

Jagoda Wierzejska
(University of Warsaw)

CULTURAL AND IDEOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF SPATIAL ADAPTATION
AFTER A SHIFT OF POLITICAL BOUNDARIES: THE CASE OF GALICIA

FROM THE CARPATHIAN GOVERNORATE TO GALICIA

A Ukrainian writer, Yurii Andrukhovych, in the essay *Chas i mistse, abo Moia ostannia terytoriiia* [*Time and place or my last territory*]¹ compared Galicia, a province that extended north from the Carpathian Mountains and between 1772 and 1918 was under Austrian rule, with Polesia, the most natural historical region in Eastern Europe. According to the author, Polesia with its forests and quagmires constitutes one of very few geographical barriers in the infamous “generals’ paradise,” as the eastern part of the European mainland, crossed by the great armies without major difficulties, is sometimes called. In comparison to that region Galicia seemed to Andrukhovych a “caricatured” entity of distinctively weakened ontology. The writer searched for the causes of this contradiction in the history of Galicia, especially in the ideological framework of the establishment of the former Austrian province.

...Galicia is thoroughly artificial, sewn together with white thread of pseudohistorical speculations and politicizing intrigue. A hundred times they are right, those who maintain that Galicia is an only one hundred and fifty years old figment of several Austrian ministers. That it is a manneristic-mawkish *idée fixe* of some undercover strategists, who in their time set themselves a chimeric goal to extend Europe a little more to the East. Europe did not work out to them, but a kind of a buffer was created, a sort of a “sanitaire cordon”².

Despite some exaggeration resulting from a playful tone of the essay, Andrukhovych adequately captured the character of Galicia. In fact, the province was artificial; it resembled a mannequin, as Andrukhovych noted in the same work, perhaps keeping in mind *Traktat o manekinach* [*The Treaty on Mannequins*] by Bruno Schulz, a Galician very important for the Ukrainian writer³. At the core

¹ Y. Andrukhovych, *Chas i mistse, abo Moia ostannia terytoriiia* [*Time and place or my last territory*], in: Y. Andrukhovych, *Dezorientatsiia na mistsevosti. Sproby* [*Disorientation on Location: A Book of Essays*], Ivano-Frankivsk, 1999.

² *Ibid.*, p. 118.

³ Andrukhovych’s long-term fascination by Bruno Schulz, which the Ukrainian author spoke out, among others, in an interview published in *Dwutygodnik Literatura* [*Biweekly Literature*],

of this phenomenon lay, generally speaking, the fact that the regional, cultural and political identity of Galicia was a direct result of a political act of Austrian annexation and to the end of existence of the province it remained strongly influenced by the policy of the Habsburg imperial state.

It would be a simplification to say merely that Galicia was created from the lands seized by Austria during the first (1772) and the third (1795) partition of Poland. A historian, Leo Haczynsky, said that the province, alternately having expanded and shrunk, actually did not exist as a geographical unity, thus using the term “Galicia” one needs to remember that the frontiers of the former Austrian crown land were constantly fluid; sometimes they even encompassed areas that had not been a part of Poland before the partitions⁴. What is more, the inconstancy of territorial shape of the Habsburg acquisition was additionally accentuated by its topographical features, as the region did not have natural boundaries which would have linked it with the Habsburg Empire. The Carpathian Mountains, designating a southern frontier of Galicia, separated the region from Austria instead of joining the two together. An extended area of forest, perhaps a remnant of a great wood that had set apart Eastern and Western Slavs in the ancient times, ran across the province’s centre. The Zbruch River, limiting the land in the east, in the nineteenth century indeed was regarded as a natural frontier between Austria and Russia, and even now it is present in the consciousness of many Ukrainians as a symbol of a division between former Galicia and the rest of Ukraine. In fact, however, the river was assigned this function and significance by accident. In 1772, when the Austrians started occupying the territory extending south from the upper Vistula River, they had a vague idea of how far to the East they should have moved. In the partition settlement signed by Russia, Prussia and Austria in Petersburg on 5 August 1772, the border between the zones of Austrian and Russian occupation was defined approximately along the “Pidhirtsi River.” Such a river, however, does not exist. Pidhirtsi is a village, at that time having belonged to the Rzewuskis family, whereas the imaginary “Pidhirtsi River” was most probably confused with the Seret River⁵. The Austrian commanders unable to find the “Pidhirtsi River” stopped the troops only at the Zbruch River. Thus, they annexed much more territory than resulted from the partition settlement, randomly defined the perimeter of Galicia and, as it turned out later, one of the most enduring cultural dividing lines in East-Central Europe⁶.

Not only geography, but also history did not legitimise the setting up of such an entity as Galicia. The Empress Maria Theresa was said to have been crying while signing the partition settlement. Most probably it was only a legend created by Austrian propaganda – the Emperor of Prussia, Frederick II, was supposed to

(<http://www.dwutygodnik.com/artykul/3968-tesknoty.html>, access 20.11.2014), in 2012, found its expression in the field of translation. Andrukhovych translated Schulz’s short stories into Ukrainian. They were published as: B. Shults, *Tsynamonovi kramnytsi* [*Cinnamon Shops*], Kyiv 2012.

⁴ L.J. Haczynski, *Two Contributions to the Problem of Galicia*, in: *East European Quarterly*, no. 4 (1), 1970, p. 94.

⁵ S. Grodziski, *Historia ustroju spoleczno-politycznego Galicji 1772–1918*, Wrocław 1971, pp. 26–27.

⁶ On the durability and the political, social and cultural consequences of this division see M. Riabchuk, *Vid Malorosii do Ukrainy. Paradoksy zapizniloho natsiietvoriennia* [*From Little Russia to Ukraine: Paradoxes of Delayed Nation-building*], Kyiv 2000; M. Riabchuk, *Dvi Ukrainy: realni mezhi virtualni igry* [*Two Ukraines: The Real Limits of Virtual Games*], Kyiv 2000.

have ironically commented on that fact: “She was crying but taking”⁷ – nevertheless, the Empress indeed seemed to feel uncomfortable having annexed the Polish territory. In 1772, during the conversation with the Chancellor Wenzel Anton Kaunitz, directing foreign policy of Austria, she was to have said that the word “partition” repulsed her⁸. The point is, however, that the “repulsion” of Maria Theresa did not originate from her moral sensitivity; rather from the awareness that Austria had never lodged any claims on the Polish territory and that, therefore, the incorporation of Galicia into the Habsburg Empire claimed for an official warrant, other than simply the need to maintain the balance of power in Europe as it was understood at that time. The Empress’s aversion towards the too overtly imperial category of “partition” (but not towards the imperial policy as such) paved the way for the introduction of the province’s official name – the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria – which was to justify the occupation of the Polish territory in terms of history and legitimise this act as a “takeover” (*Übernahme*) or “restitution” (*Revindication*). Kaunitz beforehand commissioned research on the “unexpired” rights of the Hungarian Crown to the Principality of Galicia-Volhynia. These rights reached back to the thirteenth century when the Hungarian Prince Koloman became a king of Galicia owing to the marriage with Salomea, the daughter of the Duke of Sandomierz, Leszek the White. Then they were to be passed to the Habsburgs as to “the kings of Hungary,” so, in 1741, Maria Theresa along with the Crown of St. Stephen took the title of “the Queen of Galicia and Lodomeria.” In the wake of such a move, in 1772, Austrian troops could encroach on the Polish territory under the pretext of *Revindication* – as on *terra recuperata* – not under the slogan of “partition” so “repulsive” to the Empress. In a similar manner, the rights of the Crown of Bohemia to the Duchy of Auschwitz and Zator were justified. Both territories constituted a part of Silesia that came under Bohemian rule in the fourteenth century. Then, along with Bohemia, they became an alleged part of the heritage of the Habsburgs.

These faked rights to the territory of the first partition of Poland were promulgated at the end of 1772 in *Wywód poprzedzający prawa Korony Węgierskiej do Rusi Czerwonej i Podola, tak jako Korony Czeskiej do Księstwa Oświęcimskiego i Zatorskiego* [*Argument preceding the right of the Crown of Hungary to Red Ruthenia and Podolia, as well as of the Bohemian Crown to the Duchy of Auschwitz and Zator*] prepared by Theodore Anthony Rosenthal, Adam Kollar, and Josef Benczur. The justification was met with fierce criticism in different Galician milieus. In 1773, a Polish diplomat and historian, Felix Łoyko, dealt with it having published an answer *Odpowiedź na wykład poprzedzający prawa Korony Węgierskiej do Rusi Czerwonej i Podola, tak jako Korony Czeskiej do Księstwa Oświęcimskiego i Zatorskiego*⁹. It seems, however, that the royal house itself and the reigning Austrian authorities did not take such a warrant too seriously anyway. Maria Theresa corresponding from Vienna with her son, Joseph, who was planning to visit the new province, did not at all use the name

⁷ Cf. Z. Frasz, *Galicja* [Galicia], Wrocław 2003, p. 7.

⁸ Cf. L. Wolff, *The Idea of Galicia: History and Fantasy in Habsburg Political Culture*, Stanford 2010, p. 15.

⁹ For a discussion of this topic see: S. Hubert, *Poglądy na prawo narodów w Polsce czasów Oświecenia* [The Views on the Law of Nations in Poland of the Enlightenment], Wrocław 1960, p. 207 et seq.

“Galicia” but argued circumlocutively: “Here is your place, not in that Carpathian Governorate”¹⁰. Count Anton von Pergen, the first governor of “the district” (according to his expression), considered “The Grand Duchy of Lviv” to be the most appropriate name for the province as it was deprived of claims to historical legitimacy¹¹. Kaunitz himself was perhaps the one to express doubts of this type the most clearly. In 1791, he admitted that Galicia was a land torn from a free state whose immediate connection with Poland could hardly be denied¹².

Summing up, the province made an impression of being unnaturally attached to Austria and derived *ex nihilo* in terms of geography and history alike. For these reasons, it seemed to be an artificial entity to many of its inhabitants, who for decades before Andrukhovych had formulated observations close to his remarks. For example, Maurycy Dzieduszycki, a Pole and simultaneously a loyal Austrian official, having analyzed the educational system of the province of the first half of the nineteenth century, accused it of seeking to create non-historical Galicians who referred the moment of creation of the world to *Revindication; Revindication*, however, because of its mere name and date – 1772 – indicated an earlier history¹³. Similarly, a Ukrainian national activist, Yakiv Holovatsky, in the geographical and historical-statistical description of Galicia stressed its “inorganic nature” as of the province “created [...] without any historical basis”¹⁴.

Opinions of this kind are manifestations, in a sense, of two contradictory phenomena. First, they prove that Galicia for a long time, much longer than it existed, as Andrukhovych’s example suggests, was perceived as a solution of a suspect provenance in dubious condition. Second, they indicate that this solution was, nevertheless, able to appear in the awareness of Galicians not only as an artificial supplement to the Habsburg Empire, but also as a definite, cohesive territory within that Empire. After all, despite its suspect and dubious features, this territory occurred to be susceptible to various kinds of unifying descriptions – systematical (Dzieduszycki), geographical, historical and statistical (Holovatsky) and symbolic-cultural (Andrukhovych) – even a century after erasing the province from the maps of Europe. Such descriptions simultaneously created and confirmed a vision of Galicia as a part of Habsburg lands, coherent – even if internally diverse – enough to play a role as a plausible object of a survey.

The ambiguous attitude of the Galicians toward the region seems to be the result of ideological projects underlying the establishment of the province and its merger with the Danube monarchy. Galicia, designed on the map as a stretch of territory and conceived as an administrative unit under the Habsburg rule, was

¹⁰ Cf. L. Wolff, *The idea of Galicia*, p. 15.

¹¹ Cf. H.-Ch. Maner, *Włączenie Galicji do monarchii habsburskiej w XVIII wieku. Aspekty polityczne i militarne* [*The Incorporation of Galicia to the Habsburg Monarchy in the Eighteenth Century: Political and Military Aspects*], trans. B. Andrunik, in: *Mit Galicji* [*The Myth of Galicia*], ed. J. Purchla, W. Kos, Ż. Komar, M. Rydiger, W.M. Schwarz, Cracow 2014, p. 141.

¹² Cf. F.A.J. Szabo, *Austrian First Impression of Ethnic Relations in Galicia: The Case of Governor Anton von Pergen*, in: *Polin. Focusing on Galicia: Jews, Poles, and Ukrainians 1772–1918*, ed. I. Bartal, A. Polonsky, no. 12, 2000, p. 49.

¹³ Cf. Z. Frasz, *Galicja*, p. 89.

¹⁴ Y. Holovatsky, *Karpatskaia Rus. Heohraficzsko-statisticheskie i istoriko-statisticheskie ocherki Halychyny, Severo-Wostочноi Uhrii i Bukoviny*, in: *Slovanskij Sbornik*, vol. 2, St. Petersburg 1878, p. 5.

only an outline of the future crown land, an initial shape of what would become a concrete geographical form and political formula within the Habsburg Empire. This outline since the outset of the history of Galicia was filled in with political, social and cultural content, so that it became a construct, whose specificity was modelled in a manner approaching that of a new metropolis. According to Larry Wolff,

Galicia posed a discursive challenge: how to make sense out of, and inject meaning into, the suddenly undeniable geopolitical contours. The first generation of Galicia's existence from the 1770s to the 1790s, in the age of the Polish partitions, constituted a period of ongoing discursive maneuvers that served to establish the province on the map of Europe. Conceived as a figment of Habsburg imperial imagination, Galicia was made over into a plausible provincial entity whose cultural representations confirmed its territorial reality¹⁵.

Thus Galicia, whose establishment confined to adding a name taken out of historical context to a piece of land of random size, has accumulated meanings imposed on it since 1772; as a result, it became a significant and meaningful Habsburg province – significant as an important and worth-maintaining raw material base, but primarily meaningful as an area of implementation of manifold political, social and cultural senses. This phenomenon confirms Benedict Anderson's remark that "to see how administrative units could, over time, come to be conceived as fatherlands, one has to look at the ways in which administrative organisations create meanings"¹⁶. In the case of Galicia these ways led to that of a territorial ephemera – the might-have-been "Carpathian Governorate" or "The Grand Duchy of Lviv" – transformed into Galicia: a certain idea in the context of the Habsburg political culture, a defined crown land within the boundaries of the Habsburg imperial state, and last but not least, a credible homeland, as well as an object of study and reflection for the Galicians themselves.

On those grounds, Galicia seems to be a particularly good example of the adaptation process initiated in a certain area after a shift of political boundaries. The area of this type, becoming a part of a state other than before, is never a blank slate. Galicia was neither. Although the Austrian authorities sought to eliminate the remnants of the Polish past of the region, especially the privileges of the nobility, replacing them with new Austrian solutions, they encountered serious difficulties in this regard. Pergen, among others, confronted them when he came to Lviv in 1772. One year later he responded to 154 questions from Joseph, who was unsatisfied with the slow changes of Galicia. Pergen did his best to content the co-regent, yet he could not conceal that Galicia was not a *tabula rasa* entirely open for the formulas of new rulers; rather a land inhabited by two and a half million people – Poles, Russians, Jews – and strongly marked by the previous political, social and cultural reality. In January 1774, Pergen had to resign from the office in favour of Count András Hadik de Futak, but the fact remained: Galicia could not be established from scratch. What could be done, however, was creating and imposing on Galicia various meanings which

¹⁵ L. Wolff, *Inventing Galicia: Messianic Josephinism and the Recasting of Partitioned Poland*, in: *Slavic Review*, no. 4 (63), 2004, p. 818.

¹⁶ B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, London 1991, p. 53.

consolidated the province and bonded it to the new metropolis. As a result, the region was transformed to the point of re-creation, so that finally it became a particular crown land in the constitutive relation with the Habsburg imperial state.

The processes of unifying the province and integrating it with the imperial centre had at least two dimensions: a socio-political and an ideological-cultural one. In this writing, keeping in mind the former, I am going to focus on the latter aspect of Galicia's adaptation to the needs of the Danube monarchy. Ideological and cultural manifestations of the adaptation in question were so strong and effective that still make themselves felt in the symbolic and discursive sphere of the region. I intend to discuss two examples of this phenomenon. First, modelling Galicia as an object of civilising mission during the period of the Josephinian reforms. Second, the formation of the specific Galician identity which could get the Galicians closer to the complex community of the inhabitants of the Habsburg Empire.

MODELLING GALICIA AS AN OBJECT OF CIVILISING MISSION

Initially the Austrians authorities had no clear plan of integration of the new territorial acquisition with the rest of the monarchy. Nevertheless, such integration was an objective of Joseph. Therefore, in August 1772, Maria Theresa issued a resolution aimed at eliminating some of the differences between the new province and the centre. According to its letter, the Polish nobility had to stop "dressing in a Polish manner" and the staff employed in the service of the new regime was obliged to speak German or Latin and wear French-style clothes¹⁷. Much more significant changes took place in the 1780s, after the death of the Empress and the beginning of Joseph II's sole reign. The whole monarchy then became a field of wide-ranging reforms, social, administrative, judicial, military, church and school ones, called after the name of their originator – Josephinian. The centralisation of state administration institutions, the establishment of state control over the church, the limitation of peasants' serfdom, on the one hand, and privileges of the nobility, on the other, in all parts of the country had revolutionary overtones. In Galicia, however, these reforms were especially perceptible and intense for a couple of reasons. First, local social relations, that originated from the former Polish circumstances and differed from those in the other parts of Central Europe, were incomprehensible and had no relevance for Austrian authorities. Second, a convenient argument of *Revindication* let undermine the historical prerogatives of the privileged strata and run the reforms in the region easier than in the other Habsburg lands. Third, and finally, the reforms could serve as an effective means for adapting the newly acquired province to the rest of the country. In the wake of the broad and strongly pushed Josephinian project, the nineteenth-century Galicia became "a product" not only

¹⁷ H.-Ch. Maner, *Włączenie Galicji do monarchii habsburskiej w XVIII wieku*, pp. 142–143.

of imperial politics and complicated internal national relations, but also – according to Andriy Zayarnyuk’s expression – “of social experiments of Habsburg state”¹⁸.

A “seamless” inclusion of Galicia in the structure of the monarchy intended by Joseph II was in fact an idea of creating a model of a new state system. Such an idea was in line with the spirit of enlightened absolutism and cameralism. Its ideological background and propulsion were constituted by a vision of Eastern Europe as a region of multifaceted backwardness, developed in the Enlightenment and vital to this day. Wolff explains the origins of this vision as follows:

The issue of backwardness and development in Eastern Europe were broached and defined in the eighteenth century, not essentially as economic issues, and they continue to frame our conception of these lands. It was Eastern Europe’s ambiguous location, within Europe but not fully European, that called for such notions as backwardness and development to mediate between the poles of civilisation and barbarism. In fact, Eastern Europe in the eighteenth century provided Western Europe with its first model of underdevelopment, a concept that we now apply all over the world¹⁹.

The model mentioned by Wolff entailed presenting Eastern Europe as a kind of non-Europe in the European bosom, a space for economic underdevelopment, as well as chaos and savagery, only waiting for *kulturträgers* from the West. The application of this idea to Galicia provided the Habsburg imperial power in the province with the sense of a civilising mission. From the Austrian perspective, Galicia was chaotic indeed, but it was chaos that was supposed to be set in order through reforms. That ideological framework of the Josephinism was of fundamental importance because it delivered a (new) warrant for both, the questionable *Revindication* and allegedly indispensable changes which were to integrate the province with the metropolis. Contrary to Maria Theresa, Joseph II did not have to justify the annexation of the Polish territories referring to the claims of medieval Hungary and Bohemia. He propounded a more “modern” legitimacy that emphasised the advantages of superseding “Polish barbaric cruelty” with the “Austrian civilised regime”.

The idea of a civilising mission, i.e. the systematic transformation of Galicia in the spirit of the Enlightenment, found support in German literature pertaining to the region and emerging after the first partition of Poland, especially in the 1780s. That literature has never played a major role in the province, but its development was significant because it was stimulated by several factors. In the first decades after 1772 many Germans came to Galicia to fill vacancies in the military, administration, and education. The audience from outside Galicia evinced interest in the new land, also as a consequence of the controversy that the Josephinian reforms aroused. What is more, the Austrian authorities, especially at the peak of the reformist offensive, needed knowledge about the province – knowledge delivered by the adherents of Josephinism that would facilitate imperial governance.

¹⁸ A. Zayarnyuk, *Imperium, chłopi, ruchy narodowe – galicyjski trójkąt postkolonialny?* [*Empire, peasants, national movements – the Galician postcolonial triangle?*], trans. I. Kravchenko, in: *Historyka. Studia metodologiczne – Galicja postkolonialnie*, ed. J. Surman, K. Kaps, no. 42, 2012, p. 106.

¹⁹ L. Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilisation on the Mind of the Enlightenment*, Stanford 1994, p. 9.

The two best-known iterations of German literature about Galicia of that period were *Briefe über den itzigen Zustand von Galizien* [*Letters about the current state of Galicia*] (1786) by Franz Kratter²⁰ and conceived as a response to Kratter's book *Dreyssig Briefe über Galizien* [*Thirty letters from Galicia*] (1787) by Alfons Heinrich Traunpaur²¹. Kratter spent only six months in Galicia in 1784. He came to visit his brothers, wine traders in Lviv, and was looking for a job, having applied in vain for a professorship at the Lviv University. Traunpaur lived in the province much longer, eight years, so he considered himself more entitled to expressing opinions on the region than the first author and wanted to dispute in his *Briefe...* wildly regarded in Galicia as a libel. Regardless of this difference, the publications were similar in the way of presenting Galicia. They combined reliable information about the local life with incredible, though given as true (and then disseminated), anecdotes stressing exotic oddity of the province. Both books, therefore, showed the region in a manner that with regard to the theory of Edward Said can be called orientalisizing²². According to Kratter and Traunpaur, Galicia was a land of boundless steppes, inaccessible Carpathian crags, wolves chasing sledges with travellers, and gloomy castles in possession of mad masters. The only group which was supposed to spread civilisation in this wilderness were Germans. All the rest – smallholder and usually illiterate Ruthenian and Polish peasants, poor and fanatic Jews, Greco and Roman Catholic clergy, petty nobles and great Polish landowners – were not free of barbarism; though the latter, treating their serfs like slaves, were the most savage²³.

Although publications of this kind presented the otherness of Galicia in the background of the monarchy, they played an important role in the process of the province's integration with the new centre, having served the political objectives of the Habsburgs. This role consisted in creating a vision of the land of very specific qualities derived directly from the Enlightenment cultural geography. The publications under study suggested that Galicia was a distinctive territory that needed a reign of new rulers enlightening those who lived in inhuman – from the Josephinian viewpoint – conditions. According to such writers as Kratter or Traunpaur, and above all according to Joseph II himself, the way of development of alleged *terra recuperata* led from Polish backwardness, through the progress of Galicia, to the civilisation of (Western) Europe, invariably under the leadership of Austria. This way, however, was never-ending because if the civilising mission in Galicia had been completed, the connection with the new centre and the leadership of new rulers would have become superfluous.

That ideological context of Galicia's integration with the Habsburg imperial state had various repercussions in the history and culture of the region. Generally speaking, they took the form of discursive placing Galicia between polar

²⁰ F. Kratter, *Briefe über den itzigen Zustand von Galizien*, Leipzig 1786.

²¹ A.H. Traunpaur, *Dreyssig Briefe über Galizien: oder Beobachtungen eines unpartheyischen Mannes, der sich mehr als nur ein paar Monate in diesem Königreiche umgesehen hat*, Vienna, Leipzig, 1787. There are more available reprints of this edition issued by Helmut Scherer Publishing House in Berlin 1990.

²² E. Said, *Orientalism: Western Concepts of the Orient*, New York 1978.

²³ For a detailed analysis of Kratter and Traunpaur's books see: M. Kłańska, *Daleko od Wiednia. Galicja w oczach pisarzy niemieckojęzycznych 1772–1918* [*Far from Vienna. Galicia in the Eyes of German Writers 1772–1918*], Cracow 1991, pp. 23 et seq.

categories of backwardness and development, barbarism and civilisation, East and West. Such a trend manifested itself already at the time of the third partition, when Austria acquired new lands at the expense of Poland. Austrian propaganda emphasised then that these lands should catch up as soon as possible with the rest of the province that had been flourishing under the Habsburg rule already for twenty years.

Much later, in the 70s and 80s of the nineteenth century, Karl Emil Franzos gave evidence of thinking in a similar way, having published six volumes of the “cultural images” of Galicia, Bukovina, southern Russia and Romania, which bore the subtitle *Aus Halb-Asien [From Half-Asia]*²⁴. The author did not conceal that his *bon mot* was to serve the cultural, social and political, not topographical, characteristics of the region. At the same time, he opted for the need of the German civilising mission in the East. In his opinion, only such a mission, understood in terms of an ideal cultural vocation, could help “half-Asian” nations to rise from economic and civilisational backwardness that they were still stuck into almost a century after the era of the Josephinian reforms.

Another phenomenon seems to be even more striking. When the Galician Sejm affirmed officially its loyalty to the Emperor Franz Joseph I on 10 December 1866, a well-known idea of the Habsburg civilising mission, though without allusions to its implementation promptly after the first partition, was adapted to present Galicia as... an outpost, not an outcast, of the Western civilisation. The Galicians (or at least 84 of 126 deputies of the Sejm) declared “from the depths of [their] hearts that they stand [...] and wish to stand” with the Emperor. The latter was to represent Austria being “the most powerful expression of respect for freedom, and in its external organisation the shield of the civilisation of the West, the rights of nationality, humanity, and justice”²⁵. After 1867, in the so-called epoch of Galician autonomy, many Galician Poles adopted such an optic, especially those who were close to the environment of the daily *Czas [Time]* and the Cracow historical school. They appealed to the Enlightenment concepts of East and West, founding ideologically Josephinism, but rejecting the Josephinian concept of Austrians bringing civilisation into the savage Slavic lands. As a result, they made a shift within the East / West opposition: from their perspective, it was Galicia that was entrusted with the role of the “bulwark” of the Western culture while the qualities of the East were attributed to Russia. In this way the Galician Poles acknowledged Galicia’s relationship with Austria and simultaneously suggested a special, not only provincial, position of the region within the Habsburg Empire. This position was to be a base, but at the same time, a result of Polish culture’s membership in the Western cultural circle.

Polish and Ukrainian writers forming the so-called Galician trend in the literature²⁶ in the second half and at the end of the twentieth century began

²⁴ F.E. Franzos, *Aus Halb-Asien. Kulturbilder aus Galizien, der Bukowina, Südrussland und Rumänien*, vol. 1, 2, Leipzig 1876; *Vom Don zur Donau. Neue Kulturbilder aus Halb-Asien*, vol. 3, 4, Leipzig 1878; *Aus der grossen Ebene. Neue Kulturbilder aus Halb-Asien*, vol. 5, 6, Leipzig 1888.

²⁵ The declaration of loyalty of the Galician Sejm on 10 December, 1866 [by Adam Potocki], see: *Galicja w dobie autonomicznej (1850–1914). Wybór tekstów [Galicia in the Era of Autonomy (1850–1914). Selected Texts]*, ed. S. Kieniewicz, Wrocław 1952, p. 99.

²⁶ E.g. A. Woldan, *Der Oesterreich-Mythos in der polnischen Literatur*, Vienna 1996; L. Białasiewicz, *Back to Galicia Felix?*, in: *Galicia: A Multicultural Land*, ed. Ch. Hann, P.R. Magocsi,

repeating the mental move of the Galician Poles of the epoch of autonomy. The Austrian past of the former province and its multifaceted adaptation to the Habsburg realities have proved, in their optics, the region's relationship with the West. For example, the abovementioned Andrukhovych argued in one of his essays that the Habsburg heritage of contemporary western Ukraine let Ukrainians, at least the descendants of the former Ukrainian Galicians, say "we are too in the Atlantic zone"²⁷. What the writer meant, alluding to the "the Atlantic zone," was the sphere where everyday life is based on the Western values of freedom and democracy. From his point of view, Ukrainians can feel like full-fledged participants of that sphere due to their Galician roots.

The impact and effectiveness of Galicia's socio-political adaptation to the Habsburg Empire in the framework of Josephinism is disputable. The conditions for running the reforms ultimately turned out to be limited; what is more, they were accompanied by a number of practical complications. However, the ideological-cultural dimension of adaptation in question, which involved modelling Galicia as an object of civilising mission, seems to be influential up till now. Locating the region within the dialectical tension between "East" and "West," "backwardness" and "development," "barbarism" and "civilisation," for decades has made newcomers and Galicians themselves perceive the land in terms of categories of Enlightenment origin, imposed on Galicia in order to adapt it to the imperial goals and political and socio-cultural visions of the Habsburgs. Interestingly, these categories turned out to be susceptible to disparate interpretations and, over time, began to serve not only as a proof of the necessity of the civilising mission in the province, but also as evidence of Galicia's membership in the same cultural circle as Vienna.

FORMATION OF THE GALICIAN IDENTITY

The integration process, which Galicia was subjected to since its creation, did not change the fact that until the Congress of Vienna, in 1815, the position of the province within the Habsburg Empire was highly uncertain. Yet, in 1811, Chancellor Klemens Wenzel von Metternich considered switching Galicia to other, more attractive lands, and asked the Emperor Francis II: "Are we going to lose Galicia without compensation or give it away in exchange for compensation?"²⁸ The uncertainty of the region's political position, clearly discernible during the Napoleonic interlude, was reflected in the ambivalence pertaining to the nature of the province as well as the identity of its dwellers, which became the objects of multilateral ideological negotiations.

Toronto, Buffalo, London 2005, pp. 160–184; L. Stefanowska, *Back to the Golden Age: The Discourse of Nostalgia in the 1990s*, in: *Contemporary Ukraine on the Cultural Map Europe*, ed. L. Zaleska Onyshkevych, M. Rewakowicz, London 2009, pp. 119–130.

²⁷ Y. Andrukhovych, *Yak ryby u vodi (29 richkovykh pisen)* [*Like Fish in the Water (29 River Songs)*], in: Y. Andrukhovych, *Ditavol khovaietsia v siri. Vybrani sprobky 1999–2005 rokiv* [*The Devil is in the Cheese. Selected Essays 1999–2005*], Kyiv 2007, p. 208.

²⁸ See: H.-Ch. Maner, *Włączenie Galicji do monarchii habsburskiej w XVIII wieku*, p. 141.

Galicia was a land inhabited by a multi-national, multi-faith, and multi-lingual population of mostly Poles, Ukrainians, and Jews²⁹. As I alluded to, such diversity rooted in the Polish past of the region, shortly after the first partition disrupted the fast reforms that were to integrate the province within the Habsburg imperial state. Later, however, the variety of Galicia's population, which entailed the heterogeneity of identity of Galicians, turned out to be a certain advantage for the Austrian authorities. Paradoxically, both phenomena stimulated constituting a kind of identical "common ground," receptive enough to get closer and mingle different ethnic elements of the province. Wolff commented on this fact as follows:

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when modern nationalism was still a new and unevenly experienced phenomenon, the construction of provincial identity appeared as a plausible cultural vehicle for reconciling ethnographical, linguistic, and religious heterogeneity. The uncertain idea of Galicia, especially in the early nineteenth century, could function as a transcendent political conception, encouraging the possibility of transnational convergence, while in the latter half of the century it would come to represent multinational coexistence premised upon the distinctive persistence of national differences³⁰.

"The uncertain idea of Galicia," i.e. the idea of a geopolitical unit established only in 1772, internally differentiated and externally very different from Austria, therefore gave rise to the creation of the Galician identity – a variant of self-understanding that should be understood as a product of cultural construction in the provincial, Galician context. This identity was not non-national in the sense of an entire lack of national aspects: Polish, Ukrainian, or Jewish. It can be regarded, however, as supra-national because, apart from the national dimension, it involved other contradictory to the national, but even more important sentiments: a provincial one connecting individuals with the particular crown land and making them Galicians, and an imperial one binding Galicians with the Habsburg Empire and making them Austrian subjects.

Metternich was one of the first who became aware of political advantages of the Galician identity for the Habsburgs' interests. He considered using it as a means to merge the province with the rest of the state as much as possible and adapt its dwellers, especially the Poles, to the socio-political and cultural reality of the monarchy. In April 1815, when the Congress of Vienna was still underway, Metternich met with the governor of Galicia, Peter Goess, to discuss Galician matters. Then he reflected on them as follows:

Considering political applications Count Goess very rightly remarks that the tendency must principally be: not to make Poles into Germans all at once, but above all first to make true Galicians, since only through this course of stages can one hope to achieve the ultimate goal, and any other conduct by the government would not only lead away from it, but could become at the present moment even dangerous³¹.

²⁹ P.R. Magocsi, *Galicia: A Historical Survey and Bibliographical Guide*, Toronto, Buffalo, London 1983; P.R. Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine*, Toronto, Buffalo, London 1996; P.R. Magocsi, *Galicia: A European Land*, in: *Galicia: A Multicultural Land*, pp. 3–21.

³⁰ L. Wolff, 'Kennst du das Land?' *The Uncertainty of Galicia in the Age of Metternich and Fredro*, in: *Slavic Review*, no. 2 (67), 2008, p. 278.

³¹ See: *ibid.*, p. 287.

Metternich's "ultimate goal" was obviously the subordination of Galicia to Vienna. However, as a too severe Germanisation of Poles threatened their violent reaction, the Chancellor detected a measure to achieve that goal in the Galician identity, liable and susceptible to modification. Within this identity, Polish, German, and potentially even Ruthenian / Ukrainian and Jewish elements could be reduced to a common denominator – the provincial and, indirectly, the state affiliation – losing their dangerous, centrifugal dimension. As Wolff proved in the book *The Idea of Galicia*, many projects of the post-Napoleonic era served the adaptation of Galicia to the Habsburg Empire through enhancing the Galician identity, e.g. the renewal of the Galician Sejm, the re-foundation of Lviv University, or even the establishment of the Ossolineum Library. All these undertakings suggested a coherence of the province and a certain specificity of its inhabitants. They constituted emanations of such a method of governance, which expressed a continuity and the necessity of ties linking Galicia with Austria, and at the same time, deepened the subordination of the province to the monarchy thanks to oscillating on – and erasing – the border between what was national, provincial, and imperial³².

It is worth mentioning that the process of shaping the Galician identity was only partially inspired by Vienna. Galicians themselves were responsible for stimulating it to a large degree. It indeed happened that Galicians treated such an identity suspiciously, as Maurycy Dzieduszycki did, for instance. However, especially after the third partition, when the chances of the quick return of taken lands to Poland were buried, they more willingly juxtaposed elements of identity incompatible at first glance, such as loyalty to the emperor, association with the province, and fidelity to religious and national affiliation. A tension, and simultaneously a sense of connection between being a Pole and a faithful subject of the Habsburg Empire, was expressed already in the poem *Skutki dzieł Woltera'a* [*Consequences of the works of Voltaire*] from 1792. The poem was signed in a manner which itself was a form of significant self-definition: "by Galician."

Przecież natura z siebie czyni dziwy;
Krew we mnie mówi, żem Polak prawdziwy,
Serce Polaka we mnie tchnie, i biie:
Przysięgłem: wiernie Cesarzowi żyję³³.

The subject of the poem identifies himself as a Pole, but lives like Galician – "loyal to the Emperor." He has, however, a feeling that this is a peculiar, not to say contradictory, combination because he compares it to a non-normative natural phenomenon. With time passing, such a dilemma seemed to weaken amid Galicians. In the works of another inhabitant of the province, Aleksander Fredro, it was so subtle that for some readers it turned out to be ungraspable. A poet of Polish Romanticism, Seweryn Goszczyński, having taken refuge in Galicia after

³² L. Wolff, *The Idea of Galicia*, p. 81–85.

³³ *Skutki dzieł Woltera przez Galicjana*, M. Gröll, [Warsaw] 1792, p. 3. Localisation: Jagiellonian Library, Cracow ["Yet nature by itself brings about wonders; / The blood in me declares that I am a true Pole, / The heart of a Pole breathes and beats in me: / I swore: I live loyal to the Emperor"].

the defeat of the November Uprising, disparaged the author of *Damy i huzary* [*Ladies and Hussars*] for writing “non-Polish” pieces³⁴. Apparently he did not notice (or did not want to notice) that what Fredro sought to sublime in the form of his comedies was the very complex Polish-Galician identity within the context of heterogeneous empire, not an apology of cosmopolitanism and national indifference.

During the course of the nineteenth century, the Galician identity with all its ambivalence resulting from transcending national optics to the provincial and, indirectly, state horizons spread and strengthened among the dwellers of the region. Already in the 60s it was so typical for Galicians that a Lviv poet, Włodzimierz Zagórski, made it a subject of the popular humorous sketches *Lojalność* [*Loyalty*] (1866) beginning with the words:

Miałem sen ciężki, okropny
Zbrodniczo stanowy, fatalny:
Śniłem, że jestem Polakiem,
Ja – Galileusz lojalny!³⁵

Although in a satiric mode, the subject of the poem emphatically expresses a viewpoint prevalent in the province, that being Galician entailed avoiding unequivocal national affiliation. Instead, it indicated balancing between disparate political, social, and private roles, each of which was associated with different self-assessment as an Austrian, Galician, and Polish patriot respectively.

The process of disseminating and strengthening the Galician identity was stimulated by the socio-political reality of the Habsburg Empire in general and Galicia in particular, but first and foremost by local intellectual and cultural life, with a special emphasis on literature, as well as geographical, historical, ethnographical, or economic descriptions of the province as a distinct unit of a centuries-old tradition³⁶. It can therefore be said that establishing a new province which from the Habsburgs’ viewpoint demanded urgent integration with the rest of the state, activated two phenomena. First, the top-down process that was motivated by the Austrian authorities’ need to weaken the centrifugal national tendencies and that aimed at adapting the inhabitants of the region – in terms of their identity – to the new geopolitical circumstances. Second, the bottom-up process, which consisted in the self-adaptation of the local community to being Galicians, and which was inspired by a wide range of reasons, from conformism to the belief that contradictions inscribed in the Galician identity paradoxically would let the national affiliation survive.

The idea of Galician identity eventually collapsed under the pressure of national movements developing in the nineteenth century, such as Polish,

³⁴ S. Goszczyński, *Nowa epoka poezji polskiej* [*The new epoch of Polish poetry*], in: S. Goszczyński, *Dziela zbiorowe*, vol. 3 (*Podróże i rozprawy literackie*) [*Collective Works*, vol. 3 (*Travels and literary dissertations*)], ed. Z. Wasilewski, H. Altenberg, Lviv 1911.

³⁵ W. Zagórski, *Lojalność*, in: W. Zagórski, *Z teki Chochlika. O zmierzchu i świcie* [*From portfolio of Imp. At twilight and dawn*], Lviv 1881, p. 31. [“I had a heavy, horrible dream / State-wise criminal, disastrous: / I dreamed that I am a Pole, / I – the loyal Galician!”].

³⁶ E.g. a professor of history at the Lviv University, Joseph Mauss, having reconstructed the history of Galicia, reached the year 1347, *Korespondencja Józefa Maksymiliana Ossolińskiego* [*Correspondence of Józef Maksymilian Ossoliński*], ed. W. Jabłońska, Wrocław 1975, p. 267, letter of Joseph Mauss, 29 December 1817.

Ukrainian, and Jewish ones. For the Poles, especially Polish nobility, a vision of the “Galician nation” understood as a community of ethnic, religious, and social groups proved to be much less attractive than the idea of Galicia as the “Polish Piedmont.” According to the latter concept, popular in the epoch of Galician autonomy, due to the partitions of Poland and the fact that its two parts had come under the more repressive rule of the Romanovs and Hohenzollerns, Galicia was entrusted with the special and honourable task of preserving Polish culture during the political non-existence of the state³⁷. The Ruthenians in the course of the nineteenth century chose one of four ways of national self-determination, the Ukrainian one against Polish, pan-Russian and local Ruthenian (under the auspices of the Habsburgs) ones. For them, Galicia also formed as the “Piedmont” by the end of the century. From the perspective of this group, the province became a space of national mission conceived as a resistance to Russians who ruled in the Eastern Ukraine, Austrians who ceased to support their “Ruthenian allies” after the settlement with the Poles (1866–1869), and above all, Poles themselves prevailing in autonomous Galicia³⁸. Finally, for the Jews, who according to the constitution from 1867 became full-fledged Austrian subjects³⁹, the province was a place of development of many modern political and cultural movements, including Zionism. Although Galician Jews – according to the researcher of the issue, Joshua Shanes – were in general “extremely patriotic” towards the monarchy and “particularly loyal” to the emperor⁴⁰, the Zionists perceived the Galician land as Egypt, which should be abandoned to reach the Promised Land of Palestine, even if they postponed that abundance into the distant future.

Despite national tensions or, more generally, the “counter-integration” trends⁴¹ that ultimately put to flight the Habsburg Empire and Galicia itself, the remnants of the Galician identity gained a kind of afterlife. It is particularly striking in the case of *Galitzianer*, the Galician Jews who distinguished themselves from *Litvaks*, the Jews coming to the Congress Poland from the Russian Pale of Settlement, foremost from the western governorates. A specific Galician-Jewish identification survived amid over 300,000 Jewish immigrants who escaped Galician poverty between 1881 and 1914 and left mostly to the United States⁴². These immigrants organised associations of people who had come from the same Galician town, and after some time, established the Federation of Galician and Bucovinean Jews of America⁴³. The Jews who had arrived from the territory of the former Austrian province to the British Mandate for Palestine, and then independent Israel, identified themselves in a similar way. Although Galicia was erased from the

³⁷ For a further discussion of this issue see: J. Buszko, *Galicja 1859–1914. Polski Piemont? [Galicia 1859–1914: Polish Piedmont]*, Warsaw 1989.

³⁸ For a further discussion of this issue see: P.R. Magocsi, *The Roots of Ukrainian Nationalism: Galicia as Ukraine's Piedmont*, Toronto – London 2002.

³⁹ J. Buszko, *The Consequences of Galician Autonomy after 1867*, in: *Polin. Focusing on Galicia: Jews, Poles, and Ukrainians 1772–1918*, ed. I. Bartal, and A. Polonsky, no. 12, 1999, pp. 86–99.

⁴⁰ J. Shanes, *Tworzenie się narodu. Żydzi galicyjscy w państwie austriackim [The Formation of the Nation. Galician Jews in the Austrian State]*, in: *Mit Galicji*, p. 169. See also J. Shanes, *Diaspora, Nationalism, and Jewish Identity in Habsburg Galicia*, Cambridge 2012.

⁴¹ T. Snyder, *Integration, Counter-Integration, Disintegration*, in: *IWM Post*, no. 111, 2012–2013.

⁴² D. Soyer, *Jewish Immigrant Associations and American Identity in New York, 1880–1939*, Cambridge 1997, pp. 23–27.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

maps of Europe years ago, they and their descendants still have used the word “Galitzianer” to cultivate their self-understanding.

Among the inheritors of the Galician Poles and Ukrainians a sense of Galician affiliation is also graspable. After 1989 in Poland and 1991 in Ukraine, the representatives of both groups, often disappointed in the realities after the political turn, started to express their fondness for “Galicianess.” This category is conceived as a value connoting relative stability of everyday life and the connection of Polish-Ukrainian borderland with (Western) Europe, which became a counterweight to the communist legacy of the region⁴⁴. For example, during the 1995 presidential elections in Poland, contemporary Polish Galicians massively voted for Lech Wałęsa – and lost, as their candidate. After the defeat they put a landmark with an inscription “K. u K. Galizien. Ausländern Zutritt verboten” [CK Galicia. No entry for foreigners] on the former border between Austria and Russia. In 1994, during the second presidential election in independent Ukraine, contemporary Ukrainian Galicians also demonstrated consensus and dissimilarity towards the rest of the country, voting against a pro-Russian candidate, Leonid Kuchma. In Western Ukraine, reactivating the Galician identity still seems to intensify. A group of intellectuals from that region, with particularly active visual artist, Volodymyr Kostyrko, even started calling for Galician autonomy within the Ukrainian state. They argue that former Galicia is the most pro-democratic and pro-Western part of Ukraine, and in fact, the only real Ukraine, and thus desire to restore the Galician heritage in various ways, e.g. by the popularisation of Bruno Schulz and Leopold von Sacher-Masoch’s works or celebrating birthday anniversaries of Franz Josef⁴⁵.

These examples prove that the process of adapting Galicians to the geopolitical reality after 1772, through forming their identification with the province, turned out to be more durable than it had seemed promptly after the partitions. Time has shown that the Galician identity, combining seemingly contradictory elements, national, regional, and imperial, was paradoxically strong by its weakness, liquidity, and indeterminacy. A century after the cancellation of the former Austrian province, this identity still affects the ways of self-understanding, both current inhabitants of the region, as well as those who have been living in other parts of the world, but preserved the cultural memory of Galicia.

CONCLUSIONS

A territory which has become a part of a state entity other than before requires multifaceted adaptation to be maintainable in that entity’s boundaries. It seems even more valid if we consider a territory, which is not a land, recovered

⁴⁴ J. Kowalikowa, *Słowo – Galicja – dawniej i dziś, czyli habend sua fata verba* [The Word – Galicia – Then and Now, or habend sua fata verba], in: *Inteligencja południowo-wschodnich ziem polskich* [The Intelligentsia of South-Eastern Polish Lands], ed. H. Kurek, F. Tereszkiwicz, Cracow 1998, pp. 215–219.

⁴⁵ Y. Hrytsak, *Historical Memory and Regional Identity among Galicia’s Ukrainians*, in: *Galicia: A Multicultural Land*, pp. 190–195.

by a state after a relatively short time but, on the contrary, an acquisition of questionable geographical and historical connections with a new centre. The case of Galicia illustrates the above principle very clearly.

Regardless of the official titles to Galicia promoted by Austrian propaganda, the province was not the Habsburgs' *terra recuperata*, but a land hardly linked with Austria, different from it in terms of politics, social, and economic relations, as well as ethnic and religious structure. Hence the uncertain status of Galicia within the Danube monarchy, stabilised only after the Congress of Vienna. Considering such founding conditions, it seems certain that Galicia could have survived within the Habsburg Empire until the time when the latter itself laid in ruins, precisely due to multifaceted adaptation of the region to the new metropolis. Political, social, and administrative manifestations of this adaptation were probably more noticeable, even for some time after the lands between Cieszyn Silesia and the Zbruch River were eventually back within the boundaries of the Second Polish Republic. The novel *General Barcz* [*General Barcz*] (1923) by Juliusz Kaden-Bandrowski delivers a significant testimony to that fact. It indicates that the empires that had masterminded the partitions of Poland, also, and perhaps above all, Austro-Hungary, remained a reference system and a reservoir of models for the reborn Polish state after 1918⁴⁶. Nevertheless, over time, the portraits of Franz Joseph could be removed from the public space, the black two-headed eagle could be superseded with the white one-headed eagle, and right-hand side traffic changed to the left-hand side. However, the results of the ideological and cultural adaptation of Galicia to the Habsburg imperial state, perhaps less perceptible immediately after the partitions, have survived for decades and have proved to be current to the present day.

Presenting the province as a "backward East," waiting for the support from the western, more developed neighbours, was a manifestation of symbolic violence against Galicia. It legitimised the conquest and integration of the region with Austria through modelling the former as an object of civilising mission, a discursive move matching the needs of the Habsburgs' imperial policy. The opposition of "barbaric East" and "civilised West" remained the conceptual framework of the land until the end of its existence. It became evident during the Polish-Ukrainian strife of Lviv, which entailed the pogrom of Jews on 22–24 November 1918. The riot was presented by the Austrian press as the province's collapse into barbarism promptly after the civilised Habsburg rulers left the provincial political scene. Shifting Galicia from the "negative," "Eastern" pole of this opposition to the "positive," "Western" one cemented the perception of the region in terms of an allegedly inescapable contradiction between East and West, because for a change it affirmed Galicia and raised the region's value from the perspective of its inhabitants. As a result, even current reflections on the Polish-Ukrainian borderland, provided by, among others, the creators of the so-called

⁴⁶ Cf. "Dąbrowa does not know that I took over from the Austrians all the papers of their spy agency. There is dung there – enough for all employees of Dąbrowa." "Then the gray bigwigs wearing the gentry bekishes stood on his [Dąbrowa's] way in a delegacy manner, asking for rescue the borderlands, where the eternal motherland... And ancient riparian woodland of Przemyśl. Dąbrowa took them, singing and frightened, with him. He carried them to his office through posts and guards [...]. Under the portrait of the Emperor [Francis Joseph] he again ordered to keep secret and revealed the truth..." J. Kaden-Bandrowski, *General Barcz*, Wrocław 1984, pp. 35–37.

Stanislav phenomenon⁴⁷ or the Galician autonomists, sustain such a pattern of thinking and repetition of the hypothesis of the “Western spirit” of this “Eastern land” ideologically rooted in the cultural geography of the Enlightenment.

The process of formation of the Galician identity was a manifestation of Galicians’ conforming to the circumstances of living in the Habsburg province. In accordance with the interests of Vienna, it was a step towards incorporating the ethnically and religiously complex community of the region into the population of the Danube monarchy. On the other hand, for the Galicians themselves, it was a way to find balance between national sentiments, the identification with the province, and the loyalty towards the ruling emperor. Those aspects of the Galician identity that lost their attraction in the second half of the nineteenth century due to the growth of nationalistic tendencies – heterogeneity, liability, and indeterminacy – in the late twentieth century retrieved their value. After the experience of totalitarian regimes, after the multicultural areas became bloody battle fields of national groups, and various metropolises revealed their extremely imperial and violent faces, the idea of a pluralistic “Galicianess” for many people, even loosely connected with the region, again turned out to be a factor of self-identification.

Both phenomena under study, modelling Galicia as an object of a civilising mission and forming the Galician identity, prove the ideological and cultural effectiveness of establishing the province as a coherent territory in a constitutive relation to the Habsburg Empire. According to Tomasz Zarycki, an expert in the field of political cleavages in East-Central Europe, the former Galicia, i.e. the contemporary Polish-Ukrainian borderland is one of very few areas where the nineteenth-century relationships still show their topicality, undermining current borders⁴⁸. As it turns out, Galicia, although not existing as a geopolitical entity for a century, remains vital as a space filled with specific meanings, as well as a reference point for deliberation on East-Central Europe.

KULTUROWE I IDEOLOGICZNE ASPEKTY ADAPTACJI PRZESTRZENNEJ PO ZMIANIE GRANIC POLITYCZNYCH. PRZYPADEK GALICJI

Streszczenie

Artykuł omawia procesy adaptacji inicjowane w danej przestrzeni po tym, jak w rezultacie przesunięcia granic politycznych weszła ona w skład innego niż dotychczas organizmu państwowego. Przestrzeń tego typu jest przekształcana przez nowe centrum w celu ujednoczenia jej z resztą podległego centrum terytorium, a także – lub przede wszystkim – legitymizacji władzy w nowej prowincji. Przedmiotem analizy w artykule jest kulturowo-ideologiczny aspekt owych przekształceń, czyli adaptowanie wyobrażeń dotyczących

⁴⁷ O. Fedjuk, *Stanislav Phenomenon: More on Ukrainian National Identity*, in: *Kakanien Revisited*, 25.08.2006, <http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/fallstudie/OFedyuk1.pdf> (15.09.2014).

⁴⁸ T. Zarycki, *The New Electoral Geography of Central Europe: A Comparative Study of Regional, Political Cleavages in Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, and Ukraine*, Lund – Warsaw 1998, p. 58.

nowej prowincji do potrzeb centrum oraz kształtowanie tożsamości jej mieszkańców tak, aby zbliżyć ją do identyfikacji pozostałych członków danej wspólnoty wyobrażonej. Przykładem, na którym rozważane są owe zagadnienia, jest Galicja; kulturowo-ideologiczna adaptacja Galicji do monarchii Habsburgów miała bowiem charakter na tyle skuteczny, że do dziś daje o sobie znać w sferze symbolicznej.