnieperian region («Little Russia») and the sub-Austrian Galicia («Red Rus'»), although, like his predecessors, he had too

general ideas about Galicia and its population and did not consider these territories in the context of any political/national project.

ДЖЕРЕЛА ТА ЛІТЕРАТУРА

Бантыш-Каменский, Д. (1903). *История Малой России от водворения Славян в сей стране до уничтожения Гетманства*: в 3 ч. 4-е изд. Киев; Санкт-Петербург; Харьков: Южно-русское книгоиздательство Ф. А. Иогансона.

Гей ґхали козаки зь залага... (1827). *Малороссійскія пѣсни, изданныя М. Максимовичемъ*, 223–224.

Голик, Р. (2015). *Культурна пам'ять і Східна Європа: писемна культура та формування суспільних уявлень в Галичині*. Львів.

Грицак, Я. (1996). *Нарис історії України. Формування модерної української нації XIX–XX століття*. Київ: Генеза.

Киричук, О., Орлевич, І. (2018). *Львівський Ставропігійський інститут (1788–1914). Роль у суспільно-політичному, культурному та релігійному житті українців Галичини*. Львів: Логос.

Козакъ и Дзюба. (1827). *Малороссійскія пѣсни, изданныя М. Максимовичемъ*. Москва, 149–155.

Кониский, Г. (1846). *Исторія Русовъ, или Малой Россіи*. Москва: Въ университетской типографіи. <http://litopys.org.ua/istrus/istrus.htm>

Короткий, В. (упоряд.), Головка, С. (гол. ред.). (2004). *Максимович, М. Вибрані твори*. Київ: Либідь.

Лисяк-Рудницький, І. (1994). Інтелектуальні початки нової України. В *Лисяк-Рудницький І. Історичні есе*: у 2 т., I. Київ: Основи, 173–191.

Лукашевич, П. (упоряд.). (1836). *Малороссійскія и червонорусскія народныя думы и пѣсни*. Санкт-Петербургъ: Въ типографіи Едуарда Праца и Ко.

Малороссійскія пѣсни, изданныя М. Максимовичемъ. (1827). Москва: Въ Типографіи Августа Семена, при Императорской Медико-Хирургической Академіи.

Маркевич, Н. (1842–1843). *История Малороссии*: в 5 т. Москва: Тип. Августа Семена.

Маркевич, Н. (1842). *История Малороссии*: в 5 т., I. Москва: Тип. Августа Семена, 3–4.

Масненко, В. (2011). Галичина у візії наддніпрянських українофілів 1840–1860-х років: імперативи Михайла Максимовича. *Galicja 1772–1918. Problemy metodologiczne, stan i potrzeby badań*: w 3 t., 2. Rzeszów, 89–101.

Нагірняк, О. (2010). Початок формування українознавчих досліджень у Наддніпрянській Україні (кінець XVIII – перша половина XIX століття). *Пам'ять століть*, 1–2, 115–140.

Орлевич, І. (2021). Русофільська течія. *Русь, Малоросія, Україна: галицькі українці у пошуках власного імені (XIX – перша половина XX століття)*. Львів, 103–128.

Райківський, І. (2006). Ідея соборності України в працях наддніпрянських науковців кінця XVIII – першої половини XIX ст. *Вісник Прикарпатського університету. Історія*, 10–11, 3–17.

Райківський, І. (2006–2007). Питання етнічної єдності Галичини й Наддніпрянської України в суспільних поглядах Платона Лукашевича. *Галичина*, 12–13, 282–290.

Райківський, І. (2012). *Ідея української національної єдності в громадському житті Галичини XIX століття: монографія*. Івано-Франківськ: Видавництво Прикарпатського національного університету імені Василя Стефаника.

Собраніє сочиненій М. А. Максимовича (Т. 3: Языкознание. Історія словесности). (1880). Київ: Тип. аренд. Е. Т. Керер.

Стеліся, стеліся, зелений гороше. (1827). *Малоросійскія пѣсни, изданнныя М. Максимовичемъ*. Москва, 226–227.

Украинець 1864 года, изданный Михаилом Максимовичем. (1864). Київ: Вид. М. О. Максимович.

Украинскія народныя пѣсни, изданнныя Михаиломъ Максимовичемъ, I. (1834). Москва: В Унив. тип., 1–3.

Ясь, О. (2006). Дослідницький інструментарій та інтелектуальні засади «Історії Малоросії» Миколи Маркевича. *Український історичний журнал*, 1, 27–42.

Ясь, О. (2009). «Свій» серед «чужих», «чужий» серед «своїх». «Історія Малої Росії» Д. Бантиша-Каменського у світлі українсько-російського культурного перехрестя (до 220-річчя Дмитра Бантиша-Каменського). *Український історичний журнал*, 2, 160–194.

Ясь, О. (2014). *Історик і стиль. Визначні постаті українського історіописання у світлі культурних епох (початок XIX – 80-ті роки XX ст.): у 2 ч., I*. Київ.

Wolff, L. (2010). *The Idea of Galicia: History and Fantasy in Habsburg Political Culture*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

REFERENCES

Bantish-Kamenskii, D. (1903). *Istoriya Maloi Rossii ot vodvoreniya Slavyan v sei strane do unichtozheniya Getmanstva*: v 3 ch. 4-e izd. Kiev; Sankt-Peterburg; Kharkov: Yuzhno-russkoe knigoizdatelstvo F. A. Iogansona (in Russian).

Hei jikhaly kozaky z zaloha... (1827). *Malorossiiskii pesny, izdannyya M. Maksymovychem*, 223–224 (in Ukrainian).

Holyk, R. (2015). *Kulturna pamiat i Skhidna Yevropa: pysemna kultura ta formuvannia suspilnykh uiavlen v Halychyni*. Lviv (in Ukrainian).

Hrytsak, Ya. (1996). *Narys istorii Ukrainy. Formuvannia modernoi ukrainskoi natsii XIX–XX stolittia*. Kyiv: Heneza (in Ukrainian).

Kyrychuk, O., & Orlevych, I. (2018). *Lvivskyi Stavropihiiskyi instytut (1788–1914). Rol u suspilno-politychnomu, kulturnomu ta relihiinomu zhytti ukraintsiv Halychyny*. Lviv: Lohos (in Ukrainian).

Kozak i Dziuba. (1827). *Malorossiiskii pesny, izdannyya M. Maksymovychem*. Moscow, 149–155 (in Ukrainian).

Konyskyi, H. (1846). *Istoriia Rusov, ili Maloi Rossii. Moskva: V unyversytetskoj typohrafiy*. <http://litopys.org.ua/istrus/istrus.htm> (in Russian).

Korotkyi, V. (Comp.), Holovko, S. (Ed.). (2004). *Maksymovych, M. Vybrani tvory*. Kyiv: Lybid (in Ukrainian).

Lysiak-Rudnytskyi, I. (1994). Intelektualni pochatky novoi Ukrainy. In *Lysiak-Rudnytskyi I. Istorychni ese*: u 2 t., 1. Kyiv: Osnovy, 173–191 (in Ukrainian).

Lukashevich, P. (Comp.). (1836). *Malorossiiskiya i chervonorusskiya narodniya dumy i nъsni*. Sankt-Peterburg: V tipografii Eduarda Pratsa i Ko (in Russian).

- Malorossiiskii pesny, izdannia M. Maksymovychem.* (1827). Moscow: V Typohrafiy Avhusta Semena, pri Imperatorskoi Medyko-Khyrurh. Akademii (in Russian).
- Markevych, N. (1842–1843). *Istoriya Malorossii*: v 5 t. Moscow: Typ. Avhusta Semena (in Russian).
- Markevych, N. (1842). *Istoriya Malorossii*: v 5 t., I. Moscow: Typ. Avhusta Semena, 3–4 (in Russian).
- Masnenko, V. (2011). Halychyna u vizii naddnpirianskykh ukrainofiliv 1840–1860-kh rokiv: imperatyvy Mykhaila Maksymovycha. *Galicja 1772–1918. Problemy metodologiczne, stan i potreby badań*: w 3 t., 2. Rzeszów, 89–101 (in Ukrainian).
- Nahirniak, O. (2010). Pochatok formuvannia ukrainoznavchykh doslidzhen u Naddnpirianskii Ukraini (kinets XVIII – persha polovyna XIX stolittia). *Pamiat stolit, 1–2*, 115–140 (in Ukrainian).
- Orlevych, I. (2021). Rusofilska techiia. *Rus, Malorosii, Ukraina: halytski ukrainsi u poshukakh vlasnoho imeni (XIX – persha polovyna XX stolittia)*. Lviv, 103–128 (in Ukrainian).
- Raikivskiy, I. (2006). Ideia sobornosti Ukrainy v pratsiakh naddnpirianskykh naukovtsiv kintsia XVIII – pershoi polovyny XIX st. *Visnyk Prykarpatskoho universytetu. Istorii, 10–11*, 3–17 (in Ukrainian).
- Raikivskiy, I. (2006–2007). Pytannia etnichnoi yednosti Halychyny y Naddnpirianskoi Ukrainy v suspilnykh pohliadakh Platona Lukashevycha. *Halychyna, 12–13*, 282–290 (in Ukrainian).
- Raikivskiy, I. (2012). *Ideia ukrainskoi natsionalnoi yednosti v hromadskom zhytti Halychyny XIX stolittia: monohrafiia*. Ivano-Frankivsk: Vydavnytstvo Prykarpatskoho natsionalnoho universytetu imeni Vasylia Stefanyka (in Ukrainian).
- Sobranie sochynenij M. A. Maksymovycha* (T. 3: Yazykoznanie. Istorii slovesnosti). (1880). Kiev: Typ. arend. E. T. Kerer, (in Russian).
- Stelysia, stelysia, zeleni horoshe. (1827). *Malorossiiskii pesny, izdannia M. Maksymovychem*, 226–227 (in Russian).
- Ukraynets 1864 hoda, yzdanniy Mykhailom Maksymovychem.* (1864). Kyiv: Vyd. M. Maksymovych (in Russian).
- Ukraynskii narodnyia pesny, izdannia Mykhaylom Maksymovychem, 1.* (1834). Moscow: V Unyv. typ., 1–3 (in Russian).
- Yas, O. (2006). Doslidnytskyi instrumentarii ta intelektualni zasady «Ystory Malorossyy» Mykoly Markevycha. *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal, 1*, 27–42 (in Ukrainian).
- Yas, O. (2009). «Svii» sered «chuzhykh», «chuzhyi» sered «svoikh». «Ystoryia Maloi Rossyy» D. Bantyscha-Kamenskoho u svitli ukrainsko-rosiiskoho kulturnoho perekhrestia (do 220-richchia Dmytra Bantyscha-Kamenskoho). *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal, 2*, 160–194 (in Ukrainian).
- Yas, O. (2014). *Istoryk i styl. Vyznachni postati ukrainskoho istoriopyssannia u svitli kulturnykh epokh (pochatok XIX – 80-ti roky XX st.)*: u 2 ch., I. Kyiv (in Ukrainian).
- Wolff, L. (2010). *The Idea of Galicia: History and Fantasy in Habsburg Political Culture*. Stanford: Stanford University Press (in English).

Павло АРТИМИШИН

кандидат історичних наук

старший науковий співробітник відділу нової історії України

Інституту українознавства ім. І. Крип'якевича НАН України

старший науковий співробітник

Інституту релігієзнавства філії Львівського музею історії релігії

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7501-797X>

e-mail: p.artymyshyn@gmail.com

**ГАЛИЧИНА ЯК «ЧЕРВОНА РУСЬ»:
ВІЗІЇ НАДДНІПРЯНСЬКИХ ІНТЕЛЕКТУАЛІВ
НАПРИКІНЦІ XVIII – У ПЕРШІЙ ПОЛОВИНІ XIX СТОЛІТТЯ**

Проаналізовано образ Галичини як «Червоної Русі», конструйованого у візіях інтелектуалів Наддніпрянської України наприкінці XVIII – у першій половині XIX століття на сторінках перших узагальнюючих (насамперед, історично-публіцистичних), а пізніше – й наукових праць з української минувшини. Констатовано, що в напрацюваннях «Історія Русовъ, или Малой Россіи» («Історія Русів»), «История Малой России» Дмитра Бантиш-Каменського, «История Малороссии» Миколи Маркевича галицькі землі як «Червона Русь» постають як невід'ємна частина «русского» (в сенсі «руського») з апеляцією до традиції Русі) простору, про що збереглася відповідна історична пам'ять серед населення і впродовж наступних століть, навіть коли ці терени опинилися спершу в складі Королівства Польського, а потім – Речі Посполитої (зрештою, зі збереженням «руськості» у назві «Руського воєводства»). Відзначено, що згадані праці наголошували, що населення «Червоної Русі» прихильно ставилося до походу до краю Богдана Хмельницького, хоча їхні автори окреслювали простір юрисдикції гетьмана територіями на схід від ріки Случ. Стверджено, що перший ректор Імператорського університету Святого Володимира Михайло Максимович, усвідомлюючи спорідненість культурного (фольклористичного) матеріалу Наддніпрянщини з галицькими землями, в укладених ним збірках «Малоросійських пісень» та «Українскія народныя пѣсни» за 1828 та 1834 рр. відповідно, розміщував і пісні з цього краю, а в низці своїх праць наголошував і на історичній, мовній, церковній та етнічній спільності «Південної Русі» з «Червоною або Галицькою», яка хоч і була розділена на декілька століть після XIV ст., однак залишалася близькою для руського простору. Натомість етнограф та фольклорист Платон Лукашевич в укладеній ним збірці «Малоросійскія и червонорусскія народныя думы и пѣсни» акцентував на культурно-мовній єдності підросійської Наддніпрянщини («Малоросії») та півдавстрійської Галичини («Червоной Руси»), хоч, як і його попередники, мав занадто загальні уявлення про Галичину та її населення та й не розглядав ці терени в руслі будь-якого політичного/національного проекту. Ключові слова: Галичина, «Червона Русь», інтелектуали, Наддніпрянська Україна, «Історія Русів», Дмитро Бантиш-Каменський, Микола Маркевич, Михайло Максимович, Платон Лукашевич.

Keywords: Galicia, «Red Rus'», intellectuals, Trans-Dnieper Ukraine, «History of of Ruthenians», Dmytro Bantysh-Kamenskyi, Mykola Markevych, Mykhailo Maksymovych, Platon Lukashevych.