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TOWARD THE IDEA OF POLISHNESS: IMPLICATIONS OF 1918 FOR THE FORMER EASTERN GALICIA, 1918–1939

INTRODUCTION

The year 1918 constituted the most important turning point in the history of the Habsburg province, Galicia, since it had been established or – as Larry Wolff suggested – invented¹ in the wake of the first partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, in 1772. The end of World War I and the collapse of the Dual Monarchy in the fall of 1918 brought an end to the Habsburg rule in the province and paved the way to the Polish-Ukrainian War of its eastern part. The latter conflict turned out to be decisive in terms of fate of the region's dwellers, not only during the course of the warfare but also later, at least up until the outbreak of World War II, in 1939.

Given multiplicity of Galicians' nationalities and denominations, the province should be regarded as an immensely heterogeneous one. On the base of Paul R. Magocsi's studies, it can be estimated that in 1910 Galicia had 7.9 million inhabitants: 45.4% were Poles, 42.9% Ukrainians, and 10.9% Jews. In Eastern Galicia, however, Ukrainians formed a majority as 62% of the population, with 25.5% Polish, and 8.2% Jewish. Other groups present in Galicia were Austrians and Germans, Armenians, Lemko-Rusyns, and Russians.² Rivalry of Poles and Ukrainians for advantage in the province became evident already in the mid-nineteen century. In 1847, Ukrainians raised a request for division of Galicia into Eastern (Ukrainian) and Western (Polish) part.³ The Habsburgs never realized it and in the late 1860s they made a settlement with Galician Poles in the wake of which

¹ Larry Wolff, "Inventing Galicia: Messianic Josephinism and the Recasting of Partitioned Poland," *Slavic Review*, no. 4 (63) (2004): 818–40.

² Paul R. Magocsi, "Galicia: A European Land," in *Galicia: A Multicultural Land*, eds. Christopher Hann and Paul R. Magocsi (Toronto – Buffalo – London: Toronto University Press, 2005), 7–8; Paul R. Magocsi, *Galicia: A Historical Survey and Bibliographical Guide* (Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press, 1983), 225; Paul R. Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine* (Toronto – Buffalo – London: Toronto University Press, 1996), 423–4.

³ Henryk Wereszycki, *Pod berłem Habsburgów. Zagadnienia narodowościowe* (Kraków: Wysoki Zamek, 2015), 121–41.

the latter group virtually ruled in the province.⁴ Notwithstanding these facts, the aforementioned request proved Galician Ukrainians' nation-building aspirations, which constantly increased during the second half of the century. When the Monarchy ceased to exist in the fall of 1918, Poles deployed their soldiers and took over power in Western Galicia. Yet, in Eastern Galicia, with the Galician capital Lviv ahead, their interests tragically clashed with Ukrainian ones. Polish patriots perceived the city and surrounding lands as a part of territorial heritage of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the part that, after the epoch of partitions, should belong to renascent Poland. Ukrainian patriots in turn claimed Lviv as a capital of rising Western Ukrainian state or even a regional center of future united Ukraine. As a result of this conflict, on November 1, 1918 the Polish-Ukrainian War of Eastern Galicia broke out. Its most dramatic stage was the Battle of Lviv, which lasted from November 1 to November 22, 1918, the battle known in the Polish national discourse as the Defense of Lviv [Obrona Lwowa] against the Ukrainian usurpation. It was followed by the three-day pogrom of Jews perpetrated by Polish soldiers and civilians after the Polish victory in the city, November 22–24, 1918. After the battle, the war did not run out; on the opposite, it spread throughout entire Eastern Galicia and ended with Polish victory only in mid-July 1919.⁵

The Polish-Ukrainian struggle between 1918 and 1919 entailed incorporation of the former Habsburg province into reborn Poland, the Second Polish Republic, which was sealed by the Peace of Riga (1921) and the international recognition of Polish sovereignty in Eastern Galicia (1923). Yet, the significance of this struggle did not confine to territorial issues. It also determined a fundamental shift within a dominant discourse on Lviv, Eastern Galicia as a whole and the community of the region's inhabitants.

In the Habsburg epoch, the dominant discourse on the province was based on specific Habsburg political culture. This political culture, which Wolff described using the notion of the idea of Galicia,⁶ aimed at presenting the province as a coherent and common territory, which all its dwellers, regardless of nationality, could identify with.⁷ Wolff commented on this phenomenon as follows:

⁴ Ibidem, 179–92; Józef Buszko, “The Consequences of Galician Autonomy after 1867,” *Polin* 12 (1999): 86–99.

⁵ Until today, an unsurpassed history of this war is Maciej Kozłowski's *Między Sanem a Zbruczem. Walki o Lwów i Galicję Wschodnią 1918–1919* (Kraków: Znak, 1990).

⁶ Larry Wolff, *The Idea of Galicia: History and Fantasy in Habsburg Political Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010).

⁷ I assume that the dominant discourse on the province was of Habsburg provenience. It could be the discourse of the Viennese center or one of provincial discourses which was in line, in dialogue or in polemic – but not in contest – with the Habsburg political culture. It refers also to the so-called epoch of Galician autonomy, because – as Danuta Sosnowska stressed it – even then Galicia was a dominated country, though many commentators criticizing Galicia, especially from abroad, seemed not to take it into account, see Danuta Sosnowska, *Inna Galicja* (Warszawa: Dom Wydawniczy Elipsa, 2008). Studies on the Austria's endeavors of neutralizing ethnical differences or, in the second half of the nineteenth century, creating the community of nations in the empire at large constitute a relatively new and perhaps the most innovative field of research on the Habsburg Monarchy. Apart from the monography by Wolff, focused on Galicia, the study by Pieter M. Judson is the newest elaboration stressing this dimension of the imperial politics, see

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 differences.⁸

Therefore, the idea of Galicia served to reconcile Polish, Ruthenian/Ukrainian, Jewish, and German elements within the province. It gave rise to creation of Galician identity, which emerged among the dwellers of the region during the course of the nineteenth century. That identity was not non-national in a sense of entire lack of national aspects. However, it can be regarded as supranational because apart from the national dimension it involved other sentiments, contradictory to the national one: the provincial one connecting individuals with the particular province and making them Galicians, and the imperial one binding Galicians with the Habsburg Empire and making them Austrian subjects.⁹

Over time, the idea of Galicia and Galician identity were being progressively undermined by national movements, especially Polish and Ukrainian ones.¹⁰ Moreover, Habsburg administrators of Galicia, who were to suppress national differences between Galicians, sometimes succumbed to national impulses and willy-nilly helped to promote nationalisms in the province.¹¹ Nevertheless, neither development of national projects, nor involvement of Habsburg bureaucrats into them brought about disappearance of the idea of Galicia from the political and cultural imagination of the Habsburg authorities and Galicians themselves. The historian Iryna Vushko seemed to be right when she claimed that the discourse on Galicia in terms of conflict between its national groups was applicable only partly and rather to the second half of the nineteenth century than to the first one.¹² Indeed, the multinational and transnational world of Galicia increasingly hardened after 1848, and especially after 1867, but it remained relatively fluid up until World War I. The war prompted disintegration of that world,¹³ however, only

Pieter M. Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: The New History* (Cambridge – London: Harvard University Press, 2016).

⁸ Larry Wolff, “Kennst du das Land? The Uncertainty of Galicia in the Age of Metternich and Fredro,” *Slavic Review*, no. 2 (67) (2008): 278.

⁹ *Ibidem*, 280, 291–3; Wolff, *The Idea of Galicia*, 99–110, 188–230.

¹⁰ For a further discussion on the issue of Polish national movement in Galicia see, e.g., Józef Buszko, *Galicja 1859–1914. Polski Piemont?* (Warszawa: KAW, 1989); for further investigation of the issue of Ukrainian national movement in Galicia see, e.g., Paul R. Magocsi, *The Roots of Ukrainian Nationalism: Galicia as Ukraine’s Piedmont* (Toronto–London: University of Toronto Press, 2002).

¹¹ The problem is deeply investigated in Iryna Vushko, *The Politics of Cultural Retreat. Imperial Bureaucracy in Austrian Galicia, 1772–1867* (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2015).

¹² *Ibidem*, 155.

¹³ The destructive power of the war was particularly visible with regard to the Jewish idea of Galicia, see Jagoda Wierzejska, “The Pogrom of Jews During and After World War I: The Destruction of the Jewish Idea of Galicia,” in *Personal Narratives, Peripheral Theatres: Essays on the Great War (1914–18)*, eds. Anthony Barker, Maria Eugénia Pereira, Maria Teresa Cortez, Paulo Alexandre Pereira, Otilia Martins (Cham: Springer, 2018), 169–84.

the fall of the Habsburg Empire and the subsequent Polish-Ukrainian War of Eastern Galicia entailed its final collapse.

In November 1918, in the face of the fight for Lviv and, then, for the whole province, the discourse based on the Habsburg idea of Galicia turned out to be irrelevant or even conspicuously unsuitable for the new situation. Since Poles tipped the tide of the Battle of Lviv on their side and, in particular, since they won the war, they had clear advantage in creating a vision of the region over its non-Polish inhabitants, especially Ukrainians and Jews. Therefore, after 1918 the dominant discourse on Galicia was (a stream of) the Polish discourse, while the Ukrainian and Jewish narratives on the province found themselves in a situation of counter-discourses, i.e. oppositional discourses which could not withstand the dominant one and which were suppressed in the Second Polish Republic.

In the interwar Polish discourse, the idea of Galicia became a subject of deep subversion. In conditions of the crisis of democracy, the hostile policy of the Second Polish Republic towards national minorities, the antagonism between Poles and Ukrainians and anti-Semitism, the concept of multinational and transnational community of Galicians was disassembled. Its components were ideologically repositioned to reinforce a new vision of the region's community which was to be exclusively Polish. This vision proved to be very appealing to the interwar Poles. Moreover, it was ideologically useful for the Polish authorities and lay at the root of one of foundation myths of the Second Polish Republic – the myth of unity of the Polish nation and the Polish state.

The aim of the article is to highlight two processes taking place in the Polish discourse between 1918 and 1939: first, disassembly of the idea of Galicia and establishment of the vision of the province as a Polish domain; second, ideological functionalization of the hegemonic Polish perspective on the region. The first part of the article discusses the shift from the vision of alleged Polish-Ruthenian brotherhood to the idea of Polish-Polish brotherhood, i.e. the homogenous Polish nation, from which the others were excluded as enemies. The latter part examines elevating this vision to the level of narrative which significantly strengthened the national community of Poles after 1918.

The main focus of investigation in the article is the interwar Polish literature, in particular, the literature presenting the Polish-Ukrainian War with the Defense of Lviv ahead. An abundance of such literary works, ranging from propagandist pamphlets to highly artistic texts, was pronounced in the first decade and substantial in the second decade of the interwar period in Poland.¹⁴ These works reveal decay of multinational community of Eastern Galicia, providing perhaps the widest scope for interpretation of conversion of the idea of Galicia into the idea of Polishness. Other kinds of Polish discourse of that time, as well as Ukrainian and Jewish voices, constitute a context for such an interpretation. In many ways, thus, the article represents a meeting point of literary studies, critical discourse analysis, comparatistics and studies on nations and nationalism.

¹⁴ Stanisław Uliasz, "Wokół narodzin legendy Orłąt Lwowskich w literaturze polskiej," in *Literatura – język – kultura*, eds. Czesław Kłak, Marta Wyka (Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej, 1995), 79–95.

THE POLISH COMMUNITY IN EASTERN GALICIA AMID FOES

Experts in the field of humanities and social studies agree that individual and collective identity is developed due to establishing the difference between “me” / “us” and “the other(s)”: the more distinctive such a difference is, the stronger the identity is. In the situation of war, when “the others” appear as enemies, this rule seems to be particularly visible. Umberto Eco claimed that war always entails the process of distinguishing and constructing enemies because only clearly defined enemies enable community to enhance a sense of identity and power.¹⁵ The interwar Polish literature concerning the Polish-Ukrainian War depicted the process Eco was writing about in a very meaningful way. It highlighted consolidation of the Polish community in Eastern Galicia due to presenting non-Polish dwellers of the province as unequivocal foes. “The others,” which were presented in such a way, included, obviously, Ukrainians but not only; Austrians, Germans and Jews as well.

UKRAINIANS

In the fall of 1918, Ukrainians constituted the most direct threat for Poles in Eastern Galicia but at the very beginning of the war, they were not distinctly defined foes in Poles’ perspective yet. Polish inhabitants of the province had cohabitated with Ukrainian ones for decades. Moreover, they insufficiently took into account the power of Ukrainian nationalism, especially in the late nineteenth century, when they were at an advantage in Galicia after the settlement with Habsburg authorities and when that nationalism transformed into a serious force. Consequently, on November 1, 1918, the general reaction of Poles to the Ukrainians’ seizure of power in Lviv was a deep shock.¹⁶ It found its meaningful manifestation in the Polish literature. For example, Wilhelmina Adamówna, the author of the youth novel on the Defense of Lviv *Gdy zagrzmiął złoty róg...* [When the gold horn sounded...] (1921), presented two protagonists talking on the first day of the battle of the city. One of them sees the Ukrainian flag on the top of the city hall and cries: “Yellow-blue rags hover on the main buildings...” The other one is not able to understand the situation and asks surprised: “In Polish Lviv? By what right?”¹⁷

Poles – just like Adamówna’s protagonists – taken-aback by Ukrainians and not understanding their national and state-building motives, initially took such a perspective on the coup on November 1 that had features of compensation. The historian Christoph Mick noticed that Poles, referring to the dawn of the Polish-Ukrainian War, were eager to divide Ukrainians into small group of aggressive

¹⁵ Umberto Eco, “Inventing the Enemy,” in idem, *Inventing the Enemy: Essays* (New York: Mariner Books, 2012), 1–21.

¹⁶ For the analysis of the issue see Kozłowski, *Między Sanem a Zbruczem*, 126–31.

¹⁷ Wisława [Wilhelmina Adamówna], *Gdy zagrzmiął złoty róg...* (Lwów: Księgarnia Naukowa, 1921), 3.

nationalists and the rest of “folk” – Ruthenians – ethnically related and loyal to Poles.¹⁸ Indeed, Polish authors depicted the first day of the Battle of Lviv, creating an idealistic vision of the “brotherly Polish-Ruthenian nation” which, in the fall of 1918, should have resisted “Ukrainian usurpers” together. The popular drama *Lwów chlubą narodu* [Lviv, the pride of the nation] (1929) by Zofia Lewartowska provided a telling testimony to this vision’s usage. The main protagonist of the drama, Hela, a Polish girl, tries to persuade her relative, Janek, a young man who decided to join Ukrainian ranks, that he and his compatriots should stop violence and become reconciled with Poles. According to her arguments, Ruthenians “can rise up high” only “side by side” with Poles, so they must “give up a branch of criminals who nurtured them with hatred” and “lean on centuries of peaceful coexistence with us [Poles – J.W.]”¹⁹ The ideal of Polish-Ruthenian “brotherhood,” present in the girl’s reasoning, was supposed to suggest that Ukrainians had no reason to fight with Poles for Eastern Galicia. Allegedly, the latter national group was willing to maintain multinational symbiosis in the region, as if the Habsburg idea of Galicia could have functioned without interference under the Polish rule.

Although the aforementioned ideal seemed to Poles innocuous or even beneficial in the face of Ukrainians’ aggression, its tacit ideological background was problematic enough to bring about sharp objection of Ukrainians. This background was connected with Poles’ denial of Ukrainians’ existence as a separate nation who could claim, and claimed indeed, state-building aspirations. Poles perceived Ukrainians as Poles’ ethnic “brothers” for the sake of their national interest. Basing on such a viewpoint, they fostered an idea of encompassing Eastern Galicia, along with Ukrainians – allegedly “brotherly group,” with borders of the Polish state and the Polish nation. To realize this idea, they maintained that Ukrainians needed Polish support and leadership. For instance, Romuald Kawalec, the author of memoirs from the period of the Polish-Ukrainian War, claimed that Ukrainians themselves “had not grown up to have even a local government.”²⁰ Presenting Ukrainians as Poles’ “younger brothers,” i.e. emphasizing their kinship with Poles and, simultaneously, their national underdevelopment or childishness, Polish authors provided Polish power in Eastern Galicia with a sense of civilizing mission. According to their opinion, only being subjects of the Polish state would let Ukrainians successfully confront challenges of socio-political adolescence.

As I mentioned, the vision of Polish-Ruthenian “brotherhood,” tacitly based on the ideology of Polish superiority in Galicia, was not to be accepted by Ukrainians. The Polish literature included scenes which revealed this fact. They always presented Ukrainians as villains who rejected “brotherhood” with Poles and violently destroyed Galician coexistence. This is exactly the way Janek, the young man collaborating with Ukrainians, is depicted in the drama *Lwów chlubą narodu* by Lewartowska. Having heard Hela’s encouragement to Polish-Ruthenian

¹⁸ Christoph Mick, *Lemberg, Lwów, L’viv, 1914–1947: Violence and Ethnicity in a Contested City* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2016), 221–2.

¹⁹ Zofia Lewartowska, *Lwów chlubą narodu. Dramat w 4 aktach na tle obrony Lwowa w roku 1018*, słowo wstępne Józef Białynia Chołodecki (Lwów: nakładem Małopolskiej Straży Obywatelskiej we Lwowie, 1929), 19.

²⁰ Romuald Kawalec, *Wspomnienia z hajdamackiej niewoli* (Kraków: nakładem Harcerskiej Spółki Wydawniczej, 1919), 35.

“brotherhood,” he refuses steadfastly to change his stand and cries: “You Lach! Henceforth you are my enemy!”²¹ Polish protagonists are invariably indignant at such a resistance and turn violently against Ukrainians, just like Hela who threatens that Poles will take hostile actions against them in retribution for Janek and his compatriots’ malevolence. The protagonist of the novel *Gdy zagrzmiął złoty róg...* by Adamówna expresses the same thought more roughly. He meets face to face with crimes committed by Ukrainians in Lviv, in November 1918. Consequently, he changes his attitude towards the enemies and joins defenders of Lviv exclaiming: “What a fool I was! I considered Ruthenians our brothers... and this is why I did not fight with them. But they are not brothers... they are dogcatchers, hangmen, bandits. I will combat them now without mercy, like mad dogs...”²²

Literary representations of acts of the Polish-Ukrainian War, which followed November 1, 1918, established the analyzed change of Poles’ mind. In these representations, Ukrainians ceased to be Poles’ “younger brothers” who erred under the misleading influence of nationalists; instead they became Poles’ explicit enemies. The war, in particular the Defense of Lviv, was presented in the literature under study with use of the poetics of psychomachia, i.e. as a struggle between good (Poles) and evil (Ukrainians) for the innocent (Polish by its nature) city and land. Authors of Polish works did not have doubts that Poles had right to Eastern Galicia, so they portrayed them as defenders running a just war, and Ukrainians as invaders who had started an aggressive war. Waław Lipiński, a participant of the Defense of Lviv of very moderate political views, wrote in his memoirs: “We [Poles – J.W.] did not begin this war, we did not give an ominous sign to it...”²³ Ferdynand Neumeuer, the author of the youth novel about the Defense, *Józko żołnierzem polskim* [Józko, a Polish soldier] (1934), attributed the same but more bluntly expressed opinion to one of Polish protagonists of the work: “We did not assault their city, but they assaulted ours!”²⁴ Other authors reached for phraseology even less politically correct, taking into account current standards. For example, the commander-in-chief of the Polish military contingent in Lviv in November 1918 and the author of many publications on the topic, Czesław Mączyński, in a foreword to a volume of children memoirs concerning the fight of Lviv (1921) described the Ukrainian coup as a “hostile invasion of barbarism.”²⁵ Adamówna in the novel *Gdy zagrzmiął złoty róg...* wrote about Ukrainians as “wild Cossacks,” “Kalmyks’ snouts,” or “Russian devils.”²⁶ Juliusz German, the author of perhaps the only fairy tale on the Defense, *O Janku co walczył we Lwowie* [About Janek who fought in Lviv] (1922), regarded Ukrainians as “Hrytses” and

²¹ Lewartowska, *Lwów chlubą narodu*, 19.

²² Wisława, *Gdy zagrzmiął złoty róg...*, 138.

²³ Waław Lipiński, *Wśród lwowskich orląt* (Łomianki: LTW, 2015 [1927]), 83.

²⁴ Mirosław Bezluda [Ferdynand Neumeuer], *Józko żołnierzem polskim* (Grudziądz: Pomorska Spółka Wydawnicza, 1934), 78.

²⁵ Czesław Mączyński, *Młodzi w obronie Lwowa*, in *Kajet wojenny dziecka lwowskiego (z przeżyć w czasie oblężenia miasta Lwowa od listopada 1918 do kwietnia 1919 roku)*, ułożył i uwagami opatrzył prof. Edward Horwath, słowo wstępne skreślił Czesław Mączyński (Lwów: nakładem Polskiego Towarzystwa Pedagogicznego, 1921), 10.

²⁶ Wisława, *Gdy zagrzmiął złoty róg...*, 3, 75, 139.

“Ivans”²⁷ who “steal someone else’s property.”²⁸ Prevalence of such a rhetoric was confirmed by the fact that it permeated all kinds of Polish discourse at that time: literature, journalism, everyday language, even the aforementioned children memoirs on the fight for the Galician capital. Polish pupils, describing their war experiences, called Ukrainians “wild haidamakas” (a sixth grader), “hordes of Russians” and “Ukrainian heroye”²⁹ (an eighth grader), and “barbarians” (a fourth grader).³⁰ Another eighth grader added: “Ukrainians are comparable to no one, only to wild Tatars, because a nation that has a little bit higher civilization does not act this way.”³¹ Phrases of this kind, used by various Polish speakers – writers, journalists and regular people, including children – proved that the interwar Poles very quickly started to perceive Ukrainians as aggressors, whose attempt to seize power in Eastern Galicia had no national, cultural or moral legitimacy. Numerous descriptions of Ukrainian atrocities, imbued with analyzed phraseology, aimed to exclude Ukrainians from cultured European nations, in general, and full-fledged citizens of Galicia, in particular.³² Their authors sought to counter the Ukrainian claim that the takeover on November 1 had passed off without bloodshed and that only the armed resistance of Poles had escalated the conflict. This way Poles strived to depict Ukrainians as assassins in order to justify Polish retribution and to foster Polish claims to the territory with mostly Ukrainian population.

AUSTRIANS AND GERMANS

Neither in November 1918 nor in subsequent stages of the Polish-Ukrainian War, the Austrian and German army fought against Poles in Eastern Galicia. Notwithstanding this fact, the interwar Polish discourse, including the Polish literature, presented Austrians and Germans as sides of the conflict, namely, as supporters of Ukrainian aggressors. Polish press called the Ukrainian seizure of power in Lviv a “German-Austrian-Ukrainian machination,” a “Ruthenian-Prussian-Austrian assault,” or an effect of “protectorate of Vienna and Berlin.”³³ Polish literary works constantly used a motif of anti-Polish Austrian-German intrigue,

²⁷ Popular Ukrainian male names in a plural, contemptuous form.

²⁸ Juliusz German, *O Janku co walczył we Lwowie*, illustrated by Zygmunt Radnicki (Lwów – Warszawa: Książnica Polska, [1922]), 6.

²⁹ An incorrect, contemptuous form of Ukrainian word “heroyi” meaning “heroes.”

³⁰ *Kajet wojenny dziecka lwowskiego*, 24, 28, 28, 32.

³¹ *Ibidem*, 27.

³² Literary works were full of scenes presenting Ukrainian cruelty, especially killing civilians with children ahead. For example, the short story by Helena Zakrzewska “W obronie swego gniazda” [In the defense of our nest] (1919) showed the death of a thirteen-year-old defender betrayed by a Ukrainian spy and shot next to his house by Ukrainians. This tragedy was followed by the death of his friend, a fourteen-year-old girl fighting in Polish ranks, who was shot by Ukrainians on the street. Apart from literary works, other kinds of Polish discourse spread information on Ukrainians crimes. One of the most outrageous publications of this kind was the pamphlet by Władysław Orobkiewicz, *Dlaczego? Rzecz o gwałtach i barbarzyństwach ukraińskich popełnianych na żołnierzach i ludności polskiej we wschodniej części byłego zaboru austriackiego i o ich przyczynach* (Lwów: nakładem Redakcji “Kurier Lwowski,” 1919). Many others can be found in the newspaper *Pobudka*.

³³ Anonym, “Przed listopadową rocznicą,” *Gazeta Lwowska*, no. 251 (1919): 2.

which supposedly made the Ukrainian coup possible. Some of these works confined the aforementioned motif to information that Austrians and Germans had delivered weapons to Ukrainians during the course of the Defense of Lviv. For instance, the protagonist of the fairy tale by a German says: “Disgusting Austrians gave weapons and cannons, rifles and uniforms to Ruthenians and wherever you look there are multitude of Ruthenian ranks.”³⁴ Other works maintained that Austrians and Germans spearheaded the Ukrainian coup or fought in the Ukrainian army, albeit not gratuitously but for bribes. The protagonist of the youth novel by Neumeuer asserts that “it is the Austrian archduke who runs them [Ukrainians fighting for Lviv – J.W.]” and infers from this assumption that Poles’ foes have taken the city with the assent of Austrians.³⁵ In turn, the narrator of the short story by Stanisław Odrzudek “Ojciec i syn” [The father and the son] (1919) describes the Polish-Ukrainian battle, in which a Ukrainian rank is led by a German “mercenary soldier.”³⁶

The motif of anti-Polish Austrian-German intrigue was developed the most extensively in *Obrona Lwowa 1918 r.* [The Defense of Lviv 1918] (1928), the historical drama by Ludwik Dąbrowski presenting the battle of the Galician capital along with its putative political background. Venality of the Austrian governor of Galicia, Karl Georg Huyn, who – according to the dramatist – relinquished power in Lviv to Ukrainians,³⁷ and malevolence of the commander of Lviv, general Rudolf Pfeffer, who supposedly armed Poles’ opponents in the fight for the city,³⁸ constitutes one of the most important threads of the work. The main villain of the drama is, however, the German consul, Eduard Heinze, who persuades the governor to support Ukrainians in order to weaken Poles in Galicia: “Why should Poland be powerful and huge? Only to our detriment. It should be small and weak,”³⁹ he reasons. Moreover, it turns out that his action is scarcely motivated in a political way, inasmuch as he, like general Pfeffer, has taken bribes from Ukrainians.⁴⁰

Accusations of Austrian-German-Ukrainian cooperation found confirmation neither in testimonies of Austrian and German diplomats and officers, nor in archive documents – they are also repudiated in contemporary historical accounts⁴¹ – but despite these facts, the interwar Polish discourse endlessly reproduced them. Establishing the accusations in question, creators of this discourse shaped the picture of representatives of all three national groups regarded as hostile towards Poles.

As for Austrians and Germans, the accusations undermined a vision fostered by them in 1918 and later, according to which Austrian and German bureaucrats

³⁴ German, *O Janku co walczył we Lwowie*, 6.

³⁵ Beżłuda, *Józko żołnierzem polskim*, 53.

³⁶ Stanisław Odrzudek, “Ojciec i syn,” *Placówka*, no. 12 (1919): 5.

³⁷ Ludwik Dąbrowski, *Obrona Lwowa 1918 r. (kapitan Wiktor). Dramat historyczny w 5 aktach z epilogiem* (Lwów: wydawca Władysław Marczewski, 1928), 20ff.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, 31.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, 21.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, 31.

⁴¹ See: Mick, *Lemberg, Lwów, L'viv, 1914–1947*, 143–44; Kozłowski, *Między Sanem a Zbruczem*, 117, 143.

and soldiers in Eastern Galicia waited for orders from Vienna and Berlin, respectively, and remained neutral in the Polish-Ukrainian conflict. Their putative support for Ukrainians suggested the opposite, that they were Poles' antagonists who actively resisted Polish seizure of power in the province. Such a perspective on these groups manifests a protagonist of the youth novel *Na progu Polski* [On the threshold of Poland] (1921) by Edward Słoński, an author of patriotic writings connected with the Polish Legions in World War I. The protagonist of the novel explains to his new friend, a newcomer to Lviv, what the national relations in the city and in the region are. Referring to Habsburg authorities, he says: "Austrians rule here and they are the main foes of Poles."⁴² The following action of the novel, showing the Polish-Ukrainian War, confirms his words: Austrians and Germans turn out deeply disgusting people who help Ukrainians with pure passion for wreaking havoc.

As for Ukrainians, the accusations under study additionally distinguished them from the Polish community in Eastern Galicia. Spreading such accusations, Polish authors sought to convince the national and international public opinion that Ukrainians were similar enemies of Poles as Austrians and Germans, the erstwhile partitioners of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and not Slavic "others" in the province. Moreover, they shed very negative light on the Ukrainian deed on November 1, 1918 as they depreciated or even denied its national motivation. According to the Polish viewpoint, the Ukrainian seizure of power in Lviv – as inspired and prompted by Austrians and Germans – was something worse than an assault; it was a collusion, a betrayal, an act rightly called in Słoński's novel "an awful thing."⁴³ In such a perspective, Ukrainians appeared not as who they were in fact, a self-conscious national group fighting for its state-building dream, but as schemers susceptible to Austrian and German maneuverings.

JEWIS

Except for Ukrainians, Austrians and Germans, the Polish discourse concerning the year 1918 in Eastern Galicia ascribed the role of Poles' enemies to Jews. Although the Lviv Jews promulgated their neutrality in the imminent Polish-Ukrainian War, Poles were indignant at the lack of their support and questioned their impartiality.⁴⁴ Poles wildly believed that Jewish militiamen⁴⁵ collaborated with Ukrainians, that Jewish civilians furtively fired and threw axes at Polish

⁴² Edward Słoński, *Na progu Polski, z inicjałami i rycinami Eligiusza Niewiadomskiego* (Warszawa – Kraków – Lublin – Łódź – Poznań: nakład Gebethnera i Wolffa, 1921), 17.

⁴³ Ibidem, 38.

⁴⁴ See Anonym, "O neutralność," *Chwila*, no. 2 (1919): 1.

⁴⁵ Jewish militiamen were set up at the beginning of the Battle of Lviv in order to protect Jewish inhabitants and their properties. On November 10, 1918, an agreement between the militiamen and the Command of the Polish Army was signed up. According to the document, the former committed to strict neutrality. See memorandum by Dr. Tobiasz Aszkenazy [November/December 1918], Deržavnij Arkhiv Lvivskoi Oblasti (DALO), f. 257, op. 2, sp. 504, 23–59; Abraham Insler, *Legendy i fakty* (Lwów: "Cofim" Żydowskie Towarzystwo Wydawnicze, 1937), 55–63.

soldiers or poured boiling water from their windows.⁴⁶ They denied the pogromist character of the three-day slaughter brought about by Polish soldiers and civilians after defeating Ukrainians in Lviv, November 22–24, 1918. Moreover, they blamed Jews themselves for provoking “reasonable” Polish anger because of supporting Ukrainians, in general, and shielding their retreat from the city, in particular.⁴⁷ A prominent role in spreading such rumors and escalating anti-Semitic moods amid Poles was played by the Polish newspaper *Pobudka*, issued by the Chief Command of Lviv since November 5, 1918.⁴⁸

Slander aimed at the Galician, especially Lviv Jews was not grounded in reality and representatives of Jewish elite fervently argued with it.⁴⁹ Despite these facts, however, the discourse on the Polish-Ukrainian conflict, presenting Jews as Poles’ foes, was so common in the Second Polish Republic that it penetrated not only Polish press but also texts of historiographical ambitions. A testimony to this phenomenon can be found in some popular interwar Polish memoirs, history essays, and handbooks. For instance, the memoirs by Mączyński,⁵⁰ the essay by the participant of the Defense of Lviv Antoni Jakubski⁵¹ and the handbook by the historian Waław Sobieski⁵² presented the anti-Jewish version of the Lviv tragedy without confronting it with any other narrative on the topic.

The interwar Polish literature rarely depicted Jews in the Polish-Ukrainian War but if it did so, it always portrayed them as bribed Ukrainians’ allies. Usually only short references highlighted the attitude that Jews – according to Polish writers – manifested towards Poles in Eastern Galicia in 1918. These references alluded to putative anti-Polish malevolence of Jews, of indirect and direct kind. Both kinds of Jewish hostility were depicted, for instance, in Dąbrowski’s drama *Obrona Lwowa 1918 r.* The work first presents a Jew who deals with profiteering and makes money on dishonest trade during the course of the Defense of Lviv; namely, he sells food and weapon at heavily inflated prices to Poles desperately

⁴⁶ See “Brygada Lwowska. Wypadki w dzielnicy żydowskiej we Lwowie w listopadzie 1918” [no date], DALO, f. 257, op. 2, sp. 1624. That information is presented as rumors in “A sketch about the riot against the Jews in Lemberg from the 22th till 23th of November [1918],” Archiwum Akt Nowych, zespół Komitet Narodowy Polski, ref. no. 159, 29–33.

⁴⁷ Particularly valuable studies on the Lviv pogrom in 1918 are: Alexander V. Prusin, *Nationalizing a Borderland: War, Ethnicity, and Anti-Jewish Violence in East Galicia, 1914–1920* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005), 75–91; William W. Hagen, “The Moral Economy of Popular Violence: The Pogrom in Lwów, November 1918,” in *Antisemitism and its Opponents in Modern Poland*, ed. Robert Blobaum (Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 2005), 124–47.

⁴⁸ See e.g.: Anonym, “Co słycać w śródmieściu?,” *Pobudka*, no. 3 (1918): 3; Anonym, “Neutralni,” *Pobudka*, no. 12 (1918): 2. On the role of *Pobudka* in spreading anti-Semitic rumors see memorandum by Dr Tobiasz Aszkenazy [November/December 1918], DALO, f. 257, op. 2, sp. 504, 23–5.

⁴⁹ See Insler, *Dokumenty fałszu. Prawda o tragedii żydostwa lwowskiego w listopadzie 1918 roku* (Lwów: I. Jaeger, 1933); Insler, *Legends i fakty*.

⁵⁰ Czesław Maczyński, *Boje lwowskie. Część I. Oswobodzenie Lwowa (1–24 listopada 1918 roku)* (Warszawa: “Rzeczpospolita,” 1921), vol. 2.

⁵¹ Antoni Jakubski, “Walki listopadowe we Lwowie w świetle krytyk,” in *Obrona Lwowa 1–22 listopada 1918. T. I. Relacje uczestników*, eds. Eugenjusz Wawrzukowicz, Aleksander Kawalkowski (Lwów: nakładem Towarzystwa, 1933).

⁵² Waław Sobieski, *Dzieje Polski lat ostatnich od roku 1865* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Zorza, 1925).

lacking these goods.⁵³ Then the work shows a Ukrainian leader Kość Lewyćky, who maintains: “We have Jews’ promise that they will follow us.”⁵⁴ Attributing such words to an authority amid Ukrainians, Dąbrowski overtly suggested that the second in number national-religious group in Lviv was not neutral; on the contrary, it allegedly supported assassins of November 1 and fought side by side with them.

According to my knowledge, only two literary works on the Polish-Ukrainian War developed the threads under investigation more comprehensively. At the same time, they constituted the only two works which mentioned the slaughter in the Jewish district after the Defense of Lviv. Strikingly, both of them remained entirely in line with the dominant – anti-Semitic – Polish discourse on the role of Jews in the Polish-Ukrainian conflict between 1918 and 1919. The first work is the subsequent historical drama by Dąbrowski titled *Jurek* [George] and issued in 1939. It focuses on the heroic fight of Polish defenders, with the title protagonist Jurek ahead. The last act of the drama, whose action takes place “after freeing the city,”⁵⁵ on November 22, refers to Jews’ presence in Lviv during the battle and hints at “unrest” in the Jewish quarter. Nevertheless, it maintains all accusations against Jews prevailing in the Second Polish Republic and depicts the “unrest” as an indispensable pacification of anti-Polish action perpetrated by Jews.

Jewish militiamen were shooting at our army and acting with hostility towards Poles. [...] Polish soldiers came into [the Jewish district – J.W.] – perhaps Jews, loyal to their alliance with Ukrainians, or for other reasons, started fighting with Poles [...] – and Polish soldiers, irritated and provoked, took up self-defense and they have been defending themselves against attacks since then. Such a defense is necessary and ordered to a soldier...⁵⁶

These are words of the protagonists of the work, Mączyński. He maintains a version of the pogrom’s history which is not fact-based yet analogous to the version presented by real Mączyński, the Lviv commander-in-chief of Polish forces, in his memoirs. Falsification and concealment of the slaughter on November 22–24, which both of them – the drama protagonist and the historical figure – committed, constituted a typical feature of the interwar Polish discourse, nearly never referring to that slaughter as a “pogrom.” The second work which mentioned it – the novel *Józko żołnierzem polskim* by Neumeuer – also followed that tendency. Promptly after the battle of the city, the main protagonist of the novel, Józko, and his friend go to the Jewish quarter. The young defenders are lured there by information that “crowds of people take from Jews everything what they can” and that “there are no militiamen there.”⁵⁷ However, they do not try to stop looting, instead they join looters and boldly, proudly appropriate “lost and found goods”⁵⁸ from Jewish shops. Neumeuer’s description of the event was perhaps the most expanded and straightforward in the interwar Polish literature, but it must be

⁵³ Dąbrowski, *Obrona Lwowa 1918 r.*, 48.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, 28.

⁵⁵ Ludwik Dąbrowski, *Jurek (Obrona Lwowa w r. 1918). Dramat w 5 aktach na tle historycznym Obrony Lwowa* (Miejsce Piastowe: nakładem autora, 1939), 89.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, 93–98.

⁵⁷ Beżłuda, *Józko żołnierzem polskim*, 165–6.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, 174.

regarded as deeply outrageous for at least three reasons. First, the description used the poetic of picaresque novel, emphasizing the adventurous dimension of the boys' experience and obliterating the tragedy of Jews. Second, it reduced the slaughter to an incidental pillage. Third, finally, it established rumors popular in Lviv in 1918 (and then disseminated as truth) that robbery had been committed by unidentified criminals who had blamed Polish soldiers for the crime using a "circumstance" that Jews "had acted to our [Poles' – J.W.] detriment."⁵⁹

Constant playing down or negation of the pogrom in the interwar Polish literature inferred from the fact that this kind of the Polish discourse was, first and foremost, entrusted with a task of heroization of the defenders of Lviv.⁶⁰ The Polish fighters for the city were to be presented as flawless heroes and the Lviv "incident," as the pogrom was wildly called in the Second Polish Republic, subverted that image; hence, it was an object of repression. Emphasis on Jewish hostility towards Poles in Eastern Galicia in 1918 was also connected with the need of heroization of the defenders. If Poles were to appear as virtuous people of courage, victims of their aggression must have been depicted as their deceitful and aggressive foes. The literature thus revealed projecting Poles' anti-Jewish violence onto Jews themselves. Such a shift of violent impulses from one group onto another one set Jews in one row with other enemies of Poles, in particular with Ukrainians, and justified anti-Jewish acts as a punishment for Jews, a necessary part of the Defense of Lviv and the war of Eastern Galicia.

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Identification of Ukrainians, Austrians, Germans, and Jews with opponents of Polish national case in Eastern Galicia in 1918 destroyed the idea of multinational and transnational cohabitation of Galicians and paved the way to an unlike concept of community in the province. According to that concept, the community in question was no longer a heterogenous national-religious group living in relative congruence; instead, it became a part of the Polish nation. Literary visions of such a community's constitution were delivered by many works, for instance, by a romantic thread of the novel *Józko żołnierzem polskim* by Neumeuer. In the ending part of the book, when Poles in Lviv are tipping the tide of the battle on their side, Józko, a Polish urchin [batiar] who has already transformed into a brave defender, makes a significant turn in his private life. He splits up with his former female companion, a Ruthenian girl, because "she speaks of Poles so unfriendly,"⁶¹ and falls in love with a Polish girl who is also into him. The happy Polish-Polish couple, replacing the troublesome Polish-Ruthenian couple, was presented as a synecdoche of the new Polish society in the province. This society gave up the (faked) concept of Polish-Ruthenian "brotherhood" as a thing of the past and perceived itself as a unit, whose coherence was proportional to hostility of its (real or imagined) enemies. According to another work, the poem "Placówka ludu" [The peoples' outpost] (1919) by Jan Rybarski, there still were "brothers" in this new society. The poet depicted them as Lviv defenders loyal to one another: "A faithful brother gave his brother a hand / A true miracle of union / The depth

⁵⁹ Ibidem, 169.

⁶⁰ Uliasz, *Wokół narodzin legendy orląt lwowskich w literaturze polskiej*, 86.

⁶¹ Beżłuda, *Józko żołnierzem polskim*, 180.

of former differences disappeared: / ‘We protect the outposts we came from!’⁶² The last verse of the poem, the allusion to the canonical Polish patriotic lyric “Rota” [“The Oath”] by Maria Konopnicka, openly suggested that the faithful brothers were both Poles. Their ideal union was the union of the Polish nation. Those who did not belong to that nation were excluded from the brotherhood as deadly foes.

IDEOLOGIZATION OF THE POLISH NARRATIVE ON LVIV AND EASTERN GALICIA IN 1918

Replacing the ideal of multinational and transnational coexistence of Galicians with the vision of the Polish nation, the phenomenon closely connected to the Polish-Ukrainian War, can be described as superseding the idea of Galicia with the idea of Polishness in the province. What established such a transformation of the dominant discourse on the region and its dwellers was ideological use the interwar Poles made of the narrative on the Polish-Ukrainian War, especially on the Defense of Lviv. In the 1920s and 1930s, the Defense was effectively interpreted as the most heroic episode in the history of the city. Moreover, it was elevated to the rank of turning point in the process of restoration of Poland’s independence in two respects: as a symbol of national unity and as a symbol state unification. Consequently, it laid the ground for one of the most important foundation myths of reborn Poland and it could be promoted as a role model for future generations of Poles.

NATIONAL UNITY

A very important theme that contributed to great popularity or even cult of the Defense of Lviv in the Second Polish Republic was unity of the defenders, i.e. strengthening of solidarity within the group of Poles that experienced the November fight. This theme was constantly reproduced in the interwar Polish discourse: memoirs, newspaper articles, speeches, sermons and pieces of art. Obviously, it played a pivotal role in the Polish literature as well.

All literary works under investigation presented the Defense of Lviv in a similar way. They maintained that despite a shock induced by the Ukrainian seizure of power on November 1, actions of the defenders of Lviv were fast and efficient; first and foremost, however, that these actions engaged wide masses of Polish dwellers of the city irrespectively of their age, gender, social status and political views. The latter issue became a topos of the Polish literature pertaining to the Polish-Ukrainian War. Writers actualized it creating visions of urchins and intellectuals of all political fractions, children and fathers, men and women fighting together for “their,” Polish Lviv.

⁶² Jan Rybarski, “Placówka ludu,” *Placówka*, no. 3 (1919): 12.

Artur Schroeder, a participant of the Defense of Lviv, used the topos in question in his collection of short stories *Orlęta* [Eaglets] (1919), one of the most famous literary work on the Lviv fight. Not only did he depict the defenders – usually very young ones – who had disparate social backgrounds yet were equally devoted to the case of Polishness of the city. He also overtly glorified unity of the defenders in a poem, which opened the collection: “A soldier, a child, a woman – everyone knows / that they have to sacrifice their lives now, / that though the soul is already breaking and bending in passion, / we have to fight for the freedom and honor.”⁶³ Helena Zakrzewska, the author of the short story on the Battle of Lviv “W obronie swego gniazda” [In the defense of our nest] (1919), indicated amid the defenders: a professor, a young kid, a dandy, a Lychakiv urchin, a white-haired old man and a young girl. Then she concluded: “Differences in gender, age and state disappeared. Everyone defended the threatened Polish nest and endured all hell of endless fights, sleeplessness, and hunger during these three weeks...”⁶⁴ Lipiński in turn strongly emphasized solidarity of the defenders regardless of their political orientation. According to his memoirs from the period of the Polish-Ukrainian War, in November 1918 military zeal encompassed all young Polish people gathered at the Lviv general academic congress, from nationalists to socialists.⁶⁵ Maczyński recalled the strife in his memoirs in the analogous manner. Although he admitted that the number of Polish volunteers had not been as high as he had expected in the fall of 1918, he maintained: “incredible and rare sacrifice prevailed commonly in Lviv at that time and it embraced everybody, regardless of age, states and social strata – from the smallest ones in terms of age and social position to representatives of the highest strata and the oldest age.”⁶⁶ Absolute dominance of narrative of this kind found a significant confirmation in the Polish public sphere. Already at the very beginning of the 1920s, casting any doubts on the consensus that all the Polish society had defended the city entailed total indignation of the Polish public opinion. For instance, one of the members of the Polish Association of the Defenders of Lviv [Polski Związek Obrońców Lwowa] violated the unspoken rule not to make different opinions on the Defense at the meeting of the organization, on November 21, 1923. His remarks aroused such an outrage of the assembly that the meeting had to be suspended until tempers cooled. When it was resumed, the head of the association officially declared that all Poles had participated in the Defense of Lviv.⁶⁷

According to historical surveys, solidarity of the Lviv defenders had its limits and exceptions as not all the Poles, even in Lviv, supported the Defense actively.⁶⁸ In fact, during the battle, the Polish side could count on support of the vast majority of civilian population of the city, while the Ukrainian side leaned on forces recruited in Eastern Galician countryside. Nevertheless, images of exceptionless participation of Poles in the Defense were somewhat idealized. One can infer this from allusions, present but very rare in the Polish literature,

⁶³ Artur Schroeder, *Orlęta (z walk lwowskich)* (Lwów: nakładem Rady Parafialnej, 1919), 8.

⁶⁴ Helena Zakrzewska, “W obronie swego gniazda,” in eadem, *Dzieci Lwowa* (Gdańsk: GRAF, 1990 [1919]), 113.

⁶⁵ Lipiński, *Wśród orląt lwowskich*, 22–3.

⁶⁶ Maczyński, *Boje lwowskie*, vol. 1, 192.

⁶⁷ See Mick, *Lemberg, Lwów, L'viv, 1914–1947*, 224.

⁶⁸ See Kozłowski, *Między Sanem a Zbruczem*, 160–7.

that this or that protagonist, always a secondary one, was trying to wait the war out at home. However, such allusions were always deprived of explicit commentary of narrator or other protagonists. One exception was constituted by Adamówna's novel *Gdy zagrzmiął złoty róg...*, which included hints at Polish men at the conscript age who did not grab weapons in Lviv in November 1918. In the novel, a captain asked to send additional forces to a threatened outpost gives a following answer: "Perhaps I can find only a dozen of volunteers and mostly these are young boys, who are unfamiliar with war... But I do not have even one officer. They are to be found there – in the city: by warm stove or maybe in cafeteria."⁶⁹ Another protagonist comments on the Lviv fight in a similar way: "times have changed... men who are capable of [using – J.W.] weapon, but usually avoid it today, had to be replaced with boys and girls..."⁷⁰ Regardless of relative frankness of these statements, disappointment and bitter sarcasm revealed by them left no doubt that such a behavior seemed reprehensible in the opinion of Polish patriots. Moreover, general scarceness of allusions to eschewing military service by some Poles proved that that stand appeared to the majority of the Polish nation as deeply embarrassing and it was treated as a taboo subject in the Polish discourse.

The narrative exposing and glorifying absolute solidarity of Poles at the time when Ukrainians forcibly laid claims to Eastern Galicia fostered an idealistic vision, according to which spilled blood united people across political, social, age, and gender boundaries. This vision, in turn, played a crucial ideological role in the Second Polish Republic. It underscored drama and uniqueness of Lviv events: in fact, they prompted many civilians to fight for the city, which they regarded as Polish and whose different nationality they could not imagine. However, more crucial is that it enabled presenting the Defense of Lviv as an unquestionable imperative, a matter connecting Poles over differences between them. In the situation when the rebirth of Poland required many difficult acts of solidary fight and work, this vision turned out to be priceless. As a proof that Poles were capable of unity when the national good was at stake, it was meant to reconcile the Polish population, ridden with social and political divisions, in the bosom of one nation, so that all conflicting interests would have disappeared. This is why the analyzed theme became a crux of the Polish narrative on the Defense of Lviv. And this is why the Defense became a symbol of unification of the Polish nation after Poland regained independence, in 1918.

STATE UNIFICATION

Besides emphasizing absolute unity of the defenders, the Polish discourse willingly elevated the Defense of Lviv to a symbol of revival of Poland as a coherent whole after the epoch of its partition (1772–1918). It also treated the Defense as a *pars pro toto* of the general fight for frontiers of the Second Polish Republic, between 1918 and 1921.

This thread had disparate manifestations in the Polish literature. In some works, it was connected with the motif of solidarity of Poles, not only from Lviv

⁶⁹ Wisława, *Gdy zagrzmiął złoty róg...*, 33.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, 47.

but rather from all over the country, and recalled the case of military relief for Lviv organized outside the city or outside Galicia. Such a theme appeared in the long poem devoted to heroic history of the capital of the province, with the Defense ahead, *Duma o Lwowie* [Duma on Lviv] (1919) by Franciszek Kruczkowski. One can read about November 1918 in the work which follows: “Army is waking up – Poland is in hurry to help / The pupil of its body; from Posen, from Warsaw, / From Cracow armed ranks are coming to glory, / To defense – – –.”⁷¹ Unanimity of Poles in the matter of maintaining Lviv in boundaries of the renascent Polish state has a meaningful geographical manifestation here. Detachments are arriving to Lviv from Posen, Warsaw and Cracow, i.e. the cities which played a central role in the Prussian, Russian and Austrian partition, respectively. The detachments’ common aim, to relieve the Galician capital, merges partitioned Poland into one and the same body, of which Lviv is a major spot, “the pupil.”

In other works, the motif of my interest was used in a more direct way: Poles’ fight for Lviv was openly equated there with struggle for Poland as an independent state. For instance, Artur Ćwikowski in a poem devoted to the Defense of Lviv called the fighting Polish city a “watchtower of Poland.”⁷² Ludwik Szczepański in another poem on the same topic appealed to the defenders of Lviv: “Fight!” and juxtaposed their win with revival of their fatherland at large: “Yours [defenders’ – J.W.] victory! The day is already dawning! / The reborn Polish Republic / is rising up!”⁷³ The same perspective on these two historical events had a prosaic manifestation in the novel *Gdy zagrzemiał złoty róg...* by Adamówna. Its protagonists cheer on the day of Poles’ victory in Lviv, November 22, 1918:

– ...defending Lviv, we defended the whole of Poland, because certainly *karaimy*⁷⁴ would have broken into the heart of the country... [...]

– Lviv today is the first festival of the Polish army!

– And we – we are the first soldiers of the Majestic Republic!⁷⁵

The Lviv Poles depicted in the novel identify the defenders of the city with defenders of Poland. Virtually, they identify them with the “Polish army,” although, in fact, in November 1918, it had yet as unformed character as the Polish state itself.

Of course, the process of regaining of Poland’s independence and establishing it as a coherent geopolitical entity did not confine to the Defense of Lviv or even to acquisition of Eastern Galicia. On the contrary, it included multiple conflicts on different fronts, though, indeed, the Polish-Ukrainian War constituted one of the most bloody and long of them. As far as the relief of Lviv was concerned, it also had not been such a straightforward spurt of national energy coming from all Polish lands as Kruczkowski presented it in his poem. In fact, the imperative

⁷¹ Franciszek Kruczkowski, *Duma o Lwowie* (Lwów: nakładem Polskiego Towarzystwa Pedagogicznego, 1919), 30.

⁷² Artur Ćwikowski, “Lwów,” in *Lwów w pieśni poetów lwowskich. Antologia*, ed. Kazimierz Bukowski (Lwów: nakładem “Placówki,” 1919), 16.

⁷³ Ludwik Szczepański, “Krew rosi bruki miasta,” *Pobudka*, no. 3 (1918): 2.

⁷⁴ A term describing Ukrainians in the Polish dialect of Lviv.

⁷⁵ Wisława, *Gdy zagrzemiał złoty róg...*, 170.

of maintaining Lviv as a Polish city appealed to the Polish nation, especially when the heroic Defense was in progress. Some influential Poles were involved into organizing succor for the defenders. Ultimately, a detachment consisting of a bit less than one thousand four hundred officers and soldiers was sent to the Galician capital; it broke through the Ukrainian siege, arrived to Lviv and helped to repel Ukrainians from the city on November 22, 1918.⁷⁶ However, some Polish social circles, in particular, high officers gathered around Józef Piłsudski, were reluctant to escalate the war with Ukrainians. Although they did not intend to leave the defenders without help and, after all, they contributed, often personally, to the relief of Lviv, they did not perceive the fight on the South-Eastern Front as a Polish priority. An interesting elaboration of this problem was delivered by General Bolesław Roja, who commanded the Operational Group “East” in Eastern Galicia, in December 1918. In his comprehensive memoirs, disputatious towards Mączyński’s memoirs, he investigated pernicious consequences of the Polish-Ukrainian War and revealed that sending the detachment to Lviv had been extorted from the military authorities due to agitation, regardless of limitations of the Polish armed forces.⁷⁷

Despite complexity of the war in question and the whole process of restoration of Poland, the tendency to efface the difference between the Defense of Lviv and fights for Poland in the late 1910s and early 1920s was well established in the Polish discourse since the very beginning of the interwar period. However, after the commemoration of the Polish Unknown Soldier this tendency additionally increased. The commemoration took a typical form of erecting the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, which came into being in Warsaw, in 1925. A place of origin of the Soldier’s remains was chosen by lot from one of fifteen battlefields where fights for Polish frontiers had taken place. Interestingly, battlefields from the earlier period of World War I were not taken into account, as the Polish authorities wanted to be sure that the Unknown Soldier had fallen for Poland and not for any foreign power. The youngest Pole awarded the Order of *Virtuti Militari* drew the lot with the battlefield of Lviv. It meant that the Unknown Soldier would be the one fallen during the fight with Ukrainians between 1918 and 1919. On November 1, 1925, the Soldier’s body was taken from Lviv and solemnly laid in the Tomb under the arcades of the Saxon Palace, which was a seat of the Polish Ministry of War at that time.⁷⁸ Since that moment, Poles were particularly eager to identify the idealized image of the defenders of Lviv with the symbol of the Unknown Soldier, and the Defense with the Polish independence struggle. For example, Słoński, who was not only a novelist but first and foremost a poet, made a rhetoric move of this kind in the poem “Nieznany Obrońca Lwowa” [The Unknown Lviv Defender] (1925). The lyric was written on the occasion of bringing the body of the Unknown Soldier from Lviv to Warsaw. According to

⁷⁶ Kozłowski, *Między Sanem a Zbruczem*, 160–7.

⁷⁷ Bolesław Roja, *Legends i fakty* (Warszawa: nakładem księgarni F. Hoesicka, 1932), 70, 83, 155–6.

⁷⁸ For further investigation of the topic see Christoph Mick, “Kto bronił Lwowa w listopadzie 1918 r.? Pamięć o zmarłych, znaczenie wojny i tożsamość narodowa wieloetnicznego miasta,” trans. Anna Jachimiak, in *Tematy polsko-ukraińskie. Historia – literatura – edukacja*, ed. Robert Traba (Olsztyn: Wspólnota Kulturowa “Borusia,” 2001), 56–79; Mick, *Lemberg, Lwów, L’viv, 1914–1947*, 236–9. See also Joanna Hübner-Wojciechowska, *Grób nieznanego żołnierza* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1991).

the work, its lyrical protagonist, the Unknown Soldier, “fell somewhere in Lviv,” however, not only for Lviv but also “for Poland as a coherent whole.”⁷⁹ The same viewpoint was expressed by the President of Lviv Waclaw Drojanowski in 1933. On the occasion of the Fifteenth Anniversary of Regaining Independence of the State and the Defense of Lviv – this was the official name of the celebration – he unambiguously identified those struggles and victories with each other, and stressed that their anniversaries should be closely connected.

The Defense of Lviv – he said in his speech – was born from the same spiritual strength of the nation that raised Poland to independence. [...] [The Defense and regaining independence – J.W.] were joined to each other by the purpose, the meaning, the nature and the historical effect common to both phenomena. They form an inseparable whole, they are one and the same historical process.⁸⁰

Such a perspective on the battle of the Galician capital added splendor to Polish Lviv, which “had made the largest sacrifice” for the fatherland,⁸¹ according to Drojanowski’s words. Moreover, it made the November fight into a synecdoche of desired restoration of Poland, i.e. into a rhetorical figure of the biggest success and holiness for Poles. Kornel Makuszyński, an author of youth writings, presented this perspective in an emphatic way in his novel *Uśmiech Lwowa* [The smile of Lviv] (1934) recalling the Defense of the city. The writer stated that the defenders “[had – J.W.] signed a manifesto of inviolability of Polish borders with their own blood and they [had – J.W.] marked out these borders with mounds of their graves.”⁸² The ideological power of the vision, according to which Polish blood spilled in Lviv in November 1918 consolidated all Polish frontiers, was really strong. It raised the Defense to a very high rank – the rank of symbolic indication of the whole process of reintegration of the state, which had been awaited by Poles for more than one hundred twenty years.

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Between 1918 and 1939, in a period of political and social instability in the Second Polish Republic, the ideological use of the Defense of Lviv as a symbol of social and territorial unification of Poland fostered integration of the Polish nation. First, the Defense offered a story of national solidarity and heroism that encompassed all Poles, regardless of disparities between them. Second, it symbolized reunion of various, competing regions of Poland that had existed in isolation during the epoch of partitions. Due to such an ideological burden, the vision of the Defense became a pivotal aspect of the patriotic education: it served as a role model of pure heroism and solidarity in devotion to the fatherland, as well as a criterion for measuring present consciousness of the Polish nation.

However, the attempt of the Polish authorities – of Lviv and of Poland – to mobilize Poles due to the idealized narrative on the Defense, jeopardized the other goal: reconciliation of miscellaneous groups across national-religious

⁷⁹ Edward Słoński, “Nieznany Obrońca Lwowa,” in *Wiersze o Lwowie* (Wrocław: [no name of the publishing house], 1988), 20.

⁸⁰ Waclaw Drojanowski’s speech, not dated [1933], DALO, f. 266, op. 1, sp. 36, 63.

⁸¹ Ibidem.

⁸² Kornel Makuszyński, *Uśmiech Lwowa* (Warszawa: nakład Gebethnera i Wolffa, 1934), 57.

divisions. The way of interpretation of the fight for Lviv divided Poles and Ukrainians into two hostile fractions. In the perspective of the former group, it was a defense against the Ukrainian usurpation, while in the optics of the latter, it was a counteraction to the Poles' plans of annexation of Eastern Galicia. The Lviv Jews did not share the Polish viewpoint either, as they associated the battle of the city primarily with the memory of the pogrom on November 22–24, 1918. Therefore, the analyzed narrative on the Defense of Lviv, unifying the Polish nation and establishing the idea of Polishness, simultaneously split the multinational society of the Second Polish Republic and sealed the decay of the idea of Galicia.

CONCLUSIONS

The year 1918, or, precisely speaking, the outbreak of the Polish-Ukrainian War with a special consideration of the Defense of Lviv entailed a substantial change in the dominant discourse on Galicia, especially its eastern part. Before World War I, this discourse referred – directly or indirectly, supportively, dialogically or even polemically – to the Habsburg idea of multinational coexistence of dwellers of the province, which Wolff called the idea of Galicia. Indeed, the idea of Galicia was consistently undermined and weakened during the second half of the nineteenth century. Yet, it remained a crucial factor which affected three interrelated spheres: imperial Habsburg politics, provincial political culture and everyday life of multinational community in the province. In the wake of affairs in Eastern Galicia in November 1918 and in the following months, the dominant discourse on the region became grounded in the idea of Polishness. The interwar Polish literature proved that the central figure of this new – Polish – discourse constituted the community of Eastern Galician, most often Lviv Poles. Representatives of other than Polish nationalities, who had belonged to the multinational collectivity of Galicians before World War I – Ukrainians, Jews, Austrians and Germans – were excluded from the community of Poles, virtually without exceptions. Due to designating them as Poles' enemies, the community in question appeared as a coherent entity, clearly distinguished from other Galician national-religious groups, whose foreignness in the province was to ensue from their hostility towards Poles. The shift from the idea of Galicia to the idea of Polishness was confirmed by a meaningful change of the province's name. After the Polish-Ukrainian War, in particular after 1923, the notion "Galicia" in the official Polish nomenclature was superseded by the term "Eastern Little Poland." Such a term was introduced to legitimate the new administrative division enacted in 1920, but, first and foremost, to underline the exclusively Polish character of the region. Strikingly, it was adopted very quickly and became widespread in all kinds of the Polish discourse on the province.⁸³

⁸³ Katarzyna Hibel, "Wojna na mapy," "wojna na słowa": *Onomastyczne i międzykulturowe aspekty polityki językowej II Rzeczypospolitej w stosunku do mniejszości ukraińskiej w Galicji Wschodniej w okresie międzywojennym* (Vienna – Berlin: LIT, 2014), 254–6.

The Polish community in Eastern Galicia, commonly identified with a group of Poles who experienced the Defense of Lviv, was idealized in the Polish discourse, perhaps the most strongly in the literary one. The prevailing vision of the Polish community, withstanding Ukrainian aggression along with Austrian, German and Jewish perfidy, presented it as perfectly united and utterly devoted to struggle for “their” land, i.e. the city, the province and the country as a whole. Such an idealization of the community of Poles not only sealed the decay of the idea of Galicia and established the idea of the region’s Polishness. It also constituted a starting point of ideologization of the Defense of Lviv, i.e. making it into a myth of Poles’ mobilization and solidarity in the face of the need to defend Polish national case. The myth of the Defense – enhanced by merging commemorations of the November fight and rebirth of Poland – effectively strengthened national identity of the interwar Poles. It also played a pivotal role in the state-building discourse in the Second Polish Republic and delivered a role model of patriotism for future Polish generations. However, while integrating Poles, it excluded Ukrainians and Jews from the society of interwar Poland, the country of numerous national minorities and strong tensions between them. Therefore, the narrative on the Defense failed to connect all citizens across national barriers. On the contrary, it showed how rigid and difficult to overcome those barriers were between two World Wars.

The discourse countering the exclusively Polish vision of Eastern Galicia or recalling its Habsburg multinational past did exist in the Second Polish Republic. It manifested itself in great writings by Stanisław Vincenz, Józef Wittlin, and Bruno Schulz, but, despite this fact, it did not provide a counterbalance to the dominant Polish discourse on the province. Undeniably, the latter discourse, in the long term, had negative consequences. It threatened the precarious consensus of the Second Polish Republic as a multinational state and intensified Polish-Ukrainian-Jewish antagonism, which found its tragic finale during World War II. Nevertheless, the discourse symbolizing integration of Poles and restoration of Poland’s sovereignty wildly appealed to the Polish nation, supported Polish power and the reason of the Polish state, as it was understood at that time. Thus, its position could not have been threatened, even by landmarks of the Polish literature, up until 1939.

As a consequence of World War II, the Polish discourse of power on Eastern Galicia was put to flight as the region found itself within boundaries of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Generally speaking, the myth of the Defense of Lviv became confined to Polish literature and art developing in exile because in the Polish People’s Republic, a country situated in the Soviet zone of influence, it was a topic forbidden by censorship. However, the myth under investigation turned out to be strong enough to have its “life after life.” From the mid-twentieth century onward it inspired the Polish discourse commemorating World War II, especially the image of heroic young participants of the Warsaw Uprising (1944).⁸⁴ In the wake of the political turn in Poland (1989), it could officially revive in

⁸⁴ I elaborated this concept in the presentation “Ideologiczne przejęcia narracji o obronie Lwowa po roku 1918” [Ideological takeovers of the narrative on the Defence of Lviv after 1918] at the conference *Społwa i pęknięcia. Rok 1918 w polskiej pamięci kulturowej* [Binders and cracks. 1918 in Polish cultural memory], University of Warsaw, Warsaw, May 14–16, 2018.

the contemporary Polish discourse, without fears of censorship interference. Although its revival had predominantly nostalgic character, it was not ideologically neutral. Non-neutrality of the myth of the Defense came to the fore not so long ago, in 2017, when the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administration of Poland, proposed to put an image of the Cemetery of Defenders of Lviv on one of pages in the Polish passport. In the face of both Ukrainians' outrage and some Polish circles' critics, the Polish authorities withdrew from the proposal.⁸⁵ Its very raising in the public sphere revealed, however, a militant dimension of the Polish narrative on November 1918 in Eastern Galicia, particularly in Lviv; the dimension which is irremovable also today.

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⁸⁵ See, e.g., <https://www.polityka.pl/tygodnikpolityka/swiat/1714386,1,cmentarz-orlat-lwowskich-na-nowym-polskim-paszporcie-to-wielki-nietakt.read>. Accessed July 19, 2018.

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TOWARD THE IDEA OF POLISHNESS: IMPLICATIONS OF 1918 FOR THE FORMER EASTERN GALICIA, 1918–1939

Summary

The paper analyzes the Polish literary discourse on the former Habsburg province of Galicia, developing after the restoration of Poland's independence (1918) and the Polish victory in the Polish-Ukrainian War of Eastern Galicia (1918–1919). Before WWI, especially before the epoch of Galician autonomy (1867–1914), the prevailing discourse on the province was imbued by the idea of multi- and transnationalism grounded upon the Habsburg political culture. After the war, when Galicia became a part of the reborn Poland, the discourse pertaining to the region underwent a fundamental change. In the interwar Polish literature, the idea of multi- and transnational Galicia was a subject of specific transfers: sometimes in a continuative, usually, however, in a deconstructive version. Namely, it was disassembled and its components, referring to a revised political context, were ideologically used to strengthen the representation of reality from the exclusive, Polish point of view. The paper focuses on literary representations of the Polish-Ukrainian War of Eastern Galicia. It discusses the stages of the aforementioned disassemblment, from the idea of Polish-Ruthenian "brotherhood" to the vision of Polish-Polish brotherhood, i.e. the homogenous Polish nation, from which the Others (Ukrainians, Jews and Austrians), depicted as enemies, were excluded with no exception. Such a vision prevailed in the Polish literature up until 1939; it has also had its continuations nowadays.

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