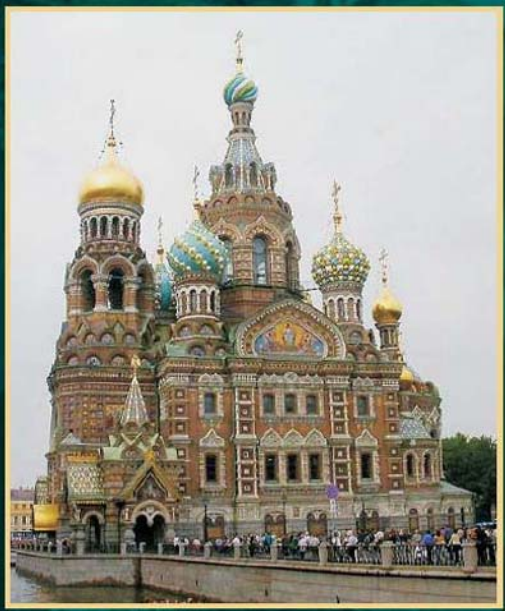
The ROMANOV EMPIRE and Nationalism

Alexei Miller



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ESSAYS IN THE METHODOLOGY OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Alexei Miller

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INTRODUCTION

This is, to an extent, an unexpected book. Since the publication of my book *The Ukrainian Question: The Russian Empire and Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century* in 2000, I have continued to deal with the issues of empire and nationalism, this time without a hard link to the Ukrainian question.[1] My attention has been focused to a greater extent on the issues of Russian nationalism and on the way the imperial context, including interactions between empires, influenced nation-making processes.

The articles I wrote during this period were not originally intended as chapters of a future book. One day, however, György Péteri, my colleague at Collegium Budapest in 2002, asked me about the title of the book whose chapters I had shown him. I am grateful to him for the idea, but I do not hold him responsible for the consequences.

The previous articles[2] have turned into mere raw material for this book, and the traditional statement that all of them have been significantly revised and/or supplemented in this case should be taken at face value. It can be said that the book continued to change as my studies progressed. The English language version that the reader holds in his hands is quite different from the Russian original published in 2006.[3] A new chapter, on S. S. Uvarov and the early stages of relations between the empire and Russian nationalism, has been added. The chapter on language policies has been changed significantly, largely thanks to my collaboration with Oksana Ostapchuk.[4] The Conclusion looks different too. Other chapters have undergone less radical alterations.

The book is less solidly united by a single subject than is usual for a monograph, which permits additions without damage to its structure while at the same time constituting something more integral than a collection of separate articles.

The book does contain narrative fragments, including those based on previously unused archival material. However, they do have a supporting function. The focus of the book is the methodological questions we face in studying the history of nationalism in the Russian empire.

The narrative of empire that has to a great extent been inherited by the present-day Russian historiography—at least by the version of it that is reflected in history textbooks—has been invariably focused centrally, on the state, that is to say the power. The national historiographies of the peoples that were once part of the empire, on the other hand, concentrate on their own nation, and often relatively recently acquired statehood, by projecting them into the past. The empire for them is only a burdensome context in which a particular nation was "waking up," maturing and fighting for independence. The national historiographies have rarely if ever posed questions of what motivated the central authority, simply because, for them, it is axiomatic that the imperial authority had always attempted to make the lives of its non-Russian subjects as miserable as possible. The issues of interaction with other ethnic groups are inevitably moved to the margins in such narratives.

A new history of the empire should address exactly that complex fabric of interaction between the imperial authority and local communities that one has to attempt to restore in its fullness. When we speak about the imperial dimension of Russian history, we mean primarily the diversity of the empire's population; the complex systems of relations between the center and the peripheries and between the imperial power and local communities; the asymmetry of administrative, political and legal structures, the resources of the empire's longevity; and its ability to stabilize society, despite its ethnic, religious and sociocultural heterogeneity. It is self-evident that the histories of the central bodies of power, such as the army, is one of the key imperial institutions; foreign policy; economic development—all constitute an important part of the empire's history, though much remains to be done for a more comprehensive study of these issues. However, it is very important that such studies which have traditionally been favored by historians should acknowledge the factor of the empire's heterogeneity. In other words, on the one hand, they should focus on the entanglement of foreign policy issues (including diplomacy and warfare), the development of the army as an institution or the economic processes in the empire, and, on the other, its internal, peripheral and national policies.

Here is a list of key questions that the contemporary historiography of the Russian empire should address in the section that deals with the relations between the imperial center and the borderlands. How did the authorities structure the space of the empire? In what manner did they accomplish this: by establishing and changing administrative divisions; by introducing and abolishing the positions of governor generals and viceroys; by preserving or abolishing the legal norms traditional for the regions; by expanding or reduc-

ing their autonomy; by founding new towns and/or by giving towns the status of administrative centers; by establishing universities in some towns and by closing them in others; by gerrymandering school districts; by building channels, railroads and telegraph lines; by regulating migration of the populations within the empire? What were the economic relations between the borderlands and the center? How, in different periods, did the empire construct its policies in regard to religion, missionary activities, changes of confession by its subjects or inter-faith marriage? How and why was the use of different languages regulated? How did the central authorities and local officials create and implement policies regarding different population groups? How did the experience, acquired in particular borderlands, influence the policies of the authorities in other borderlands, whether by borrowing administrative strategies and legal norms or through officials who often changed their place of service several times during their careers? How did the local elites and communities react to the policies of the imperial authorities? How did they uphold their special interests if the empire encroached on them, but also—how did they collaborate with the empire and how did they use imperial resources for local interests?

One should keep in mind that the number of actors interrelating in a particular region, on a particular issue, was invariably more than two. The central bureaucracy was never united; the central authority, in its turn, could, and usually did, have serious differences with local officials in their understanding of the situation. But the local communities were not united either. Their elites were often fractured over the question of loyalty to the empire, and they often appealed to the authorities for resolution of internal conflicts. It should also be borne in mind that the composition of the population of the various borderlands of the empire significantly changed in the course of time, often as a result of migrations.

It was not uncommon for large populations to leave the empire voluntarily or by force. The most familiar examples include the Muhajir movement of the Caucasian highlanders, the Polish, and subsequently Jewish emigration. In all of these cases the number of émigrés ran into hundreds of thousands. There was, however, an even more massive migration to the borderlands of the Cossacks and the population of central and south-western regions, as well as the immigration of the German, Serbian and Czech colonists to the European part of the empire and the Chinese and Koreans into the far eastern regions.

Different religious and ethnocultural groups could cooperate in the confrontation with the central authority, or they could have had conflicts between each other and attempted to secure the support of the imperial powers for

their struggle. Both the imperial authorities and local elites pursued assimilation policies regarding various population groups, sometimes collaborating, but often resisting to these assimilation efforts with varying degrees of success, depending on the circumstances. Invariably, however, these interactions provided for the mutual adoption of various cultural habits, which created a great diversity of hybrid and transitional cultural forms.

The character of these interactions gradually changed throughout the nineteenth century as the relationships between different population groups in the empire undergoing modernization were increasingly considered under the new categories of nation and class. The empire had become not only the arena for the competition between nationalist movements, but an object of this competition, since each of these movements was forming and planting in the mass consciousness its project or image of national territory, i.e., the land that "rightfully" belonged to one nation and no other. It goes without saying that these images of national territory formed by different nationalist movements were in conflict with each other, typically "overlapping" in part, vying for the same territories, and sometimes completely rejecting the right of certain other groups to claim the status of a nation. The interactions of national movements and the competiting nature of their projects did not have a preordained outcome. These processes can only be understood in the context of imperial history, for all the national narratives that are supposed to affirm the "naturalness," the inevitability, and the depth of a nation's historical roots are not able, because of their very nature, to pay due attention to the issue of alternatives in the nation-building processes.

All of the above is fully applicable to Russian historiography. Attempts to refurbish the traditional imperial historical narrative by making it more "national" boil down to efforts to tell the story of the Russians separately from all the other residents of the empire. Such a strategy is doomed to failure from the outset because even such questions as who the Russians were (for instance, when and how it was decided whether Belorussians, Little Russians and Cossacks belonged to the Russian nation or not), or how the Russians' idea of their "national territory" was formed (e.g., when and how Siberia, the Don and Stavropol regions became "Russian") can be clearly formulated and studied only in the context of the inter"national" history of the empire.

This range of questions is closely connected to the subject of the relationship between Russian nationalism and the empire. These relations had complex dynamics—the Romanov Empire did use the nationalist resources, but at the same time actively opposed "nationalization" for the larger part of the

nineteenth century. Russian nationalism in its different versions could be both an ally and an opponent of autocracy.

The imperial policy toward various ethnic groups was diversified, but often contradictory and meandering, and the notion of russification does not always describe it adequately. In fact, the notion of russification itself needs a similar deconstruction and an analysis of the diversity of political strategies and identification processes that is often hidden behind the indiscriminate use of the term "russification."

The question of the comparative approach to the study of the Russian Empire is also highly relevant today. What comparisons can be made between the Romanov Empire and other empires, and which empires in particular? What are the limitations of the comparative approach, and what can be offered, if not as an alternative, then as an addition to the comparative perspective? This book, devoted primarily to methodological questions of research into the history of the Romanov Empire, offers answers to some of these questions.

As a Russian historian, the author of this book inevitably reacted to the contemporary relations of people and history in his own country. It is hoped that in most cases proper self-reflection was applied. Long experience of teaching the history of the Russian Empire at the Central European University to the students who come from various countries, often from the former Soviet republics, greatly facilitates such self-reflection. The contemporary mentality and the historical memory of the Russians have at least one essential difference from the mentality and the historical memory of their neighbors—both those who now live in independent states and those who have remained citizens of present-day Russia. In his essay "The Distress of the Small East European States," the Hungarian thinker István Bibó remarked upon a specific psychological feature of the peoples of this region—the existential fear experienced on the collective level, the fear of real or imaginary danger of the death of the national community as a result of the loss of statehood, assimilation, deportation or genocide.[5] This fear was associated initially with the Turks, later with the Germans, in some cases with the Poles, and later still, with Russia. Germany ceased to be perceived as an immediate danger after the Second World War, Turkey much earlier. This existential fear, the product of centuries of unpredictable, often catastrophic development, has been, in the last fifty years, focused on the USSR and, since 1991, has refocused on contemporary Russia.

For the Russian mentality, the motif of ethnic victimization is a recent characteristic trait. The Russians have always felt oppressed, but oppressed by a state that they did not perceive as ethnically alien. The phenomenon de-

scribed by Bibó is not psychologically familiar to the Russians and therefore often remains incomprehensible to them. Collective existential phobias can hardly be counted as healthy psychological features, but an inability to understand them and consider the gravity of their causes cannot be helpful, especially for a nation with an acute necessity to critically reassess its own history, including its relations with its neighbors. Herein lie the historical roots of the crisis of understanding and trust that is so characteristic of Russia's contemporary relationships with its neighbors. Each side has to meet the other halfway. The Russians will have to, among other things, realize more fully the repressive character of the empire of which they are heirs, both in the positive and in the negative sense. Russians' neighbors, in their turn, will have to overcome the one-sided negative image of the Russian empire under which the well-being and freedom of its citizens had certainly never been a priority, but which had not been the "evil empire" of the contemporary school textbooks of the neighboring nations either.

I am grateful to the participants of the conferences in Moscow (2003), Vienna (2004), Kouvola (2006), at the Central European University (2004) and Yale (2005), as well as the seminars at Stanford, Columbia, Harvard and Munich, the University of California, Berkeley and the University of Glamorgan, where parts of this book were presented and subjected to discussion and critique. I am especially indebted to my colleagues who have read particular chapters and helped with advice: Mikhail Dolbilov, Velvl Chernin, Ernest Guydel, Benjamin Schenk, Vladimir Bobrovnikov, Anatolii Remnev and Veljko Vujacic. I am also grateful to the participants in the three year educational project for university teachers "History of the Russian Empire" (2003–2006) sponsored by the High Education Support Program of the Open Society Institute. I cannot judge whether they have learned anything from me, but I have certainly learned much from them.

I am grateful to Collegium Budapest, where the idea for this book was conceived in 2002, and to the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation for the wonderful working conditions they created for me in the summer of 2005. I also acknowledge the Gerda-Henkel Stiftung for the financial support of my studies of Russian nationalism in 2006–2007.

Notes

1 A. Miller. *Ukrainskii vopros v politike vlastei i russkom obschestvennom mnenii*. (Saint-Petersburg: Aleteia, 2000), English translation: Miller, A. *The Ukrainian Question: The Russian Empire and Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century* (Budapest–New York, CEU Press, 2003).

2 The book includes materials from the following of my works: "Russifikatsii: klassifitsirovat' i poniat'," *Ab Imperio*, No. 2 (2002): 133–148; "Mental'nye karty istorika i sviazannye s nimi opasnosti," *Istoricheskie zapiski*, No. 5 (2002); "Rossiiskaia imperiia, orientalizm i protsessy formirovaniia natsii v Povolzh'e," *Ab Imperio*, No. 4 (2003): 393–406; "Iazyk, identichnost' i loialnost' v politike vlastei Rossiiskoi imperii," in *Rossiia i Baltiia: Ostzeiskie guberniii Severo-zapadnyi krai v politike reform Rossiiskoi imperii. 2-ia polovina XVII–XX v.* (Moscow: Nauka, 2004), pp. 142–155; "Shaping Russian and Ukrainian Identities in the Russian Empire During the 19th Century: Some Methodological Remarks," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (2001) 257–263; "Russia, Eastern Europe, Central Europe in the Framework of European History," in *Annäherungen an eine europäische Geschitsschreibung: Archiv für österreichische Geschicht*, ed. Gerald Stourzh (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001), pp. 35–42; "Kresy wschodnie Rzeczypospolitej czy zachodnie rubieże rosyjskiego imperium?" in *Polacy i Rosjanie: 100 kluczowych pojęć*, eds. A. Magdziak-Miszewska, M. Zuchniak, P. Kowala (Warsaw: Więź, 2002), pp. 115–123; "A Testament of the All-Russian Idea: Foreign Ministry Memoranda to the Imperial, Provisional and Bolshevik Governments," in *Extending the Borders of Russian History: Essays in Honor of Alfred Rieber*, ed. Marsha Siefert (Budapest–New York: CEU Press, 2003); "Between Local and Interimperial: Russian Imperial History in Search for Scope and Paradigm," *Kritika*, Vol. 5, No. 1(2004) 7–26; "The Empire and the Nation in the Imagination of Russian Nationalism," in *Imperial Rule,* eds. A. Miller and A. J. Rieber (Budapest–New York, CEU Press, 2004), pp. 9–26; "Communist Past in Post-Communist Russia," in *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes in Europe: Lessons and Legacies from the Twentieth Century,* eds. Jerzy W. Borejsza and Klaus Ziemer (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005); "The Value and the Limits of Comparative Approach to the History of Contiguous Empires on the European Periphery," in *Imperiology: From Empirical Knowledge to Discussing the Russian Empire,* ed. K. Matsuzato (Sapporo: Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University, 2007), pp. 11–24; "Modernizing Empires of Eastern and Central Europe," in *Encyclopedia of the European East*, Vol. 7. Patterns of Rule, eds. Kazer K., et al. Klagenfurt (forthcoming, 2008).

3 See: A. I. Miller, *Imperiia Romanovykh i natsionalizm: Esse po metodologii istoricheskogo issledovaniia* (Moscow: NLO, 2006).

4 See: A. Miller, O. Ostapchuk, "Latinitsa i kirillitsa v ukrainskom natsional'nom diskurse i iazykovoi politike Rossiiskoi i Gabsburgskoi imperii," *Slavianovedenie*, no. 5 (2006) 25–48. The English version, "The Latin and Cyrillic Alphabets in Ukrainian National Discourse and in the Language Policy of Empires," will appear in *A Laboratory of Transnational History: Ukraine and recent Ukrainian historiography,* eds. G. Kasianov and Ph. Ther (forthcoming, Budapest–New York: CEU Press).

5 István Bibó, "The Distress of the East European Small States," in I. Bibó, *Democracy, Revolution, Self-Determination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), p. 39.

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CHAPTER 1

THE HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE:

IN SEARCH FOR SCOPE AND PARADIGM

When the study is finally written on how the history of the Romanov Empire as a multiethnic state was investigated at the end of the last and the beginning of the present century, its author will have no trouble identifying the early 1990s as the boundary between two substantially different stages.

The change was signaled by the 1992 appearance of Andreas Kappeler's book, *The Russian Empire: a Multiethnic History*.[1] Kappeler set himself the task of presenting a generalized view of the problem and fully used the material available at the end of the 1980s.

The multiethnic dimension of the history of the Russian Empire had never before been represented so completely, and Kappeler took a very important step away from the narrative which focused on the imperial center towards a new history of the empire. Even if his truly remarkable book was in fact flawed, these flaws reflected precisely the general level of development of a particular subject. It also comes as no surprise that Geoffrey Hosking was unsuccessful in his attempt to fill Kappeler's most obvious lacuna, the absence of the Russians, for the theme itself had not been sufficiently studied or theoretically questioned.[2] The publication of Kappeler's book coincided with radical political changes as the Soviet Union ceased to exist. The conditions under which historiography was developing across the former Soviet Union, the interaction among historians living in the post-Soviet region as well as with their colleagues in other countries, and the scholarly and political approaches made to the topic, all changed sharply and have continued to adjust dynamically over the course of the past fifteen years.

It is easier to date when the change occurred than to predict what a future author may write about the characteristic features and basic tendencies of the past decades. At present, the most varied judgments abound.[3] I would like to use my disagreement with one rather widespread opinion as a springboard for this argument.

Regional vs. Situational Approach

The opinion has lately been widespread that the regional approach is very successful and represents the fundamental signpost for the future. Kappeler himself, for instance, writes of this approach in his recent article "The Russian Empire: a Multiethnic History Eight Years Later":

> In the future, it seems to me, the regional approach to imperial history will be the most innovative one. Overcoming the ethnocentrism of the nation-state tradition, it will permit the investigation of the polyethnic character of the empire over various spatial terrains. In distinction from national history, here ethnic and national factors will not be absolutized and alongside ethnic conflicts the more or less peaceful coexistence of different religious and ethnic groups will be examined. Above all, this shift in perspective will break the centuries-long tradition of the centralized gaze at Russian history, which has outlived its time.[4]

It seems to me that, so far, the regional approach has remained methodologically so undefined that one can speak of it only conditionally, as a tendency in the historiography. There is no reason why the historiographic shortcomings that Kappeler mentions cannot survive in the various versions of the regional approach. In fact, they can even be aggravated by new difficulties.

We can begin by observing that the very notion of "region" is quite vague. It is applied to territories that range in size from vast expanses (Siberia or Central Europe) to ones so small that they can be shown on a panoramic photograph, as Peter Sahlins does in his study on La Cerdagne and Roussillon.[5] These "regions" may belong to a single state, be crossed by international borders, or contain a variety of states. In fact, historians use "region" to describe any territories that do not coincide with present state borders. The principles for identifying or imagining regions are endlessly varied, and Iver Neumann is right to point out that they are imagined according to the same criteria by which nations are imagined.[6]

Xosé-Manoel Nuñez recently remarked that "[t]o give a clear definition of *what a region* is seems as complicated a matter as giving a definite answer to the question of what *a nation* is."[7] Not one of the numerous attempts to give an essentialist definition of *nation* has been satisfactory, and there is no reason to expect a successful one for *region*. Like many scholars, Nuñez notes that it is often difficult to draw a precise line between regionalism and minority nationalism.[8] In most cases, to paraphrase Ernest Gellner's famous *bon mot,* the

distinction is between nationalisms that have barked and ones that have not barked. The regional approach is therefore unlikely to become the panacea for the national narrative's deficiencies; on the contrary, the more essentialist the regional paradigm becomes, the more obvious the national narrative's weaknesses will be.

Clearly, in the overwhelming majority of cases, the criteria for isolating this or that space as a region are not explained precisely or in detail. Often hidden (or disguised) by such lack of explanation is the historians' conviction that the boundaries selected are "natural" and not figments of their imagination or borrowings from the mental mapping of current political discourses.

Studies in imagined geography or "mental mapping" became widely popular among historians and political scientists with a noticeable lag, during roughly the last twenty years. The notion of the "mental map" (*kognitive Landkarte*) was first introduced by E. C. Tolman in 1948.[9] The major studies of the subject were done in the 1970s by the geographer R. M. Downs and the psychologist D. Stea. They define mental mapping as an abstract notion including the mental and spiritual abilities that allow us to collect, prioritize, store, recall, and process information on the environment. Consequently, a mental map is "an image of a part of the outside world created by man... It reflects the world as it is imagined by man, and may be incorrect. In fact, distortions are very likely."[10] The subjective factor in mental mapping leads to a situation in which mental maps and mental geography can vary depending on the angle of human world-view. Cognitive psychology views mental maps as a person's subjective inner notions of a part of the outside world.

Historians approached this problem in the Foucauldian sense. Their studies usually focus on discursive practices that create various models of geographical space and attribute its parts with particular characteristics. The titles of historical studies began to feature the words *imagined* and *invented*. The most popular works were those that continued to some extent the traditions of Edward Said's celebrated book, *Orientalism*, which analyzed the discourse of the Orient formed by the West as an instrument of domination and subjugation.[11]

Highly relevant for historians is an analysis of their own relations with the problem of mental mapping, especially with the choice of scale for historical study. Immanuel Wallerstein has repeatedly insisted that the object of analysis should be a "world-system," that a more limited format does not allow for an understanding of the events of the last five centuries in their real interdependence and interconnection.[12] This is a legitimate yet extremist position. It is clear that Wallerstein himself could not have written his grand opus without the wealth of material collected by local studies. In the vast majority of cases,

we are forced to put limitations on our object of study in one way or another, including spatial limitations, to select a particular "scale" and to justify our choice. The question is how conscious we are of the dangers that lie ahead. Even when regionalist historians are aware that they operate with concepts of imaginary geography, they are not inclined as a rule to explain to the reader in full detail the conditional character of their selection and its mechanisms. The list of factors that can be used in their choice is almost endless. They can include natural features (mountains, rivers, etc.), administrative borders, limits of ethnic settlements, economic relations or political factors. It is clear that all these factors are relative. A river can divide as much as it unites, administrative borders are changeable, ethnic groups, as a rule migrate and assimilate, on the one hand, and do not occupy compact territories, on the other. Each time we make a choice, the key question is: by what criteria?[13]

Consider the following examples. National historical narratives in the strict sense can be called a variant of the "regional approach" to the Romanov Empire, inasmuch as they separate out regions by retrospectively applying the borders of modern entities, not previously existing ones. As a rule, these narratives combine ethnic and territorial approaches, that is, the nation's history is combined with the story of how this or that territory "rightfully" belongs to it. It could be said that this is, today, the principal means for "constructing" a region: it is candidly teleological, rooted in ideology, and poorly adapted to exposing the logic of the empire's dynamic processes, since these are treated as "external," alien, and not the object of interest but merely the background and context for the development of the nation and nation-state. The teleology of this approach is combined with a conscious (and sometimes unconscious) primordialism that is much more widespread than we are accustomed to admit. This is apparent from the frequency with which present-day designations of nations are employed, often without reservation, to describe the social reality not only of the nineteenth century, which is problematic enough, but for even earlier periods, and even in cases where the scenarios of national or ethno-confessional identifications and the results of these processes could have been significantly different.[14] As a rule, interest in alternative outcomes for historical processes arises in national historiographies only in the form of disquisitions on how history "justifies" the possible expansion of the national territory at the expense of a neighbor.

In the Russian Federation the same mechanisms are enacted when historical narratives are constructed along ethnic lines—the only difference is between the institutional conditions of the functioning of such historiographies in independent states and in autonomous republics within the Russian Federation.

This is also manifested in contemporary Russian historiography by the disappearance from history textbooks of the former imperial territories that are no longer part of the present-day Russian Federation.[15] The empire as a state—with the victories of its armies, the reforms carried out by its central bureaucracies, and so forth—remains a part of the narrative, but its multiethnic character is considerably less represented in Russian textbooks today than even in the 1930s–1950s (at least in terms of the sheer amount of space devoted to various ethnic groups.)

This is true not only of educational materials. Contemporary political geography in general invariably influences historians. It has long been observed that the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Finland lie outside the field of interest of foreign specialists in Russian imperial history. This is now taking place to some degree in regard to Central Asia, the Caucasus, and the Baltic region as well. During the Soviet period, serious restrictions applied: historians in Moscow and Leningrad operated under an unwritten ban on researching the history of the Soviet Union republics, that is, the former border regions of empire. The historians themselves were not given a chance to make this mistake—it was made instead by those who exercised political control over academia. In the past decade, as the ban has ended, those who organize the study of history have shown that they can commit such errors on their own. One example may suffice: the Center for the Study of the History of the Eastern Slavs, devoted primarily to the Ukrainians and Belarusians in the Romanov Empire, was established not in the Institute of Russian History, but in the Institute of Slavic Studies (*slavianovedenie*), which traditionally has studied the history of *foreign* Slavs.

This tendency toward ethnicization was manifest in Boris Mironov's recent study of Russian social history. He suggests that one can write the social history of the Russians in the empire in isolation. Mironov believes that the social history of the empire as a whole can be presented as the mechanical sum of the histories of the various ethnic groups.[16] The title of the book, *A Social History of Russia during the Imperial Period*, already presupposes that Russia can be separated from the Empire. The principles on which this operation of "extracting" Russia from the Russian Empire can be done seem so obvious to Mironov that he does not explain them anywhere to the reader. The entire problematic situation of the interactions of the various ethnic groups, which of late has become such a popular subject of study,[17] as well as the issue of the vagueness of the very term "Russian," and of the boundaries of the Russian nation during the imperial period, have thus completely disappeared from sight. Only some thirty pages of this large work (the Russian-language version

encompasses two volumes) are devoted to the multiethnic aspect of the state's history, and those pages are difficult to list among the successful parts of the work.[18]

Today, the conviction prevails throughout the post-Soviet states that the national myth is a legitimate paradigm for historical writing. At a conference in Chernihiv in 2002, entitled "Russia–Ukraine: A Dialogue of Historiographies," the present author was astounded at the reaction of an overwhelming majority of the participants, from abroad as well as from Russia and Ukraine, to skeptical remarks about the pertinence of the national narrative to the present stage in the development of historiography. These opponents argued for a theory of "development by stages," according to which a deconstruction of the national narrative can take place only after it has been fully constructed. That is, the nations first had to pass through the stage that was characteristic of the new states of interwar Europe, which had arisen from the ruins of the old empires. It didn't bother them in the least that the context, unlike the interwar period, when this approach was predominant worldwide, is obviously obsolete and quite different in today's world historiography. Hence there is a paradox that those historians in the post-Soviet space, who do not write in the genre of the national narrative, and in that sense belong to the global mainstream, are marginalized within their national milieu, which is in turn marginal to today's mainstream.

Ethnicization (or, more precisely, concentrating on one ethnic group while marginalizing the rest) is far from being the only problem—although it is the most apparent—that a regional approach by itself cannot resolve. Several years ago the present author had the opportunity to participate in the discussion of a book project proposed by a group of Russian historians: a history of the Volga region (*Povolzhie*), intended as part of a series of books about the various borderlands of the Russian Empire.[19] Most of these historians were from Saratov and Samara. Their leitmotiv was the role of the Volga as a transport artery, the specificity of the cities along the river, and other socioeconomic questions. The project also proposed to investigate interethnic relations, but only in the narrow band of territory along both banks of the river. The authors were referred to the extensive body of literature already existing that explores in depth the collision of various nation-building projects or ethno-confessional identifications in the Volga-Kama region. These include the Ural region (*Priural'e*) as the zone of Bashkir settlement, where the Bashkirs were one of the chief objects in the power struggle between Tatar-Islamic and imperial strategists in the identity formation of the local population. This example shows the dangers lurking in attempts to imagine regions not only

through a monoethnic prism, but also without taking into account the ethnic factor, or in general, without reference to structures of interaction between different ethnic groups. In such a case it is possible from the outset to draw the boundaries of the region in question in a way that will be detrimental to the understanding of these processes.[20]

Further problems with the regional approach arose during the discussion of other book projects in this series. Hardly any of the original projects explained exactly why this or that region had been selected. This was the case of even the most "obvious" region, Siberia. Siberia is, in fact, merely a product of "mental mapping," for it is extremely heterogeneous in its nature and economy, has never (by conscious political decision of the authorities) been a single administrative unit, and has never had any kind of clearly defined boundary in the southern steppe region. (For example, the 1822 "Decree on the Siberian Kirgiz" clearly indicates that in the eyes of the decree's authors, Siberia included a part of present-day Kazakhstan.)[21]

There is a long tradition of "regional histories" in Siberia that serve as especially vivid examples of the general tendency to study regions as independent entities while paying only minimal attention to their interaction with the center. It is precisely in this spirit that standard history courses on "native regions" are taught at Russian universities. These courses' pedagogical goal is to strengthen local patriotism. In their ideology, and often their methodology, they come close to "local studies" (*kraevedenie*); as a matter of fact, it has become fashionable among Russian local-studies experts to call themselves "regional specialists" (*regionovedy*). The imperial center and its politics have become marginalized in these narratives. These courses, which are allotted a generous number of class hours, are an important institutional factor, since outside the capitals, the overwhelming majority of historians in Russia work at universities and often select their research topics with an eye to their classroom application.

Another reason the regional approach creates an illusion of fruitfulness is that some genuinely productive research trends are included under this umbrella term. One of them is the study of imperial systems of borderland administration. A fairly broad circle of scholars studying the western borderlands have paid more or less close attention to this subject, among others.[22] One has to single out the articles by Leonid Gorizontov, John LeDonne and Steven Velychenko that focused completely on the question of bureaucratic personnel formation.[23]

Government administration systems have been fruitfully studied in recent years by Anatolii Remnev in Russia and Valentina Shandra in Ukraine. Remnev

has published a large number of studies on government administration in Siberia and the Far East.[24] Shandra has been systematically studying the history of governor-generalships on the territory of present-day Ukraine. Her books about the Kiev and Little Russian governor-generalships have already come out, and a compilation volume with the added New Russian governor-generalship is forthcoming.[25] It is useful to compare these authors' approaches. For Remnev, the starting point is Siberia as a region, and he studies administrative structures and methods of government in the area, while Shandra from the beginning selects as her object of study the administrative structure of separate governor-generalships. However, the choice of these particular governor-generalships as objects of analysis is evidently motivated by the fact that they occupied the territory of today's Ukraine. In the long run, both historians are led by certain concepts of imaginary geography (Siberia or Ukraine). This generates fewer difficulties for Remnev, since his own images of space are fairly close to the concepts that the empire's rulers had in mind. Shandra's imaginary geography, on the contrary, has little to do with the imaginary geography of the imperial bureaucracy. The Kiev governor-generalship, as part of the Western Province with its Polish and Jewish "questions," the Little Russian governor-generalship which ceased to exist in the mid-nineteenth century (as this space was increasingly incorporated in the empire's core),[26] and the New Russian governor-generalship in the intensively developing Black Sea coastal areas all presented very different problems. This creates serious methodological difficulties for Shandra both in terms of comparative analysis and in defining the role of particular territories in the empire's structure.

In the article cited earlier, Andreas Kappeler remarked that the regional perspective "is receiving wide distribution now, at the very time that nationalism and regionalism in Russia have become politically significant, demonstrating the close interconnection between politics and history."[27] To my mind, this should serve as a warning signal to historians. As ideological and political movements, the "regionalisms" of the past are legitimate objects of study, and in today's world regionalisms certainly have a right to exist, for they are no better or worse than any other political tendency. But the attitude a historian adopts toward regionalism should be constructed in the same way as attitudes toward nationalism—that is, taking extreme care to avoid falling into essentialism, so that the agenda of the ideology under investigation does not become the agenda of the one doing the investigating. In today's Russia, this combination of political agendas, often formulated by the province-level (*oblastnoi*) leadership, encourages the locals to produce a highly parodic version of "regional history."[28]

Generally speaking, one gets the impression that many historians do not find adequate ways to express their civic commitment. Instead of writing a political-science (or just plain political) text about the contemporary issues they are concerned about, they are trying to react to them in one way or another in their historical essays. Certainly, any choice by a historian of the scale of study cannot be methodologically immaculate and absolutely free of ideological bias. There is no simple recipe for dealing with this problem. However, some recommendations can be offered. First of all, historians, with all their preferences, have to be objects of their own analysis. They have to ask themselves the question: how does my situation in time, space and society influence my research strategy? Secondly, they always have to keep the widest possible distance between the art of a historian and the contemporary political discourse. History cannot serve as a justification of bad politics, and reasonable politics does not need historical arguments. Nothing said above amounts to a utopian call to lock the historian up in an ivory tower. The point is that it is precisely the historian (who else?) who has to take precautions so that the instrumental attitude to history will be as limited as possible.

When it comes to questions of imaginary geography and mental mapping, historians are largely inclined to engage in polemics with those who are outside their own community. This can be an honorable enough task. However, it is more important that historians should turn their critical gaze to precisely those concepts of imaginary geography that have currency in their own society and take a stand against those more or less conscious manipulations with mental maps that are perpetrated both by politicians and, unfortunately, by their own colleagues who participate in the formation of the image of the enemy or "the Other," and in propagating political ideas based on historical determinism.

In a sense, the regional narratives are not all that different from imperial or national narratives. The imperial narratives of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries set out to legitimate a particular empire; the national narratives of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries both legitimated nations and help build them. If the regional historical narratives continue to service contemporary political interests in the same way, we have no reasons to expect that they will be any less tendentious than their "precursors." The principal question is whether it is possible to return to the history of empires not as an imperial narrative servicing some relevant political interests of the day but as a history of the closed past.[29]

All this shows that an effective definition of the boundaries of the region under study has to begin with defining the object of our interest, i.e., exactly what process we are studying. I am not aware of any work that would rise

above the level of local studies and reach for a reconstruction of the totality of all social, economic and political processes on a given territory.[30] If we speak about an analysis of the empire as a multiethnic structure, it is more logical to think in terms of the situational, not regional, approach.

In that case, our focus shifts to a particular system of ethno-cultural, ethno-confessional and interethnic relations. Our task is to identify those participating in this interaction and understand the logic of their behavior, that is, to reconstruct the context of the interaction as fully as possible.[31] First, this presumes that the definition of geographic boundaries, however easy it may seem to draw them, remains secondary and conditional.[32] For example, a pan-Islamic or pan-Turkic composition might be written in Crimea, published in Istanbul, and mobilize supporters in Kazan' or Ufa, but also be read, albeit differently, in Petersburg where it might influence the imperial regime's reasoning and decision-making. In a case like this, trying to determine where this work should be "placed" is fairly useless.

Second, the situational approach eliminates the tendency to concentrate on a single actor that is characteristic both of historians of national movements and of the traditional centralizing approach to studying imperial politics. The focus shifts from the actors as such to the process of their interaction and to unveiling the logic, including the subjective logic, of their own behavior and their reactions to the contexts and activities of other actors. By examining the question in this way, we actually recognize actors as being such. Ideally, all actors should be seen by the historian as equally important for his study. Of course, we all know that the ideal is unattainable. However, the logic of the situational approach frees historians from a conscious or unconscious self-identification with their "own" actor and his "truth," and opens their eyes to the possibility of seeing the "truths" of other actors.[33]

Robert Geraci has rightly noted that one of the characteristic weaknesses of the historical literature is the paucity of attention to what motivated the behavior of various imperial actors.[34] This is particularly true of national historiographies, in which the regime is often represented as though it had regarded repression as an end in itself. However, even though an empire is anything but a charity, the simple logic of self-preservation prompts its authorities not to provoke the discontent of the local population and not to use repression without a particular reason.

The logic of the situational analysis leads us to the widely accepted notion that the local population was not simply the object of coercion by the authorities, but an independent actor. Once this is accepted, researchers need to analyze local processes in more detail.

In the 1990s, provincial archives became widely accessible to foreign historians, who could more easily, partly because of political factors, obtain funding for work in these archives.[35] Historians who wanted to study the *interaction* of various agents in the empire turned to studying processes on the ground, giving detailed accounts or "thick descriptions." Local historians already working in the provincial archives—freed from the limitations of official methodology, influenced by western historiography, and grounded in these approaches—became more disposed to applying the "big" questions to the local material.[36] In cases where archival work is combined with methodological sophistication, the ability to use the techniques of historical anthropology and/or micro-history, and the skill of writing the material *into* the wider context, we are rewarded with valuable studies. In other words, the success of the "regional" investigation depends greatly on how well the author is grounded in the methodology and is able to visualize the processes under investigation as part of a greater whole.

The logic of the situational approach not only keeps the central agencies of the empire in the historian's field of vision but allows us to dispense with simplistic clichés where the interaction is depicted as a "play for two actors," with the russifying state versus those resisting russification (in the primitive version of the national narratives) or the grateful adoption of enlightenment by the local population (in the primitive version of Russian historiography). Paul Werth has recently written in *Kritika* about the "triangular relationship—Russians, non-Russians and the state in specific locales."[37] Also in regions where the Great Russian population was extremely small, there were always more than two actors. In the Western Province, the *dramatis personae* were the state, and the larger local population groups (Ukrainians, Belarusians, Lithuanians, the Poles and the Jews); in the Baltic area, it was the state, the larger local population (Estonians, Latvians), and the German state or population.[38]

In many cases, the geometry was more complex than a simple triangle. Historians have drawn up a list of the empire's ethnic groups that had a significant potential for assimilation of neighboring groups and were capable of pursuing projects of cultural-linguistic, religious and political expansion that were alternatives to russification. Alongside the "usual suspects"—Poles and Germans—the list includes the Tatars and even the Yakuts. A wide range of work has dealt with the competition between russifying projects and alternative assimilatory projects in the western borderlands,[39] the Volga-Kama region and the Kazakh steppe.[40] It is the similarity of situations, not regions, that allows recent works to compare the structure of the interaction between various actors in different borderland regions of the empire. It is important to

remember that these interactions were not completely isolated from each other, since they caused experience to accumulate in the central agencies of the empire and bureaucrats were often transferred from one region to another.

The advantages that its advocates claim for the regional approach, that is, the attention to local actors and their processes and the departure from the empire-centered and nation-centered perspective, are in fact more reliably guaranteed by the situational approach. The situational approach can help avoid dangers and traps endemic to the regional approach, such as the essentialization of the region, the reliance on questionable geographic borders, and the marginalization of actors outside the region.

The Ensemble of Contiguous Empires on Europe's Periphery

When we speak of the multiplicity of interdependent actors on the borderlands of the Russian Empire, it is evident that we also have to take into account the forces beyond the empire's borders. It has to be emphasized here that the density and the variety of interaction in the field of national policies between neighboring contiguous empires makes it qualitatively different from the geopolitical competition typical of all empires, who play the separatist card against rivals. Thus, in a study of national policies and nation-building processes, at least with regard to the long nineteenth century, it is important to keep in mind the ensemble of the contiguous empires of the Romanovs, the Habsburgs, the Hohenzollerns and the Ottomans. The former two shared borders with the other two empires of this system, while the latter three each shared borders with two others. Not only did these borders repeatedly shift, in fact, they were also perceived by the rulers of these empires as potentially movable at all times. A whole number of territories on the outskirts of the contiguous empires were "complex frontiers" where the influences not of two but of three neighboring powers were in conflict. Comparative analysis of such complex borderlands as the Ottoman, Russian and Habsburg empires (as well as of the Chinese and Persian empires) constitutes the subject of several articles by Alfred J. Rieber.[41]

Several factors were significant with regard to this interaction. The first was a religious one. The Romanov Empire put herself forward as the protector of all Orthodox believers, both inside and outside her borders. The Sublime Porte played the same role in relation to Muslims. The Habsburgs protected Catholics, and Vienna often worked hand in hand with the Vatican, including

its politics relative to the Greek Catholics.[42] Repressive policies directed against Catholics in Germany (*Kulturkampf*, which affected the Poles especially badly, since it coincided with the national anti-Polish measures), anti-Polish politics towards Catholics and Greek-Catholics in Russia influenced Habsburg attitudes toward its Protestant, Greek-Catholic and Orthodox populations. In an earlier period the relative tolerance in the treatment of Protestants by the Habsburgs came out of the necessity to fight for their loyalty with the Ottomans, who adopted a favorable attitude towards Protestants. It was only after the defeat of the Ottoman army (with many Hungarian Protestants in its ranks) near Vienna, when the Habsburgs could afford to apply pressure on Protestants in their empire. The situation of the Old Believers in the Russian Empire cannot be understood without considering the events in the Habsburg monarchy, for it was there, in Belaya Krynitsa, that the hierarchy for the Old Believers' church was restored.

Another important factor of interaction within the ensemble of contiguous empires was the largely interdependent development of pan-ethnic ideologies: pan-Slavism, pan-Germanism, and pan-Turkism. All these ideologies used religious motives, but even in the cases of pan-Turkism and pan-Islamism, which developed into an especially tight symbiosis, one has to differentiate between ethnic and racial ideological elements and religious elements.

If Russia undertook a war for the "hearts and souls" of the Slavs of the Ottoman empire, often under the banner of pan-Slavism, then the Porte struggled for the loyalty of the Muslim subjects of the Tsar. It is not accidental that Kemal Karpat, author of a wide-ranging monograph, *The Politicization of Islam*, gives his chapter on the "Formation of the contemporary nation" the subtitle "Turkism and pan-Islamism in the Russian and Ottoman Empires."[43] The processes which took place among the Muslims of the two empires were indeed intricately connected. Emigrants from Russia were no less involved in the foundation of the pan-Turkic and pan-Islamic movements than the Ottoman subjects. Moreover, because of the large Arab population in the Ottoman Empire, pan-Turkism long remained a more suitable item for export than for internal consumption in the Ottoman domains.

Russian pan-Slavism was addressed to the Habsburg Slavs no less than to the Ottoman. Czechs and Slovaks, not to mention Galician Rusyns, were at times quite receptive to this propaganda. However, not infrequently, pan-Slavism would undergo highly significant changes among the Austrian Slavs, including a transformation into Austro-Slavism which offered loyalty to the Habsburgs. In its neo-Slavist version, early-twentieth-century pan-Slavism elicited a response even from the Poles who had previously advanced their own

versions of pan-Slavism that excluded the Muscovites or at least granted the leading role in the Slavic world to the Poles rather than Moscow.

Another challenge for the Habsburgs (since they had lost their quest for the leading role in the German unification in 1848, and, finally, in 1866 after the battle of Sadová) was pan-Germanism because it was putting a huge question mark over the loyalty of the Austrian Germans to the house of Habsburgs. In 1867 the Austrian prime minister Friedrich Ferdinand von Beust argued that if the Slavs were also included in the projected national compromise, Austrian Germans would be reduced to a neglected minority and would begin to orient themselves politically towards Prussia. Thus, the dualism was to a large extent the by-product of the Prussian unification of Germany on the one hand and fear of pan-Slavism on the other.[44]

But pan-Germanism was a challenge to the Romanovs as well. The unification of Germany by Prussia not only alerted Russian nationalists and the authorities of the Russian Empire to the need for accelerating their own plans for consolidation of the eastern Slavs into a single nation which would be the pillar of the huge empire. Pan-Germanism was supposed to claim, sooner rather then later, the Baltic provinces of the Russian Empire as a part of a greater Germany and the loyalties of all the numerous Russian subjects of German origin, be they Baltic nobles—so instrumental in ruling the Empire since the beginning of the eighteenth century—or peasant colonists—who populated strategically important regions of the Empire, including her western and southern frontier in hundreds of thousands. It was precisely since the 1880s, after the unification of Germany and the formation of the anti-Russian bloc of Central powers, that Baltic Germans ceased to be the problem of the *frondeur* Russian nobility (from General A. P. Ermolov to the Slavophile Iu. F. Samarin) and became a major factor in the authorities' geopolitical fears and plans. Armstrong was right that it was the rise of the second Reich that triggered the gradual decline of the multimillion German diaspora in the Romanov empire and then in all of Eastern Europe.[45] And during WWI the state of possession of Germans, be they alien or Russian subjects, was challenged altogether.[46]

It is important to keep in mind that many ethnic or ethno-religious groups were divided between two, three, or even, like the Jews, all four empires. The outcome of the processes of identity formation and consolidation of the images of national territories in many such cases depended to a very great extent on the interactions taking place on the macrosystemic scale of the continental empires.

We have already mentioned the situation of ethnic Germans in the two empires and the expectations of major changes in their loyalty on the part of

St. Petersburg and Vienna. Different parts of the Polish elites were in different periods more loyal to some of the imperial governments that had divided the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth rather than others, on the principle of "enemy hierarchy." Thus, the readiness of the Marquis A. Wielopolski to cooperate with St. Petersburg in the early 1860s was partly defined by his inability to forgive the Habsburgs for their Polish policy in 1846, when count Stadion triggered a bloody peasant revolt against the disloyal Polish nobility in Galicia; and the relative loyalty of R. Dmowski to Russia in the early twentieth century was due to his conviction that Germany was a more dangerous enemy of Poland than the Romanov Empire. After the suppression of the 1863 uprising, the Poles and Vienna were able to come to a fairly stable compromise in Galicia thanks largely to their common perception of Russia as a mutual enemy. And one of the reasons for the legendary loyalty of the Habsburg Jews to Franz Joseph—and, to an extent, of the German Jews to the Hohenzollerns, including the period of the First World War—was rooted in their perception that the situation of their brothers in faith in the Russian Empire was extremely harsh.

For groups whose national identity was formed later, in the latter half of the nineteenth or even in the twentieth century, the outcome of these processes was also largely defined by interaction within the macrosystem of empires. Such groups that populated the Russian Empire but had large or small enclaves beyond its borders included Romanians, Azeris, Ukrainians, Lithuanians and Tatars.

It was not only ideas and money to support the desirable orientation of particular groups that crossed the empires' borders. These borders were also crossed by the populace whose migration could be organized by the authorities or be spontaneous. These borders were often military frontiers that were determined and changed as a result of conquests. They were not based on natural boundaries or ethnic principles. Quite often, in an effort to secure the border, the imperial authorities resorted to resettlements, deportations and colonization. Hostilities between the empires or insurrections inside their borders would frequently drive the population from their lands and prompt them to migrate. Mass movements of the populace took place even in times of peace. Examples are numerous: the Russophile Rusyns migrated from Galicia to Russia, while the Ukrainian activists emigrated from the Russian Empire to Galicia; the Poles and the Jews moved from the Russian Empire to Prussia, sometimes only to find themselves back in Russia as a result of a new shift of borders after the Vienna Congress; later on, Polish migrations proceeded in both directions—mostly out of, but also into, Russia; the Muslims were leav-

ing the Russian Empire for the Ottoman (the so-called Muhadjir movement); while the Balkan Slavs, mostly Bulgarians and Serbs, were heading in the opposite direction[47]; the Germans and the Czechs—in fewer but still large numbers—were migrating from the Habsburg Empire and small German states into the Russian Empire. These movements created special cultural enclaves in new places, and in some cases had a serious influence on the process of identity formation in the places of departure.

Thus, for example, the migration of several hundreds of educated, Russophile Galician Rusyns to Russia from 1860 to 1880 considerably weakened the Russophile movement in Galicia.[48] Generally, Galicia, with its well-researched history which remains a popular subject among historians, can serve as a good illustration to many of the theses stated above. First of all, Galicia itself as a region was a product of imperial imagination: the province was created by the Habsburgs and provided with an appropriate legitimizing historical myth after the first partition of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. Analyzing the situation in Galicia in the latter half of the nineteenth century, I have managed to come up with seven actors: Vienna, the Vatican, St. Petersburg, the local Rusyns and Poles, the Polish émigré community, and the Ukrainian movement in Russia (even with the simplified treatment of both the imperial centers and ethnic Galician groups as internally unified actors).[49] The majority of the actors on this list can be characterized as extra-imperial. They actively attempted to influence the identity formation and loyalty in the local population both by financing particular forces in the province and by sending its agents there.[50] The question of a possible annexation of Galicia was periodically discussed in the ruling circles of the Russian Empire as early as the mid-nineteenth century,[51] and in the early twentieth century, as we will see, it would become one of the key points of the foreign policy agenda of Russian nationalists. In its turn, Vienna, the local Poles and their ally, the Vatican, were combating the Russophile sentiments in Galicia itself, and with time, began to support the local Ukrainian nationalists in their effort to influence "Russian" Ukraine. It was their joint efforts that largely defined the character of the Uniate church in Galicia in the last two decades of the nineteenth century as the main stronghold of anti-Russian orientation. We will see further on, in the chapter on language policy, how closely St. Petersburg was following the development of the situation in Galicia, and how the events in that Habsburg province gave an impetus to decision-making in the Romanov Empire as early as in the mid-nineteenth century.

The Ottoman Empire provides an example of how the migrations from the neighboring empires and the newly independent Balkan states, and tied to them

the demographic policy within the empire, became key factors in the nation-building in the core of the Ottoman domains. The growing awareness of the government of Abdulhamid II of the fact that the strategically important areas around the capital were populated by non-Muslims (mostly by Greeks and Armenians), with questionable loyalty, coincided with the intensification of emigrant movements of Muslims from Russia, both voluntary and forced. Muslims also emigrated from the newly independent states in the Balkans, and from the Habsburgs' Bosnia. During the Balkan wars, and, especially, in the course of the First World War, they were complemented by refugees from the threatened territories of the empire itself. These people were now consciously resettled in the central areas of the empire, first on the vacant lands and later on the lands cleared of Christians. Initially Ottomanist in its ideological foundations, the policy of replacing the non-Muslim population with Muslim immigrants radically changed the demographic picture in Asia Minor, and its results became the foundation for the Young Turks' nationalist project. It is not by chance that the overwhelming majority of Young Turks were "the men of the borderlands," with few born in the Romanov Empire and Istanbul, and none coming from Anatolia.[52] Researchers believe that the migrations into the Ottoman empire and the deportations of population within the empire, with the dispersed resettlement of the deportees (so that the number of a particular non-Turkic ethnic group in each locality would not exceed 5–10 percent), were not simply coordinated, but became, in time, part of a unified plan. Coordination of this policy, whose key element was no longer faith but ethnicity, was now entrusted to the Directorate for Public Security and the Directorate for Settlement of Tribes and Immigrants at the Ministry of the Interior.[53]

All the modern empires were in one way or another interconnected by economic and military rivalry and by the shared experiences in different regions, including the government of the empire itself. However, the interconnectedness of neighboring contiguous empires within a special macrosystem has a qualitatively different character. Ronald G. Suny has remarked that it is more difficult to conduct a different policy and to uphold radically different political systems in the core and in the periphery in contiguous empires than it is in maritime empires.[54] It is possible to formulate two theses that go even further. Firstly, it was more difficult for continental empires to conduct a particular policy within its borders without affecting their neighbors. Secondly, they had more difficulty projecting their influence outside without serious consequences for their internal policies.

The first thesis finds a perfect illustration in the reunification of Germany by Prussia which had immediate and far-reaching consequences for the Habs-

burg and Romanov empires. Here follows a few examples to illustrate the second thesis. If Britain decided to support the fight of the Caucasian highlanders against Russia, that decision did not have any consequences for its policy regarding its "own" Muslims. If France decided at some point to support the Poles, that did not affect its policy inside its own empire. However, if the Habsburgs wished to support the Polish or Ukrainian movement in the Romanov Empire, it inevitably suggested a corresponding correction of their policy toward the Poles and Rusyns-Ukrainians in their own empire.

Another clear example of this dilemma was the policy of the Russian Empire regarding the Armenian church after the annexation of the residence of the Catholicos in Echmiadzin from Persia in 1828. From that moment on, St. Petersburg used its control over the spiritual center of the Armenians to project its influence over the Armenian population of the Ottoman and Persian empires. In his study of this policy Paul Werth emphasizes that the preservation and strengthening of the prestige of the Armenian Catholicos abroad demanded from the imperial government some essential concessions regarding the question of administering Armenan religious affairs inside the Russian Empire. In fact, it was a conflict between the ideal standards that St. Petersburg used in governing questions of faith and those special decisions that St. Petersburg had to make in order to strengthen the position of the Catholicos abroad. Werth comes to the conclusion that St. Petersburg invariably sacrificed the general standards of interior religious administration in an effort to use the Catholicos effectively in its foreign policy.[55]

The macrosystem of continental empires remained internally stable for a long period of time because, despite frequent wars between neighboring empires, all of them adhered to certain conventional restrictions in their rivalry. All in all, they did not attempt to destroy each other—largely because the Romanovs, the Habsburgs and the Hohenzollerns needed each other in order to cope with the legacy of the partitions of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth.[56] It was only during the preparations for the great European war and in the course of World War I that the neighboring empires so actively began to play the ethnic card against their opponents, casting aside the earlier restrictions. The force of the national movements in this macrosystem by the end of the war was largely the result of the support of the rival empires that were now fighting each other to the death.[57]

In this connection, one can re-think the question of whether the role of the nemesis of the contiguous empires belongs to the national movements or to the empires themselves who used and supported those movements against each other. This also prompts a new approach to the question of whether the

life potential of the continental empires was exhausted by the time World War I broke out. In other words, were all these empires in various stages of irreversible decline by the beginning of the war? Perhaps some of them were undergoing a crisis whose outcome was not predetermined? Was the First World War only the last nail in the coffin for these empires or the giant shock that destroyed these empires regardless of whether they had already been incurably ill by that time? In my opinion, the potential of these empires, with the exception of, perhaps, the Ottoman, had been far from exhausted by the beginning of the war. They were adjusting to the challenges of the modern world in ways that allow one to speak of them in crisis rather than in decline. It was precisely the First World War that made the empires, among other things, wield the double-edged sword of nationalism without restrain,[58] and finally destroy the continental imperial macrosystem that had played a certain stabilizing role, thus making them prey to history.

The Russian Empire in a Comparative Perspective

The perspective of entangled histories within the ensemble of contiguous empires does not at all cancel out the traditional comparative approach. However, it is hardly possible to speak of a rich tradition of the use of the comparative approach to the history of the Russian Empire. Until recently, the Russian Empire had been compared almost exclusively to the Habsburg Empire.[59] It was only very recently that another contiguous empire—the Ottoman—began to be included in this comparison.[60] Practically omitted from analysis in comparative terms was the Hohenzollern empire, which was considered exclusively—and quite unfairly—as a nation-state.[61]

In recent years we observe a growing interest in the comparative approach to the history of empires in general and to contiguous empires in particular. The main methodological innovation of the new research is that the focus of comparison is moving from traditional elements and characteristics of the empires under consideration to the patterns of their response and adaptation to the challenges of modernity. The Ottoman, Habsburg and Romanov empires faced similar challenges of modernity and survival in a highly competitive environment of the more developed empires. All of them were gradually involved in the global economic system, in which they were assigned peripheral or semi-peripheral roles. All of them tried to survive by adopting new techniques of imperial management and mobilization of resources,[62] while maintaining some elements of the traditional regime and social order. These

empires are now more and more seen as empires in transformation. Some prefer to speak about multiple modernities, represented by these and other peripheral polities.[63] Whether historians continue to call these empires of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries traditional or not, all agree that it would be a mistake to see even the Ottoman empire of the nineteenth century, not to speak of the Habsburg and Romanov empires, as a strictly traditional polity, totally deprived of the features of a modern state.[64] The eighteenth century also witnessed in all contiguous empires some serious change and even organized reforms, which aimed at building a modern state and bureaucracy, and included the first steps for promotion of the elites of education in addition to the elites by birth. A rigid opposition of empires and modern states as two fundamentally irreconcilable types of political system was gradually becoming a thing of the past—the evolution of empires in the nineteenth century can be regarded as a gradual gestation of modern states within empires.

On the other hand, having said that the modernizing agendas of these contiguous empires had some common features, we should keep in mind how different their reactions were, both in strategy and in results. One might say that the tendency to "normalize" the history of these polities, particularly that of the Romanov and Ottoman empires, and to overestimate their success in adapting to modernity is a new extreme in historiography. This is quite a change from only a decade ago when, as in the swinging of a pendulum, the position was at the other extreme—almost total negation of these empire's ability to adapt and change.[65]

Speaking of the traditional and ongoing struggle of the tendency to "normalize" Russian history and the tendency to regard it as a unique phenomenon that rejects the categories informed primarily by the West European experience, Maria Todorova believes that the content of these polemics is not only academic but also political. From the scholarly perspective, a radical choice in favor of either tendency calls for sacrifices—whether it is the "semiotic inequality" that comes with the choice of the universalist paradigm, or the denial of the comparative approach as part of the tendency to stress the "uniqueness." It will be noted that this is normal, since a "normal" historiography is pluralistic.

However, to the extent to which this dilemma reflects politics, the choice is being made beyond the academic disciplines. Todorova compares the current debates about Russian history to those not long ago about the German *Sonderweg*. That approach was topical when Germany had not yet been assimilated into general European structures and perceived its history as deviating from the European model of development. Now those same "peculiarities" are

presented as one of the versions of European history, with the accent placed on common features, and thus Germany's historical development is "normalized." The same mechanism works when applied to Russian history–the problem of its "uniqueness" will remain topical only until its place in European and world structures is finally resolved.[66]

This observation is very true and extremely timely because now is the time when we can see a change in the political context and the influence of this factor on the academic discourse of Russian history. At the same time, this description of the problem is incomplete, since it does not take into account the difference between mechanisms of Russia's "singularization" in foreign and Russian historiographies. For a long time (centuries, not decades), Russia had been the object of a discourse not simply on the Other, but on the alien and dangerous *constituting Other*.[67] Western historiography was actively used to service this discourse. Insofar as the current trend to "normalize" the history of the Russian Empire means a deconstruction of the biased, negative "singularization," it deserves to be supported in every way.

In Russian historiography the motives for the segregation of Russian history have usually been different, but at the same time they differed from one historian to another. There is no shortage of cases in which the emphasis on Russian history's "uniqueness" hides professional egotism, i.e., an effort to create more comfortable conditions for oneself at the expense of foreign scholars who are treated condescendingly as "unable to understand" the unique Russian situation. At the same time, this attitude is used to justify the ignorance of Western historiography and an inability to work with comparative methodology. There are no reasons to treat such positions leniently. At the same time, the methodologically sound studies that accentuate, one way or another, the specifics of Russian history constitute an absolutely legitimate part of historiography regardless of whether they belong to domestic or foreign authors.[68]

On the way to the "normalization" of Russia's history there are pitfalls as well. First of all, such normalization, as was the case with German history, can be carried out through tendentiously emphasizing some subjects and aspects of German or Russian history while airbrushing others. In this case, "normalization" sacrifices science to politics in much the same way as the old "singularization" did.

Secondly, there is a dangerously high probability of getting stuck in unproductive versions of the debate on the limits of the "European model" of historical development. Today, in and around the European Union, the musings on the history of this or that particular region or nation as "European" or

"non-European" are being shamelessly used as arguments in political debates on whether or not this region or nation is worthy of membership in the EU.[69] The discussion aimed at expanding our notions of the European model (in fact, multiple and extremely different models) of historical development is very useful, but this route leads us to another conflict of history and politics, as is demonstrated so clearly today by the emergence of a historical myth of European unity created to service the EU.[70] It is, in fact, a new version of the question, painful for historians, of the relationship of their studies to myth-making and of the reflection on their own methodology and its ideological dependency.

Let us return to the problems of the comparative approach. Comparing the modernizing economic efforts by the contiguous empires, one has to appreciate the complexity of measuring their efficiency. For instance, the dependence of the Porte on its foreign creditors was noticeably higher than that of Russia. However, it is not easy to assess whether Russia's qualitatively higher economic independence was to a larger extent determined by the higher efficiency of its financial policies rather than by the military successes of the Russian army. The Romanov and Ottoman empires were both waging wars on each other largely on borrowed money. But one empire was winning and the other losing. Military might and a better strategic position allowed Russia to receive new loans on better conditions than the Ottoman Empire could. Access to capital affected the military potential, but a higher military potential in its turn helped some empires fight for a better place in the global economic system.

It seems that the comparative approach has lately been used in the most intensive and productive way for studies of the elites of the contiguous empires. As early as 1976, John Armstrong came up with a number of very interesting comparative observations on "mobilized diasporas" in the Russian and Ottoman empires.[71] An important contribution to the comparative studies of the subject was the volume edited by Andreas Kappeler and Fikret Adanir.[72] A collection of comparativist-oriented articles dedicated to the Habsburg, Romanov and Ottoman imperial elites was recently published in Russian.[73]

The text that summarized the efforts of recent years and formulated important theoretical theses was the comparative article by Andreas Kappeler, "The Imperial Center and Elites of the Periphery."[74] Kappeler, for instance, notes that it was only in Russia that from an early stage the imperial elites included representatives of various religious groups. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries all three empires witnessed a strengthening of the bureaucracy, the gradual elevation of the educational criterion in elite-building, and the fairly

active employment of foreigners and representatives of diasporas. Kappeler also remarks that the reforms aimed at centralization and implementing direct rule, which were repeatedly undertaken in all these empires, did not on the whole bring an end to the general principle of cooperation between the imperial center and peripheral elites that was mutually beneficial and was conducted at the expense of the lower social strata of the periphery. It could be added furthermore, especially in regard to the Ottoman and Russian experience, that it was also done at the expense of the lower strata of the empire's core. Kappeler makes an interesting observation on the gradual implementation of elements of the Ottoman *millet* system in the Russian and Habsburg empires. This is, incidentally, an illustration of the important but often overlooked fact that the experience of imperial rule was not always borrowed from the West. On the whole, Kappeler notes a tendency for the approximation of the principles of the elites in these empires. The processes of urbanization, industrialization and dissemination of literacy had led to the emergence in all these empires of new elite groups that demanded their share of power under the slogans of democracy and nationalism. Analyzing the experience of the empires in adapting to this new situation, Kappeler correctly observes that, compared with the experience of nation-states that emerged from their ruins, the policies of the empires do not look as grim today as was portrayed in national narratives.

An interest in elites is part of a more general tendency that focuses attention on various models of imperial authority and on transitions, characteristic of contiguous empires, from traditional forms of "indirect rule" to direct control by the imperial center and back again to indirect rule in new forms and under new circumstances.[75] Another direction that has been developed lately and will definitely bring about interesting results is the comparative study of the religious politics of these empires, including missionary activities, proselytism, conversions and apostasies.[76]

In the not-too-distant past, there existed in historiography a practically impenetrable membrane between contiguous empires which were usually described as "traditional" and maritime empires that were described as "modern." This frontal opposition is being successfully dismantled today. Present-day historians acknowledge both that the "traditional" contiguous empires in the eighteenth and especially nineteenth centuries were no longer fully traditional, and that the maritime empires of the period retained a large number of traditional elements of social organization and forms of control of the center over the periphery. David Cannadine has convincingly shown that not only did the British ruling class use indirect forms of rule in its empire widely, but

that it also preserved traditional class and dynastic forms of legitimization both in the relations between the center and the periphery and in the organization of life within the colonies. In the twentieth century, the periphery of the British Empire turned into a kind of reservation for such traditional, aristocratic forms that had already been largely undermined in the imperial core.[77] In general, this means that the concepts of "traditionalism" and modernity are being questioned and are no longer used in strict conjunction with the contiguous or maritime type of empires.

This opens a way to a comparison between contiguous and maritime empires. The area where such a comparison could be especially fruitful for understanding certain mechanisms in the late history of the Russian Empire is the nation-building processes in the imperial core. Today's historians admit that many of the oldest nation-states, including France, are rooted in heterogeneous dynastic conglomerates in which it was easy to single out the core and the periphery traditional for empires. It was only as a result of the hard labor of national homogenization that these hierarchical empires turned their cores into relatively egalitarian nation-states based on the ideas of civil equality.[78]

"'The nation-state' has become too centered in conceptions of European history since the late eighteenth century, and 'empire' not centered enough"—this very important methodological observation was formulated by Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper in connection with maritime empires.[79] "We are accustomed to the idea that Spain created its empire, but it is more useful to work with the idea that the empire created Spain," Henry Kamen recently wrote.[80] Such theorizations are also applicable to Russia, to the Hungarian sub-empire after 1867, and to interpretation of the policies of the Young Turks. It was the imperial elites, or more precisely, certain segments thereof, that were building nations at the core of their own empires, and they never attempted to include the entire imperial realm and all of the empire's subjects into such a nation-building project. By excluding such a comparative perspective, many of the researchers of the Romanov Empire have deprived themselves of a chance to notice an important fact: the Russian nation-building projects differentiated between the Russian "national territory" and the empire as a whole, between the groups that such a nation-building project planned to assimilate and the groups that were not included in the Russian nation-building project, and, consequently, were not targeted by the assimilationist policies.[81]

There are many other aspects of the history of empires where a comparison between maritime and contiguous empires can be productive. Steven Vely-

chenko has shown the usefulness of the quantitative comparison of imperial bureaucracies. In particular, he has demonstrated the deceptiveness of the image of a bloated bureaucracy in the Romanov Empire. In fact, the empire suffered from "undergoverning," from the shortage of officials whose number was proportionally almost ten times lower than at the cores of the French, British and German empires, and was very close to the corresponding proportional shares in the overseas colonies of Britain and France. Studying the composition of bureaucracy in the western borderlands, including the territory of today's Ukraine, Velychenko has also demonstrated that the local residents had a proportional representation in the officialdom that mostly corresponded to the size of various ethnic groups in these *gubernias*.[82]

Wayne Dowler and other researchers of the Russian imperial policy toward education of the Muslim population have compared this policy with the policies of France and Britain toward the education of their Muslim subjects in Africa and India.[83] Closely related to these studies are works that compare the Western and Russian versions of orientalism.[84] These studies, among other things, serve as reminders of the intensive exchange of "imperial experience" between maritime and contiguous empires. The article by Ilya Vinkovetsky considers a very interesting example of such an appropriation in Russia. It is devoted to the history of the Russian-American Company which was organized along the principles of British colonial trade companies and traces the mutation of this institution in a different institutional and cultural context.[85]

The work of Dominic Lieven which makes excellent comparisons of geopolitical strategies of maritime and contiguous empires, especially the Russian and the British, deserves special mention.[86] Also important are his comparative observations regarding the internal policies of contiguous and maritime empires. He believes that all the empires of the modern era faced the common "key dilemma ... how, on the one hand, to hold together polities of great territory, population and therefore power, and, on the other, to square this priority with satisfying the demands of nationalism, democracy and economic dynamism," thus confirming the contemporary historiographic tendency to perceive a common agenda in the maritime and contiguous empires.[87] Incidentally, Lieven notes that the democratic cores of the maritime empires often pursued a harsher, not to say more brutal, policy on their colonial peripheries than the authoritarian rulers of the contiguous empires.[88] Taken as a whole, these works have destroyed the "Berlin Wall" that existed in comparative studies between maritime and contiguous empires, and have increased the heuristic potential of the comparative approach to the history of empires, including the Russian Empire.

Notes

1 Andreas Kappeler, *Russland als Vielvölkerreich: Entstehung, Geschichte, Zerfall* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1992); English translation: *The Russian Empire: a Multiethnic History* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2001).
2 Geoffrey Hosking, *Russia, People and Empire, 1552–1917* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997).
3 For one recent cautious attempt at evaluation of the recent historiography of the Russian Empire see: "The Imperial Turn," *Kritika*, Vol. 4, (2006): 705–712.
4 Andreas Kappeler, "'Rossiia – mnogonatsional'naia imperiia': vosem' let spustia posle publikatsii knigi," *Ab Imperio* 1 (2000): 9–21 [21].
5 Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: the Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).
6 See Iver B. Neumann, *Uses of the Other: "The East" in European Identity Formation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).
7 Xosé-Manuel Nuñez, "The Region as Essence of the Fatherland: Regionalist Variants of Spanish Nationalism (1840–1936)," *European History Quarterly* Vol. 31, No. 4, (2001): 483–518 [483].
8 Nuñez, p. 484.
9 E. C. Tolman, "Cognitive Maps in Rats and Men," *Psychological Review*, No. 55 (1948): 189–208. For a review of psychological and geographical studies of the subject, see the article by Benjamin F. Schenk, whose analysis I use largely as a basis, in: A. I. Miller, ed., *Regionalizatsiia postkommunisticheskoi Evropy* (series *Politicheskaia nauka*, No. 4) (Moscow: INION, 2001); as well as B. Schenk, "Mental'nye karty," *Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie*, No. 52 (2001).
10 R. M. Downs and D. Stea, *Maps in Minds: Reflections on Cognitive Mapping* (New York: Harper and Row, 1977).
11 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage 1978); Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Maria Todorova, "The Balkans: From Discovery to Invention," *Slavic Review*, Vol. 53, (1994): 453–482; Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994); Larry Wolff, "Voltaire's Public and the Idea of Eastern Europe: Toward a Literary Sociology of Continental Division," *Slavic Review*, Vol. 54 (1995): 932–942. The Germans had begun to explore the subject earlier and in their own way. See: Hans Lemberg, 'Zur Entstehung des Osteuropabegriffs im 19. Jahrhundert. Vom "Norden" zum "Osten" Europas,' in: *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*. Vol. 33, No. 1 (1985): 48–91. Among the latest studies is a standout book by Norwegian researcher Iver Neumann, *Uses of the Other*.
12 Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System.* Vol. 1. *Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the 16th Century* (New York: Academic Press, 1974).
13 All these problems are particularly acute in the Russian Empire, where earlier feudal territories retained their boundaries to a lesser extent than in the Holy Roman Empire.
14 I have discussed this question in detail in relation to the East Slavic population of the empire in *Ukrainskii vopros v politike vlastei i russkom obshchestvennom mnenii (vtoraia*

polovina 19 v.) (Saint Petersburg: Aleteia, 2000). (English version: Alexei Miller. *The Ukrainian Question: The Russian Empire and Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century*. Budapest–New York: Central European University Press, 2003.) See also my "Shaping Russian and Ukrainian identities in the Russian Empire during the Nineteenth-Century: some Methodological Remarks," in *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* Vol. 49, No. 4 (2001): 257–63. Theodore R. Weeks has recently written in a similar vein about the Belorussians in his article "My ili oni? Belorusy I oficialnaia Rossia, 1863–1914," in *Rosiiskaia imperiia v zarubeznoi istoriografii* eds. P. Werth, P. Kabytov, A. Miller (Moscow: Novoe izdatelstvo, 2005), pp. 589–609. The same may be said of, for example, the Tatars (see Robert P. Geraci, *Window to the East: National and Imperial Identities in Late Tsarist Russia* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001], esp. pp. 3–4, and other works). Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper give a more general theoretical discussion of this theme in "Beyond 'identity'," *Theory and Society* 29 (2000): 1–47, especially where they write of the "hard work and long struggles over identification as well as the uncertain outcome of such struggles" (16). I agree with these authors on the need to replace the general, polysemantic term "identity" with more precise terminology, but that subject lies beyond the scope of the present study.

15 Thus, a textbook (by historians from Moscow State University, no less) can appear today in which the Polish insurrections are not only ignored in the text but even absent from the chronological table. See Aleksandr S. Orlov et al., *Istoriia Rossii* (Moscow: Prospekt, 2000).

16 See Boris N. Mironov, "Response to Willard Sunderland's 'Empire in Boris Mironov's Sotsial'naia istoriia Rossii'" *Slavic Review,* Vol. 60, No. 3 (2001): 579.

17 The list could be quite extensive. See, for example, Willard Sunderland, "Russians into Iakuts? 'Going Native' and Problems of Russian National Identity in the Siberian North, 1870–1914," *Slavic Review,* Vol. 55, No. 4 (1996): 807–25; Robert Geraci, "Ethnic Minorities, Anthropology, and Russian National Identity on Trial: The Multan Case, 1892–96," *Russian Review,* Vol. 59, No. 3 (2000): 530–54, and works mentioned in footnote 14 above.

18 See Boris Mironov, *Sotsial'naia istoriia Rossii perioda imperii (XVIII–nachalo XX v.),* Vol. 1 (Saint Petersburg, Dmitrii Bulanin**,** 1999), 20–50.

19 The first volume in this series was published in 2006: Mikhail Dolbilov, Aleksei Miller, eds. *Zapadnye okrainy Rossiiskoi imperii.* (Moscow: NLO, 2006). Books on Siberia, Caucasus and Central Asia will appear in 2007. It was followed by books on Northern Caucasus and Siberia in 2007, the book on Central Asia will appear in 2008.

20 This by no way means that researching Volga as a route of economic interaction and migrations is not legitimate, but the issue of ethnic politics will inevitably become marginal in such study.

21 For various aspects of the imagining of Siberia, see the works of Marc Bassin, in particular his article "Russia between Europe and Asia: the Ideological Construction of Geographic Space," *Slavic Review,* Vol. 50, No. 1 (1991): 1–17. In recent years, interesting articles on this topic have been published by Anatolii V. Remnev, "Zapadnye istoki sibirskogo oblastnichestva," in *Russkaia emigratsiia do 1917 goda - laboratoriia liberal'noi i revoliutsionnoi mysli* (St. Petersburg, Dmitrii Bulanin, 1997), pp. 142–56; "U istokov rossiiskoi imperskoi geopolitiki: aziatskie 'pogranichnye prostranstva' v issledovaniiakh M. I. Veniukova," *Istoricheskie zapiski,* Vol. 4 (Moscow: Nauka, 2001), pp. 122, 344–369. A

whole series of works on this topic have been published by the German historian Susi Frank, who continues to study this topic. See, in particular, "Sibirien: Peripherie und Anderes der russischen Kultur," *Wiener Slawistischer Almanach*, Sonderband 44 (1997), 357–382; "Dostoevskij, Jadrincev und Čechov als Geokulturologen Sibiriens," in *Gedächtnis und Phantasma. Festschrift für Renata Lachmann* (Munich, 2002), pp. 32–47. See also Stefan Such's dissertation on Siberian regionalism, which is being prepared for publication: "Regionalismus in Siberien im frühen 20. Jahrhundert."

22 Theodore R. Weeks, *Nation and State in Late Imperial Russia: Nationalism and Russification on the Western Frontier, 1863–1914* (DeKalb: Nothern Illinois University Press, 1996); Idem, "Religion and Russification: Russian Language in the Catholic Churches of the 'Northwest Provinces' after 1863," *Kritika*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2001): 87–110; Idem, "'My' ili 'oni': Belorusi i ofitsial'naia Rossiia,"; M. D. Dolbilov, "Kul'turnaia idioma vozrozhdeniia Rossii kak factor imperskoi politiki v Severo-Zapadnom krae v 1863–1865 gg.," *Ab Imperio,* No. 1–2, (2001): 227–268; Idem., "Konstruirovanie obrazov miatezha: Politika M. N. Murav'eva v Litovsko-Belorusskom krae v 1863–1865 gg. kak ob'ekt istoriko-antropologicheskogo analiza," *Actio Nova* (Moscow, 2000), pp. 338–409; Idem., "Polonofobiia i politika rusifikatsii v Severo-Zapadnom krae imperii v 1860-e gg.," in *Obraz vraga,* ed. L. Gudkov (Moscow: OGI, 2005), pp. 127–174; Darius Staliūnas, "The Pole in the Policy of the Russian Government: Semantics and Praxis in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *Lithuanian Historical Studies*, No. 5, (2000): 45–67; Idem., "Litewscy bialy i władze carskie przed powstaniem styczniowym: między konfrontacją a kompromisem," *Przegląd Historyczny*, Vol. 89, No. 3, (1998): 383–401; A. I. Miller, *The Ukrainian Question*.

23 Leonid E. Gorizontov, "System zarządzania Królestwem Polskim w latach trzydziestych – pięćdziesiątych XIX wieku," *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, No. 4. (1985): 711–731; Idem., "Aparat urzędniczy Królestwa Polskiego w okresie rządów Paskiewicza," *Przegląd Historyczny*, No. 1–2 (1994): 45–58; as well as the last two chapters in his book *Paradoksy imperskoi politiki: poliaki v Rossii i russkie v Pol'she* (Moscow: Indrik, 1999); John P. LeDonne, "Frontier Governors General 1772–1825. I. The Western Frontier," in *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*. Vol. 47. No. 1 (1999): 57–81; Idem., "Frontier Governors General 1772–1825. II. The Southern Frontier," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*. Vol. 48. No. 2 (2000): 161–183; Idem., "Frontier Governors General 1772–1825. III. The Eastern Frontier," in: *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*. Vol. 48. No. 3 (2000): 321–340; Steven Velychenko, "Identities, Loyalties and Service in Imperial Russia. Who Administered the Borderlands?," *Russian Review,* Vol. 2 (1995): 188–208; Idem., "The Bureaucracy, Police and Army in 20th-Century Ukraine: a Comparative Quantitative Study," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, Nos. 3–4 (1999): 63–103; Idem., "The Size of the Imperial Russian Bureaucracy and Army in Comparative Perspective," in *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*. Vol. 49. No. 3 (2001): 346–362. See also: *Institut generalgubernatorstva i namestnichestva v Rossiiskoi imperii*, Vol. 1 (Saint Petersburg, 2001). This book was commissioned by the presidential representative in the North-Western federal district and bears all the traces of hastiness typical of such publications, but it still has a certain value as a reference.

24 A. V. Remnev, *Samoderzhavie i Sibir'. Administrativnaia politika v pervoi polovine XIX veka* (Omsk, 1995); Idem., *Samoderzhavie i Sibir'. Administrativnaia politika vtoroi poloviny XIX-nachala XX vekov* (Omsk, 1997); Idem., "Problemy upravleniia Dal'nim Vostokom

Rossii v 1880-e gg., in: *Istoricheskii ezhegodnik* (Omsk, 1996); Idem., "Sibirskii variant upravlencheskoi organizatsii XIX-nachala XX v., *Vestnik RGNF*, No. 3 (2001): 36–45; Idem., "Imperskoe upravlenie aziatskimi regionami Rossii v XIX-nachale XX vekov: nekotorye itogi i perspektivy izucheniia," in: *Puti poznaniia Rossii: novye podkhody i interpretatsii* (Moscow: MONF, 2001), pp. 97–125; Idem., "Imperskoe prostranstvo Rossii v regional'nom izmerenii: dal'nevostochnyi variant," in: *Prostranstvo vlasti: istoricheskii opyt Rossiii vyzovy sovremennosti* (Moscow, 2001), pp. 317–344.

25 See: V. S. Shandra, *Kyivs'ke general-gubernatorstvo (1832–1914)* (Kiev, 1999); Idem., *Malorosis'ke general-gubernatorstvo 1802–1856: Funktsii, struktura, arkhiv* (Kiev, 2001).

26 For interesting observations on Little Russia as part of the empire's core see the review of Shandra's book on the Little Russian governor-generalship: K. Matsuzato, "Iadro ili periferiia imperii? General-gubernatorstvo i malorossiiskaia identichnost'," *Ab Imperio*, No. 2 (2002): 605–615.

27 Kappeler, "Rossiia – mnogonatsional'naia imperiia": vosem' let spustia," 21.

28 Aleksandr Kamkin, instructor at Vologda University, provides a curious and telling story about how the history of the "Vologda region" was constructed in the Vologda *oblast',* which was only established in 1937: *Novye kontseptsii rossiiskikh uchebnikov po istorii* (Moscow: AIRO-XX, 2001), pp. 82–84.

29 This is the reason why the notion of the "novaia imperskaia istoria," or "new imperial history" literally translated from the English—and now suggested by the editors of the journal *Ab Imperio*, seems stylistically unfortunate to me. In the Russian linguistic context, it evokes associations with attempts to recreate the "imperial history" or the imperial narrative, while the task, especially for Russian historiography, consists in separation from the imperial narrative and in working out a new history of the empire. See: I. Gerasimov et al., eds., *Novaia imperskaia istoriia postsovetskogo prostranstva* (Kazan': Tsentr issledovanii natsionalizma i imperii, 2004).

30 The only exceptions are some studies of urban centers, e.g., Patricia Herlihy, *Odessa: A History, 1794–1914* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991).

31 Beyond the limits of this article, but meriting detailed study, is the question of the diversity in nature and internal structure of the various actors: the state and its agencies and institutions, national movements (both elite and popular), the political and social organizations, local associations, etc. I am aware of the danger of "constructing" the actors, for example – "imperial bureaucracy," which in most cases is internally divided. However this pitfall is less dangerous then the essentialization of a region, because, if we follow the situational approach, the very logic of research leads to problematization of the internal structure of actors and to questioning the initial list of such actors or agents.

32 In preparing a volume on the western borderlands (*okrainy*) for the abovementioned series on the borderlands of the empire, we were in fact guided by the situational approach. We defined the object of study as the competition between the Russian and Polish cultural, state and nation-building projects, in the space of which the new actors kept appearing with their own projects for the construction of Ukrainian, Belarusian, and Lithuanian nations. We therefore included the Western Borderland (*Zapadnyi krai*), the Kingdom of Poland and Little Russia. Other territories, such as New Russia (*Novorossia*), were considered only insofar as they were significant for understanding the competition of Russian and Ukrainian projects, or the picture of an "ideal Fatherland." Thus, neither the empire's administrative divisions nor contemporary state borders played an

exclusive role in determining the area under investigation. This permitted us to recognize the vagueness and fluidity of such areas as Little Russia as both borderland and part of the imperial core, depending on the changing nature of the interaction.

33 To me, the most compelling praise for my work was a observation by a distinguished historian, a participant in a discussion in L'viv, who (referring to my book "The Ukrainian Question") complained that it was not clear from my text whose side I was on.

34 Geraci, *Window to the East* 7, 10. See also Miller, "The Ukrainian question," pp. 31–41.

35 For example, it is no accident that contemporary political circumstances have led to a steep rise in historians' attention in late imperial ethnic processes in the Volga-Kama region. Judging by the number of dissertations defended in the late 1990s on this theme, the trend is not likely to end soon. See P.W. Werth, *At the Margins of Orthodoxy: Mission, Governance and Confessional Politics in Russia's Volga-Kama Region, 1827–1905* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001). It does credit to such authors as Geraci, Dowler and Werth, that their good, often simply remarkable works show no political tendentiousness at all.

36 This tendency—gradually overcoming the barriers separating Russian and foreign scholarship, and eroding the formerly strict allocation of roles whereby local historians were almost exclusively the purveyors of factual material—gains strength with every passing year. Still, it remains only a tendency, and the problem of alienation and isolation is still acute. Thus, in one of the most interesting collections on the Russian Empire to come out in recent years, 14 articles covering over 300 pages are by junior- or middle-ranking Russian historians (B. V. Ananich, S. I. Barzilov, eds., *Prostranstvo vlasti: istoricheskii opyt Rossii i vyzovy sovremennosti* [Moscow: Moskovskii obshchestvenyi nauchnyi fond, 2001]); I found references to foreign authors in only two of the articles. (The reverse search for references to contemporary Russian historians in articles by many Western authors would give similar results.) No matter how irritated I feel when I read in practically every Western review of books by Russian historians (when appropriate) that "the author knows the Western historiography well," I admit that this unconsciously patronizing formula remains justified.

37 Paul W. Werth, "From Resistance to Subversion: Imperial Power, Indigenous Opposition and Their Entanglement," *Kritika* Vol. 1, No. 1 (2000): 33.

38 It is only for simplicity's sake that I employ the contemporary designation of these national groups, since for the greater part of the 19th century the peasant masses of these populations did not recognize in themselves a consolidated national identity. And, of course, the agents were not national groups as such, but various organizations and groups of political activists, often with a different agenda.

39 See the works of Theodore R. Weeks, Darius Staliunas, Mikhail Dolbilov and Aleksei Miller.

40 See, for example, Geraci, *Window to the East*, 223; Weeks, "My ili oni?"

41 Alfred J. Rieber, "Comparative Ecology of Complex Frontiers," in *Imperial Rule,* A. Miller and Alfred J. Rieber, eds., (Budapest–New York: Central European University Press, 2004), pp. 179–210.

42 For a demonstration of how the triangular relationship Vienna–Vatican–Petrograd operated during the First World War, see Aleksandra Iu. Bakhturina, *Politika Rossiiskoi imperii v Vostochnoi Galitsii v gody pervoi mirovoi voiny* (Moscow: AIRO-XX, 2000).

43 Kemal H. Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam. Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith and Community in the Late Ottoman State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 276, 286. The importance of this factor has been noted by Geraci in his *Window to the East*, p. 279.

44 Joseph Redlich, *Das österreichische Staats- und Reichsproblem* Vol. 2. (Leipzig: Der Neue Geitz, 1920) p. 559 ff. See also the comments by H. Lutz in: *Die Donaumonarchie und die südslawische Frage von 1848 bis 1918.* Texte des Ersten österrreichisch-jugoslawischen Historikertreffens, Gösin, 1976*,* eds. Wandruszka, Adam et al. (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978). p. 58 f.; Fikret Adanir, "Religious Communities and Ethnic Groups under Imperial Sway: Ottoman and Habsburg Lands in Comparison," in: *The Historical Practice of Diversity: Transcultural Interactions from Early Modern Mediterranean to the Postcolonial World*, eds. Dirk Hoerder et al. (New York, London: Berghahn Books, 2003), pp. 54–86.

45 John A. Armstrong, "Mobilized and Proletarian Diasporas," *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 70 (1976): 393–408.

46 Eric Lohr, *Nationalizing the Russian Empire: the Campaign against Enemy Aliens during World War I* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003).

47 For a discussion of some aspects of the migrations through the Russian–Ottoman border that at times resembled a consensual exchange of population, see the unpublished doctoral dissertation: Mark Pinson, *Demographic Warfare – an Aspect of Ottoman and Russian Policy, 1854–1866*. PhD. diss. Harvard University, 1970.

48 See: John-Paul Himka, "The Construction of Nationality in Galician Rus': Ikarian Flights in Almost All Directions," in *Intellectuals and the Articulation of the Nation,* eds. Michael Kennedy and Ronald G. Suny (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1999), pp. 109–164, and Veronika Wendland, *Die Russophilen in Galizien. Ukrainische Konservative zwischen Österreich und Russland, 1848–1915* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001), which demonstrate the mechanisms of such migrations between Galicia and "Russian" Ukraine and their importance for the formation of identity of the Galician Rusyns.

49 A. Miller, "Vneshnii factor v formirovanii natsional'noi identichnosti galitskikh rusinov," in *Avstro-Vengriia: integratsionnye protsessy i natsional'naia spetsifika,* ed. O. Khavanova (Moscow: Nauka, 1997), pp. 68–75.

50 On the support of the Galician Russophiles by the Slavic Committees in Russia as well as by the St. Petersburg authorities, see: Wendland, *Die Russophilen in Galizien*; A. Miller, *The Ukrainian Question,* chapter 12; O. Miller, "Subsidiia gazete *Slovo*: Galitsiiskie rusiny v politike Peterburga," in *Ukraina: kul'turna spadshchina, natsional'na svidomist', derzhavnist'. Vip. 9: Iuvileinii zbirnik na poshanu Feodosiia Stebliia* (L'viv: Institut Ukrainoznavstvo NANU, 2001), pp. 322–338. On the dissemination of anti-Polish rumors among Galician peasants, which was suspected to be the work of Russian agents, see: A. Miller, "Ukrainskie krest'ieane, pol'skie pomeshchiki, avstriiskii i russkii imperator v Galitsii 1872 g.," in *Tsentral'naia Evropa v novoe i noveishee vremia,* ed. A .S. Stykalin (Moscow: Institut Slavianovedeniia, 1998), pp. 175–180.

51 A. Miller, *The Ukrainian Question*, pp. 214–216.

52 Erik J. Zurcher, "The Young Turks: The Children of the Borderlands?" in *Ottoman Borderlands: Issues, Personalities and Political Changes,* ed. Kemal H. Karpat, (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), pp. 275–285. Among seven leading ideolo-

gists of the Young Turks four were born Russian subjects (one in Kazan, three in the Caucasus), one was a converted Jew from Macedonia, one of mixed Turkish–Kurdish origin, and only one was Turkic, but not from Anatolia.

53 See Fikret Adanir and Hilmar Kaiser, "Migration, Deportation and Nation-Building: The Case of the Ottoman Empire," in *Migrations and Migrants in Historical Perspective: Permanencies and Innovations,* ed. René Leboutte (Florence: P. I. E.–Peter Lang S. A., Brussels, 2000), pp. 273–292, esp. p. 281.

54 Ronald Grigor Suny, "The Empire Strikes Out: Imperial Russia, "National" Identity, and Theories of Empire," in *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin,* eds. Terry Martin and Ronald G. Suny (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 29–30.

55 Paul Werth, "The Russian Empire and the Armenian Catholicos at Home and Abroad," in *Reconstruction and Interaction of Slavic Eurasia and Its Neighboring Worlds,* ed. Osamu Ieda and Tomohiko Uyama (Sapporo: Slavic Research Center, 2006), pp. 203–235.

56 One has to agree with Paul W. Schroeder, who believes that the rather long process of the destruction of the self-imposed restrictions that the European empires adhered to after the disastrous Napoleonic wars was begun by the Crimean war and was due to the British policy. One result of that war was the consent of the imperial powers to the reunification of Germany, a new continental empire on the outskirts of the West, which, under Bismarck, attempted to partially recreate the former concert of the great powers. The final deconstruction of the system of conventional restrictions in relations between the continental empires took several decades and revealed itself with full force at the precise time of the world war. See: Paul W. Schroeder, *Austria, Great Britain and the Crimean War: The Destruction of the European Concert* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972), pp. 392–427, esp. pp. 412–418.

57 For more details see Chapter 7.

58 István Deák believes that the "the dissolution of the (Habsburg) monarchy into hostile national entities had begun in the POW camps" during the World War I. See *Beyond Nationalism: a Social and Political History of the Habsburg Officer Corps, 1848–1918* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 198. On analogous processes in the Russian POW camps, see chapter 7 of this book. On the whole, the question of the influence of German and Austrian propaganda on the Russian prisoners of war needs serious study. The forthcoming book of Mark von Hagen on the First World War promises to become an important step in this direction.

59 See: Richard L. Rudolph and David F. Good, eds., *Nationalism and Empire: The Habsburg Monarchy and the Soviet Union* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994); as well as the articles by Orest Subtelnyi and György Kövér in *Empire and Society,* ed. Teruyuki Hara and Kimitaka Matsuzato (Sapporo: Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University, 1997).

60 Karen Barkey and Mark von Hagen, eds., *After Empire. Multiethnic Societies and Nation-Building. The Soviet Union and the Russian, Ottoman and Habsburg Empires* (Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, 1997).

61 See Philipp Ther, "Imperial instead of National History: Positioning Modern German History on the Map of European Empires," in Miller–Rieber, eds., *Imperial Rule*, pp. 47–69.

62 See e.g. Dominic Lieven, "Dilemmas of Empire 1850–1918: Power, Territory, Identity," *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (1999); Idem, "Imperiia na periferii Ev-

ropy: sravnenie Rossii i Zapada," in *Rossiiskaia imperiia v sravnitel'noi perspective,* ed. A. Miller (Moscow: Novoe izdatelstvo, 2004), pp. 71–93. The mobilization of resources for military competitiveness and, as a consequence, for a stable economic development, was a key function of empires in modern times. In this sense, they differed from the predominantly "predatory" empires of the pre-modern era.

63 Smuel Eisenstadt, "Multiple Modernities in the Era of Globalization," *Daedalus*, Vol. 129, No. 1 (2000).

64 See, e.g.: Selim Deringil, "'They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery': The Late Ottoman Empire and the Post-Colonial Debate," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, No. 2 (2003): 311–342.

65 Good examples of this tendency toward "normalization" of Russian history can be found in: Mironov, *Sotsial'naia istoriia Rossii*.

66 Maria Todorova, "Does Russian Orientalism Have a Russian Soul? A Contribution to the Debate between Nathaniel Knight and Adeeb Khalid," *Kritika*, New Series, Vol. 1, No. 4 (2000): 717–727, esp. 719–720.

67 As a good analysis of this discourse, I would recommend Iver B. Neumann, *Uses of the Other*, chapter 3, "Making Europe – the Russian Other." I have borrowed the notion of the "constituting Other" from another article of his: I. B. Neumann, "Russia as Central Europe's Constituting Other," *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (1993): 349–360.

68 Some of the recent studies that emphasize the approach to the history of the Russian Empire as largely unique are quite valuable. See, e.g. Iu. S. Pivovarov, and A. I. Fursov, "Russkaia sistema i reformy," *Pro et Contra*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (1996); Iu.S. Pivovarov, and A. I. Fursov, "Russkaia sistema kak popytka ponimaniia russkoi istorii," *Polis*, 2001, No. 4; A. S. Akhiezer, *Rossiia: kritika istoricheskogo opyta*, Vols. I–III (Moscow: Filosofskoe obshchestvo SSSR, 1991). This, of course, does not mean that the author of this book is prepared to accept the theses expressed in them completely.

69 It seems to me that Maria Todorova herself did not escape the temptation to "defend the European-ness of Balkan history" in her remarkable book *Imagining the Balkans*.

70 See Sonja Puntscher Riekmann, "The Myth of European Unity," in *Myths and Nationhood,* eds. Geoffrey Hosking, and George Schopflin (London: C. Hurst, 1997), pp. 60–71. See also the collection: Gerald Stourzh ed., *Annäherungen an eine europäische Geschitsschreibung* (Vienna: Archiv für österreichische Geschichte, 2002), which devotes several articles to this subject. In my article in this collection I have attempted to emphasize the zigzagging development of European history, its variances, when the development of different parts of Europe proceeded in fundamentally different ways. All this makes it very difficult to create a myth of European history as a history of increasing economic and political freedom. One can argue that Stalin did not belong to European history, but Hitler was undoubtedly part of it, and he could have won. It is easy to imagine what kind of meaning of European history would be discussed then by political scientists and historians at conferences somewhere in Boston or Beijing.

71 Armstrong, "Mobilized and Proletarian Diasporas."

72 Andreas Kappeler, ed. in collaboration with Fikret Adanir and Alan O'Day, *The Formation of National Elites,* Vol. 6 in Comparative Studies on Governments and Non-dominant Ethnic Groups in Europe, 1850–1940, (Aldershot–New York–Dartmouth: New York University Press, 1992).

73 H. P. Hye, "Elity i imperskie elity v Gabsburgskoi imperii, 1815–1914, in: A.Miller, ed., *Rossiiskaia imperiia v sravnitel'noi perspective* (Moscow: Novoe izdatelstvo, 2004), pp. 150–176; A. Somel', "Osmanskaia imperiia: mestnye elityi mekhanizmy ikh integratsii, ibid., pp. 177–205; A. Kamenskii, "Elity Rossiiskoi imperii i mekhanizmy administrativnogo upravleniia," ibid., pp. 115–139.

74 Andreas Kappeler, "Imperiales Zentrum und Eliten der Peripherie" (an article for the project Rulers and Ruled in Continental European Empires in Comparison, 1700–1920, carried out by the Historical Commission of the Austrian Academy of Sciences).

75 See: A. Miller and A. J. Rieber, "Introduction," *Imperial Rule,* Miller–Rieber, eds., pp. 1–6.

76 See: P. Werth, "Schism Once Removed: Sects, State Authority and Meanings of Religious Toleration in Imperial Russia," in: *Imperial Rule*, pp. 85–108, and S. Deringil, "Redefining Identities in the Late Ottoman Empire: Policies of Conversion and Apostasy," ibid., pp. 109–134. A major conference titled "Religions, Identities and Empires" and devoted to the Romanov, Habsburg and Ottoman empires was held in April 2005 at the Yale University. An earlier work of note is: Robert Geraci and Michael Khodarkovsky, eds., *Of Religion and Empire: Missions, Conversion, and Tolerance in Tsarist Russia* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001).

77 David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). This book is completely devoted to the British Empire and does not use comparative analysis. However, it opens up some very interesting perspectives for the comparativist approach regarding the question of how the imperial center preserved and strengthened, and sometimes created, such local elites on the periphery that allowed it to exercise indirect rule over the imperial periphery. Some earlier studies of indirect rule in the British colonies include: Ian Copland, *The British Raj and the Indian Princes: Paramountcy in Western India*, *1857-1930* (Bombay: Orient Longman, 1982); Michael H. Fisher, *Indirect Rule in India: Residents and the Residency System 1764-1858* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1991). Cannadine's book is also interesting as a serious polemic with the concept of Orientalism; it demonstrates how the British transferred onto peripheral societies their own notions of social organization, i.e., they did not think of the periphery exclusively through opposition, as Edward Said argued, but also by analogy.

78 See, e.g., Suny, "The Empire Strikes Out" in *A State of Nations*, p. 27.

79 Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper, "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda" in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World,* eds. Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), p. 22.

80 Henry Kamen, *Spain's Road to Empire: The Making of a World Power* (London: The Penguin Press, 2002). The quotation comes from Ronald Wright. "For a wild surmise." *TLS*, December 20, 2002, p. 3. For a similar argument on Britain see Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging a Nation, 1707-1837* (London: Pimlico, 1992).

81 For examples of ways in which studies of nation-formation at the cores of maritime empires see, Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976); Colley, *Britons: Forging a Nation*; Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development. 1556-1966* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975). For a comparative

analysis of Russian nationalism, see chapter 5 of this book, as well as: A. Miller, *The Ukrainian Question*. See also: Sebastian Balfour, "The Spanish Empire and its End: A Comparative View in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Europe," in *Imperial Rule*, pp. 153–162; Steven Velychenko, "Empire Loyalism and Minority Nationalism in Great Britain and Imperial Russia, 1707 to 1914: Institutions, Laws, and Nationality in Scotland and Ukraine," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 39, No. 3 (1997). Such comparisons can be unproductive if they use that part of literature on Russian history that is based on the idea of total difference between contiguous and maritime empires. See Krishan Kumar, "Nation and Empire: English and British National Identity in Comparative Perspective," *Theory and Society*, Vol. 29 (2000): 579–608, esp. pp. 584–588.

82 Steven Velychenko, "The Bureaucracy, Police and Army in Twentieth-Century Ukraine: A Comparative Quantitative Study," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, No. 3–4, (1999): 63–103; idem., "The Size of the Imperial Russian Bureaucracy and Army in Comparative Perspective," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, Vol. 48, No. 3 (2001): 346–362.

83 Wayne Dowler, *Classroom and Empire: The Politics of Schooling Russia's Eastern Nationalities, 1860–1917* (Toronto: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001); R. Geraci, *Window on the East*.

84 Nathaniel Knight, "Grigor'ev in Orenburg, 1851–1862: Russian Orientalism in the Service of Empire?," *Slavic Review,* Vol. 59, No. 1 (2000): 74–100; idem., "On Russian Orientalism: A Response to Adeeb Khalid," *Kritika*, Vol. 1, No. 4, (2000): 701–715; Adeeb A. Khalid, "Russian History and the Debate over Orientalism," ibid., pp. 691–699; Todorova, "Does Russian Orientalism Have a Russian Soul?"

85 Ilya Vinkovetsky, "The Russian-American Company as a Colonial Contractor for the Russian Empire," in Miller-Rieber, eds., *Imperial Rule*, pp. 163–178.

86 See his magnum opus: Dominic Lieven, *Empire: The Russian Empire and its Rivals* (London: John Murray, 2000), and also D. Lieven, "Empire on Europe's Periphery: Russian and Western Comparisons," in Miller-Rieber, eds., *Imperial Rule*, pp. 135–152.

87 Lieven, "Dilemmas of Empire 1850–1918. Power, Territory, Identity," p. 165.

88 Idem, "Imperiia na periferii Evropy: sravnenie Rossii i Zapada," p. 91.

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CHAPTER 2

RUSSIFICATION OR RUSSIFICATIONS?

The more we learn about the regional peculiarities of interactions surrounding ethnicity and nationalism in various parts of the Romanov Empire the less satisfied we are with numerous overstretched notions that have functioned in historiography for a long time. Among those notions is the term "russification."

The situation is somewhat reminiscent of the one that emerged in nationalism studies in the early 1990s and prompted John Hall to write his remarkable article "Nationalisms: Classified and Explained." In his polemic with the authors who in the 1980s were engaged in an attempt to create an all embracing theory of nationalism, Hall demonstrated that this term signifies a whole array of phenomena and processes that vary significantly depending on the circumstances of time and place. "No single, universal theory of nationalism is possible. Since the historical record is diverse, so too must be our concepts," was his central claim.[1] What was becoming the primary goal, in Hall's view, was a description of nationalisms in their specific manifestations, a classification and explanation of their diversity.

Following Hall's example, I believe it is more correct to speak not of russification in the singular, but of "russifications," i.e. of a whole cluster of various processes and interactions that often differ not in some minor detail in the manifestation of a general principle but in their inner logic and nature. The obvious question arises: how useful is the term "russification" itself? Further on, I will make some suggestions on the limitation of its use. Practice shows, however, that any complicated conventions in regard to terminology do not take root easily or, at least, immediately. The main task now is to highlight "russification" as a problematic concept in the hope that a more selective and conscious use of it will gradually assert itself in historiography.

If we read in a study that the authorities in a particular place and in a particular time "pursued the policy of russification," can we imagine, on the basis

of this statement, what exactly the authorities did? It is clear that we cannot, from which it follows that "russification" is not a descriptive but an evaluative term. Therefore, first of all, we have to define the criteria of the formation of such evaluative judgments. Secondly, we have to clearly differentiate whether we evaluate the intentions of the authorities or the "objective" content of the process. Finally, in each case it has to be clearly defined whether we speak of assimilation, acculturation, colonization or some other processes which we will analyze later.

In their response to Hall's article, many scholars have independently formulated the general principle of resolving the problem of analysis of the diversity of nationalisms he had put forward. Since the subject of study is various forms of social interaction, it is necessary to single out, as far as possible, all the actors in this interaction, to understand the logic of their behavior (including their subjective motivation), in order to account for the circumstances under which this interaction takes place. This same principle is quite applicable for an analysis of the diversity of "russifications."

One cannot say that historians have been previously unaware that this notion is an umbrella term for a number of different processes. It seems that the first historian to attempt to classify russifications was Edward Thaden. Strictly speaking, no more detailed classification has been suggested since then. Thaden differentiated between (1) spontaneous russification, a process that began as early as the sixteenth century and continued at least to the early twentieth century; (2) the "administrative russification" as part of the policy of the absolutist administrative centralization that began in the second half of the eighteenth century, continuing to the reign of Alexander II, and which particularly characterized policy in the Baltic provinces; and (3) forced cultural russification (an effort to impose Russian language and the Orthodoxy) beginning already under Alexander II and continuing into the nineteenth and early twentieth century.[2]

A closer look at Thaden's classification reveals several major problems. When Thaden discusses the processes of assimilation and acculturation, he differentiates between spontaneous russification, i.e., the adoption and assimilation by particular groups of certain features of "Russian-ness" (variant 1) and the forced imposition of particular features of "Russian-ness" (variant 3). In this division Thaden correctly draws the line, firstly, between the periods before and after the emergence of nationalism in this region it is clear that both the conditions of interaction related to assimilation and acculturation and the logic of the actors' conduct were changing as nationalist ideologies and a nationalist world-view asserted themselves. However, one

cannot agree with his clearcut differentiation between the voluntary and enforced components of the assimilation and acculturation processes.

The second variant in the Thaden classification, i.e., the "administrative russification," points out a very significant circumstance: the concept of "russification" is used not only to describe the assimilation and acculturation processes, but to denote other administrative, and I will add, symbolic practices. The Thaden classification does not single out any regional peculiarities of the processes described.

It is clear that this degree of detail and conceptualization no longer satisfies today's historians. For instance, in his 2001 book *Window on the East*, dealing with the Volga and Urals region, Robert Geraci is quite justified in making another statement on the extreme vagueness of the notion of "russification."[3] He does not offer any ready solutions to the problem, but correctly maps out some "problem fields" where these solutions could be found. First of all, he suggests referring to *Begriffsgeschichte*, i.e. an analysis of the historical meanings of that large group of terms that have been used to denote the processes of identity formation and identification mechanisms in the Romanov Empire, including russification.[4] He lists these terms: "Christianization," "assimilation," "rapprochement," "fusion," "civilization" and "russification."[5] Geraci's suggestion is undoubtedly productive, but one has also to realize the limitations of such research. It is possible even now to formulate with assurance one of its main conclusions: about the uncertainty of the above notions, their lack of precision, and contradictions in their usage at the time.[6]

Secondly, Geraci correctly calls for more research on the methods of defining the very category of Russian-ness and on the various political, psychological, racial, linguistic and other criteria that have been used to do it.[7] Many historians have written on the diversity of interpretations of the Russian nation.[8] In recent years, this problem has been quite intensively studied, not without success, by a large number of scholars on the example of the western provinces.

Let us now take a closer look at the set of processes and interactions behind the concept of russification, and at the problems that confront their researcher.

First of all, we will address the processes of assimilation and acculturation. There is no unanimity in the treatment of these terms. Sometimes acculturation is understood as an early stage of the assimilation process.[9] More often than not, however, the difference between these notions is emphasized, and that seems, in my opinion, a more productive approach. In fact, the very emergence of the term *acculturation*, which occurred in the early twentieth

century in the context of French debates on the policy of assimilation in the colonies,[10] in addition to the very old and already widespread term *assimilation* means there was an attempt to find a new word to describe phenomena different from assimilation. In other words, acculturation may be followed (though not necessarily) by assimilation, but this transition means a change in the very nature of the process. Acculturation does not affect a sense of group belonging or national identity, while the assimilation processes inevitably does.[11] While acculturation consists in internalization of new cultural models borrowed in the course of contacts with another community, assimilation is a process of appropriation, of inclusion in a new community, adoption of a new world-view, new traditions and emotional attachments.[12]

In his study of the assimilation concept on American material, Milton Gordon names, among other conditions necessary for complete assimilation, "absence of prejudice; absence of discrimination; absence of value and power conflict," thus emphasizing the readiness of the assimilating community to accept new, assimilated members.[13] We will still have to discuss the differences in the levels of rejection of assimilated groups in different periods and in different segments of Russian society.

There is also the notion of dissimilation that in social sciences describes the consequences that a separatist policy of ethnic and dialectal groups, postulating a self-contained national status and a refusal to belong to a larger community, have on the self-identification of these groups' members. In this case the cultural and linguistic distancing from this larger community is consciously increased.[14] This notion is applicable for describing changes that occurred to strongly assimilated groups and individuals from, e.g., the Belorussian, Little Russian or Jewish communities when and if they began to give preference to the Ukrainian, Belorussian or Jewish identities as national identities.

According to American anthropologists, acculturation, i.e., internalization of new cultural models, invariably happens when there is systematic contact between two different communities.[15] The French interpretation is more narrow: "Acculturation is a phenomenon of social adaptation of an individual or a group that appears as a result of a previous loss of adaptation or a complete change of the environment."[16] The Encyclopedia Britannica also states that acculturation can occur either as a result of a contact of two groups on equal terms or under conditions of military or political domination of one group by another.[17] For our purposes this definition works—an inclusion in the empire invariably meant being subjected to military and political domination.

However, even in the case of a contact of two formally independent communities, one cannot always speak of equality, even when these communities have their own independent states, since there are many forms of class-based, economic and cultural domination. It is precisely these forms of domination that are characteristic of relations between more developed groups in the empire's borderlands (Poles, Baltic Germans and Tatars) and their non-Russian, and sometimes also Russian, neighbors. In certain periods these dominating groups could count on the support of the imperial authorities, but the situation was growing more complicated as the empire adopted elements of Russian nationalist policy.

Thus, acculturation does not lead to a change of identity, and a successful assimilation does precisely that. The word *russification* is used essentially without distinction to describe both these forms of social interaction.

But should, for instance, missionary activity and Christianization always be regarded as a variant of a russifying policy? Conversion, without a doubt, deeply affects identity, and in this sense is connected with the phenomenon of assimilation. But this assimilation can either have a national dimension, i.e., contribute objectively and intentionally to the establishment of the Russian identity, or not have it, i.e., be directed not at the destruction of a traditional tribal or ethnic identification but exclusively at religious assimilation. Some elements of confessional policies are connected with russification more rigidly than others. As an example one can cite various forms (both forced and unforced) of converting Uniates to Orthodoxy. I am not sufficiently competent to discuss religious subjects in greater detail, but it is clear that historians still have much to do to understand the relationship between the policy of religious conversions and the policy of nationalist assimilation, in different periods and in different borderlands of the empire.

Another important question is whether the actors that impose certain elements of Russian-ness always aim at the assimilation of the targeted individuals and groups. Should russification be described as any imposition of elements of Russian-ness or only as the actions that were strategically directed at assimilation? The same kind of question can be asked of those actors that adopt certain elements of Russian-ness: is this adoption instrumental or is it connected with the assimilation strategy? It is obvious that any actions can have not only planned but unforeseen consequences that may sometimes even contradict the initial goals. But the distinction we describe is nonetheless important for an understanding of the logic of the actors involved in "russification" interactions. If we want to avoid an excessive "straining" of the term *russification*, one of the possible limitations is to apply the term exclusively to

the actions or strategies that imply an effort to make someone Russian and/or an effort of someone to become Russian.

The pre-reform Russian language was in some respects better suited to the description of the processes that interest us. It had two different words for russification. Spelled with an "e," i.e. the way we use it today (*обрусение*), it denoted a pressure applied to an individual or a group in order to russify them. When spelled with an "*jat'*," however (i.e., *обрусѣние*), it meant the process of acceptance by an individual or a group of certain features of "Russian-ness." This distinction can now be observed in the words *обрусить* (in Dal's dictionary, "to make Russian") and *обрусеть* (according to Dal, "to become Russian"). Dal's dictionary illustrates the distinction with the phrase "Корела и мордва обрусѣли у нас, а жидову нескоро обрусишь" ("The Karelians and the Mordvins have become Russians here, but you can't make the Yids into Russians soon").[18]

It goes without saying that in the late imperial discourse both terms were objects of ideological manipulations. Thus, e.g., in the well-known polemic between Petr Struve and Vladimir Zhabotinskii in the *Russkaia mysl'* in 1911, the former spells it *обрусѣние* (with an "jat'"), and the latter, *обрусение* (with an "e").[19] It is clear that both are making an ideological choice. Struve wrote of *обрусѣние* as a predominantly voluntary process, even though he was perfectly aware of the russifying pressure of the state, and his own journal was actively involved in discussing, editorially, both the negative and positive sides of such a policy. Zhabotinskii, on the other hand, in condemning the Jewish intelligentsia as Zionist for their engagement with an "alien" Russian culture, was writing of a phenomenon that was in fact best described as *обрусѣние*. He himself had adopted Russian culture in his russified family without enforcement—Russian was in fact his *native* tongue.[20]

In reality, the black-and-white situations of exclusively forced or exclusively voluntary russification were but extremes. In the majority of cases, the agents of russification attempted, along with pressure, to create a positive motivation.[21] And those who underwent russification in the form of assimilation or acculturation had their own motives, often quite unexpected by the "russifiers," for adopting the Russian language or certain elements of Russian culture. In many parts of the empire Westernization and russification were connected, and modernizing strategies of local communities could imply a partial, instrumental russification. Thus, the Muslim intelligentsia, e.g., Ismail Gaspirali (Gasprinskii), in the late nineteenth—early twentieth century could favor the adoption of Russian exactly as an instrument that, firstly, facilitated access to West-European thought and education, wherein one could borrow ideas and

resources for one's own nationalist projects, and secondly, provided an opportunity for a more effective defense of the local community interests in the relations with the imperial authority and in public opinion. This was what Nikolai Il'minskii understood quite early on: in discussing the candidates for the position of the mufti, he characterized as "excessively good" a candidate's general education and his command of Russian in particular.[22]

In any case, it is important to distance oneself from the idea of interaction within russification in which one of the sides is only a passive object whose activity, if any, is limited to the efforts at resisting and developing an alternative language and culture. The motives for the adoption of Russian by a Polish engineer or entrepreneur, by a Baltic German (or again Polish) bureaucrat, by a Jew intent on receiving education or gaining financial success, by officers from all manner of ethnic roots, by Muslims from traditional and new elites—this infinite field of variations is still very little researched: in part because national historiographies until very recently have not been particularly interested in this subject, since they were and largely remain concentrated on the subject of opposition to the imperial power. Thus, e.g., two leading Estonian historians in their recently published book on educated Estonians of the late empire devoted less than one page to Estonian tsarist civil servants.[23]

Meanwhile, the Estonian example may be very telling. The number of Estonians in the state civil service in Revel (Tallinn) in 1871 amounted to only 4 (or less than two percent of the total), while by 1897 it rose to 442, i.e., over 50 percent of all civil servants. The extensive growth of bureaucracy in general during the period in question was an important precondition for this phenomenon. However, another, no less important factor of this truly dramatic rise in the number and percentage of Estonian bureaucrats consists in the fact that this period marked the entrance into active professional life of the first generation of Estonians who had received education in the gymnasia and higher education in Russian and were ready for a career in the imperial administration.[24] This became a precondition for incredible career success, as far as this ethnic group is concerned.

Certainly, the very fact of mastering the Russian language by educated Estonians should be regarded only as a precondition for this phenomenon. An important factor was the conscious favoring of Estonians as opposed to Germans on the part of the imperial authorities in the wake of the German unification and the growth of tension in the Russian–German relations.[25]

Similarly underresearched are the positive motives for the adoption of Russian by the lower orders. A peasant could wish for his son to be able to understand the Tsar's laws, that is, to be able to read Russian. (There are known

cases when Little Russian peasants insisted on schooling in Russian instead of Ukrainian). The prospect of becoming a scribe in one's own village was likely to be attractive—for some as an opportunity to help neighbors, for others as an opportunity for bribery. The career of a village teacher, a secretary or even a priest was also quite real. The economic activity of non-Russian peasants requiring geographical mobility—whether seasonal labor in the cities, cab driving, or, for Estonian women, working as maids, which was widespread in St. Petersburg—also often facilitated some learning of Russian, however limited.

We know more about the motives and forms of resistance to cultural and linguistic russification, and more frequently take them into account in our research. This is the only reason why I have concentrated on the problem of the positive motivation of russification, and not to present cultural and linguistic russification as a predominantly voluntary process. Russification as an assimilationist influence could meet with total resistance, as it did, e.g., in the case of the majority of the Jewish population up until the 1840s (which was reflected in the phrase quoted by Dal). However, the processes that brought about some serious change by way of assimilation or acculturation were inevitably combinations of *обрусение* and *обрусѣние*. (Thus, assimilation and acculturation of the Jews began to actively develop at the time when persons of Jewish descent became teachers in large numbers at secular Russian-language Jewish schools.)[26]

When considering these terms a very important factor which has to be taken into account when analyzing cases of far advanced assimilation is the readiness of the authorities and society to accept that assimilation. It was different with respect to a Jew, a Tatar, a Chuvash or a Little Russian.[27] The assimilation of some groups, e.g., the Finno-Ugric peoples of the Volga region, was especially welcome, as there existed a widespread conviction in their "complementarity" with the Russians. The Little Russians and Belarussians did not experience the problems of "rejected assimilation" at all; on the contrary, they were denied the right for a special ethnic status, different from the Great Russians. The phenomenon of rejection of different categories of the assimilated groups was changing with time, and it was also different within different social groups of Russian society itself. At the bottom of the social pyramid there were different mechanisms at work than among the educated strata. The latter were not unanimous in their attitudes toward the assimilating groups either. In regard to Poles, the threshold of "rejected assimilation" grew especially high after the spreading of political Polonophobia in Russian society as a reaction to the uprising of 1863. In regard to Jews, the liberal invitation to assimilation on the part of educated society as a whole was extended

throughout the 1850s–1870s, and was finding an increasing response in the Jewish community. However, from the late 1870s, it was increasingly replaced in a significant part of Russian society by a growing, in select cases, racially motivated rejection. One result of this, among others, was the mass enlistment by assimilated Jews into revolutionary and, in part, liberal movements, which did not reject them. While in the early 1870s the share of Jews among the participants in the revolutionary movement did not exceed their share in the population of the Russian Empire, by the end of the 1880s Jews comprised over 40 percent of its participants. The striving of assimilated Jews to find an environment that would not reject them played a role in this process that, in this author's opinion, was no less important than the fact of legal discrimination and the pogroms of the early 1880s.

The extreme rightwing nationalists in the early twentieth century carried this problem to an extreme. They, on the one hand, promoted a maximally aggressive and comprehensive russification, and on the other, were treating the Russian nation in exclusively ethnic terms—denying the right of even the fully russified *inorodtsy* ("aliens") to aspire to membership in the Russian nation. This, in its turn, influenced the strategies of the assimilating groups and their individual representatives.

A number of other important factors have to be taken into account when analyzing interactions related to assimilation and acculturation. Firstly, the logic of the situational approach implies that we have to keep in mind the entire set of identity-forming interactions. In particular, we have to take into account that various steps and projects aimed at "russification" did not hold a monopoly throughout the empire: in a number of regions they faced serious competition from alternative projects of expansionist assimilation. Thus, for instance, the educational system that existed in the western provinces before the 1830 uprising, and which was partially preserved in the following decades, definitely had a polonizing effect on the local East Slavs and Lithuanians, and the educational system in the Baltic *gubernias* up until the mid-nineteenth century. It was an instrument of the germanization of Latvians and Estonians. In the western provinces the presence of Poles and Germans who possessed highly developed cultures and strong elite groups (nobility and intelligentsia) made the competition of assimilationist projects especially tough—but, it was not limited to this part of the empire. An expansionist project of cultural-religious homogenization was implemented by the Tatar elites in the Volga and Orenburg regions.

The potential of russification projects was often assessed by their activists as weaker than their competitors', at least in the short run. This significantly af-

fected their tactics. The government and the local Russian actors were often ready to show temporary support for the formation of a separate national identity of particular groups that were targeted by alternative projects of assimilation and cultural expansion in order to sabotage the efforts of their more powerful competitors. When Il'minskii gave priority to the dissemination of Orthodox Christianity, sacrificing for the time being the task of spreading the Russian language in the Volga region, and worked to give the Volga ethnic groups literary culture in their own languages, this was (along with missionary intentions) largely connected to the fact that he saw a clear and present danger in the spreading of Islam in the region and, connected to it, the Tatar influence.

Another important circumstance is that empires are heterogeneous by definition. Even in the age of nationalism they are less preoccupied with achieving a cultural-linguistic hegemony than nation-states, especially in the borderlands. Their priority is often not assimilation and affirmation of a common national identity for the entire population but loyalty. This loyalty is not merely political, but is also expressed in cultural forms, i.e., in an orientation toward the imperial center as a prioritized source of cultural models and influences. For example, the use of the Latin alphabet was forbidden for a long period in the second half of the nineteenth century for the Ukrainaian, Byelarussian, Lithuanian and Lattgalian (dialect of Latvian) languages. This measure was primarily intended to undermine the Polish influence on the ethnic groups of the western borderlands. With regard to the East Slav population, this policy was a part of the consistent assimilationist project because it was combined with the repressions of the Ukrainian, and partly, Byelarussian languages; with the purpose of thwarting the emancipation of these "dialects of Russian." There were no such repressions in respect to the Lithuanian and Latvian languages (unlike their alphabets!), i.e., publications in these languages were not limited as long as they were in Cyrillic. Assimilation of Lithuanians and Latvians was not regarded as a foreseeable priority, and that is why the ban on the Latin alphabet was as a whole an ineffective measure aimed not at assimilation but at acculturation and at ensuring imperial loyalty.

Let us now turn to the agents of russification. They can be classified according to their socio-political characteristics, but also according to their agendas. In the former case, it is the difference between the state and public agents.

The dynastic imperial power itself had always been preoccupied with the problem of its own political legitimization and the education of loyalty among its subjects. The questions remain open: when, how and to what extent the "Russian-ness" of the Romanovs' power became an important motive of its

legitimization, and thus too, does the question of the russifying role of the "rituals of power." Obviously, Richard Wortman's research has significantly advanced our understanding of this problem, but it would be a mistake to think that Wortman has "exhausted" the subject, particularly since the question of translation and perception of the imperial rituals in different strata of society requires a closer study.[28]

For the late Russian Empire, the problem of the alienation of an educated society from the state was extremely relevant. The nationalist policy was no exception in this regard. It is quite correct to point to the weak coordination between the state policy and the public initiative in the russification area. Many contemporaries noted the weak assimilating potential of Russian society. The historians, as a rule, agree with these observations, and attempt to define the causes for this state of affairs. Some believe—in my opinion, with reason—that it is more correct to speak not of the Russian nationalist movement as an organized force but, rather, of the Russian nationalist discourse that gradually asserted itself in society throughout the nineteenth century but did not lead, until the early twentieth century, to the emergence of political structures. If it is possible to differentiate between "strong" and "weak" nationalisms, the Russian nationalism most likely belongs in the second category, in both an organizational and emotional sense.[29]

The role of particular state institutions (the army, the church, the school, etc.) as agents of russification deserves a special comparative analysis—both in terms of comparing the russifying efficiency of these institutions in relation to the region and its population, and of comparing the assimilating role of these institutions with that in other empires.[30]

The absence of unity on the questions of the tactics and strategy of russifying efforts between the state and society, as well as within the bureaucracy between various social movements and within those movements, was characteristic of the Russian Empire throughout its history. An analysis of views of the Tsarist officials of the late nineteenth century foreshadows, in each individual case, a strange mixture of traditionalist perceptions and new nationalist ideas even in "individual minds."

Similarly, there was no consent on such issues as to what constituted "Russian-ness." What are the criteria of inclusion in the Russian nation-in-the-making? Where should or does one draw the territorial boundaries? What is the relationship of this nation to the empire? The debates over these questions had a truly vehement character up until the collapse of the empire.

In the standard of "Russian-ness" itself some attributed a key role to the Orthodox religion, others to the language and culture, still others to race or

blood. As a consequence, the ideas of measurements, instruments and goals of russification diverged, too. The idea that the essence of Russian-ness is in the Orthodox Church was imbued with serious problems. First of all, it made the goal of integration of the Great Russian population itself—of the Old Believers and sectarians—extremely acute.[31] Secondly, the tendency to look at the East Slavs of the Uniate or even Catholic faith as a part of the Russian nation was gradually gaining strength. For instance, Katkov, an important figure in the Russian nationalist discourse, insisted that the Belarussian Catholics should be considered Russian. The authorities already began to heed this point of view in the reign of Alexander II.[32] Shortly before the second occupation of Galicia during the First World War, the Special Political Department of the Ministry of the Interior produced instructions for the Russian authorities in Galicia demanding that they not demonstrate any difference in their treatment of the Orthodox and the Greco-Catholic population[33].

Katkov himself went much further on the question of the connection between religion and nation (to be more precise, in the question of the weakness of this connection) and believed that the Russian nation should be open for membership by assimilated representatives of any religious groups. In 1866, he wrote:

> Neither Christianity nor Orthodoxy coincides with any one nationality... Just as non-Russian people can be, and in fact some are, Orthodox Christians, Russians, in exactly the same manner, can be non-Orthodox... It would be highly incompatible both with the universal character of Orthodoxy and with Russia's national interests to sweep away from the Russian people all Russian subjects of Catholic or Evangelical faith as well as of the Jewish law, and turn them, contrary to reason, into Poles or Germans. Peoples differ from each other not by religious faith but primarily by language, and as soon as Russian Catholics and Evangelicals, as well as Jews, *adopted the Russian language not only for their everyday use but also for their spiritual life* [emphasis mine], they would cease to be an ethnically alien, hostile and dangerous element for Russian society.[34]

The words in italics show that Katkov understood the difference between acculturation, whose manifestations include adoption of Russian as a way of communication in the public sphere, and assimilation, which necessarily presupposes the transformation of Russian into a language of "spiritual life."

The ethnic boundaries of the Russian nation were also interpreted differently: the supporters of the equation of the notions *Russian* and *Great Russian*

had remained a minority until the very collapse of the empire. The dominating idea was that of an all-Russian nation that united all East Slavs. But the East Slav ethnicity was not a rigid barrier either. As we have already noted, the attitude toward the assimilation of Finno-Ugric groups was invariably positive. The significant number of russified and christened Tatars among both Russian peasantry and Russian nobility was neither a secret nor a problem for anyone. The racial concept of nation received some currency in Russia in the early twentieth century, but was neither dominant nor even as strong as in neighboring Germany.

The few supporters of the concept of a multiethnic Russian nation that ideally would have to cover the whole empire, for instance P. B. Struve, emphasized expanding political participation and instilling civic loyalty in the empire. This position added urgency to the problem of civic and political inclusion of the peasant masses—a problem that was recognized, at least with regard to Russian peasantry, by a wide circle of Russian nationalists.[35]

The notion of russification is often used in historiography to describe not just the linguistic and cultural assimilation, but other forms of interaction between various imperial agents as well. The term "administrative russification" was used by Thaden to describe the process of imposing administrative institutions and government forms typical of central regions. It was precisely in this sense that Catherine II spoke about the task of "russifying" the Smolensk Province, Little Russia, and the lands annexed as a result of the divisions of the Polish Commonwealth. The term russification is suitable for description of absolutist unification and administrative centralization in Russia no more than the term germanization suits an analogous policy of Joseph II in the Habsburg Empire.

The imposition of Russian as the official language could be motivated at different stages by an effort to make bureaucracy more cost-efficient or could also be a conscious drive for russification as such. The last tendency grew more pronounced since the mid-nineteenth century. Quite often in discussing a specific solution in this area the participants were motivated by different intentions—some were concerned about its bureaucratic efficiency, and some about the russifying effect. The debate in the Duma and in the government over the question of the language for the lowest courts can serve as a characteristic example of such a discussion.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, one can see increasingly frequent attempts to restaff certain positions exclusively with *Russian* officials. A "true Russian" origin becomes an important factor for appointment to high positions during the reign of Alexander III.[36] Incidentally, already in the reign

of his father instructions were issued—but never fully implemented—on filling, for example, the positions of history teachers in Western Province gymnasia with "native Great Russians." Today we are not yet ready to assess the scale of russification of cadres in the empire's various borderlands—quantitative analysis of the composition of the bureaucracy has only recently begun to attract researchers' attention. However, the calculations done in the published works show that the drive toward russification of the bureaucracy should not be exaggerated. L. Gorizontov has demonstrated that Poles constituted a significant percentage of the officials in the Kingdom of Poland even after the 1830–31 uprising. A. Chwalba has shown that the number of Poles in the imperial apparatus remained large after the uprising of 1863 as well. According to S. Velychenko, the number of Ukrainians among the officials of the South-West Province was proportional to their percentage in the population of these *gubernias*, and the study by Bradley Woodworth on the ethnic composition of the Revel bureaucracy, quoted above, even shows a decrease in the proportion of Russians among the officials there under Alexander III.[37].

Here it is important to differentiate the policy of russification of bureaucracy from the attempt of the authorities to block or limit the access of particular ethnic groups to official positions in certain regions. For example, after the 1863 uprising, the authorities decided to cease to accept more Poles to the state apparatus of the Western Provinces, and the educational institutions of the Vilna and Kiev districts even conducted an anti-Polish purge of the teaching staff. After the German unification, the authorities clearly attempted to lower the proportion of Germans among officials in the Baltic *gubernias* specifically. (On the whole, they continued to play an important role in the bureaucratic apparatus, including the borderlands). But in this case the anti-German policy could lead to the proportional growth of other non-Russian groups in the bureaucratic apparatus, while the proportion of Russian officials, as we saw in the example of Revel, could even decrease.

Various, often interconnected forms of reclamation/appropriation of territory present a huge number of problems, including: colonization, the rights to land ownership, and various practices of symbolic appropriation of space.

The western provinces after 1864 presents the best example of the effort to russify large land ownership. Their effectiveness was rather limited.[38] In the last two decades of the nineteenth century the authorities were engaged more in defensive rather than offensive russifying activities in the western provinces, by introducing a whole slew of limitations on the acquisition of landed property there not just by Poles but by Germans, and later by any foreign subjects.

However, the main activity in this area was, of course, peasant and Cossack colonization. The limited and hesitant efforts of the Russian peasant colonization in the densely populated western provinces were essentially different from the colonization of poorly populated expanses of Siberia, the Far East and New Russia, as well as of the steppes sparsely populated by nomads. The indigenous groups there could be subjected to both the tactic of "condensation," when the advent of the land-developing colonists did not imply that this territory should be abandoned by its former inhabitants altogether, and to the policy of eviction of the *inorodtsy* from their traditional lands. The same line was used with regard to the mountaineers of the North Caucasus. The situations were different, as were the goals pursued and the unplanned effects. In some cases, the main task was the development of the land in the area; in others, the resolution of internal military problems; in still others, the main motive was the logic of geopolitical rivalry.[39]

In many cases, one of the side effects of Cossack and peasant colonization was russification of the migrants themselves. In the new lands, often in an "alien" surrounding, the Cossack or Little Russian peculiarities of the migrants turned out to be less significant, and the features of commonality with the Great Russians were accentuated, assimilation processes accelerated and an all-Russian identity was affirmed.[40] There were cases, however, in which the migrants began to adopt not just economic methods, but the local population's way of life—there are examples not only of "Polonization," but also "Iakutization" and "Bashkirization" of the Russian migrants.[41]

The fascinating and diverse subject of russification in the area of imaginary geography is often connected to colonization. Siberia was originally perceived as an "alien" space, and in the eighteenth century it was conceptualized as a colony. Subsequently, in the nineteenth century, the movement of "Siberian separatism" emerged among the Siberian colonists, a movement that at a certain stage attempted, without denying the Russian roots of the Siberians, to formulate the idea of a special Siberian nation, modeled on the self-government of the British colonies in Australia.[42] The idea of Siberia as a "Russian land," as an unalienable part of the national territory took hold very late, not until the twentieth century. For instance, in Anton Chekhov's letters from Siberia during his travel to Sakhalin the space and the people of Siberia are presented in extremely ambivalent terms—sometimes as "alien," sometimes as "ours."[43] Similar processes were taking place in regard to numerous other regions—the Crimea, the Don, Kuban, the Far East, the Volga and the Urals, which did not immediately—if at all—receive the status of national territories, and not of just parts of the empire, in the eyes of the Russian na-

tionalism program. The authorities were able to purposely support this process by changing the administrative status of the regions. The Stavropol *gubernia*, e.g., was separated from the Caucasus Province in the mid-nineteenth century, and attempts to separate the Kholm *gubernia* from the Kingdom of Poland were made as late as the early twentieth century. An effort to block the undesirable, from the authorities' perspective, trends of political conceptualization of space is clearly seen in refraining, after a certain moment, from the use of the word *малороссийский* ("Little Russian") in the administrative nomenclature, or in the refusal to create any all-Siberian bodies and institutions and in the administrative separation of the Far East from Siberia.

Among the instruments of symbolic appropriation of space were toponymic changes and the building of monuments or churches. However, not all the actions of this kind can be regarded as symbolic russification. In order to demonstrate how the meaning of formally similar actions can change depending on the situation and on the subjective logic of the actors, we will use as an example the construction of Orthodox churches during the reign of Alexander III and Nicholas II in Sofia, Copenhagen, Helsinki, Warsaw, Riga, as well as Vilna, Minsk and a number of other places in the western provinces.[44] In the purely material sense these actions are identical, even the architecture of many of the churches is similar. They may be devoted to the same saints: Alexander Nevsky was especially popular as a patron saint.[45] However, the meaning, the symbolic significance of these constructions can be different in principle.

The churches in Copenhagen and Potsdam were primarily gestures in relations between dynasties tied by blood. The church in Sofia symbolized the role of Russia in the liberation from the Ottoman Empire. The churches in Warsaw, Helsinki and Vilna symbolized the Russian presence, and conveyed a sense of belonging to the Russian empire for these centers. The building of these churches can be described, if you wish, as a russifying measure. But we have to bear in mind that it was a period of affirmation of nationalism, even in the policy of the ruling dynasty. This is why it can be stated that the russifying role in the full sense of the word (i.e., the function of affirmation of the Russian character of a particular land in the nationalist sense, along with the imperial symbolism) was performed only by the churches in those regions of the Western Province that were declared a part of the Russian *national* territory and had a predominantly East Slav population.

It is difficult to assess from the twenty-first century the successes and failures of the russification processes in the Russian Empire. The results of these efforts were severely tested in the course of the First World War, the revolu-

tion and the civil wars on the territory of the empire, and were subsequently "canceled" in some cases and reaffirmed in others by the Soviet nationality policy, particularly during *korenizatsia* in 1920's. Some elements of the policy of territorialization and institualization of ethnicity were preserved even after the Soviet leadership had canceled the nativization strategy, combining in bizarre ways with the new steps aimed at imposing the Russian language. Beginning in the 1930s, the Soviet nationality policy was based on two deeply contradictory principles: the imposition of the Russian language and Soviet culture combined with the system of fixed national belonging of individuals that blocked a possibility of full assimilation.[46] In many former borderlands of the empire the results of various processes of assimilation and acculturation, as well as of the population policy and of the symbolic appropriation of space that took place in the Romanov Empire, and subsequently in the USSR, present a serious problem for the new nation-states in the making.

Notes

1 John Hall, "Nationalisms: Classified and Explained." *Daedalus*, (Summer 1993): 1.

2 Edward C. Thaden (ed.) *Russification in the Baltic Provinces and Finland, 1855–1914* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp. 8–9; idem., "Russification in Tsarist Russia," in *Interpreting History: Collective Essays on Russia's Relations with Europe,* Edward C. Thaden with the collaboration of Marianna Forster Thaden (New York: Boulder, 1990), pp. 211–220.

3 Geraci, *Window to the East*. In a similar vein the question is formulated by Austin Jersild who invariably puts "russification" in quotation marks. See Austin Jersild "'Russia,' from the Vistula to the Terek to the Amur," *Kritika*, No. 3 (2000): 531–546.

4 See: Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, "Beyond 'Identity'," where the authors subject the overstretched concept of "identity" to the treatment partly resembling the one Hall applied to "nationalism."

5 Geraci, *Window to the East*, p. 9.

6 The same is true for the concept of nation. We do need a systematic study of when the concept of nation appeared in the Russian language, which other terms with a similar meaning were in use, and how their selection and meaning changed over time. However, it can be stated in advance that in such a study we will be confronted not only (and even not so much) with the different *concepts* of nation, but with a whole sea of examples of the arbitrary and inconsistent use of this term.

7 Geraci, *Window to the East*, p. 12.

8 Edward C. Thaden, *Conservative Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Russia* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964); Andreas Kappeler, "Einleitung" in *Die Russen: Ihr Nationalbewustsein in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. A. Kappeler (Köln: Marcus, 1990), p. 9; Dietrich Geyer, "Funktionen des russischen Nationalismus 1860–1885," in *Natio-*

nalismus, ed. Heinrich August Winkler (Königstein: Verlagsgruppe Athenäum, 1978), pp. 173–186; Kappeler, "Bemerkungen zur Nationalbildung der Russen," p. 21.

9 See, e.g., *The New Encyclopedia Britannica*. 15th ed. Vol. 1. Chicago, 1988, p. 57.

10 See Martin Deming Lewis, "One Hundred Million Frenchmen: the 'Assimilation' Theory in French Colonial Policy," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (January 1962): 129–153.

11 Here I disagree with R. Brubaker, who argues that "assimilation designates a direction of change, not a particular degree of similarity" and feels no need for the term "acculturation." See Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups,* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004), p. 219.

12 See: *Brockhaus Enzyklopädie*, Vol. 1 (Wiesbaden: Brockhaus, 1966), p. 253; *Dictionnaire de la langue française: Lexis,* 2nd ed. (Paris: Larousse, 1987), pp. 120, 479; David L. Sills (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences,* Vol. 1 (New York: MacMillan Company), 1968, pp. 21–22. The same interpretation of assimilation as appropriation is found in the Russian Ozhegov dictionary. See S.I. Ozhegov, *Slovar' russkogo iazyka*. 4th ed. (Moscow: Institut Russkogo Iazuka, 1960), p. 29.

13 Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Place, Religion, and National Origin* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 71.

14 *Brockhaus Enzyklopädie*, Vol. 1, p. 800.

15 Robert Redfield, Ralph Linton and Melville Herskovits, "Outline of the Study of Acculturation," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, No. 38, (1936): 149–152.

16 *Dictionnaire de la langue française: Lexis,* p. 479.

17 *The New Encyclopedia Britannica,* Vol. 1, p. 57.

18 V. Dal, *Tolkovyi slovar' zhivogo russkogo iazyka*, Vol. 2 (St. Petersburg: Russkii Iazyk, 1881), reprinted Moscow, 1989, p. 616.

19 On an earlier polemic about the differences in these terms between the orientalist (*vostokoved*) N. Bobrovnikov and Bishop Chrisanth, see: Geraci, *Window to the East*, p. 223.

20 What follows from this, *inter alia*, is that the "spontaneous russification of the elites" that Edward Thaden described as characteristic of the eighteenth century, was evident in later periods as well. (See Edward C. Thaden, "Russification in Tsarist Russia.") Of course, the quality of the elite groups involved in this process changes significantly: the majority are no longer nobility, and the most noticeable group is probably the Jews. The conditions under which these processes occur change as well.

21 Today people throughout the world are studying English voluntarily, but the willingness to do that is to a great extent motivated by the dollar which stands for both the carrot and the stick. The motivation for adopting Russian in the Russian Empire, as with every dominating language in any modern empire, was very similar—the command of that language provided qualitatively different opportunities for social mobility, including salary and career. There were instances when, on a subjective level, the "altruistic" motives for engaging with a particular culture could take precedence. These mechanisms could work in regard to both the "dominant" languages (an interest in German, French and, since the 19th century, Russian high culture) and the vernaculars devoid (sometimes "still" or "already" devoid) of a high culture—e.g., for the researchers of folk culture. In the latter case, that too, sometimes ended in a change of national identification. It is clear, however, that the desire to read literary masterpieces in the original is now, and

has always been, a decisive motivation for an extremely limited number of people, as well as the fact that the learning of a language was only "the beginning of a long way" that did not necessarily lead to a change of national identity.

22 *Pis'ma N. I. Il'minskogo k ober-prokuroru Sviateishego sinoda K. P. Pobedonostsevu* (Kazan: 1895), p. 177 (letter from 25 April 1885). For more details on these subjects, which have been actively and fruitfully researched in recent years, see, in addition to the cited book by Geraci: Dowler, *Classroom and Empire*; Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam,* particularly, chapters 13, 14.

23 For more details on: Toomas Karjahärm and Väino Sirk, *Eesti haritlaskonna kujunemine ja ideed 1850-1917* (Tallinn: Eesti Entsüklopeediakirjastus, 1997), see: Bradley D. Woodworth, "Those Who Wore the Cap of the Bureaucrat: Multiethnicity and Estonian Tsarist State Officials in Estland Province, 1870–1914." Paper presented at the international congress of East European studies, Berlin, (July 2005). The numbers of Estonian bureaucrats are taken from this paper. See also N. A. Troinitskii (ed.), *Pervaia vseobshchaia perepis' naseleniia Rossiiskoi imperii, 1897 g.* Vol. 49 (St. Petersburg: 1905), pp. 96–97.

24 In this connection it has to be noted that, while the introduction of Russian as the exclusive language of elementary education can be unequivocally regarded as an assimilationist action, the affirmation of Russian in secondary and higher education cannot be interpreted so unquestioningly. This measure was often directed at acculturation, internalization of Russian as a second language by students.

25 For details, see the chapter 6.

26 For details, see chapter 4.

27 Contemporary evidence on this account is sometimes difficult to interpret. For instance, Austin Jersild mistakenly believes that the notions "a russified German (*obrusevshii nemets*)," which he borrowed from Dal, and "Russian Muslims" are similar in meaning and reflect rejection to recognize the assimilated as non-alien (Jersild, "'Russia,' from the Vistula to the Terek to the Amur," p. 536). In fact, "a russified German" means a description of an advanced form of acculturation or, if he already considered himself Russian to some extent, of assimilation that may have run into a higher rejection barrier. The expression "Russian Muslims," on the other hand, means only allegiance to the state, or citizenship, and says nothing of the degree of assimilation and its rejection.

28 See Richard Wortman*, Scenarios of Power: Myth and Ceremony in Russian Monarchy* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, Vol. 1 (1995), vol. 2 (2000)). See also: M. Dolbilov, "The Political Mythology of Autocracy: Scenarios of Power and the Role of Autocrat," *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, Vol. 2, No. 4, (2001): 773–795.

29 This characteristic should not be perceived as unequivocally negative or positive. For example, both the comparatively low capability of Russians for civic and political organization, and the comparatively low level of xenophobia and ethnic aggression are directly linked to the "weak" variety of Russian nationalism.

30 For some of my considerations about comparative efficiency of these institutions in the Russian and other empires, see A. Miller, *The Ukrainian Question*, pp. 24–30.

31 An important nexus of the religious and linguistic aspects of russification, particularly among the East Slav population of the empire, was the question of the language of the Holy Scripture. It is well known that the first accessible Russian translation of the Gos-

pel appeared later than the Russian translation of Karl Marx's *Das Kapital*, i.e., in the religious sphere up to the mid-19th century the Russian language remained as "vernacular" as the Ukrainian language, with which it competed in the struggle of the Ukrainian nation versus all-Russian nation-building projects. See: A. Miller, *The Ukrainian Question*, pp. 101–102; also, R. Vulpius, "Iazykovaia politika v Rossiiskoi imperii i ukrainskii perevod Biblii (1860–1906)," *Ab Imperio*, No. 2, (2005): 191–224.

32 See Weeks, "Religion and Russification"; idem, "My ili oni?"; D. Staliunas, "Mozhet li katolik byt' russkim? (O vvedenii russkogo iazyka v katolicheskoe bogosluzhenie v 60-e gody XIX v.)," in *Rossiiskaia imperia v zarubezhnoi istoriografii*, eds. P. Vert, P. Kabytov, A. Miller. Moscow, Novoe izdatelstvo, 2005, pp. 570–588.

33 For more details, see Chapter 7.

34 See *Moskovskie vedomosti*, No. 53, 10 March 1866. Quoted from M.N. Katkov. *Sobranie peredovykh statei "Moskovskikh Vedomostei." 1866*. Moscow, 1897, p. 154.

35 On abolition of serfdom as a pragmatic step toward nation-building, see: M. Dolbilov, "The Emancipation Reform of 1861 in Russia and the Nationalism of the Imperial Bureaucracy," in T. Hayashi, ed., *The Construction and Deconstruction of National Histories in Slavic Eurasia* (Sapporo, Japan: Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University, 2003), pp. 205–230.

36 See, e.g., Wortman, *Scenarios of Power*, p. 276.

37 Leonid E. Gorizontov, "Aparat urzędniczy Królestwa Polskiego w okresie rządów Paskiewicza." *Przegląd Historyczny*, No. 1 (1994); Andrzej Chwalba, *Polacy w służbie moskali* (Warsaw-Cracow: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1999); Steven Velychenko, "Identities, loyalties and service in Imperial Russia: Who Administered the Borderlands?" *Russian Review* No. 2 (1995); Bradley D. Woodworth, "Those Who Wore the Cap of the Bureaucrat ..." Conference paper.

38 See D. Beauvois, *Walka o ziemię: Szlachta polska na Ukrainie prawobrzeżnej pomiędzy caratem a ludem ukraińskim 1863-1914* (Sejny: Fundacja "Pogranicze," 1996).

39 On "ethnic occupation" in the Caucasus and Central Asia, see: Peter Holquist. "To Count, to Extract, and to Exterminate: Population Statistics and Population Politics in Late Imperial and Soviet Russia." in *A State of Nations. Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, ed. Ronald G. Suny and Terry Martin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

40 In the early twentieth century all this was clearly understood in the higher bureaucratic circles. "No matter how many Little Russian features the Astrakhan, Saratov, Stavropol and Siberian Little Russians still have, their fate is clear: the assimilation process cannot stop and cannot proceed in their favor," wrote the Minister of Public Education A. N. Schwarts in a 1908 memorandum. (See: "Bor'ba za iazyk: publikatsiia dokumentov." *Ab Imperio*, No. 2 (2005): p. 353).

41 Sunderland. "Russians Into Iakuts?"

42 I will point out that in Australia the assimilation processes of different British peoples proceeded faster than on the British Isles, just as the assimilation of East Slavs proceeded more successfully in Siberia.

43 "Generally speaking, the Siberian nature is little different (outwardly) from the Russian"; "Siberia is a cold and long country." Chekhov's letters abound in such notes. See A. P. Chekhov, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Vol. 4. (Moscow: Pis'ma, 1976), pp. 104, 105.

44 On some aspects of this subject see the interesting works of the late Polish art historian P. Paszkiewicz: *Pod berłem Romanowów: Sztuka rosyjska w Warszawie 1815-1915*. (Warsaw: Instytut Sztuki PAN, 1991); idem, *W służbie Imperium Rosyjskiego 1721-1917: Funkcje i treści ideowe rosyjskiej architektury sakralnej na zachodnich rubieżach Cesarstwa i poza jego granicami*. (Warsaw: Instytut Sztuki PAN, 1999).

45 On the role of Alexander Nevsky in the Russian discourse of various periods, see Benjamin F. Schenk, *Aleksandr Nevskij: Heiliger - Fürst - Nationalheld. Eine Erinnerungsfigur im russischen kulturellen Gedächtnis (1263-200)*, (Köln, Bohlau Verlag, 2006), Beiträge zur Geschichte Osteuropas, Vol. 36.

46 It is clear that the use of the term *russification* in regard to the Soviet period deserves a special discussion, since all the identification processes in the USSR had their essential specifics.

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CHAPTER 3

IDENTITY AND LOYALTY IN THE LANGUAGE POLICY OF THE ROMANOV EMPIRE AT HER WESTERN BORDERLAND

The Case of Script and Alphabet

In a linguistically heterogeneous state and even more so in an empire, the regulation of the use of all the languages in government, the courts, and education seems to be an unavoidable practice. In addition to the "usual" regulation aimed—at least, in the view of authorities—primarily at ensuring an efficient functioning of governmental and educational institutions, we can also single out the cases of government interference in the linguistic sphere that were directly and largely concerned with the issues of identity formation and loyalty.

Language is one of among the most important elements in the symbolism of ethnicity, while script and alphabet represent symbols with multiple meanings which have played and continue to play a key role in identity formation.[1] Thus it comes as no surprise that the authorities often interfere with the issues of language, alphabet and orthography. This happens both in empires and in states which legitimize themselves as nation-states. However, the problem of the interrelation of linguistic processes and identity formation has been regarded almost exclusively in the context of nationalism and nation-building.[2]

The question of regulating the use of languages loomed especially large for the Russian imperial authorities in the second half of the nineteenth century—particularly in the empire's western borderlands, but also in the Volga-Kama region—when, with the abolition of serfdom, literacy ceased to be regarded as the prerogative of the elites.

Imperial context means several important things for the analysis of the linguistic situation. First of all, it is a special structure of interaction between the decision-making center and those peripheral communities whose linguistic sphere is subjected to regulation. This interaction and mutual influence goes in both directions: not only from center to periphery but the other way, too. There are various actors on the periphery; one is the local administration. In some cases it can be mostly imported, as it was in the North-Western Province after

the uprising of 1863. Often, however, locally born individuals played a highly visible role in it, as was the case with the South-Western Province in the same period. As for the earlier times, especially before the uprising of 1830–31, the empire had attempted to rely on local elites and indirect forms of government in all the western borderlands. In either case—when the local elites were represented in the government and when they were excluded—the plans and ideas of the local authorities could differ significantly from the plans and ideas of the center. The local authorities influenced the imperial center's decision-making on various, including linguistic, questions—sometimes toward more repressiveness and, sometimes, on the other hand, toward more permissiveness. The native born functionaries could have influence in this process in either direction.[3]

But even if they were denied access to administrative positions, the local communities had at their disposal various options to react to the authorities' policies and various ways to communicate their opinions, including loyal and non-loyal forms of protest, legal and illegal forms of resistance to governmental measures, and outright sabotage.[4] At the same time, the imperial authority wielded a strong influence on the processes of language development in a local community, including the choice of orthography and alphabet, especially in cases in which the community itself had not come to a consensus on these issues.[5]

Another important factor that has to be considered in studying a particular process in the imperial context is the impossibility of its adequate description within the framework of a national narrative. It is necessary to pay close attention to the motivations of the imperial authorities and conflicting opinions among the highest bureaucracy, which is, as a rule, not attempted by national narratives. One should also take into account that the politics of identity in empires are somewhat more complicated and flexible than in nation-states and especially nationalizing states. The imperial authority would often give priority not to the imposition of cultural and linguistic homogeneity, but rather to how compatible a particular version of ethnic identity is with loyalty to the dynasty and the empire.

A "national" history or even a history of interactions between a particular ethnic community and the imperial authority does not, in most cases, provide an adequate scale for the analysis of processes taking place in an empire. As a rule, the number of actors involved in a particular process is invariably larger than two, even if we will for the sake of simplicity, consider separate ethnic communities and the imperial center as internally united agents.

It is extremely difficult to establish direct connections in the policies of the authorities regarding different languages, and especially in the policies in dif-

ferent borderlands of the empire. Certain coincidences in the dates of decisions, of both prohibitive and more lenient character, are evident. We will provide some examples further in the text. An example of a transfer of language policy, specifically on the issue of alphabet that is of particular interest for us in this chapter, is the position on the language question of K. P. Kaufman who served as governor-general of the North-Western Province in 1865–1866, before being transferred to Turkestan. N. I. Ilminskii who designed the writing systems for the peoples of the Volga and steppe areas using a modified Russian alphabet, described his discussion with Kaufman in 1876 thus:

> His patriotic view of the Russian alphabet that does not allow for the slightest change or addition when it is used for transcribing alien languages originated and developed in much earlier times, when he was governor-general of the North-Western Province. He ordered Catholic prayer books to be printed in the Lithuanian language in Russian letters, and that proved to be quite convenient and comprehensible for Lithuanian children... Thus, I believe, he became convinced that the Russian alphabet was absolutely sufficient for all languages, which in its turn led to a desire to establish the Russian alphabet once and for all, as it is, without any changes or additions, in all the alien languages not only in Turkestan but also in our Volga area.[6]

In an analysis of the implementation of administrative decisions and their consequences it is important to consider the situation not only in a particular region but also in neighboring empires. Thus, in the Lithuanian and Ukrainian cases, let alone in Poland, the Russian Empire did not control the entire ethnic territory of the group in question. The fact that the Lithuanian language had a base outside the empire—in the Prussian part of the Lithuanian lands—and the Ukrainian in Galicia—was of principal importance.

A whole range of considerations should be taken into account in analyzing the language policy. One has to define clearly what exactly was done by the central authority. This premise looks self-evident at first impression. However, in national historiographies there is a traditional tendency to exaggerate the scale of prohibitions. Thus, there exists in Lithuania, Poland and Ukraine a widespread opinion that the corresponding languages were in a particular period *prohibited* as such, and the motives of this policy are described as "russifying," which is not correct in some respects in all three cases. In the Polish case the prohibition of the language on a particular territory was not a step toward russification of the Poles; in the Lithuanian case, there was no prohibi-

tion of the language at all, as there was no plan for their russification in the foreseeable future; in the Ukrainian case, the drive toward russification undoubtedly was present, and repressive steps against the language had taken place, but even at the peak of these repressions there was no full prohibition on publications in Ukrainian. The problem here is not limited to exaggerating the repressiveness of the imperial powers, which is no better than attempts to downplay that repressiveness. What is more important is that such simplifications often deny the researcher an opportunity to understand what was in fact prohibited, and why.

Forms of regulation could and did vary. The complete ban on the public use of the Polish language was enacted in the Western Province after the uprising of 1863–64. The restrictions were not as comprehensive in the Kingdom of Poland, i.e., they varied from one part of the empire to another in regard to the same language. Thus, two Poles boarding a train in Warsaw could freely speak Polish in their compartment until the train entered the Western Province, where this was illegal. However, having passed through the eastern border of the Western Province, they could again speak Polish quite legally, including in the imperial capital. For instance, the chief of the Third Department P. A. Shuvalov, who considered this prohibition especially absurd, wrote in his memorandum to the Minister of the Interior on February 16, 1872: "... In Verzhbolovo one can speak Polish at the station and in the car, but in Kovno in the same car Polish speech is already forbidden. And beyond Rezhitsa, in the Pskov guberniia, it is allowed again. The Third Department knows of abnormal cases that this prohibition has generated."[7]

More or less stringent restrictions on the use of a language in administration, education, the press and the public sphere in various periods, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century, applied to all the languages spoken in the empire's western borderlands, including not only the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Province, but also the Baltic *guberniias*.[8]

However, it is important to distinguish between the situations in which restrictions were imposed on the languages formerly dominant in a particular region, i.e., Polish and German, and the cases of restrictions against languages that did not have a "developed" status and were still undergoing the process of emancipation in the nineteenth century, i.e., Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, Belarusian, Ukrainian and Yiddish. In the former case, the languages were being forced out of the spheres where they had formerly held strong positions, i.e., the scope of the language usage was in fact being reduced. In the latter case, obstacles were being created for the appropriation by new languages of new functions in education, administration and the public sphere, i.e., obsta-

cles aimed at preventing an expansion of these languages into the areas where they had not previously played an important role.

The processes of the elevation of vernaculars to the status of standardized literary languages and their expansion into various spheres of public life were called by Benedict Anderson "the revolutionary vernacularizing thrust."[9] The main task for the emancipation of the Ukrainian language was to distance itself from Russian, since the position of the authorities and a large part of the public opinion was that the Russian literary language should be common for Great Russians, Little Russians and Belarusians. However, in most cases in the western borderlands of the Russian empire these "revolutions" meant primarily an emancipation not so much from Russian as from Polish which dominated in the western borderlands (in the case of Lithuanian and partially Belarusian), from German (in the case of the Latvian and Estonian languages), and from Swedish (in the case of Finnish). In these situations the imperial powers were not infrequently supporting the "revolutionaries."

Thus, in February 1865, an edict came out that gave the Finnish ("peasant") language in the Principality of Finland equal rights with the Swedish language of the traditional elites. This step was welcomed in Russian society. A. Gilferding, who was close to Slavophiles, wrote, for instance, that in all the borderlands only the Russian language should be official, while local vernaculars should serve local needs in elementary schools, liturgy and in local courts.[10] Iu. F. Samarin, in his famous *Letters from Riga* and later in *Russia's Borderlands*, decisively supported a union between the empire and the local "non-Germans" in the Baltic provinces.

A special means of regulating the linguistic sphere consisted in changing the customary alphabet (such was the case with Lithuanian and later also with Latvian, or, to be more precise, with its Latgalian dialect); in attributing a particular alphabet for the languages that had traditionally used different transcription systems (as in Ukrainian and Belarusian); or in the choice of alphabet for languages whose writing systems were created by missionaries and/or linguists, for instance, for Kazakh, Chuvash and a number of other languages of the peoples of the Volga region (where the Cyrillic was preferred to the Arabic script). A partial change of transcription was also possible, as in the case of the Tatar language: the Arabic script was not forbidden, but the missionaries developed a parallel Cyrillic system for the Tatar language of Christened Tatars. Regulations could concern questions of orthography as well. In the case of the Ukrainian language the authorities supported the etymological rather than phonetic orthography since the latter increased the distance between Russian and Ukrainian.

All of these regulations, restrictions and prohibitions could be imposed by local authorities and later be confirmed by the central authorities (e.g., such was the case with Lithuanian), or could be made at the very "top," with the direct participation of the monarch, as with Ukrainian.[11] However, the role of the local, borderland actors was highly important in the case of the Ukrainian language, too. What is also important is the status of these decisions—whether they were affirmed by the Tsar's resolution or were made at the ministerial level or even at the level of governor-general. The former case significantly limited the possibility of a discussion of the issue on a high bureaucratic level, though it did not completely cancel an opportunity for reviewing decisions already made by the autocrat.[12]

Now, in accordance with the already formulated thesis of the necessity of the situational approach which takes into account the interaction of the largest possible circle of actors, we will analyze the situation in the western borderlands of the empire. Until the uprising of 1830–31, the Romanov Empire sought to obtain the support of local elites and had recourse to indirect forms of rule in the western borderlands. Its intervention in the linguistic situation there was minimal, and after the partitions the status of the Polish language in the western *gubernias* improved, if anything. Even in the early nineteenth century, when the authorities, seeking to enhance their control, required that their Jewish subjects discontinue the use of Yiddish for part of their official documentation and switch to a language more accessible to officialdom, they left it to the Jews themselves to choose between Russian, Polish and German. In other words, language concerned them as a medium, not as an instrument of identity formation. It was only after the uprising of 1830–31 that the authorities ceased to consider the Polish nobility a loyal regional elite and considerably limited the use of Polish in the western borderland, including the closing down of the Vilno University and the Kremenets Lyceum. At the Kiev University which was opened to replace the Vilno University, the Polish language was no longer allowed. As is shown in chapter 5, the Ministry of Enlightenment under S. S. Uvarov attempted to dictate the use of the Russian language in all the universities of the empire; the purpose, however, was the establishment of a new form of imperial loyalty and acculturation, rather than the assimilation of the Polish and German elites in the borderlands. In the period between the Polish uprisings, Nicholas I and his senior officials discussed the possibility of switching the Polish language completely to the Cyrillic alphabet, but this plan was considered to be unrealistic.[13]

Although St. Petersburg was alarmed by the specter of Little Russian separatism, especially after the Brotherhood of SS. Cyril and Methodius was un-

covered in 1847, the imperial authorities for all practical purposes did not interfere in the development of the Ukrainian language until the very end of the 1850s. Immediately after the coronation of Alexander II, the authorities did not have a clear position on a program of action for the issues of language. One can note the original tendency to treat benevolently the various publishing and educational initiatives in local languages.

However, the first prohibitive interference of the authorities dates back as early as 1859, and it concerned alphabet. Before 1859 the very possibility of issuing Latin-alphabet Ukrainian publications in the Russian Empire was not questioned, as evidenced particularly by the editions of the verses of Spirydon Ostaszewski.[14] The same holds true for Belarusian. Between 1855 and 1857, with no problem whatsoever, Wincenty Dunin-Marcinkiewicz published four Latin-alphabet books in the Belarusian language in the Romanov Empire.

In 1859, however, a Latin-alphabet Belarusian translation of Adam Mickiewicz's *Pan Tadeusz* was seized precisely because of the alphabet used in the edition. *Pan Tadeusz* itself was not banned in the Russian Empire. The authorities even compensated Dunin-Marcinkiewicz for the losses he had suffered, as the press run was completed before they adopted a resolution declaring that "the printing of characters containing the application of the Polish alphabet to the Russian language" was forbidden from that day forward. The censorship circular specified particularly that a rule should be established to the effect that works in the Little Russian dialect, especially for distribution among the common people, should not be printed in other than Russian letters.[15] After 1859, there was no further legal opportunity to publish Latin-alphabet books in Belarusian or Ukrainian in the Russian Empire until the twentieth century.

The initiative to ban the use of the Latin alphabet in the Ukrainian language came from the Kyiv censor (*otdel'nyi tsenzor*) Novitsky.[16] On 14 March 1859, Novitsky sent a letter to the administrator of the Kyiv school district, N. I. Pirogov, noting the dissemination in the empire of "manuscripts in the Little Russian dialect, but written in Polish letters," as well as the import from Galicia of books "in the Red Ruthenian (*chervonoruskii*) dialect, also printed in Polish letters." The immediate impulse for Novitsky was probably his encounter with the "Nova ukrainska azbuka" (New Ukrainian Alphabet), written in the Latin script, which was presented to him in order to obtain permission to print it.[17] The censor wrote in particular:

> Considering that with the imminent liberation of the peasants literacy will, in all likelihood, spread and increase among them; that the peasants of

> the western gubernias, encountering books here that are written in the Little Russian language but in Polish letters, will naturally have a greater preference to learn the Polish alphabet than the Russian one...that, because they understand the Polish language owing to contact with the Polish population of this land, they can very easily go over to reading Polish books per se and thereby become exposed to the influence of Polish literature alone, with consequent alienation from the spirit and tendency of Russian literature; and, finally, that in Galicia...the local Polish population is deliberately and insistently striving to promote the exclusive use of the Polish alphabet instead of the Cyrillic one among the indigenous Russian population in order to suppress the Russian nationality by means of literary influence and gradually turn it into the Polish nationality, which tendencies may spread to our western gubernias by the same means.... Will it not be considered useful, in order to protect the Russian nationality among the Russian population of the western gubernias, to resolve for the future that works in the Little Russian language be printed in Russian letters within the boundaries of Russia, or, where it should prove necessary, in Church Slavonic letters, and that texts in the Red Russian dialect, published abroad in Polish letters, not be allowed to be imported into Russia in any considerable quantity of one and the same work?[18]

On 5 May 1859, on the basis of this letter, Pirogov wrote a memorandum to the minister of education, Count E. V. Putiatin, and by 30 May Putiatin had already issued a circular (no. 1296) establishing that very prohibition.[19] Similar measures were taken with regard to the Belarusian language. On 19 June 1859, Pirogov sent a directive on the application of that circular to the censorship agencies subordinate to him. That is to say, a mere three months passed between the moment when the Kyiv censor Novitsky formulated his proposals and their implementation as an official instruction of the Ministry of Education.

Novitsky's letter contained a clear formulation of all the reasons that might inspire caution among the authorities with regard to the dissemination of the use of the Polish alphabet in the Ukrainian and Belarusian languages. It is safe to say that it was precisely the events of 1858–59 in Galicia that led the authorities of the Romanov Empire to focus on the alphabet problem. In May 1858, at the behest of the governor of Galicia, Count Agenor Gołuchowski, a special commission was established to oversee the Galician Ruthenians' switch from the Cyrillic alphabet to the Latin. An attempt was made to introduce the Latin alphabet by legislation in the Galician schools where the "Ruthenian" language was taught.[20]

With the blessing of the Austrian authorities, the Czech Josef Jireček, who held an important post in the Austrian Ministry of Education, drafted a scheme for rendering Ukrainian speech in Latin script.[21] A brochure giving an account of Jireček's proposal was printed at the beginning of 1859 as an official, but de facto, internal publication; it was not offered for sale. In his draft, Jireček deliberately combined the principles of phonetic and etymological orthography and, not by accident, chose a Czech and not a Polish model for a Ukrainian–Latin script, foreseeing a possible negative reaction on the part of the local Ruthenian elites to any sign of Polishness. But such a reaction was inevitable in any case. Upon its appearance, Jireček's proposal mainly aroused suspicion that the Czech viewpoint was being imposed.[22] However, ultimately the link between the Latin alphabet and the tradition of Polish letters proved more durable in linguistic consciousness, having become a distinctive stereotype: by no coincidence, it was often called the "abecedarium" (the Polish *abecadło*).[23] Thus Jireček's efforts to produce a Latin script cleansed of national connotations proved futile, and the practical advantages of the new system of orthography remained unappreciated.[24] Jireček, for his part, made no secret of the ideological motivation behind his proposal. A member of the Czech Conservative Party and a supporter of Austro-Slavism, he was concerned not only that the Cyrillic (that is, Church Slavonic) script could not be adapted to the needs of the vernacular. It also troubled him that as long as the Galician Ruthenians used Cyrillic for reading and writing, they would be biased in favor of Church Slavonic and thus of "Russianism."[25] Here his opinion fully coincided with that of the Austrian authorities, who, given the crisis in relations with St. Petersburg after the Crimean War, were concerned about the spread of "russophile" sentiments. Evidently it was this concern that became the basic reason for the establishment of the commission. In this respect, Vienna's interests intersected with those of the local Poles, who were attempting to hinder the development of greater and lesser national projects competing with the Polish one.

Infuriated by Austria's conduct during the Crimean War, St. Petersburg now paid close attention to Vienna's every move, and the reaction to the "alphabet games" in Galicia was not slow in coming. This is all the more curious because at that point the imperial bureaucracy had no clear idea on questions pertaining to the status of the Ukrainian language in the Russian Empire. The question of the status of the Ukrainian language in the Russian Empire, in particular, of the possibility of its use in elementary schools, for the translation of the Holy Scripture, and for magazine publishing was not actively discussed until 1862, while the authorities at the time did not object to the open-

ing of elementary schools with Ukrainian as the language of instruction and the publication of Ukrainian primers and a literary journal. The ominous notion that the Poles wanted to "take the initiative into their hands in the matter of educating the common folk in the Southwestern land in order to propagate the Polish nationality" remained an important element of those discussions.[26]

The Polish uprising of 1863 not only accelerated the process of adopting bureaucratic decisions with regard to language policy in the western borderlands of the empire but also the crystallization of the project of the "all-Russian nation." In the summer of 1863, the Valuev circular, understood as a temporary measure, prohibited the translation of Scripture into Ukrainian and the use of Ukrainian in schools and in publications "for the common folk." The project of an "all-Russian" nation from its very inception interpreted differences, including linguistic differences, between Great Russians, Little Russians and Belarussians as having been inherited from the time of the Polish rule.[27] In that context, Galicia figured as the centre of a competing project, first Polish and then purely Ukrainian. With regard to the Ukrainian language, imperial policy posited various levels of regulation of the linguistic sphere. Concurrently with the authorities' efforts to permit no enhancement of the status of the language and to stave off the literary emancipation of the "dialect," the linguistic system as such came under pressure. The goal was to prevent formal isolation from the Russian language at all levels of the system. The decision of 1859 to prohibit the Latin alphabet for the "Little Russian dialect" (which was originally a reaction to developments in Galicia and to the efforts of the Poles, pro-Polish Ukrainians and Belarusian activists to disseminate the Latin alphabet among the peasants of the western borderlands) now became part of an extensive set of measures intended to assimilate the East Slavic population of the empire into one nation.

Regarding the East Slav population of the western borderlands, by 1862–63 the bureaucracy had come to the view that the teaching of literacy had to be done in the "all-Russian" literary language. Ukrainian and Belarusian had to be preserved as vernaculars suitable for "domestic use," for publishing literature on local life, and for historical and folkloristic texts. The attempts by the Poles to use the Latin alphabet for Ukrainian and Belarussian were unequivocally perceived as an effort to attract the Rusyns to their side, and those who already thought in nationalist categories regarded them as an attempt to "divide" the newly forming all-Russian nation. It is no accident that the ban on the use of Latin alphabet for the Russian language in 1859 speaks of Polish, not Latin letters. It is evident that the policy regarding the Ukrainian and Belarussian languages combined the efforts to neutralize the Polish attempt to

draw a civilizational line in this space along the border of the Polish Commonwealth of 1772 (which included the use of alphabet, too) with the assimilation plan of uniting all the East Slavs of the empire under the aegis of an "all-Russian nation."

After the passing of the Valuev circular and Ems instructions of 1876 which had drastically limited the area of the legal use of the Ukrainian language, the authorities continued their attempts to regulate the Ukrainian linguistic space, this time on the issues of orthography.[28] The censors instructed publishers to use as a spelling model the etymological orthography of I. P. Kotliarevskii's *Collected Works in the Little Russian Dialect* (Kiev, 1875).[29] The authorities attempted to regulate the questions of orthography where Ukrainian was permitted, with the purpose of limiting the distance between the Russian and Ukrainian norms. The Ems instructions specifically prohibited the so-called *kulishovka*, i.e., the phonetic orthography created by P. A. Kulish.[30] From the standpoint of the authorities, it amounted to nothing less than the extension of the gap between the "all-Russian" language and the "Little Russian dialect" through formal graphic means.

The considerably lesser attention paid by the imperial authorities to the Belarussian language is explained by the weakness of the Belarusian national movement compared to its Ukrainian counterpart. By the early 1860s, the Ukrainian movement had clearly defined a strategy for the "lexicographical revolution," a desire to emancipate the language and to turn it from a predominantly vernacular dialect into a standardized, developed literary language.

The sociolinguists studying analogous processes have singled out several factors that they consider to be decisive for a successful linguistic emancipation. One of them is the extent of the language's development, i.e., its use in all cultural and social contexts, for all communicative purposes, as well as the presence of a group of activists who identify with this language and are ready to make efforts to preserve and develop it.[31] The Belarussian movement had not yet formed such a group by the 1860s, and the degree of the language development lagged behind Ukranian considerably, though the latter also had many problems in this respect. It can be said that the Belarusian challenge to the "all-Russian" nation project for all practical purposes had not been stated at the time.

In this connection, it is interesting to investigate the use of language in Polish propaganda in the course of preparations for the uprising of 1863.[32] Unlike in 1830–31, the propaganda texts, including appeals to the peasantry, were published either in Polish[33] or in Ukrainian, but the latter now appeared exclusively in the Cyrillic script. Particularly significant in this respect is a

document well known as the "Golden Charter," which was disseminated across the whole territory encompassed by the uprising. The insurgent leaders did not rule out the possibility that the peasants might rise against the rebels and sought to prevent the peasantry of the western borderlands from perceiving the uprising as a *szlachta* and "Polish" affair. "For that very reason, the insurgent leaders avoided Polonisms, as in the text of the 'Golden Charter.'"[34] The "Charter" attests to the definitive consolidation of Cyrillic as a Ukrainian national attribute—in Polish consciousness as well as Ukrainian.

But this holds true only for the Ukrainian case. At the same time (in May 1863), the underground insurgent government issued a special manifesto addressed to "the Belarusian brethren." This document was printed in the Belarusian language, using the Latin alphabet. As in the Ukrainian case, the linguistic appearance of the appeal was carefully considered. The use of the Latin alphabet was evidently associated with the identity of the addressees of the propaganda texts: naturally, the insurgents expected to find allies mainly among Belarusian Catholics. A second possible reason for the insurgents' use of "their own" graphic code in addressing the inhabitants of the Belarusian lands may have been the greater (as compared with Ukraine) vagueness of the cultural and civilizational boundaries, which is associated, inter alia, with the later formation of a purely Belarusian national (and linguistic and cultural) discourse. There were no "alphabet wars" involving the Belarusian language, and no rigid anti-Latinist position developed on the Belarusian side.

Having accepted the challenge of the Polish insurgents, the Russian authorities attempted to organize counterpropaganda and issued a series of Cyrillic-alphabet brochures in Belarusian, addressing them, as the Poles did, to the peasantry.[35] In the Belarusian case, representatives of both competing "large" projects, the Russian and the Polish, continued to exploit the conflict of alphabets: as long as conditions remained indefinite, the issue was an integral part of the struggle for identity.

Soon after the suppression of the uprising, in 1865, the Russian imperial authorities also introduced a ban on the Latin alphabet for the Lithuanian language. A comparison of this measure with the prohibition on the Latin alphabet for the Ukrainian and Belarusian languages in 1859 makes it possible to discern differences in the goals pursued by the authorities when adopting measures that seem identical at first glance.

Imperial authorities are less concerned than those of nation-states about the homogeneity of populations, especially in border regions. By no means, even when resolving questions of language, are imperial authorities invariably guided by nationalist logic, that is, making cultural and linguistic homogeniza-

tion the goal of one project or another. Not infrequently, the priority for an imperial power is loyalty, including civilizational loyalty, meaning the establishment of a version of local identity compatible with loyalty to the empire as a polity heterogeneous by definition. It is not always possible to distinguish national and civilizational factors in official policies with perfect clarity, but the matter deserves detailed consideration. The image of the Russian Empire as a particular civilizational space where the borderlands were loyal to the center, not only as the focus of power but also as a center of civilizational attraction, certainly existed as an ideal in the minds of the imperial elite. The term "drawing together" (*sblizhenie*), often used at the time, by no means always meant russification in the nationalist sense—assimilation and the inculcation of Russian national identity. Thus, Nicholas I's consideration of the possibility of switching the Polish language to the Cyrillic alphabet in the period between uprisings was associated rather with the hope of establishing among the Poles a version of Polish identity compatible with loyalty to the empire and the dynasty. After the uprising of 1863, Nikolai Miliutin who no longer expected a rapprochement with the Polish nobility hoped to teach loyalty to the Polish peasant. B. A. Uspenskii notes that the attempts to introduce Russian letters to the Polish alphabet (without completely banning the Latin script) made at that time by the civil administration of the Kingdom of Poland were aimed primarily at the peasantry.[36]

The prohibition of the Latin alphabet with regard to the Lithuanian language was also directed toward acculturation into the Russian Empire, not assimilation into a Russian nation. The goal was not to turn the Lithuanians into Russians but to put maximum distance between them and the rebellious Poles. (That same goal was behind banning the Latin alphabet for the Latgalian dialect, i.e., for those Latvians who lived on the lands of the former Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, while in the Baltic *gubernias* with their German elites the Latin alphabet was not prohibited.) This step was likely motivated by the fear of a polonization of the Lithuanians, which the authorities attempted to also prevent by dictating the printing of Lithuanian publications in Cyrillic. This does not mean that some representatives of the imperial bureaucracy did not harbor hopes of russifying Lithuanians in the future; but, in the second half of the nineteenth century, russification was not a practical goal of a particular policy. It was more realistic to expect that, having adjusted to Cyrillic, the Lithuanians would have less difficulty learning Russian along with, not instead, Lithuanian.

It has to be noted that the distancing from Polish was considered in the latter half of the nineteenth century a relevant problem by the Lithuanians them-

selves, even though it was resolved not by transition to Cyrillic but rather by introducing Czech diacritical marks for double consonants transliterated by the Polish alphabet.[37]

It is evident that the efforts by St. Petersburg to interfere in the matters of script and alphabet succeeded to a varying degree in different parts of the Western Province. The reason should be sought in, among other things, the differences of cultural and literary traditions that defined the forms of open or hidden opposition to the imperial linguistic policies. In the Lithuanian case, there was no tradition of using Cyrillic in principle. It was perceived as a symbol of an unambiguously alien culture, which predetermined the failure of the imperial project of transition to Cyrillic, though among Lithuanian activists there were those who considered Cyrillic to be suitable for transliterating the Lithuanian language.[38] The lifting of the ban on Latin script in 1904 can be regarded as a forced recognition by the authorities of their defeat.

In the Ukrainian environment, the decisive ideological choice in favor of the Cyrillic alphabet was made, largely as a reaction to the Polish policies, as early as in the 1850s, and subsequent attempts to challenge it by some Ukrainian activists, including Dragomanov, failed. It can be said that the Russian imperial authorities entered the struggle over script exactly at the moment when the Ukrainians themselves had made an unambiguous choice in favor of Cyrillic.

In the Belarussian case, despite the official prohibition of publications in Latin script, the tradition of its use turned out to be rather strong. The competition of the two cultural-civilizational traditions in the Belarusian-speaking environment recommenced at the turn of the twentieth century after the relaxation and subsequent cancellation of a number of censorial restrictions. Thus, among the 25 periodicals published in Belarussia from 1901–1917, nine were published in Latin script, and *Nasha Dolia* and *Nasha Niva* used both scripts. All in all, before 1918, texts in the Belarusian language were featured in 423 publications, 129 of which were printed in Latin script, and some featured both Latin and Cyrillic texts.[39] However, the Cyrillic alphabet finally became dominant as of 1912. It is highly likely that the policy of the imperial authorities in the second half of the nineteenth century contributed to the victory of the Cyrillic alphabet only in the beginning of the twentieth century, after the restrictive interference ceased.

The principal difference from the Ukrainian case (for all the original similarity in the use of Latin alphabet) was determined by the specificity of the confessional and social structure of Belarusian society. A significant part of the peasant population on the Belarusian lands identified itself with the

Catholic (Latin) cultural circle and the Latin alphabet was a central element of their sacral world. Belarusian nationalists could not fail to consider this in their attempts at national and linguistic mobilization. This fact, in turn, prevented ideologization of the alphabet issue in the Belarusian national discourse. Practical considerations won over. Thus, Vaclav Ivanovskii, a probable co-author, with Marian Fal'skii, of the Belarusian primer written in the Latin alphabet in 1905, remarked on the use of two scripts in Belarusian publishing:

> We all know that among us Polishuks, Belarusians, or, as we also call ourselves, locals (*tuteishiia*), there are Catholics and Orthodox; Catholics are more accustomed to Latin letters, which they incorrectly call Polish; the Orthodox are more accustomed to Slavic or, as they say, Russian letters. Those Russian letters are our immemorial Belarusian ones, but the whole world now writes in Latin letters. Arguments often arise among us: a Catholic encounters an Orthodox, and they start to argue—ah, one says, you are a Pole, and you are a Muscovite. And neither knows what he is talking about: neither is the one a Pole nor the other a Muscovite; although they are of different faiths, they belong to one people, for both grew up in this same local Polisian–Belarusian land of ours and heard their first words from their relatives in our native language, and they argue only to their own detriment and shame, making themselves a public laughingstock. We are therefore publishing this primer in two scripts: choose the one you like; just let everyone know that even though the letters are different, the sounds, syllables and words are the same; the language is the same; and the people who speak the same language are brothers by birth.[40]

The main problem—a literary emancipation of the Belarusian language—was not solved. Under the circumstances, Belarusian nationalists allocated a supporting, subordinate role to the alphabet.[41] Having failed to become a means of national language policy, the Latin script did nonetheless become an important fact of linguistic usage which was contradictory to the all-Russian language project.

The prohibition of the Latin alphabet for the Lithuanian language occupies a special place in the list of decisions regulating the use of various languages in the empire's western borderlands. Following the uprising of 1831, the Polish language which had dominated the lands of the former Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, was banned from higher education, and the 1863 uprising led to an almost total ban on Polish in the Western Province. The prohibition of the Latin alphabet for the Ukrainian and Belarusian languages (1859),

which was originally aimed at counteracting the Polish influence, became after 1863, a part of the system of measures directed at assimilating the East Slav population of the Western Province. Unaccompanied by a ban on the language itself, the prohibition of the Latin alphabet for Lithuanian and Latgalian became a kind of "alphabet war" with the Poles for the civilizational appropriation of the Western Province. Another, pan-Slavic front in this war in which the imperial authorities were not directly involved, was opened in 1864, when Catholic priest F. Ks. Malinowski created an "all-Slavic alphabet" based on the Polish language. A. Gil'ferding met Malinowski in an effort to persuade him of the advantages of the Cyrillic script for this task. This effort failed, and Gil'ferding himself set out to create an "all-Slavic" alphabet based on Cyrillic and published the result of his effort in 1871.[42] (His textbook did not find any practical application since by 1870 experiments with Cyrillic for Polish textbooks had already been abandoned).

In the Baltic *gubernias* and Finland, the script and alphabet did not become a subject of the struggle to assert identity. In the Baltic *gubernias*, as the German cultural domination was turning into a problem after German unification, the government made a gradual transition to the support of the Latvian and Estonian languages in primary schools. At higher educational stages, Russian was imposed. As for Finland, which preserved a special autonomous status, the authorities decisively supported the Finnish language by giving it equal rights with Swedish.

Such policies were not restricted to the western borderlands. In 1858, mass conversions of Kriashens to Islam in the Volga-Kama region gave rise to a system worked out by the well-known missionary and specialist in eastern languages N. I. Il'minskii. In 1862, he prepared a Tatar translation of a primer and prayer book for the Kriashens, using the Cyrillic alphabet. Ilminsky adopted the same principle of translating religious literature into local languages, using Cyrillic script, when dealing with a number of peoples in the Volga-Kama region, including Bashkirs and Kazakhs. New words lacking in the local languages were borrowed from Russian. Two circumstances must be noted here. Back in the early 1850s, Il'minskii, placing missionary activity above linguistic russification, planned to develop writing systems for a number of local languages using the Arabic script. Only under the influence of the more experienced Orientalist V. V. Grigoriev, who convinced him of the danger of spreading Tatar influence (and, with it, ideas of Islamism and Pan-Turkism) among neighboring peoples, did Il'minskii settle on Cyrillic.[43] Time and again, his activities were criticized by supporters of linguistic russification, who maintained that by developing writing systems for local languages, Il'min-

skii was impeding that process. One of Il'minskii's counterarguments was that the Tatar assimilationist project had considerable potential at the time, and his activity in developing local languages blocked that danger, while the Cyrillic alphabet was a prerequisite for the easier acquisition of Russian in the future.[44]

Thus, the differences in the situations on the empire's borderlands notwithstanding, we can see a number of similar features. In all cases, the authorities were afraid that a particular group was powerful enough, materially and culturally, to attempt implementing its own assimilation project regarding weaker groups. This menace was thought to come from the Poles in the Western Province, from the Germans in the Baltic provinces, and from the Tatars in the Volga and Kama region. In all cases the authorities tried to prevent the implementation of such a project, and one of the instruments, especially in the Western Province and the Volga area, consisted in a more or less insistent spreading of Cyrillic script. Il'minskii's experience shows that it had not always been the result of a direct action aimed at achieving linguistic russification—he even created writing systems in local languages instead of attempting to impose Russian exclusively. Such was, most likely, the case with Lithuanian in the western provinces when the priority was given to the struggle against a competing influence and to the effort to strengthen the version of identity that would be compatible with political and civilizational loyalty to the empire.

In the western provinces, the Russian Empire's competitor was the stateless Polish movement. In the Baltic provinces this threat was directly connected to the growing power of Germany. Finally in the Volga region, the Ottoman Empire was the alternative gravitational center for the Muslim and Turkic peoples. However, if we consider the support by Vienna of the Polish policies in Galicia, it will become evident that in all of these cases it is possible to speak of language policy as a part of a complex system of competition between neighboring empires. All of this would be revealed with renewed power and clarity during World War I.[45]

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During the first Soviet decades, policy with regard to various alphabets underwent plenty of striking variations.[46] The policy of *korenizatsiia* (indigenization, taking root), implemented in the USSR in the 1920s, was based on the ideology of decolonization and promoted local languages in administration and education. Cyrillic was perceived as one of the symbols of Russian impe-

rialism and russification. Even before an official position on language questions had been worked out, a number of peoples went over to the Latin alphabet from the Cyrillic (the Yakuts in 1920 and the Ossetians in 1923). In quite a few cases, however, ethnic groups such as the Komi, Mordvinians, Chuvashes and Udmurts rejected efforts to introduce the Latin alphabet, preferring to reform the Cyrillic system that they already had. The Kalmyks went over from Mongol writing to Cyrillic. The Khakases, Assyrians, Roma, Oirots and several other small peoples chose the Cyrillic alphabet. It may be said that in a "free competition" between the Latin and Cyrillic alphabets neither gained a clear advantage over the other.

The question of introducing the Latin alphabet was discussed with particular intensity among the Muslim population. The movement to establish a "new Turkic alphabet" based on Latin script was initiated in Azerbaijan in 1922. A Turkological Congress that approved a plan of reform was held in Baku in 1926. In 1927, this initiative received the sanction of the Politburo and funding from the state budget. The Bolshevik leadership considered that the transition to the Latin alphabet would undermine the influence of Islam, which was closely associated with Arabic script. Moscow was not unduly worried about the Pan-Turkic aspect of the project at the time. By 1930, thirty-nine languages had been switched to the Latin alphabet. Some of them made that transition from Cyrillic, which the authorities, having proclaimed Great Russian chauvinism the principal danger, did not consider reprehensible in any way. A campaign to switch the Finno-Ugric languages to the Latin alphabet was undertaken in the late 1920s and early 1930s with the full support of the central authorities. By 1932, a total of sixty-six languages had been switched to the Latin alphabet in the USSR, and another seven were being prepared for the process. In the late 1920s, preparations were even made to switch the Russian language to the Latin alphabet.[47] We see that, given a change of ideological outlook and political priorities, the central authorities in the new empire, the USSR, could make a cardinal policy changes with regard to alphabets.

Against this background, the fate of latinizing projects in the Belarusian SSR and the Ukrainian SSR—the former western borderlands of the Russian Empire—is particularly instructive. The main task of language building in Ukraine in the 1920s was to create a single orthography for all the Ukrainian lands, taking account of the language's historical development. The task was entrusted to a State Orthographic Commission attached to the People's Commissariat of Education, established on 23 July 1925.[48] A total of sixty proposals (thirty-seven of them from Galicia) were presented for its consid-

eration, and the commission's work resulted in the publication of a composite draft titled *Ukraïns'kyi pravopys* (Ukrainian Orthography; Kharkiv, 1926), which particularly stressed the task of setting the alphabet right (p. 4). The culminating stage of discussion was the convocation in 1927 of an all-Ukrainian conference on the question of systematizing orthography, which took place in Kharkiv with the participation of representatives (seventy-five in all) from western and eastern Ukraine. The pronouncements of the republican leadership evinced an awareness that, as before, external actors were involved in the orthographic discussions: "Here it is necessary to avoid deviations in two directions that present themselves in connection with the publication of a Ukrainian orthography: a desire to use orthography to differentiate the Ukrainian language from Polish or Russian, depending on one orientation or the other that is to be found among representatives of our scholarly and social thought."[49] Following stormy debates at the conference and supplementary work on the part of the commission's presidium, *Ukraïns'kyi pravopys* was ratified by the commissar of education, Mykola Skrypnyk, in September 1928. Somewhat later, in May 1929, the orthography was approved at a meeting of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv,[50] marking an important stage in the establishment of a single Ukrainian norm.

The orthographic discussion also provided grounds for returning to the question of the applicability of the Latin alphabet to the Ukrainian language, which appeared to have been settled definitively. In this case, the project of Latinizing Ukrainian writing was associated with the conception of Marrism, which also entailed switching the Russian language to the Latin alphabet. In that context, latinization was the foundation for the unification of languages and scripts on the basis of one Latin alphabet as the most widespread, and thus an urgent task of communist construction.[51]

However, in the course of discussion at the orthographic conference of 1927, the proposal to switch Ukrainian writing to the Latin alphabet was rejected. The well-known Ukrainian dialectologist and lexicographer Yevhen Tymchenko formulated his ideas on refashioning orthography in a reformist key, proposing the use of certain letters of the Latin alphabet in order to convey specific Ukrainian sounds.[52] Some of these proposals (presented by Mykola Skrypnyk) were initially approved by the conference, and it was only the intervention of the republican party authorities that prevented their appearance in the final version of *Ukraïns'kyi pravopys*.[53]

Analogies to the Ukrainian situation are easy to find in Soviet Belarus of that period. The *korenizatsiia* policy offered extraordinarily propitious conditions for establishing a consistently phonetic orthography for the Belarusian

language. An academic conference on systematizing Belarusian orthography took place somewhat earlier than the Ukrainian conference, in 1926. The question of the possible use of the Latin alphabet in Belarusian writing was raised there as well, with more fundamental argumentation in favor of such a measure than in Ukraine. Aside from declarations in a revolutionary Marrist spirit on the Latin alphabet as the graphic system and international alphabet of the future, the arguments of supporters of latinization included vindications of its advantages for rendering the phonetic peculiarities of Belarusian speech in writing.

The conviction that radical changes in graphic forms of language were untimely,[54] as well as the view that proposals for the introduction of the Latin alphabet masked yet another attempt at polonization, predetermined their failure in Ukraine and Belarus alike. Wholly typical in this regard was the pronouncement of one of the ideologues of language policy in Ukraine during the era of Ukrainization, the people's commissar of education, Mykola Skrypnyk. In formulating the conclusions of the orthographic discussion, he associated the idea of latinization in various historical periods primarily with the theme of a "foreign" national threat:

> There were other attempts as well to establish the Latin alphabet for the Ukrainian language. The most prominent spokesmen for the introduction of this tendency were, on the one hand, a group of Polonized Ukrainian writers of the 1830s and, on the other, the leaders of the colonization of Western Galicia in the 1870s and 1890s, and, in recent times, the leaders of Czechization in Transcarpathian Ukraine and the Romanian government, which in Bessarabia and Bukovyna is now forcibly introducing the Latin alphabet for the Ukrainian population of Bessarabia and Bukovyna.[55]

These arguments were subsequently exploited by the authorities, who hastened to intervene and carry out a political investigation. As early as 1929, accusations of planning to introduce the Latin alphabet and of pro-Polish attitudes figured in the arrests of Ukrainian and Belarusian linguists. Renouncing the idea of introducing the Latin alphabet did not save them from accusations of nationalism and of an orientation on "Polish and Czech bourgeois culture" formulated by a commission of the People's Commissariat of Education of Ukraine to inspect work on the language front, headed by Andrii Khvylia.[56] It was precisely this aspect that was now taking center stage instead of russification, for the policy of *korenizatsiia* released the powerful energies

of ukrainization and belarusization that to a large extend undid the achievements of the russification policy here before the First World War.

After 1932, the program of latinization of Turkic languages came under revision as well—the role of "enemy number one" passed from Islam to Turkic nationalism and pan-Turkism. The Soviet foreign policy was now oriented not so much toward exporting revolution as to cutting off external influences on the population of the USSR. As a result, the alphabet policy made another (not the last) about-face, which is one more proof of the thesis proposed at the beginning of this chapter—namely that the imperial policy in the linguistic sphere is more flexible then the policy of a nation-state and can only be understood in a wide context of interaction taking place both within the empire and in its foreign policy.

Notes

1 See, e.g., J. A. Fishman, "Language and Ethnicity: The View from Within," in *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, ed. Florian Coulmas (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1997), p. 339.

2 See, e.g., Stephen Barbour and Cathie Carmichael, eds., *Language and Nationalism in Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), which practically omits the imperial context.

3 On the role of M. Iuzefovich and other representatives of the local elite in initiating repressions against the Ukrainian language and intensification compared to what the central authorities had planned, see A. Miller, *The Ukrainian Question*.

4 See in particular: Paul W. Werth, "From Resistance to Subversion: Imperial Power, Indigenous Opposition and Their Entanglement," *Kritika*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (2000): 21–43.

5 For a detailed analysis of the policies of the authorities of the Romanov and Habsburg empires as well as the local elites with regard to orthography, alphabet and type of the Ukrainian language, see: A. Miller, O. Ostapchuk, "Latinitsa i kirillitsa v ukrainskom natsional'nom diskurse i iazykovoi politike Rossiiskoi i Gabsburgskoi imperii," *Slavianovedenie*, No. 5 (2006): 25–48.

6 See: N. I. Ilminskii, Iz perepiski po povodu del o primenenii russkogo alfavita k inorodcheskim iazykam (Kazan', 1883), p. 26.

7 RGIA, f. 1282, op. 2, d. 358, l. 114 ob.

8 The situation in the western borderlands, where the authorities regulated in one way or another the use of every language spoken there, was not unique. All the languages of the empire were subject to restriction. Even the Russian language was restricted until the mid-nineteenth century in one highly significant way: the publication of the Holy Scripture in Russian translation was allowed only in 1859. One can find interesting data on linguistic regulation in the educational system of the Western Province in an article by V. G. Babin, though its level of analysis leaves much to be desired. See V. G. Babin, "Gosu-

darstvennaia obrazovatel'naia politika v Zapadnykh guberniiakh vo vtoroi polovine XIX—nachale XX v.," in *Vlast, obshchestvo i reformy v Rossii (XVI—nachalo XX v.)* (St. Petersburg: Izdatelstvo Sankt-Peterburgskogo Universiteta, 2004), pp. 199–224.

9 B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, pp. 67–84; see also H. Seton-Watson, *Nations and States: An Enquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism,* p. 11.

10 See A. Gilferding, *Sobranie sochinenii*, Vol. 2 (St. Petersburg: 1868), p. 403.

11 For more details on the mechanisms of prohibition on the Latin transcription for the Lithuanian language, see M. Dolbilov, "Russification and the Bureaucratic Mind in the Russian Empire's Northwestern Region in the 1860s," Kritika, Vol. 5, No. 2 (2004): 265–269.

12 See, e.g., on the reviewing of the decision made by Alexander II regarding the teaching of the Polish language in state-run schools of the Western Province: A. Miller, *The Ukrainian Questio*n, p. 111.

13 B. A. Uspenskii, "Nikolai I i pol'skii iazyk (Iazykovaia politika Rossiiskoi imperii v otnoshenii Tsarstva Pol'skogo: voprosy grafiki i orfografii)," in *Istoriko-filologicheskie ocherki* (Moscow: Azbuka, 2004).

14 *Piu kopy kazok. Napysau Spirydon Ostaszewski dla wesołoho Mira* (Vilnius: 1850). Two of his Polish books were published in Kiev at the same time: *Ojciec córkom. Przez Spiridona Ostaszewskiego*, 2 vols. (Kiev: 1851) and *Miłośnik koni przez obywatela Ukrainy Spiridona Ostaszewskiego*, 2 vols. (Kiev: 1852).

15 RGIA, fond 772 (Main Censorship Administration of the Ministry of Public Education), op. 1, ch. 2, d. 4840.

16 In 1862–63 Novitsky played an important role in the preparation of the well-known Valuev circular, which banned popular publications in the Little Russian dialect.

17 The "Azbuka" is mentioned in the school district administrator's correspondence with the Ministry of Education. See the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine (TsDIAU), fond 707 (Bureau of the Kyiv school district administrator), op. 261, item 7, fol. 3.

18 TsDIAU, fond 707, op. 261, item 7, fol. 1–1v.

19 TsDIAU, fond 707, op. 261, item 7, fol. 3v, 7, 7v.

20 V. Kubaichuk, *Khronolohiia movnykh podii v Ukraïni (zovnishnia istoriia ukraïns'koï movy)* (Kyiv: 2004), p. 47.

21 Published separately under the title *Ueber den Vorschlag, das Ruthenische mit lateinischen Schriftzeichen zu schreiben. Im Auftrage des K. K. Ministerium fuer Cultus und Unterricht verfasst von J. Jirecek* (Vienna: Hof- u. Staatsdruckerei, 1859). On Jireček's proposal and its general context, see Iaroslav Rudnyts'kyi, *Movna ta pravopysna sprava v Halychyni* (Lviv: 1937), p. 5.

22 For suspicions of a "Czech" intrigue, see Mykhailo Malynovsky's remark in a letter to Hryhorii Shashkevych: "Among the Slavs, the Poles, Russians and Czechs are fighting for dominance; for primacy. The Czechs want to impose their rule on us, and we, just as we want nothing to do with the Poles and Russians, so we do not want Czech primacy." Cited according to V. Moiseienko, "Pro odnu sprobu latynizatsiï ukraïns'koho pys'ma," *Ï, nezalezhnyi kul'turolohichnyi chasopys*, No. 9 (1997): 140–47, here 146; cf. also *Ukraïns'ko-rus'kyi arkhiv*, 7, p. 33 (letter VI, dated 9 June 1959).

23 Cf. A. Iu. Kryms'kyi, "Narys istoriï ukraïns'koho pravopysu do 1927 roku" in *Tvory v p"iaty tomakh*, Vol. 3, *Movoznavstvo i fol'klorystyka* (Kyiv: 1973), p. 296.

24 From a purely philological viewpoint, the proposal was well thought out: it consistently implemented the principles of phonetic orthography, made use of the available experience of reforming Slavic alphabets, and, in essence, was a fairly successful attempt at synthesizing a variety of Latin scripts. Franz von Miklosich (Franc Miklošič) may be considered the source of Jireček's "ideological" inspiration regarding the practical aspect of the proposal. The Czech version of the Latin alphabet was first used to render written Ukrainian examples in *Vergleichende Lautlehre der slavischen Sprachen* (Vienna, 1852). True, in the second edition of his work (1874) Miklosich expressed himself in favor of using Cyrillic, reformed according to the Serbian example, for rendering Ukrainian speech. It cannot be ruled out that this change of opinion may have been influenced by the result of the discussion on Jireček's proposal. For more details on the philological virtues of Jireček's proposal, see Moiseienko, "Pro odnu sprobu latynizatsiï."

25 For a detailed analysis of Jireček's argumentation, see Moiseienko, "Pro odnu sprobu latynizatsiï," p. 143.

26 The minister of education, Putiatin, wrote to the chairman of the Censorship Committee, Baron A. P. Nikolai, on this matter, with a reference to the minister of internal affairs, Valuev (TsDIAU, fond 707, op. 261, item 7, fol. 5). Concerning discussions on the status of the Ukrainian language, cf. A. Miller, *The Ukrainian Question*, pp. 61–96, as well as R. Vulpius, "Iazykovaia politika v Rossiiskoi imperii i ukrainskii perevod Biblii."

27 See, e.g., an analysis of Ustrialov's writings on this issue in chapter 5. This is a fairly typical ideological motif. For instance, the Spanish supporters of establishing the primacy of the Castile language as the common language for all of the kingdom also explained linguistic differences as a result an alien rule. See John E. Joseph, *Language and Identity: National, Ethnic, Religious* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p.104. The Germans described the differences between Alsatian and German in analogous terms.

28 For more see: Miller, A.: *Ostapchuk O. Latinitsa i kirillitsa...*

29 RGIA, f. 776, op. 11, ed. khr. 61a, l. 41ob.

30 From the conclusions of the Commission on Prohibiting Ukrainophile Propaganda (1875): "To prohibit the publishing in that dialect within the empire of any original works or translations, with the exception of ancient texts, although these latter, if they belong to oral folk traditions (such as songs, fairy tales, proverbs), should also be published in accordance with all-Russian orthography (i.e., should not be published in the so-called *kulishovka)*." Quoted from A. Miller, *The Ukrainian Question*, p. 266.

31 W. A. Stewart, "A Sociolinguistic Typology for describing national Multilingualism," in: Joshua Fishman, ed., *Readings in the Sociology of Language.* (The Hague: Mouton, 1968); R. Sussex, "Lingua Nostra: The Nineteenth-Century Slavonic Language Revivals," in: R. Sussex and J. C. Eade, eds., *Culture and Nationalism in the Nineteenth-Century Eastern Europe* (Columbus, Ohio: Slavica Publ., Inc., 1983).

32 On the propaganda activity of the leadership of the uprising, see M. Jaeger, *Działalność propagandowo-informacyjna władz powstańczych (1794, 1830–1831, 1863–1864)* (Lublin, 2002), pp. 181–89.

33 A series of Ukrainian-language documents is known to have been published in the Latin alphabet, but these were not propaganda texts for mass distribution. See, for example, a letter of 4 May 1863 from E. Różycki to the dean of the town of Polonne in the Novohrad-Volynskyi district, I. Niemiołowski: "Reverend Dean, Having in our hands your report about your brethren, we could deal with you as martial law provides. But we

wanted to apprise you that we wish to respect ecclesiastics to the utmost as servants of God. But now we are again informed that you are threatening the people; that you are inciting them against us, promising something ill when we leave. We beg you, Reverend Dean, not to set us at odds; you would do better to bless us, just as we wish you good fortune with all our heart. Otherwise, be it as you wish, but we shall act according to martial law. Signed: Provisional Government in Rus'." TsGIA, fond 796, 1863, delo 1023, fol. 8, cited according to *Obshchestvenno-politicheskoe dvizhenie na Ukraine 1863–1864 gg.*, 2 vols. (Kyiv, 1978), 2: 102.

34 V. M. Zaitsev, *Sotsial'no-soslovnyi sostav uchastnikov vosstaniia 1863 g. (opyt statisticheskogo analiza)* (Moscow, Nauka, 1973), p. 205.

35 The brochure *Biaseda staraha vol'nika z novymi pra ikhniae dzela* (The Conversation of an Old Freeman with New Ones about Their Affairs; n.p., [1861], 31 pp.) was published in Mahilioŭ in 1861. For a detailed discussion, see Siarhei Tokt', "Latinitsa ili kirillitsa." *Ab Imperio*, No 2 (2005).

36 B. A. Uspenskii, "Nikolai I i pol'skii iazyk," p. 141.

37 See: Timothy Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations. Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569–1999* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 36.

38 See: Giedrius Subačius, "Development of the Cyrillic Orthography for Lithuanian in 1864–1904," *Lituanus* (Chicago), Vol. 51, No. 2 (2005): 29–55.

39 That number includes 245 books in the Belarussian language for 1901–1917; 158 of them were in the Cyrillic and 87 in the Latin alphabet. The statistics come from S. Tokt', *Latinitsa ili kirillitsa*, and other publications S. Kh. Aleksandrovich, *Putsiaviny rodnaga slova: Prablemy razvitstsia belaruskai litaratury i druku drugoi palovy XIX—pachatku XX stagoddzia* (Minsk: S. Kh. Aleksandrovich, 1971), p. 163; *Kniga Belarusi. 1517–1917: Zvodny catalog* (Minsk: S. Kh. Aleksandrovich, 1986), pp. 206–263.

40 Quoted from: J. Turonek, *Wacław Iwanowski i odrodzenie Białorusi* (Warsaw: PWN, 1992), p. 41.

41 This is analyzed in detail in the conclusion to: S. Tokt', *Latinitsa ili kirillitsa.*

42 A. Gilferding, *Obshcheslavianskaia azbuka s prilozheniem obraztsov slavianskikh narechii* (St. Petersburg: 1871). For details see Henryk Głębocki, *Kresy Imperium: Szkice i materiały do dziejów polityki Rosji wobec jej peryferii (XVIII–XXI wiek).* (Cracow: Arkana, 2006), p. 213.

43 Knight, "Grigor'ev in Orenburg."

44 On the situation in the Volga-Kama region, see the following: Dowler, *Classroom and Empire*; Geraci, *Window to the East*; P. W. Werth, *At the Margins of Orthodoxy: Mission, Governance, and Confessional Politics in Russia's Volga-Kama Region, 1827–1905* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001).

45 See chapter 7.

46 Terry Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923–1939* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), pp. 182–207, 422–29.

47 They were halted only in 1930 by a special instruction from the Politburo.

48 On the efforts of Ukrainian scholars in that direction before 1925 and on the commission's work, see Nimchuk, "Perednie slovo," pp. 14–17. The basic orthographic codices of the day are also listed here: *Holovnishi pravyla ukraïns'koho pravopysu* (The Principal Rules of Ukrainian Orthography, 1918); Ivan Ohiienko, *Naiholovnishi pravyla ukraïns'koho pravopysu (*Kyiv: 1921); Ahatanhel Krymsky, *Pravopysni pravyla, pryiniati*

Naukovym Tovarystvom im. T. Shevchenka u L'vovi (Lviv: 1922). The same volume, *Istoriia ukraïns'koho pravopysu XVI-XX stolittia*, includes excerpts from these orthographic manuals.

49 Cited according to Andrii Khvylia, "Vykorinyty, znyshchyty natsionalistychne korinnia na movnomu fronti," in *Ukraïns'ka mova u XX storichchi. Istoriia linhvotsydu*, ed. L. Masenko (Kyiv, 2005), p. 128; first published in *Bil'shovyk Ukraïny*, No. 7–8 (1933): 42–56, incorporating an extract from an introductory article by the editors of a translation of Lenin's *Two Tactics* (Kharkiv, 1926) signed by Mykola Skrypnyk. These pronouncements of Skrypnyk's were later used against him: "Clearly, Comrade M. Skrypnyk also held to the 'orientation' of differentiating the Ukrainian language from Russian by means of the Ukrainian orthography" (ibid., p. 128).

50 O. V. Huzar, *Pravopysna systema Halychyny druhoï polovyny XIX — pochatku XX st.* (Lviv, 1994).

51 A. A. Moskalenko, "Pytannia hrafichnoï normalizatsiï ukraïns'koï movy pislia Zhovtnia. Pryntsypy orhanizatsiï pravopysu ukraïns'koï movy pislia Zhovtnia," in *Istoriia ukraïns'koho pravopysu (radians'kyi period)* (Odessa: 1968), p. 9. These ideas are reminiscent of Drahomanov's assumption, expressed earlier, that "all people will use the same letters for writing, and those will doubtless be the present-day Latin letters" (cited according to V. Simovych, *Pravopysni systemy M. Drahomanova (latynytsia, drahomanivka)* (Prague, 1932), p. 14.).

52 Ie. Tymchenko, "'Desiderata' v spravi nashoho pravopysu," in *Istoriia ukraïns'koho pravopysu XVI–XX stolittia*, pp. 341–47, first published in *Ukraïna*, No. 4 (1925): 188–92. In his draft he proposes the introduction of the Latin letters s and z to replace the digraphs дз [dz]and дж [dzh] in order to mark Ukrainian fricatives; he also revives Drahomanov's idea of changing й to j and writing ja, ju, je, ji instead of я, ю, є, ї.

53 "A discussion arose at the conference in connection with the proposal by a fairly significant group of conference participants to introduce the Latin alphabet into the Ukrainian language instead of Cyrillic, as heretofore. Understandably, this would establish a barrier between the Russian and Ukrainian languages; understandably, this plays into the hands of the Ukrainian nationalists. Even when these proposals were rejected by vote, the alphabet affair was not over. Comrade M. Skrypnyk presented a resolution to introduce two Latin letters in order to denote the sounds дз and дж.... The Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine, under the leadership of L. M. Kaganovich, condemned such a line of introducing new Latin letters into Ukrainian orthography. The conference annulled its previous decision on дз and дж." Cited according to Khvylia, "Vykorinyty, znyshchyty natsionalistychne korinnia na movnomu fronti," p. 123; first published in *Bil'shovyk Ukraïny*, No. 7–8 (1933): 42–56. Cf. Skrypnyk's pronouncements on the practical impossibility of introducing individual Latin letters: "Thus, for example, the proposal to substitute the Latin j for our current letter й would require changing this letter in all our printshops, refashioning all our typewriters, and so on, which would amount to a loss of several hundred thousand for Ukraine's economy.... Wasting such a sum of money to satisfy the desires of those who would like to bring our alphabet closer to Latin would be a completely superfluous and abject loss." Cited according to Mykola Skrypnyk, "Pidsumky pravopysnoï dyskusiï," in *Istoriia ukraïns'koho pravopysu XVI–XX stolittia*, p. 428.

54 "Indeed, the introduction of the Latin alphabet is a fact among all the Turkic peoples of the USSR today. It is also true that the Latin alphabet would considerably simplify

Ukrainian orthography, but the authors of that proposal have failed to take into account, first and foremost, that millions among our peoples already know our customary alphabet. So the point is not to reeducate people who already know the customary Ukrainian alphabet to use a new alphabet but to teach those who know no alphabet whatever to write as soon as possible." Cited according to Skrypnyk, "Pidsumky pravopysnoï dyskusiï," pp. 422–23; first published in *Visty*, 19 June 1927, No. 137 (2027): 2–3.

55 Ibid., p. 418.

56 In 1933, Antin Prykhodko and the initiator of Latinization, Serhii Pylypenko, both of whom were presidium members of the Orthographic Commission, were subjected to political repression (Ahatanhel Krymsky and Oleksa Syniavsky suffered the same fate somewhat later). The committee's findings were as follows: "The new commission considered the orthography and cardinally reworked it, rejecting the artificial separation of the Ukrainian language from the Russian, simplifying the orthography, and liquidating the nationalist rules of that orthography, which oriented the Ukrainian language toward Polish and Czech bourgeois culture." Signed: V[olodymyr] Zatonsky. "Postanova Narodnoho komisara Osvity USRR vid 5-ho veresnia 1933 r. pro `Ukraïns'kyi pravopys,'" in *Ukraïns'ka mova u XX storichchi. Istoriia linhvotsydu*, p. 108, as printed in *Ukraïns'kyi pravopys* (Kharkiv: 1933).

CHAPTER 4

THE ROMANOV EMPIRE AND THE JEWS

Moscow isolationism

In 1526 the Jews were banned from entering Muscovy. That happened soon after several leaders of the Judaizer heresy, which had spread its influence even to the court and profoundly shaken the Muscovite society, were executed in 1504. The ban, with a few qualifications, remained in force until the second half of the eighteenth century, spreading dangerous heretical ideas was the main accusation. (In the language of the time any heresy was described as judaizing.) When a certain naval captain Aleksandr Voznitsyn converted to Judaism during the rule of Empress Anna, he was publicly and quite expeditiously burnt in the new capital, St. Petersburg, in 1738 together with Borokh Leibov, who was accused of this act of proselytism.[1]

By the eighteenth century the majority among the elite was convinced that allowing at least some Jewish merchants into the Empire would be fiscally beneficial, but no ruler was prepared to amend the law. Some were more equivocal about the reasons for keeping the ban than others—Peter I does not sound anti-Jewish in his explanations, but Empress Elizabeth very much does.[2] When Catherine II was offered the project of Jewish colonization in Russia in the very first days of her rule, she had to bow to the strong traditionalist opposition and postpone the advancement of the issue in spite of the fact that nobody questioned its economic benefit.[3] That did not prevent, however, the governor of New Russia, A. P. Melgunov, from recruiting some Jewish settlers.[4] Only several years later, in 1768, did the law for the first time explicitly permit certain Jews, namely the Ottoman prisoners of war, to settle in a certain region of the empire, New Russia.

Thus, before the partitions of Poland, the Jews had been perceived in Russia as potentially beneficial trade partners (merchants), as potentially useful artisans and agricultural settlers for the vacant lands of New Russia. As bearers of expertise, the few Jews who had been permitted to live in Russia were present in their capacity as doctors and other specialists. The majority of the Jews that Russia received in the wake of the partitions of the Polish–

Lithuanian Commonwealth did not in any way correspond to the qualities and roles ascribed to them by the Russians before the partitions (when the Russians gave them any thought at all). Both the ruling elite and the populace had no experience dealing with Jews, and there was practically no awareness of Jewish life, particularly of life in the *shtetls*.[5]

Since the sixteenth century the Jews had also been perceived as a source of threat in the form of Judaic proselytism. (The belief in the special suggestive powers of the Jews survived until the twentieth century.[6]) However, the anti-Semitic motif of blood libel, traditional for the societies west of the Russian borders, had no currency in the Russian folk culture, in which an image of the Jew was practically absent.[7] The attitude toward this anti-Semitic motif among the elites was likewise skeptical, both in the eighteenth century, when the Russian Orthodox hierarchs refused to canonize the alleged victims of Jewish blood rites, and in later times.[8]

Russia as a whole was absolutely unprepared to turn, in two decades, from a country that had practically no Jews, into a country with the largest Jewish population in the world and one receiving as its subjects the majority of the European Jewry. To make matters even more complicated, it was not the Jews known to Western Europe in the eighteenth century, largely acculturated and integrated in local communities, but, predominantly, the traditionalist, isolationist Jews that would soon be named *Ost-Juden* in a contrast with their acculturated Western European brothers in faith.

Getting Jews (not many)

The first partition of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1772 brought under Catherine's rule a certain number of Jews, residing in the annexed territories of White Russia—the Mogilev and Vitebsk provinces. It is impossible to establish with any accuracy the number of Jews who became Russian subjects as a result of the first partition, but in all probability it did not exceed fifty thousand.[9] The Jews produced a strange and revolting impression on the first Russian officials who had the duty to familiarize themselves with their life. It is clear that in their assessments these officials largely relied on the local Christians who provided them with various kinds of information on the dishonest trade practices of the Jews and their skills in circumventing the laws.

In the years immediately following the first partition, the new authorities demonstrated contradictory tendencies in defining the legal status of the Jews.

This comes as no surprise. On the one hand, the knowledge about the Jews was extremely limited, and the authorities were inevitably influenced by Polish traditions and approaches. This is why in a number of documents the entire Jewry was regarded as a separate estate, in accordance with the Polish tradition. This approach was reflected in establishing taxation rates: all the Jews had to pay the same tax different from both the peasant and merchant rates, and this tax (1 ruble) was higher than that of the peasants, but lower than the merchant tax.

On the other hand, the authorities took a number of steps that decisively contradicted the tendencies of the Jewish legislation in the last years of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. First of all, they restored the broad powers of the *kahal*, i.e., the Jewish communal self-government, which in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth had been abolished on the regional level in 1764, and had been reduced locally throughout the Commonwealth. This imperial measure can be partially explained by the wish of the authorities to find as soon as possible an effective agent to rule over the new and, for them, largely strange subjects—not in the least for the purposes of tax collection. However, it has to be noted that, in their drive to compensate for their own bureaucratic weakness, the authorities preferred to restore Jewish self-government rather than to delegate the power over them to the local Christian elites.

Catherine II shared the common Enlightenment view of the Jews as people whose bad qualities were the product of bad conditions rather their innate nature. It was unquestionably in the spirit of enlightened absolutism that Catherine II made the decision, at the request of the Jews of Shklov in 1787,[10] to prohibit the use of the word *Yid* as insulting, and to replace it in the official documents with the word *Jew*. The authorities adhered this ruling from that time on.

The same tendency is reflected in Catherine's decree of January 7, 1780, also issued at the Jews' own request,[11] which ordered that all her Jewish subjects should enlist in two of the existing estates—merchants and town dwellers (*meschanstvo*)—and enjoy all the rights and privileges of these estates together with their Christian members. In fact, this decree, when we see it in the context of the absence of the later discriminatory laws, adopted in the 1790s, was nothing less than a wholesale emancipation of the Jews in the Russian empire—to the extent that anybody could have been considered emancipated in this largely feudal, estate-based society. The decree of 1780 ran against not only the Polish customs, but also against the centuries-old tradition of Magdeburg law, which banned Jews from the artisan and merchant corporations, not to mention magisterial positions. If we take into ac-

count that the "Edict of Tolerance," issued by Joseph II for the Jews of Bohemia and Moravia is dated to 1781, the pioneering character of Catherine's decree becomes evident.

The weakness of this decree was that it presupposed that all the Jews fell precisely into these two categories, while in fact a significant part of their population lived in the *shtetls* that had no urban status. This shortcoming of the decree would not be significant if the number of the Jews in Russia had not increased so radically after the subsequent partitions.

In some respects, rich Jews found themselves in an advantageous position compared with non-Jewish merchants. The 1782 Senate decree permitted Jewish merchants, when their commercial interests demanded, to move from town to town, while generally the imperial legislation forbade town dwellers and merchants from leaving towns in which they were registered. Historians often make the caveat that the legislator most probably meant only the newly acquired territories, but it is nothing but a projection into the past of the later Pale of Settlement. The decree itself makes no limiting provisions.

Before long, the authorities were faced with a typical reaction to emancipation measures regarding Jews, namely with the resistance and protests of the Christian, primarily Polish, population.[12] In all such situations throughout Europe governments initially decided to bow and preserve the controls on the Jewish population.[13] In the Russian case the authorities did not amend the law, which allowed Jews to elect and be elected to the local magistrates. The 1785 Charter to the Towns reaffirmed the right of the Jews to enter any of the six categories of town dwellers that elected the magistrate. The Jews' complaints of the violations of the law on the part of the Christian population and administration were considered the same year by the Senate with the participation of Jewish representatives; and all the Jewish rights, including the right to be elected burgmeisters and councilors of the magistrate, were confirmed.[14] The Senate made a special confirmation of the abolition of all Polish laws that introduced differences between Jews and Christians. "As the people of the Jewish law," read the decree of February 26, 1785, "have entered already, by virtue of Her Majesty's edicts, into a state equal to that of the others, it is deemed necessary in each case to observe the rule, established by Her Majesty, that every one is endowed with the rights and privileges in accordance with his rank and state, regardless of the law (faith) and the tribe." At that moment in time, the legal situation of Jews in the Russian Empire was better than anywhere else in Europe.

However, in practice local administrators in many cases were reluctant to oppose with full force those Christian nobles and town dwellers who pre-

vented Jews from exercising these rights. In some cases that could be an expression of their own anti-Jewish attitude, in others it was the wish to avoid conflicts with the Christian subjects.

David E. Fishman's book *Russia's First Modern Jews* convincingly demonstrates that in the period between the first and the third partitions of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth the elite of the Jews falling under the imperial authority of the Romanovs lived through an intensive acculturation process similar to the German Maskilim movement. Its leading representatives were actively developing contacts with the Russian aristocracy, receiving highly profitable contracts, and, thanks to their wealth and connections, wielded considerable political influence. The most remarkable individuals, e.g., Nota Notkin and Joshua Zeitlin, while retaining the Judaic faith, boasted courtly titles (Zeitlin was a court counselor—*nadvornyi sovetnik*), and possessed large estates with hundreds of serfs.

Fishman justifiably considers the period between 1772 and the early nineteenth century a "golden era" in the life of the Jewish community of the town of Shklov, which is his object of study.[15] Of course, the life of the Jews was not cloudless. However, when they entered a conflict with their former protectors, as the Jews of Shklov did with Semion Zorich, they would receive the protection of even higher notables, like Grigorii Potemkin.[16]

An apt illustration is provided by the events of the early 1790s, when the Moscow merchants' complaint of the "dishonest practices" of the Jewish entrepreneurs who had settled in the city was supported by the State Council, leading to the emperor's decree of December 23, 1791, that prohibited Jews from living and registering as merchants outside of White Russia. The same decree, however, allowed Jews to register as merchants in Ekaterinoslav and in Crimea. It is hardly possible to predict with any assurance just how the legislation regarding the imperial territories authorized and proscribed for Jewish settlement would have developed if the new partitions of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, which radically increased the number of Jews among the Russian subjects, had not soon followed. The assessment of this document by Klier is contradictory—on the one hand, he describes it as "one of the cornerstones" of the ensuing discriminatory legislation; on the other, he states that "restrictions on Jewish mobility did not have a discriminatory intent."[17] The question here is whether the conscious legal discrimination against the Jews began before or after the new partition of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. It seems that Klier was correct in his second assessment, in which case the beginning of purposeful legal discrimination should be dated to 1794, the year that saw the introduction of double taxation of the Jews.[18]

But even under the new circumstances, created by the final partition of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, Notkin, who was the main target of the Moscow merchants' complaint, did not return to Shklov after the edict, but moved to St. Petersburg, under the protection of influential aristocrats. In 1802, Notkin and his brothers in faith established in the imperial capital, the Jewish Burial Society, which was officially granted a plot of land for the cemetery, where Notkin was buried after his death in 1804.

On the whole, the period between 1772 and the early 1790s demonstrated the tendency on the part of the authorities toward emancipation and integration of the relatively scarce Jewish subjects of the empire, which was reflected in a number of legislative acts. Even as late as in 1803, Judah Leib Nevakhovich, the author of the first Russian-language literary work written by a Jew,[19] could still quite sincerely thank the government for the benefits it bestowed on the Jews and consider their situation in the Russian Empire as decisively advantageous compared to the situation in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth in its late stages. Nevakhovich's main complaint was about the hostile attitude on the part of society toward Jews.

Getting Jews (a lot)—or—numbers matter

As a result of the second and third partitions of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Russian Empire received, depending on the estimate, from 500,000 to 700,000 new Jewish subjects. The annexation of the Principality of Warsaw, transformed into the Kingdom of Poland, with its 300,000 Jews (1815) and of Bessarabia with 20,000 Jews (1812) increased the Jewish population of the empire even further. More than half of all European Jews ended up in the Russian Empire.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the Jews showed a higher natural population growth rate than the vast majority of other ethno-religious groups of the Russian Empire, which increased their share in the empire's population from 1.5 percent in 1800 to 4.8 percent in 1880. By 1880, the Russian Jewish subjects had come to comprise more than half of the world's Jewish population, while in 1800 they had constituted less than a quarter.[20] By 1900, in the list of the largest urban Jewish communities of the four continental empires of Europe (the Ottoman, the Hohenzollerns, the Habsburgs and the Romanovs), 5 out of 10, 13 out of 20, 19 out 30 and 26 out of 40 were located in the Russian Empire.[21]

According to the only all-empire population census of 1897, there were 5,189,400 Jews, which constituted 4 percent of the empire's population.

Between 1881 and 1914 almost 2 million Jews left the Russian Empire, which led to a decrease in their share of the total population to 3.1 percent by 1914.

A researcher of Russian Jewry wrote that at the turn of the twentieth century "just 300 thousand Jews lived outside the Pale of Settlement."[22] What deserves special attention in this phrase is the word "just." To be precise, 314,000 Jews outside the Pale of Settlement and the Kingdom of Poland[23] did indeed comprise only about 7 percent of the total number of Russian Jews. But these "just" 300,000 were triple the number of Jews in Holland (106,000) or France (90,000), more than a hundred times more then the number of Jews in Spain and Portugal (2,500), 60,000 more than the Jewish population of the United Kingdom, and equaled more than half of all Jews in Germany (607,000).[24] In the meantime, in many European countries, the governments (and significant portions of the population) believed there were "too many" Jews, and, without question, no European government of the nineteenth and early twentieth century complained of a "shortage" of Jews.[25]

The great number of the Russian Jews and their "unenlightened" condition was a subject raised time and again in the Russian press as an obstacle to their emancipation. For instance, the mostly liberal *Golos,* which generally did not show any hostility to Jews, suggested in 1866 that legal discrimination should be abolished only for those Jews who had graduated from public schools, citing the qualitative differences in the proportion of Jews in the population of Russia on the one hand and France, Great Britain and Holland on the other.[26] Undoubtedly, references to the excessive number of Jews in the empire were used as a dishonest argument by those who opposed legal emancipation of Jews in any case, but that does not negate the existence of the problem as such. When comparing the Jewish situation in the Russian Empire and the Russian government policy in the "Jewish question" with the policies toward Jews in Western Europe one should take into consideration not only the differences between Jewish populations (the degree of their acculturation and peculiarities of their social structures) and contextual differences (i.e., general features of social and political development), but also the numbers, which reflected a radically different scale of the problem in the Russian Empire. The Jewish emancipation in Russia was indeed a more complicated task than in most European states (which, I reiterate, does not mean it could not or should not have been solved). Only the Habsburg Empire had a proportion of the Jewish population comparable to that of the Russian Empire. (We shall return to the comparison of the Jewish situation in the Romanov and Habsburg em-

pires later.) It is surprising how often historians who know these figures well "forget" about them completely when comparing the "Jewish question" in the Romanov empire with that in other countries.

After the Partitions

Having realized after the partitions that the Jews had become, numerically, a major group within the empire, the government began to study the problem anew. The formation of the "Jewish question" in the empire, i.e., the recognition of the Jews by the authorities as a "problem" that required a special set of regulations, including legal measures, to turn them into "useful" subjects of the empire and in the meantime to prevent them from exercising their "harmful influence" can be dated back to this time. In the late 1790s, the governors of the western borderlands were required to collect opinions of the local Polish marshals on the role of the Jews in the life of the land and on steps that should be taken to reform them. This question was mostly considered in connection with the problem of the disastrous situation of the peasants in the borderland. The marshals, naturally, were quick to blame the Jews exclusively for the lamentable situation of the local peasants. From that time on, tavern-keeping, the license to produce alcohol, money lending, estate rentals, and peddling began to be considered, not completely undeservedly, as undesirable, harmful Jewish occupations.

Soon thereafter, the Governor of Lithuania I. G. Frizel and G. R. Derzhavin presented their memoranda with plans for the reformation of Jewish life. They suggested measures for a hierarchical organization of the rabbinate, limitation of the rights of the *kahal*, incorporation of Jews into the existing social structure of the empire and a whole number of legal restrictions that, according to the authors, were designed to block the harmful influence of the Jews upon the Christian population.

In 1802, the Jewish Committee was set up to prepare a legal code regarding Jews. The composition of the Jewish Committee was quite indicative—these were high-ranking Russian bureaucrats, Polish aristocrats and those Jews who already had close ties to the official and aristocratic St. Petersburg society—Peretz, Nevakhovich, and Notkin. In the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, Jews as tenants and mediators served the interests of the dominant Polish nobility. After the partitions this nobility became a regional elite in the Russian Empire. In the early nineteenth century, the Polish aristocracy was invited to become part of the imperial elite, but it is a telling fact that only the

Jews who already had close ties to St. Petersburg took part in the work on the Committee. Since 1815, with the creation of the Kingdom of Poland, the situation became even more complicated, and after the uprising of 1830–31 the Polish nobility was no longer regarded as a loyal regional elite of the Russian Empire, and no large-scale incorporation of the Polish nobility into the imperial elite was on the agenda. Those Jews, still numerically dominant, who remained connected by economic interests to the Polish nobility, were no longer agents of an elite which dominated in the state, but of a regional elite that had entered into a protracted and deepening conflict with the empire. Certain repressive measures were intended primarily for the Poles, but, for example, the double recruiting quota, introduced in 1841, was in 1851 also extended to the Jews.[27] It is possible to look beyond a simple statement of the interconnection of the Polish and Jewish questions in the imperial politics. The Jewish question must finally become a part of the general, complex subject: identifications, loyalties, and the imperial policy on the western borderlands.[28] And it should be considered within the framework of an interactive, situational approach.

The Statute, introduced in 1804, confirmed the restrictions on the movement of the Jews that had begun to form in the late eighteenth century, thus solidifying de facto the Pale of Settlement. It should be mentioned, however, that this legislation simultaneously provided a rather large expanse of territory open for Jewish residence—the Pale incorporated New Russia (permanently), as well as Astrakhan (temporarily). At the same time, many discriminatory measures suggested by Derzhavin and Frizel were not reflected in the Statute.

The Statute invited Jews to send their children to state comprehensive schools, but allowed them to preserve separate schools funded from their own sources, and prescribed that they be taught one of three languages—Russian, Polish or German. This last rule was clear evidence that the authorities had no russification plans—what was important was teaching Jews any language that could serve as a means of communication between the authorities and the Jews and promote their acculturation in the spirit of the Enlightenment. The Statute made provisions for transferring all the documentation concerning commercial activity and property rights to one of these languages within six years, and also required the knowledge of one of them by rabbis and *kahal* members.

The articles that encouraged the Jews' transition to the category of agricultural settlers (*zemledeltsy*) were also inspired by the Enlightenment ideas of adopting new, "useful" occupations. Jews could buy vacant land, settle on public land; they received credits and tax waivers for 10 years as well as the

waiver from the double tax that had remained in force since 1794.[29] The Statute specifically emphasized that Jews working on the land remained free and could not fall into any form of serfdom.

Initially, the Jews were supposed to receive public lands in all the regions where they had permission to reside. However, taking into account the shortage of land in the western borderland and the still relevant problem of settling New Russia, the settlement became the main focus.

The Jewish agricultural settlers were initially given an allowance from the state funds. In 1810 1,690 families were resettled to the Kherson *gubernia*. Due to exhaustion of the allocated finances, the resettlement was ordered to stop. The authorities had run into that traditional Russian problem—theft of state funds. After the inspection by General Inzov in 1819 the program of resettlement was renewed, but this time at the expense of Jewish societies. The 1835 Statute of Nicholas I allowed all willing Jews to transfer into the category of *zemledeltsy*. The inevitable problem—absence of agricultural skills and experience among the Jews—prompted the government in 1847 to decide to appoint German colonists as village heads in the Jewish settlements.[30] The law of May 30, 1866, declared the cancellation of the Jewish colonization program. However, in fact, it continued until 1881.

In 1897 New Russia alone had 500 settlements with 25,700 families, of which about 23,000 were Jewish, and totaled 34,531 men on 32,851 *desiatin*s of land. About 10 percent of the families were German. As far as can be judged from perfunctory evidence, the relations between Jews and Germans were good. In 1881, Germans from the Jewish settlements were trying to defend their neighbors from pogroms.[31]

It is obvious that the government was sincerely interested in the Jewish agricultural colonization and provided support for it and even occasionally invented novel solutions, such as the creation of model German farms in Jewish settlements. We should note the government's indecision about the desirable areas of colonization—the sufficiently successful process of migration to Siberia was almost immediately halted by the order of Nicholas I. (It is possible that the tsar, obsessed with the idea of imposing control, feared that the remoteness of the region would prevent it).

The partial success of this program that involved over 100,000 people is evident, especially in comparison with the almost total failures of the attempts at Jewish agricultural colonization in the USA and Palestine in the nineteenth century. At the same time, it soon became clear that the grand scale of the Jewish colonization would in no way help resolve the question of transforming the Jewish masses in the spirit of the government's notions of "useful oc-

cupations." It is likewise clear that there was no mass enthusiasm among the Jews for "land-plowing." The sums that were required for resettlement after the government had ceased to finance colonization out of state funds (170 rubles per family out of "*korobka*" money) were much lower than, for instance, the payment for one recruit before 1827 (500 rubles), which means that potentially this program could have involved a substantially larger number of Jews than it actually did.

What obviously became a retreat from the Enlightenment universalism of Catherine's edict of 1785 in the definition of the rights of the Jews as estate members was the attempt to coordinate the norms of the statute with other legal codes, primarily with the Lithuanian Statute, which prohibited Jews from participating in the guilds and in municipal elections.

Many shortcomings of the statute of 1804 were caused not by the ill will of its creators, but rather by the level of understanding of the problems and by the generally low legislative standards. The statute, also contrary to Derzhavin's recommendations, preserved the *kahal*, which unquestionably made Jews happy, but insured the closed structure of the Jewish community for four decades.

At the same time, it is necessary to bear in mind that the direct emulation of the French example of total destruction of autonomous communal institutions would be, first of all, contrary to the practices of the Russian Empire, which preferred to preserve such structures. Secondly, the task of governing Jewish life exclusively through state bureaucratic channels in Russia was completely different than in France with its small Jewish community and an incomparably more developed state apparatus. The real dilemma of the moment was not between the preservation of the *kahal* and the imposition of the direct rule—but between keeping the *kahal* under the control of the authorities (which proved a very complicated task) and transferring the Jews to the control of the local Christian elites.

Thereafter, in the reign of Alexander I, legislation concerning the Jews had a reactive and fragmentary character.

Discipline, punish and transform

The reign of Nicholas I, with its leitmotif of strict regimentation and discipline, was notable for Jews by the introduction of conscription. A truly tragic perception of this measure by the Jews themselves leaves no doubt—during several months they, sparing no expense in bribes, had blocked the prepara-

tion of this law both in the Jewish Committee and in Novosiltsov's secretariat. But the tsar was adamant, and the law was prepared by the General Staff circumventing the usual legislative procedure in time for the first draft in the spring of 1827.[32] The Jews' horror was only partially explained by the well-known hardships of the Russian army service. They invariably—and not always without reason—suspected that all the initiatives of the authorities were an attempt to convert Jews to Christianity, and in this case their fears were fully justified. The attempt at a radical reassessment of the narrative of Jewish suffering in the army made by Y. Petrovsky-Stern, does not always look convincing.[33] However, a few qualifications regarding this narrative can certainly be made. First of all, double recruiting for the Jews was introduced only in 1851, and the Jews were not the first and not the only group affected by this repression. Up to that moment the draft quotas had been regular. Secondly, the draft of the cantonists was left to the discretion of the *kahal*, i.e., allowed by the authorities, but not prescribed. There is no data on the authoritarian pressure on the *kahal* with the purpose of receiving adolescent recruits specifically.[34] The notion of the high mortality among cantonists which stems from the notorious episode in Alexander Herzen's *My Past and Thoughts* is likewise incorrect.[35] Thirdly, the common comparison of the Russian situation, one of strict repressions, to the West European, where the army draft of the Jews allegedly followed emancipation, is not quite true either. The draft in Prussia and Austria constituted a *part* of the emancipation process, and extended to Jews long before they received full rights. The draft in Russia was also regarded by the authorities not only as an instrument of conversion, but as a way of transformation and acculturation, and the retired soldiers of Judaic faith, compared to other Jews, received privileges, including the right to enter the state service.[36]

Finally, the subject of the draft itself, i.e., the scale of draft evasion, as well as the scale of draft-related abuse within the Jewish communities, deserves a special discussion. The measures of the last years of Nicholas's reign, when the authorities threatened, e.g., to draft those responsible for recruiting in case of recruitment shortages, demonstrated not so much the impossibly high draft norms as the desperation of the bureaucratic system in its struggle with draft avoidance, which became a massive problem.

The Polish uprising of 1830–31, which made the western borderland even more problematic in the eyes of the authorities, had a delayed impact on the Jews too. Incidentally, the Jews themselves did not reveal any sympathy for the "riot," and, immediately after the uprising, some administrators of the western borderlands, including M. N. Murav'ev, proposed a kind of a union

with the Jews against the Poles and suggested, in particular, the creation of a special Jewish police force for the Kingdom of Poland.[37] The project was not supported by the tsar, who followed the opinions of those who believed that the Jews would use this access to the power and information for their own ends.[38] One can only speculate about possible consequences of the realization of this project, but it is highly probable that the Warsaw pogrom of 1881 would still have had a bloody prelude in 1863.

The order of Nicholas I to prepare a new Statute for the Jews did not imply the introduction of any new discriminatory laws, but rather the systematization of the existing legislation. While elaborating the Statute, the Jewish Committee suggested several important innovations which would limit legal discrimination against the Jews. Only a small part of these suggestions was approved by the tsar, but in general the Statute had a positive influence. It stopped the further expulsion of Jews from the countryside, increased the allowed period of staying outside the Pale for the Jewish merchants from one to six months, and allowed them to visit the biggest fairs outside the Pale. The Statute, published on April 13, 1835, definitively fixed the borders of the Pale, kept the traditional system of education (*hadarim* and *yeshivot*), and introduced limitations on marital age (18 for males and 16 for females).

After the Statute, the only repressive measure till the end of the 1840s was the law of 1843, which forbade Jews from settling in the 50 verst border zone, which was a reaction typical for Nicholas I to the active participation of the Jews in smuggling and illegal cross-border trade.

The activities of two top bureaucrats of Nicholas's reign opened a new page in the imperial politics in the Jewish question and produced a deep impact on the life of the Jewish communities. Count P. D. Kiselev was commissioned by the tsar to develop a new policy towards the Jews. He took his inspiration from the politics of emancipation in the neighboring empires. The new measures included the abolition of the *kahal* (1844) and creation of a new system of state schools for the Jews in the hope of transforming the Jews of the empire into something similar to the German Jews—educated in the language of the land, loyal citizens, moderate in religious beliefs, involved in "productive" occupations, and integrated into the economic and cultural life of society. These ideas reflected the mood of the tsar, but the nature of the regime and the deplorable state of the Russian bureaucracy produced inevitable and significant modifications to these plans.

The idea of the active involvement of the state in the education of the Jews was formulated by the minister of public education S. S. Uvarov. Acting together with Kiselev, he tried to involve foreign *Maskilim* in the process of

creating of the new schools and in the task of "selling" these new schools to Russian Jews. Stanislawsky described in detail the story of active collaboration of Uvarov with a young reformist rabbi, Max Lilienthal, a doctor of Munich University.[39] Even more important was the attempt of Uvarov to involve local Jews in the development of the new curricula by instructing the governors to invite Jewish representatives to work in the *gubernia* committees, which elaborated the reform. This experiment was not very successful—only the Odessa committee presented a report, signed by both Christian and Jewish members. Lilienthal also faced much trouble when propagating new schools in Vilna and especially in Minsk. The suspicions of the Jews that behind the school reform the authorities were scheming to convert the Jews to Christianity proved groundless, but Lilienthal failed to convince his brethren in faith.

But the new schools gradually took root in spite of the resistance of the traditionalists. They became the arena for the collaboration of the authorities and the still scarce local Maskilim. Here the Maskilim could find jobs, which were extremely important because usually they were rejected by the communities. Uvarov himself considered this fact to be of primary importance from the outset. In the Report of the Ministry of Public Education for 1842, he wrote: "A comforting assurance is reached that even now there is a good number of young educated people among Jews who could usefully occupy teaching positions in the planned Jewish schools."[40] The first generation of the Russian-Jewish intelligentsia, which became so visible in the 1850–60s, had studied in these schools almost without exception. The schools and the new rabbinical seminaries had opened up to the pupils the way to gymnasia and Universities. Without them the dramatic growth of the number of Jewish gymnasium and University students in the reign of Alexander II would have been impossible. "Thus, we can date the emergence of a coherent Russian-Jewish intelligentsia to the latter part of the rule of Nicholas I, in large part as a response to the stimulus provided by the Russian government itself," Stanislawski concludes.[41]

Also important was the social effect of these new schools. The majority of the pupils were from poor families, which were prepared to ignore the pressure of the traditionalist leadership of the communities partly because of the wish to educate their children, partly as an expression of protest against the abuse of justice by the *kahal* authorities during conscription. Attending school saved adolescents from conscription.

We should accept the general conclusion of Stanislawski that the "'Jewish policy' throughout Nicholas's reign remained shortsighted, repressive and

discriminatory. But it was not anomalous. On the contrary, it can only be understood as one part of Nicholas's overall approach to governing his subjects, especially those in the troublesome Western Provinces".[42] The methods of social engineering under Nicholas I were invariably based on disciplinary, usually militaristic principles, not only in the western borderlands. There were *voennye poseleniia* (military settlements) for peasants and the cadet corps for provincial nobility. But the spread of state education, achieved in the collaboration of the authorities and the Maskilim, does not allow for the depiction of the policy of 1830–1850 as exclusively repressive and destructive. Stanislawsky is right that the destructive process of the isolation of the Jewish communal life, which started at that time (much later than in more developed countries of Europe) was a precondition for the political radicalization of a significant part of the Russian Jewry. But there is no direct causality here. The patterns of the incorporation of the Jews into the imperial society were determined during the reign of the heirs of Nicholas Pavlovich.

The state policy towards the Jews, from their inclusion into the empire up to the period of active modernization under Alexander II, can be divided into four stages. Before the early 1790s Catherine II aimed at the emancipation and incorporation of a small group of her new Jewish subjects, mostly by amending the discriminatory legal norms, inherited from the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. After the final partition of the Commonwealth and dramatic increase in the number of Jews in the Russian empire the authorities took time to develop a new comprehensive legal system for the Jews. The Statute of 1804 was an attempt to introduce such a system. The degree of its consistency reflected the general quality of legislation and bureaucracy in the empire. The Statute combined the Enlightenment orientation with discriminatory measures, which were supposed to prevent the "harmful" influence of the Jews. In general, during the period of 1804–1825 the empire preferred not to intervene deeply into the autonomy of Jewish life. The situation changed under Nicholas I, when such intervention became common.

"Other" Jews[43]

Russia received even more new Jewish subjects in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, as a result of the imperial annexation of Bessarabia (20,000), Georgia (about 6,000), and Northern Azerbaijan and Dagestan (about 15,000). The policy toward the "other" Jews was substantially different from the policy toward the Jews of the western borderlands.

The Jews of Bessarabia retained all the privileges granted to them by the former rulers, *hospodars*, of Moldavia. As a result, they had the right to trade alcohol in taverns, to rent mills and distilleries, which was prohibited by the statute of 1804 to the Jews of the Western borderlands. (Jews of the western borderlands were allowed to sell alcohol only "in their own homes".) There were practically no attempts to extend the norms of the Statute to the Bessarabian Jews.[44]

On July 30, 1825, the Ruling Senate passed an edict that prohibited Jews from settling in the Astrakhan and Caucasus provinces. Beginning in the 1830s Jews were evicted from the Caucasus Province. However, the Chief Administrator of Georgia had the right to allow a temporary settlement in the Caucasus to Jews of those artisan professions which were in short supply there. In 1844, Jewish artisans were permitted temporary residence in the fortified Russian settlements of the Black Sea eastern coast.

As the Russians were familiarizing themselves with this borderland, they sent a number of official and scholarly memoranda to the Russian administration in Tiflis stating that many Jews of the Caucasus Province formed whole villages and were not so much traders as peasants. Some of them in the East Caucasus were even serfs to the local Muslim military elite. Due to this, on May 18, 1837, by the supreme order of Nicholas I, it was decided that those Jews in the Russian Caucasus who lived constituting whole villages and tended the land should be left alone. Other Jews (primarily the Ashkenazim), as well as the Sephardim from Jewish trading and artisan town quarters were forbidden to reside in the Caucasus permanently.

The legal status of *evrei-inorodtsy* (alien Jews) and of the special category of *prirodnye* (natural-born) or *gorskie evrei* (Mountain Jews) of the Caucasus Province was ultimately defined in 1888. The latter had acquired the same rights as the Muslim mountaineers who had also become Russian subjects in the course of the Russian conquest of the land. In the eastern Caucasus (the Dagestan Province and the Zakatalsk region of the Elizavetpol *gubernia*) the Mountain Jews were included in the so-called military-popular government, i.e., were ruled according to the local custom by elected elders, whose appointment had to be confirmed by the Russian military.

In 1886, the Caucasus borderland numbered altogether 45,666 Jews, including Mountain Jews and alien Jews. At the beginning of the 1890s, the Mountain Jewish population was estimated at 4,090 households or approximately 21,000 souls. They occupied entire villages or quarters in the villages and towns of the Dagestan, Tersk and Kuban Provinces in North Caucasus, of the Baku and Elizavetpol *gubernias* in Eastern Transcaucasia. In 1886, about

10,000 lived in the villages of Eastern Transcaucasia and North Caucasus, and about 11,000 in towns. The Jews of Georgia, who were just as indigenous a population, nonetheless had not received the status of the "natives", but were instead classified as aliens and thus limited in their rights in the same manner as the Jews in Russia's western *gubernias*.[45]

This tendency to differentiate between "local", "natural-born" or "native" (*tuzemnye*) Jews on the one hand and "alien" Jews on the other turned out to be a stable one.[46] After the annexation of Turkestan in 1866, the indigenous, so-called Bukharan Jews received rights equal to those of the rest of the local population and the status of Russian subjects. In 1876, Governor-General K. P. Kaufman officially granted them the status of natives.[47] They could freely choose their occupation and buy property throughout the region. In practice, this "native" status gave Turkestan Jews an opportunity to reside, purchase property and engage in trade all over the imperial territory, including interior *gubernias* and the capital cities.

Contrary to the law that prohibited Jewish foreign subjects from migrating to Russia, the Jews of the Bukharan Khanate were not prevented from doing so. The Bukharan Jews played a major role in trade with the rest of the empire and had the right to visit fairs in central *gubernias*. It was only in 1889 that the Jews who were Bukharan subjects were stripped of the right to purchase property in the empire, while this right was retained for the native Jews of Turkestan. In March 1900, on the initiative of the war minister, a law aimed at driving Jewish Bukharan subjects out of Russia was passed. However, the law was not implemented until the collapse of the empire because of the sabotage by the local civilian authorities headed by Governor-General N. I. Grodekov.

We see the same picture in the Caucasus and in Turkestan as in the western borderlands: at any given period there was no consistency in the imperial administration concerning the treatment of Jews. The initial intention of the government to extend the discriminatory legislation on western borderland Jews to the indigenous Jews of the southern borderlands, which was revealed in the treatment of the Jews of the Caucasus by the authorities in the early years of the reign of Nicholas I, was corrected as soon as the authorities recognized the differences between the local Jews and western borderland Jews. In the southern borderlands, the legal situation of the local Jews improved in comparison with the period before the annexation of these territories by the Russian Empire, and the Jewry as a whole presented itself as a loyal, pro-imperial group.

Religion

It is difficult to judge how important religion was in shaping the imperial policy in the "Jewish question". We can now confidently argue that anti-Judaism was less developed in eastern Christianity than in the Catholic tradition.[48] The anti-Semitism of a significant part of Russian Orthodox clergy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was rooted in widespread modern anti-Semitism rather than in religion.

The Orthodox church had always had a very cautious attitude to the conversions of the Jews because of the deeply rooted fear of heretical influence. The matter was not limited to the surviving memories of the judaizing heresy of old. The eighteenth century saw the appearance of the new and quite numerous communities of judaizers or Subbotniks in Russia. Despite the repressions of the authorities that intensified during the reign of Nicholas I, they were growing ever more popular throughout the nineteenth century. Entire Subbotnik communities were exiled to Siberia. The prohibition imposed by Nicholas I on the Jewish resettlement to Siberia that had begun so successfully may have been connected to these fears of the proliferation of the Subbotnik movement. Another prohibition, for Jews to have Christians as domestic servants, was likewise linked to the fears of the latter lapsing from faith.

The religious movement of Subbotniks has not been researched nearly enough. All kinds of assumptions are made on whether Subbotniks had any Jewish ancestry or any connection to the previous judaizing movements. But both the church and secular authorities viewed them unequivocally as Russian peasants who were severed from Orthodoxy and had lapsed into Judaism as a result of Jewish influence.[49] The registry of sects compiled by the Holy Synod in 1842 lists the Subbotniks as number one among "the most harmful." This shows that the Orthodox Church was more often concerned with measures to protect its own congregation rather than with any missionary tasks of Jewish conversion.

John Klier has shown that the authorities never had any systematic policy of converting Jews. The only exemption was the case of the cantonists. The cantonist battalions were the vehicle of conversion, and Nicholas I was demanding systematic reports about the progress in the matter. However, Klier confirms the view of Stanislawski that the authorities only gave the *kahal* the right to choose whether to give up adult persons or adolescents for conscription, without putting any pressure on the *kahal* in this question.[50]

The very fact that conversion to Christianity freed Jews from legal discrimination, was pushing the Jews towards conversion and, it seems, could be

considered a reliable indicator of the attitude of the authorities to Judaism. However, several small Judaic groups (Karaits, Krymcahks, and to some extent also Bukharan Jews and Mountain Jews) were not subjected to anti-Jewish legal discrimination. It is not absolutely clear whether the conversion itself or its social consequences—inevitable and total separation from the community—was more important from the point of view of the authorities. The ties with the community were initially seen as an obstacle for acculturation, later they were also seen key to the alleged secret Jewish solidarity. The 25 rubles paid to a convert could be considered a reward, but also as a compensation for the loss of the communal support. "The low rate of conversion also suggests that the enthusiasm of the Russian state for conversionary policies in the case of the Jews has been much exaggerated," Klier observes.[51]

There is no doubt that the authorities had always been hostile to the "fanaticism" of traditional rabbis, and were often suspicious of Hasidim. They wanted to create a loyal and controlled rabbinate, and pursued this goal by introducing rabbinical academies and through plans of creating a hierarchical structure for Judaic clerics. That to some extent is reminiscent of the imperial policy towards the Muslim clergy. But the question whether it was the result of hostile attitude to Judaism as such, or an effort to establish control over the religions which traditionally did not have hierarchical structure of clergy, remains open for debate. In any case, Klier is absolutely right when saying in the article with a telling title "'Traditional Russian Religious Antisemitism'—A Useful Concept or a Barrier to Understanding?" that "a number of factors began the erosion of the status of the Jews, but none can be linked directly to religious prejudice alone."[52]

Selective integration instead of emancipation

In the liberal atmosphere of the new reign, expectations of a lessening of Jewish discrimination and of a Russian-Jewish rapprochement in general were widespread. The public mood was conducive to that. In 1856 Alexander II himself gave an order to "revise all the existing statutes concerning Jews for an agreement on the general principles of integration of this people into the native population, since the moral state of the Jews can allow that." The Tsar made a remark on the report of the Jewish Committee in his own hand, stating that he shared the opinion that Russia should follow the example of Western European countries where the Jews had been successfully "integrated" into local communities.[53]

In 1858, the press began a very lively campaign for the abolition of legal barriers for Jews. Jewish journalists were playing an active part in this campaign alongside their Russian colleagues. An attempt by the St. Petersburg weekly *Illiustratsiia* to publish some anti-Jewish articles in 1858 met with decisive opposition from practically the entire Russian press, and even caused two letters of protest, including one that was signed by such renowned intellectuals as I. Turgenev, K. Kavelin and V. Spasovich. Klier, who has made a detailed analysis of the contemporary journalism concerning the Jewish question, [54] believes that "the year 1858 proved to be the first and the last year of widespread Judeophilia in Russia."[55] This assessment can hardly be regarded as entirely accurate. It is correct that in later years the Russian public opinion was no longer as unanimously sympathetic toward Jews, of course, we are speaking primarily about "enlightened Jews." However, first of all, 1858 saw anti-Jewish statements too. Secondly, the general state of mind remained decisively "pro-Jewish" as late as 1862, when the large majority of newspapers took the side of the Jewish journal *Sion* in its conflict with the Ukrainophile journal *Osnova*.[56] The researcher of the Jewish history of Odessa, Steven J. Zipperstein, cites contemporary evidence to speak of the "dignity and stateliness" of the richest *bogatejuschih* Odessa Jews in the early 1860s, and remarks that "during the early 1860's, this sense of security and confidence characterized the self-image of the city's Jewish intellectuals as well."[57]

In the western borderland the authorities hoped to find in Jews their anti-Polish allies. In 1862, Kiev general-governor Prince I.I. Vasil'chikov, while suggesting a number of steps aimed at expanding Jewish rights in the territory, wrote: "In a numerous, well-educated Jewry, one that is released from heavy limitations, the government could find a counteracting force against the restless Polish element."[58] In particular, he suggested allowing Jewish merchants to acquire landed estates in the southwestern borderland. The suggestion was accepted and the permission was extended to all of the Pale of Settlement. The Jewish entrepreneurs partook of the newly-opened opportunities enthusiastically.[59] However, as early as March 5, 1864, a law was passed that renewed the ban on land acquisition by Jews in the western borderland.

The situation changed radically as a result of the Polish uprising of 1863. Whereas in 1862, on the eve of the uprising, Vasilchikov had regarded concessions to Jews as a measure that could win Jews over to the side of the government,[60] now, after the rebellion was suppressed, the government relied primarily on the use of force in its relations with the Polish nobility, and had not much use for the Jews as allies. However, listing Jews as an enemy along with the Polish nobility was not in the government's plans either: the Jewish

emancipation implemented in the Kingdom of Poland under A. Wielopolski remained valid, while practically all the laws and steps expanding Polish autonomy were annulled without hesitation.

The landed estates of participants in the rebellion were confiscated, and all the Polish landlords in the territory were subjected to a special tax, the purpose of which was to force them into selling their estates. Poles were simultaneously prohibited from buying estates. Thus, a considerably larger amount of land was to be put up for sale than anyone could have foreseen in 1862. A sharp increase in Jewish land-ownership was not what the authorities had in mind. Besides, many Jews, especially those who had the money to buy the estates, had close business ties to the Polish landlords. The permission for Jews to buy the Polish lands on sale created wide opportunities for Polish landlords to purchase them through Jewish front men.

The participation of Jews in Polish patriotic manifestations on the eve of the uprising made the idea of a Polish and Jewish conspiracy against Russia popular in the Russian public opinion.[61] Another argument favoring of such a view of the Jews was the development of the situation in Galicia, where Jews were active as Polish allies. In the meantime, the St. Petersburg authorities were always watching the Galician situation closely, and the course of events in that Habsburg province repeatedly inspired the decision-making impulse for the Tsarist authorities in their ethnic policies.[62]

It was of utmost importance, however, that by 1863 the concept of an all-Russian nation that included all Eastern Slavs had already become quite dominant, not only in the discourse of Russian nationalism, but in the views of governmental circles. In regard to territory this concept presupposed not only a "depolonization" of the western borderland, but the affirmation of its Russian character. This is exactly what was said in the resolution of the Western Committee that discussed, in the wake of the uprising, the feasibility of granting Jews the right to purchase land: "the strengthening of the Jewish element among landowners of the Western gubernias would not correspond, in either political or moral respect, to the views of the government, which have recently come to realize both the necessity of strengthening the Russian element among the landowners in the Western Borderland and of providing as much independence as possible to the peasant population."[63]

Initially, immediately following the uprising, the government allowed an influx of Germans into the region. Soon enough, however, after the Prussian victory over the Habsburgs in 1866, and especially after the triumph of Germany in 1870 and the creation of the Berlin–Vienna alliance directed against St. Petersburg in 1881, even the increase of German landownership on this

territory would pose a problem for the authorities and for Russian nationalism. In 1887, the government proscribed any foreign nationals from acquiring or renting lands in the Volynia, Kiev and Podolsk *gubernias*, as well as in the Vistula *gubernias*.

The perception of the western borderland as a contested, endangered borderland acquired a new dimension. The old suspicions of the Jews' sympathies for the Poles were complemented by suspicions of their sympathies for the Germans. The 1860s clearly marked a negative attitude of the authorities and the Russian nationalist press, not only toward the Jews' conversion to Catholicism and their schooling in Polish, but to their conversion to the Lutheran faith and schooling in German. This motif was already sporadically dominant over the motif of the Polish peril, both in the bureaucratic documents and in the press of the time. "The case will be settled... either in favor of Germanization or in favor of Russification of our Jews, depending on how our Government treats the matter of the permission to use the Russian language in scholarly and study texts on Jewish subjects, in publication of Jewish prayer and service books, religious books and especially the Bible," said the expert memorandum of the Ministry of Public Education.[64] (We shall note that "russification" in this text is understood primarily as the adoption of the Russian language and secular culture, and does not suggest conversion to Orthodoxy).

It was also in connection with the German, not Polish, peril that the "Jewish question" was discussed on the pages of the *Moskovskie vedomosti* edited by M. N. Katkov, who wrote in 1866 of the dissemination among the Jews of the German, not Russian, language: "Can the Russian government wish for a German outpost in our one-million-and-a-half Jewish population, wedged almost into the very heart of Russia?"[65]

In general, the tendency in government policy toward Jewish emancipation and the benevolent public mood continued to exist after the 1863 uprising. The emphasis on assimilation became stronger,[66] but the Polish formula "Poles of the Mosaic faith" did not become popular in Russia—"Russian Jews" were never replaced in the public discourse by "Jewish Russians." Katkov even offered the rebellious Kingdom of Poland an example for the Russian politics in the Jewish question:

> The Jews, by their natural temperament, are distinguished by their energy, enterprise and quick wit—the qualities which, if misguided, can do much harm, but which, when turned in the right direction, can on the contrary bring a very significant public good. There is no doubt that anyone

> who wishes good for Russia cannot help wishing for such an important and influential part of the population of the Western Province to be inspired by the honest Russian civic feeling. The example of other countries, the example of England and Holland, Italy and France, Germany and the Kingdom of Poland itself, in the time of the latest rebellion, demonstrate convincingly that neither the alien origin of the Jews, nor the laws of their faith prevent them from sharing the patriotic feelings of the population among which they live.[67]

Katkov was sure in 1868 that the legal emancipation of Jews was a matter of the near future. In enumerating the groups of Jews that had been recently allowed to live outside the Pale of Settlement, he wrote: "The Russian legislation is thus moving unstoppably in the same direction... It is desirable that the law did not draw a line of distinction between them and all the other Russian subjects."[68] "The Jews," emphasized Katkov, "are acting in the interests of the political unity of the state everywhere their rights are recognized."[69]

Since the late 1850s, the so-called *shtadlans*—intercessors representing Jewish interests whose tactics consisted in a gradual, step-by-step lobbying for the easing of legal discrimination—were active in St. Petersburg.[70] In 1863, Jews enrolled in public educational institutions became entitled to an annual stipend of 24,000 rubles—which was to be provided by the Jews themselves, out of candle tax payments. After the adoption in 1864 of the new code for *gymnasium* and *progymnasium*, which stated that they were open to "children of all estates with no regard to faith," the number of Jewish *gymnasium* students grew sharply. In 1865, there were 990 (3.3 percent of all students), in 1870, 2,045 (5.6 percent), in 1880, 7004 (12 percent). It is clear that these figures conceal a much sharper increase in the number of Jewish students within the Pale of Settlement—in the area as a whole, by the end of the 1870s, Jews constituted 19 percent of all *gymnasium* students, and in the Odessa school district up to one third. In 1879, the newly opened Nikolaev classical *gymnasium* accepted 105 Jews and 38 Christians. While in 1865 there were 129 Jews in all Russian universities (3.2 percent of all students), in 1881 their number reached 783 (8.8 percent). By 1886, Jews already constituted 14.5 percent of all students, and at the University of Odessa every third student was a Jew.[71]

As early as 1859, the Jewish merchants of the First Guild were granted equal rights with the Russian merchants. During the 1860s and 1870s, a number of laws were passed that allowed freedom of settlement within the empire to those people of Jewish faith who had higher education: initially the post-

graduate Candidate's, Master's and Doctoral (primarily M. D.) degrees (November 27, 1861); in 1865–1867, the law was extended to Jewish medical practitioners without a degree; in 1872, to the graduates of the St. Petersburg Institute of Technology; finally, in 1879, the right to live beyond the Pale was extended to everyone who had graduated from an institution of higher education, as well as to pharmacy assistants, field medics, midwives and to students of pharmacy, field medicine and midwifery. On June 28, 1865, the same right was granted to artisans, and on June 25, 1867, to the retired Nicholas-era soldiers.[72] Young Jews had the right to leave the Pale of Settlement for their period of study, including artisan apprenticeships. As a matter of fact, the possession of any profession deemed "useful" by the authorities, or an effort to get it, gave Jews a permission to go beyond the Pale of Settlement.

Jews received the rights to enter state service, to participate in town and *zemstvo* self-government, and in new courts. The authorities, however, took care to make a provision in the Town Statute of 1870 to the effect that even in towns with a predominantly Jewish population Jews could not comprise more than one third of the voting members of the town duma and could not be elected as burgermeisters.

The government strategy as a whole consisted, according to Benjamin Nathans, in "selective integration" of Jews into imperial society.[73] The number of Jews beyond the Pale was growing at a brisk rate, including in the imperial capital, where, in 1869, there were 7,000 Jews, while in 1897 there were already 35,000 Jews living legally and about the same number of illegal residents. The Jewish population of big cities within the Pale of Settlement and in Kiev was growing even faster. It is worth noting that the number of Jews in Siberia was growing in the same proportion as the general population of the area.[74]

The strategy of selective integration involved ever increasing numbers of Jews and worked, albeit not without problems, until the early 1880s. On April 3, 1880, the Ministry of Interior issued a circular for local authorities, in which Jews who had settled illegally beyond the Pale, were permitted to remain in their current place of residence, which, in fact, meant an amnesty to all the violators of the Pale of Settlement laws.[75]

A total of 69 statutes and directives concerning Jews were issued in the period between 1859 and 1869. Only three of them (in 1859, 1861, and 1868) made the situation of the Jews worse, 19 had an explanatory or clarifying purpose, and the remaining 47 expanded Jewish rights. The period during which the "liberal invitation to acculturation and assimilation" remained in force was the same in Russia as in Germany—from the late-1850s to the late

1870s, though the factors that contributed to this coincidence were not identical.

It is clear that in the 1860s and 1870s the political conditions were ripe for abolishing the Pale of Settlement. Such suggestions were expressed even by those high-level bureaucrats who were openly hostile to Jews.[76] It was precisely in the last decades of the nineteenth century that the Jews began to feel the negative economic effects of the existence of the Pale severely. The Pale occupied an area larger than the territory of France and included the most economically developed of the empire's western borderlands. The partitions of the Polish Commonwealth had actually increased the space available for Jewish settlement radically, by including New Russia in the Pale. It was there that the Russian government was trying to channel the Jewish agricultural colonization that was finally stopped in the 1870s.

The experience of Austria-Hungary, where Jews were allowed freedom of movement in 1867, shows that economic factors limiting mobility worked without legal limitations. A look at the map of Jewish population in the Habsburg monarchy at the turn of the century, i.e., more than 30 years after the abolition of the legal limitations to their settlement within the empire, shows that the concentration of Jews in Galicia and Bukovina, where their social and cultural features were similar to those of the Jews of the western Russian borderlands, remained the same. In other words, they were still mostly concentrated within the Pale of Settlement.[77] If the Galician Jews ever decided to hit the road, their itinerary usually took them across the ocean, as was the case with the Jews within the Pale of Settlement.

Why did the Russian authorities not take that course? Partly, because they did not (could not) know the results of the Austrian-Hungarian experiment. Partly because the Russian imperial authorities had to deal with an incomparably larger number of Jews, which meant a significantly higher risk. Partly because the authorities were not at all sure that the majority of the Jews would follow the principle that David Feldman formulated thus: "If the Jews were to become citizens and subjects alongside others, then they would have to submit themselves to the sovereign state on a similar basis."[78] (To what extent such fears were a product of anti-Semitic prejudice and how much they were a result of objective observation is a question deserving a special discussion.) This is partly because the political and social reforms in Russia did not reach as far as they did in the Habsburg Empire, and the authorities, in the Jewish question as well as in other matters, still relied more on the methods of direct administrative control.[79] The Russian Empire introduced no constitution, and there was no triumph of the liberal princi-

ples, in contrast to the Habsburg Empire, where it occurred in the 1860s–1870s.

In comparing the Jewish policies of the Romanov and Habsburg Empires, it should be kept in mind that the Hungarian elites of Transleithania that occupied the dominant positions in their sub-empire after the 1867 Compromise consciously made it their objective to create a Hungarian bourgeoisie primarily out of magyarized Jews. The Hungarian nation-building project that was set in motion in the mid-nineteenth century envisioned magyarization of significant groups of the population of Cisleithania, and the magyarized Jews were regarded by the Hungarian elites as necessary allies in its implementation. Russian nationalism also saw in Jews potential allies in the russifying policy in certain cases, but was far from allowing them such an important role in its own nation-building project.

Thus, the failure of the Romanov Empire to emancipate Jews in the period in which it was done by the Habsburgs and when a real possibility existed in Russia needs to be explained by a combination of factors. The autocracy's aversion to a constitutional method of development is chief among them—but not the only one.

The observation of Sulamit Volkov that "antimodernism tended to flourish where the modern pattern of social stratification did not neatly unseat the traditional one, but tended to coexist with it," was based on the German material.[80] It is even more relevant for Russia, for which Alfred Rieber has coined the perfect term: "a sedimentary society," in which the new structures were imposed in a layered way on the old.[81] And the Russian Jews would experience the consequences of this situation as early as in the 1880s.

The era of modern anti-Semitism

The early 1880s became a fault line in the history of the Jews in the Russian Empire. A wave of pogroms swept the western borderlands of the empire in 1881–1882. As a matter of fact, those were the first widespread manifestations of mass violence against Jews in the Russian Empire.[82] The pogroms caused the first wave of mass Jewish emigration from Russia—altogether over 20,000 people. The next large pogrom was in Kishinev in 1903, followed by the numerous pogroms of 1905–1906.[83]

Our knowledge of pogroms is mostly negative. We are more prepared to answer the question of what pogroms were not than the question of what a pogrom was. We know that pogroms were not organized by the government;

that in Russia pogroms happened both within and outside the Pale of Settlement; that pogroms were not uniquely Russian, and did not begin in the Russian Empire; that pogroms happened both in countries with and without legal discrimination against Jews, in both liberal and autocratic regimes.[84]

It is probable that the question itself—"what is a pogrom?"—is not stated correctly. The events denoted by the word "pogrom" varied greatly in their circumstances, forms and causes.

Donald Horovitz could possibly make a valuable contribution to the discussion of a particular type of pogroms, widespread in the 1880s, in light of his concept of the "deadly ethnic riot," but he almost entirely leaves pogroms out of his study.[85] Horovitz admits that pogroms are a "subcategory of the ethnic riot" if they happen without the participation of the authorities and are accompanied by bloodshed. His proposition, that pogroms are largely provoked by the authorities, and thus do not fit this definition, does not bear scrutiny. In this respect, Horovitz's notion of pogroms is based more on S. M. Dubnov's than on H. Rogger's. Regrettably Zygmunt Bauman's diagnosis that the widespread tendency "to exile the Jewish fate to a special branch of history and to eliminate it from the mainstream historical narrative diminishes the interpretive potential of the latter" is applicable to this book as well.[86]

At the same time, it is clear that a significant portion of the pogroms of 1905 do not fit the definition of the ethnic riot. They were certainly not organized by the authorities, which could not organize much of anything within the revolutionary situation over which they had lost control. Also they were not ethnic in the strict sense of the word—they were primarily anti-revolutionary, and their victims were quite often not Jews.[87] That said, the Jews were associated by the anti-revolutionary Black Hundred forces with the revolution and were, undoubtedly, the main target of their violence.

Likewise, the bulk of the pogroms that happened during the wars of 1914–1920 do not fall under the category of the "ethnic riot," since pogroms were carried out primarily by organized armed groups. The diversity of phenomena hiding behind the word *pogrom* is one of the symptoms of the ideological engagement of historiography.[88]

Participation of the authorities in setting up pogroms (even the one in Kishinev) can now be safely relegated to the realm of myth. The question of their conduct during pogroms is more complicated. Hans Rogger, who gave us as full an analysis of the 1880s pogroms as the state of historiography allowed,[89] mentions several factors, which could on different occasions prevent the local authorities from taking decisive action, including the use of firearms,

at the very early stage of pogrom activities, regardless of whether the officials shared anti-Jewish sentiment themselves or not. This could be due to a loss of control in a critical situation, to shifting responsibility between military and civilian authority, to a lack of troops on the site, etc. Similar mechanisms were also at work in situations in which pogroms were not anti-Jewish, even in the capital and even in a time of war.[90] In the imperial elite there were people who effectively prevented pogroms,[91] as there were those who sympathized with the pogrom perpetrators. Nicholas II was among the latter, which was manifested in the mass clemency by the tsar of the participants in the pogroms of 1905.[92]

Ten years after the first wave of pogroms, the law of 1891 established criminal liability "for open attacks on one part of the population upon another," creating a legal basis for prosecution of those pogrom perpetrators who could not be charged with active participation in homicide. However, the direct legislative reaction to the wave of pogroms in the 1880s was to introduce "The Provisional Rules of the 3rd of May, 1882." The Rules reflected the conviction of the authorities that it was the "Jewish exploitation" of peasants that provoked the pogroms, and that they could be prevented only by separating Jews and peasants as much as possible. The Rules prohibited Jews from trading in alcoholic beverages in the countryside and banned all Jewish trade in rural areas during Christian holidays.[93] Jews were forbidden from purchasing and leasing any landed property in the countryside, and from settling in the countryside. Those Jews who already lived outside of towns and *shtetls* could stay on. Dubnov describes cases when the latter rule was abused by the local authorities who, under different pretexts, attempted to drive out the Jews who already lived in of the countryside. The only thing that Dubnov does not mention is that he borrowed all his cases from the files of the Senate, which invariably settled them in favor of the Jews. The rural Jewish population was higher in 1888 than in 1882.[94]

Z. Bauman correctly observes that premodern violence occurs because things were not as they were yesterday, while modern violence because of the fear how things might be tomorrow.[95] In the pogroms of 1881–1882, judging by what we know of them, both mechanisms were at work. However, it was precisely in the early 1880s that fear of the future as the basis for modern anti-Semitism was revealed most fully. Thus, it can be asserted that it was not pogroms in themselves, but rather their coincidence in time with the realization of the perils of capitalist development that made the beginning of the 1880s a turning point in the history of the "Jewish question" in the Russian Empire.

In an attempt to save his radical modernist interpretation of nationalism as a product of industrial revolution, Ernest Gellner argued that in Eastern Europe it was rather a shadow of this revolution which triggered nationalism. The argument in general does not seem convincing, but there is, probably, some truth in it—many people in Eastern Europe began thinking about certain problems before they actually emerged in their societies. Observing the experience of their more developed neighbors, they anticipated new problems. The same mechanism worked in the emergence of modern Russian anti-Semitism. In March 1880 the St. Petersburg newspaper *Novoe vremia* came up with the (in)famous slogan "The Yid is Coming". The critique had started already in the late 1870s by condemning the profiteering of Jewish army contractors during the war with the Ottoman Empire. Soon it became an alarmist cry about the newly emerging Jewish economic power in general.

Much of these concerns, or rather—panic, was based on the observations of Jewish success in neighboring Germany.[96] Indeed, in Germany by 1870 "80 per cent of the Jewish population could be described as middle-class and 60 per cent were in the upper income brackets".[97] In the early twentieth century Jews comprised one third of the richest German families, while their share of the total population was less than one percent.[98] The growth of the influence and wealth of the Jews in large urban centers of the Habsburg Empire was also evident. The striking upward mobility of the Jews in all the countries where they got emancipation was obvious, and there was no reason to believe that in Russia things would go a different way. "The Jews were low going up, and thus instilled in the high the fear of going down."[99]

Within this perspective Jews were, indeed, dangerous rivals. Analogies with Russia would have been particularly frightening for the nationalist public opinion. One reason was that the Jewish population in Russia was incomparably higher, both in absolute figures and proportionally, than in Germany. Secondly, comparing the "national Russian" capitalism with its German or French counterparts, it was easy to come to the conclusion that the Russian economy was incomparably less competitive. Dondukov-Korsakov, while suggesting abolishment of the Pale of Settlement in 1872, hastened to add that the *kulaks*, peasant entrepreneurs, and merchants of the interior *gubernias* would create such a competition for the Jews that it would not allow the latter to "exploit" the local population.[100] The trouble was that the number of people who believed, along with Dondukov-Korsakov, in the ability of the "peasant entrepreneurs" to compete with the Jews was not large even as he was writing his memorandum, and dwindled as time passed. There was a widespread conviction in Russian public opinion, as well as in government circles, of the

weakness of "national" capitalism. If the German experience proved that the Jews could win in an economic competition even on German turf, the Oblomovs had no chances at all.

Of course, those who speculated about the Jewish "economic threat" tended to forget about the differences between the Ostjuden and the Westjuden that in another context were invariably cited as justification for delaying emancipation. But Russian Jews had also demonstrated outstanding capitalist talents. Whether we call the Jews, following J. Armstrong, a "mobilized diaspora," or, following Yuri Slezkine, "Mercurians," or, following Derek J. Penslar, "Homo economicus judaicus,"[101]— in any case it is all about the fact that the Jews everywhere proved able to use the opportunities opened up by the development of capitalism more effectively than their neighbors. It should be noted that in exploiting these opportunities the Jews were often led by ideas other than the notions of the desirable change of roles that in the Enlightenment era were characteristic of Christian views of the Jews as well as of the views of the Maskilim.

This is exactly how things were in Russia—the government wanted the Jews to engage in agriculture, artisan professions or to become educated specialists. It was in these capacities that the government was ready to open ways for Jews to be integrated into imperial society, and it was these categories that were offered opportunities to leave the Pale of Settlement. The growing role of the Jews in the key areas of the new capitalist economy, however, was perceived in different terms. By the mid-nineteenth century, Jews had already achieved complete dominance among the merchants in the Pale. *All* the merchants of the first guild in the Minsk, Chernigov, and Podolsk *gubernias* were Jewish.[102] The dominant role of Jews in the fast-growing banks, railroads and on the stock exchange was evident already in the 1880s. Even in St. Petersburg, outside of the Pale of Settlement, 43 percent of brokers and 42 percent of pawnbrokers in 1881 were Jews.[103] Increasingly the opponents of emancipation cited the economic success of the Jews as proof positive that further steps toward abolishing legal barriers were not needed and even were dangerous.

In the new discourse, the Pale of Settlement and other forms of legal discrimination were becoming the last barrier that protected the weak, barely emergent Russian capitalism from Jewish domination. Whereas in the past the Pale was meant to limit the movement of *the pitiful Jew*—uneducated, traditionalist petty trader or factor—now it had to protect against the artful, ruthless *predator Jews*, united in a conspiratorial network both within the empire and worldwide. As in Germany, modern anti-Semitism established itself in the Russian Empire.[104]

The former encouraging attitude of involving Jews in secular education changed too, largely because during the period when the "liberal invitation to assimilation" was in action the Jews, as has already been noted, exploited the newly opened opportunities very successfully. One of the manifestations of this new trend was the introduction in 1887, after some pressure from Alexander III on the minister of public education I. D. Delianov, of a quota for Jews entering secondary schools, and, later, the same quota for institutes of higher education—10 percent within the Pale of Settlement, 5 percent outside the Pale, and 3 percent in the capitals.

While the multimillion strong mass of Russian Jews kept to its traditional, sequestered way of life, and the authorities were dreaming of turning them into "productive" peasants and artisans, the few cases of individual success by Jews in entrepreneurship and education were very welcome. The authorities were little concerned that the finances of the Russian Empire had been managed for several decades by a Christianized Jew, Stieglitz.[105] However, when the Jews' upward social mobility (in economy and education) began to grow exponentially, the attitude toward them began to change drastically. In time, the idea of "cleansing" Russia of Jews by forcing them to emigrate took hold among the extreme nationalists. The Union of the Russian People, for instance, announced that it would "make every effort so that its representatives in the State Duma, above all, put forward the question of the formation of a Jewish state, of facilitating their move into that state, whatever material sacrifices such a move required of the Russian people."[106] The government certainly did not go as far as that, but considered partial Jewish emigration desirable. From 1881 to 1914, 1,980,000 Jews emigrated from Russia—of whom 1,557,000 (78.6 percent) went to the United States.[107]

Certainly, not all the segments of Russian society were infected with anti-Semitism. Jews were treated as equals in the revolutionary and liberal milieu. It was exactly in this direction that the ever-increasing number of educated Jews who wanted a rapprochement with Russian society moved. The first accusations against Jews, along with Poles, for their disproportionately active part in the revolutionary movement, were heard in the 1870s. At that time they were groundless. In 1871–1873, the number of Jews brought to trial on political charges constituted 4–5 percent, which corresponded to their share of the country's population. However, by the late 1880s, Jews already constituted between 35 and 40 percent of participants in the revolutionary movement. In twenty years the Jews had come to be, according to Haberer, a "critical mass in the Russian revolutionary movement."[108]

"Why Were Russian Jews Not Kaisertreu?"—This is how John Klier put the question in his recent article.[109] The discrimination against the Jews in the Russian Empire was undoubtedly an important factor which influenced, incidentally, not only the fact that Russian Jews were disloyal to the dynasty, but also contributed to the fact that the Habsburg Jews were Kaisertreu.[110] There are, however, other causes. The Russians themselves at the end of the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century were becoming increasingly less loyal subjects of the tsar. The decrease, from the 1890s on, of the Jews' share in the revolutionary movement was connected not with the decrease of their absolute number among the revolutionaries, but with an increase in the numbers of the other nationalities.

It can be stated with assurance, however, that a significant part of the Jews of the Russian Empire was Pushkintreu, i.e., was loyal to the Russian culture, and to a "beautiful Russia of the future." Ukrainian nationalist Panteleimon Kulish accused Jews in the early 1860s of adopting the Russian, rather than the Ukrainian, culture, and of supporting russification. This tendency only intensified by the turn of the twentieth century. The Poles felt it quickly, when they faced the migration of the Litvaks (Jews from the northwestern Province) into the Kingdom of Poland, and hastened to see in them as agents of russification and supporters of centralism.[111] Vladimir (Zeev) Zhabotinskii, whose impressions of the Kishinev pogrom made him abandon his early successful career of as Russian journalist, as well as his colleagues in the Zionist movement, were a minority. The Bund, founded in 1897, for all the complexities of its relationship with the Russian Social-Democratic Revolutionary Party, still returned to its corpus in 1906. Jews were very active in the Cadet Party and provided electoral support.

In the reign of Nicholas II, the Jewish question—primarily the struggle for or against abolishing legal discrimination—invariably remained in the focus of attention of practically all political forces. There were a lot of new elements in the circumstances of this struggle. Firstly, the discussion of this question took place against the background of a continuous regime crisis, amidst revolution and violence, or a direct threat of violence, both from the Left and from the Right. Secondly, a large number of the highest ranking bureaucrats, including S. Iu. Vitte and P. A. Stolypin, were staunch advocates of the abolition of the legal discrimination against the Jews. The decision of the Council of Ministers to abolish a number of discriminatory laws in 1906 was voted for unanimously.[112] The Tsar in this matter was in opposition to most of his ministers, which was part of the general conflict of the monarchy and the "bureaucratic environment." It was the extreme Right nationalists and conservatives who

were the allies of Nicholas II in his resistance to democratization in general and to emancipation of Jews in particular. The former saw the Jews as enemies of the "national capital," the latter, as the embodiment of the spirit of capitalism that they deplored generally. Both were staunch monarchists and hated Jews for their role in the revolutionary movement.

Some very limited steps toward easing discrimination had already been taken by the authorities before the revolution. In particular, on June 7, 1904, they lifted the ban on Jewish residency within the 50-verst borderline zone. After 1905–1906, when the revolutionary situation led to proclaiming the freedom of conscience, and the Jews, despite the resistance of a number of influential officials, were granted the right to elect and be elected to the Duma. However the court in an alliance with the nationalist, extreme Right found itself in a position to block emancipatory initiatives coming both from the bureaucracy and from the liberals and the Left in the Duma, where numerous attempts to raise the Jewish question at sessions and to prepare correspondent acts did not bring any results, partly because of the quick dissolution of the first and second Dumas. The bureaucratic discussion on the abolition of the Jewish legal barriers began to feature, with increasing frequency, the motif of apprehension of a violent reaction from an anti-Semitic underclass and the extreme Right.[113] In this period the logic of the reformers—to abolish legal discrimination of the Jews in order to wean them off the revolutionary movement—no longer worked because the monarchy itself, together with the Right nationalists, was aiming not at the continuation of reforms begun in 1905 under the revolutionary pressure, but at revenge. The road to the improvement of the legal status of the Jews now lay not through special legislation concerning the Jews but rather through general democratic reforms, like in 1905.

The Great War brought much suffering to the Jewish population of the Pale of Settlement. Along with the hardships of war shared by all the residents of the western borderlands, the Jews were suffering from the extremely hostile treatment by the military authorities. They were forcibly deported en masse from the frontline areas; the pretext was often their alleged sympathy with the enemy.[114] The abolition of the Pale of Settlement in August 1915 simply made it official—by that time more than half a million Jews had either moved east of their own will or (the majority) had been deported by the military command.

On March 20, 1917, the Provisional Government passed the act abolishing all ethnic and confessional limitations, which made the Jewish legal barriers a thing of the past. In the following three years, the number of Jewish victims of

violence would become a hundred times higher compared to the entire period of the Jews' residency in the Russian Empire, and thousands of Jews would themselves commit revolutionary violence.

Conclusion

The narrative of Jewish suffering and oppression in the Romanov Empire includes facts one cannot argue with, and reflects deep emotional traumas. Osip Mandelshtam kept repeating, even in the tragic years of his persecution under Stalin, "I haven't forgotten anything there," meaning the humiliations he had suffered as a Jew in Tsarist Russia. The imperial authorities had failed to create and implement an effective policy of emancipation and incorporation of the Jews in imperial society, and, in the last few decades of the empire's existence, failed to ensure the safety of its Jewish subjects.

This narrative, however, should be complemented and corrected. First of all, we should remember that it was created (primarily by S. Dubnov[115]) in the empire's twilight years, when the situation of the Jews as a result of pogroms and a growing integral nationalism and anti-Semitism among the Romanovs' Christian subjects (not just Russians!) became especially unstable and was generating an acute sense of alarm and threat. The Jews in the Russian Empire had known other, better times.

Secondly, we should avoid "simple" interpretations. The motif of victimization must be complemented with an attempt to understand the scale and character of the problems that grew at the meeting point between, the peculiarities of the Jewish life and economic behavior (whether it was the initial isolationism of the bulk of the Jews or the consequent extraordinary activity and mobility of Jews during the period of capitalist development); growing anti-Semitism of various strata of the population of the empire (which was a typical phenomenon for all modernizing European societies); and, finally, the rather contradictory policies of the imperial bureaucracy.

A part of the imperial bureaucracy was quite anti-Semitic at practically every historical stage, while another part, in contrast, saw the constructive and creative potential of the Jews and attempted to facilitate a transformation of the Jewish life and a successful integration of the Jews into the life of the empire. One should also note that the "Jewish question" was very closely connected with the "Polish question," which also varied in its content and poignancy, as well as with the problem of the threat (real or imaginary) to the part of the empire's western borderland where the Jews were concentrated. As is

the case with many other issues of imperial politics, the way to a deeper understanding of the "Jewish question" lies through a recreation of a more complex and contradictory picture, with no fixed roles for victims and perpetrators and with no linearity in the development of the process, which in fact goes through various, often dramatically different stages. Without attempting to propose a systematic periodization of the relations between the empire and the Jews, we shall note that, apart from important changes invariably connected in such political systems to changes of the monarchs, essential changes were brought about by the Polish uprising of 1830–31, then by the uprising of 1863–64; the crisis of the early 1880s; and the revolution of 1905.

The comparative view of the Jewish situation in Russia and in other countries should be subjected to the same degree of complexity, discarding the notion shared by too many people that the pogrom was a Russian invention.

This essay can serve as a good illustration of how some of the methodological principles discussed in the previous chapters of the book are working. First of all, it is quite clear that the history of Jews in the Russian Empire suffers from the same "victimization syndrome" as other national narratives. The question here is not whether the Russian Jews were victims of discrimination and violence—they were obviously victims of both. The question is whether the *entire* history of imperial Jewish policy can be told as a story of oppression and discrimination. To answer no to this, as I have tried to demonstrate, is also obvious. This suggests that any analysis of the policies toward Jews as well as any other groups should pay attention to the motivations of the authorities, rejecting an a priori knowledge of their invariable russifying and discriminatory intentions. This will allow the observer to fully appreciate the fact that the bureaucracy was never united in approaching the Jewish question, and that the imperial policy concerning Jews differed significantly in essence and intentions in different periods and in different borderlands. The latter circumstance can serve as another illustration of the thesis that the regional approach—in this case, limiting the perspective to the western borderlands—can lead to some serious oversimplification of the total picture.

Secondly, this material confirms the thesis that any efforts by the authorities aimed at assimilation and/or acculturation achieved notable success only in those cases when they received a supportive response from a sufficiently large number of the members of this group, in this case Maskilim. The example of the Maskilim points out another important subject which has been left out of this essay—the increasing heterogeneity of various ethnic and ethnoreligious groups, including Jews, when it came to the issue of identification strategies during the nineteenth century. The history of Jews in Russia also

provides a wealth of material for ruminations on how, in certain parts of society, the tendency to reject the assimilation of a particular group gains momentum periodically, and on the influence of this phenomenon on the strategies of the assimilated or acculturated group itself.

Thirdly, we see that the situation of the Jews and the authorities' plans for them are impossible to understand separate from the broader context of the borderland situation. It is true that the "Jewish question" as a recognition by the authorities of the necessity of a special set of legislative and administrative measures looms large among other similar "questions." However, it did not occupy this exclusive position for long, and soon enough many decisions on the Jewish question were already made in connection with the Polish and, later, Ukrainian questions, and sometimes were even a side effect of the policies regarding other groups. The "exiling" of the Jews into a separate section of history, that by and large still continues, is one of the most obvious challenges for a new history of the empire, which is understood as a series of interactions between various institutional actors and groups.

Finally, we have seen how the events beyond the empire's borders, especially the unification of Germany, the experience of the Jewish emancipation in the Habsburg and Hohenzollern Empires, and the reaction to it from the Christian subjects of these empires have all had a significant impact on the positions of the bureaucracy and societal forces in regard to the Jewish question, which can serve as an illustration of the thesis that processes in the ensemble of continental empires are interconnected particularly closely.[116]

Notes

1 John Doyle Klier, *Russia Gathers Her Jews: The Origins of the "Jewish Question" in Russia, 1772–1825* (DeKalb, Ill.: Nothern Illinois University Press, 1986), p. 28.

2 "You know, my friend, the character and customs of the Jews, you also know the Russians. I, too, know them both, and believe me: the time has not yet come to unite these two peoples. Tell the Jews that I thank them for their offers and I understand the advantages I might have derived from them, but I would have pitied them for having to live among the Russians," Peter I allegedly said to the Amsterdam burgomaster in response to the latter's suggestion to allow Jewish merchants to trade in Russia. (Dan Cohn-Sherbok, *Anti-Semitism: A History* [Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing. 2002], p. 139.) Elizabeth, in turn, had dismissed the suggestion of her own Senate to allow Jewish merchants to settle in Riga with her famous "I desire no mercenary profit from the enemies of Christ". (Klier, *Russia Gathers Her Jews*, p. 28.)

3 Klier, *Russia Gathers Her Jews*, pp. 35–36.

4 Roger Bartlett, *Human Capital: The Settlement of Foreigners in Russia, 1762–1804* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 62.

5 For interesting observations on the subject, see: V. N. Toporov, "Na rubezhe dvukh epokh: K novoi russko-evreiskoi vstreche (L. Nevakhovich i ego okruzhenie)," in *Slaviane i ikh sosedi, v. 5: Evreiskoe naselenie v Tsentral'noi, Vostochnoi i Iugo-Vostochnoi Evrope. Srednie veka—novoe vremia* (Moscow: Aleteia, 1994), p. 183.

6 In 1905, defending its intention to allow Jews to elect and be elected into the Duma against the part of the higher bureaucracy that considered "allowing the harmful Jewish nation into the Duma" dangerous, the Council of Ministers noted that "perhaps, a few Jews will get into the Duma, which will hardly influence the opinions of its 400–500 members." See S. M. Dubnov, *Evrei v tsarstvovanie Nikolaia II (1894–1914)* (Petersburg: The Jewish Publishing Cooperative *Kadima*, 1922), p. 61; R. Sh. Ganelin, *Rossiiskoe samoderzhavie v 1905 godu. Reformatory i revoliutsiia* (St. Petersburg: Nauka, 1991), p. 149.

7 Klier, *Russia Gathers Her Jews*, pp. 29–30. The motif of the symbolic mutilation of images of the crucified body of Christ, important for Western Christendom, was even less current.

8 The number of court cases dealing with blood libel in the Russian Empire can literally be counted on the fingers of one hand. Only one case (Saratov, 1856) ended in a conviction, which was immediately followed by a pardon. In connection to this case it should be also mentioned that the Saratov governor strictly forbade Nikolai Kostomarov from continuing his work, which was aimed at proving that ritual murder was part of Judaic religious practices. See N. I. Kostomarov, *Istoricheskie proizvedenija. Avtobiografia* (Kiev: Nauka, 1989), pp. 494–5. In Austria-Hungary Leopold Hilsner was sentenced to death in two blood libel trials (1899 and 1900), and, after the death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment, was pardoned (not acquitted) and released only in 1916 (some sources suggest even 1917). See Robert S. Wistrich, "The Jews and Nationality Conflicts in the Habsburg Lands," *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (1994), pp. 119–139, esp. p. 128; Hillel J. Kieval, *The Making of Czech Jewry: National Conflict and Jewish Society in Bohemia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988). This conviction was the only one, but ritual murder trials were noticeably more common—between 1867 and 1914 there were twelve. See Heiko Haumann, *A History of East European Jews* (Central European University Press, Budapest, 2002), p. 201. The Russian emperors differed in their attitudes to the subject of ritual murders. Alexander I in 1816 forbade the courts of the empire to accept cases of such accusations without forensic evidence, while Nicholas I did not at all exclude ritual murders as practiced by individual "fanatics or sect members from the Jews." In his final considerations, however, Klier had all the grounds for stating that "Russian officials usually were skeptical of these charges". See John D. Klier, *Imperial Russia's Jewish Question, 1855–1881* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 418ff.

9 Klier, *Russia Gathers Her Jews*, p. 56.

10 David E. Fishman, *Russia's First Modern Jews: The Jews of Shklov* (New York and London: New York University Press, 1995), p. 80.

11 Klier, *Russia Gathers Her Jews*, p. 67.

12 Klier, *Russia Gathers Her Jews*, pp. 69–70.

13 On the abolition or suspension of emancipation laws regarding Jews in the 18th and the first half of the 19th century in the German states, France, and Britain, see Hans Rogger,

"Conclusion and Overview," in John D. Klier and Shlomo Lambroza, eds., *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 314–371, esp. 319–320. On the opposition to emancipation in the Habsburg Empire as late as in 1848 see See Peter Leisching, "Die römisch-katholische Kirche in Cisleithanien," in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918*, ed. Adam Wandruszka and Peter Urbanitsch, Vol. 4 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1995) p. 146.

14 At the same time, the Senate declined Jewish requests for the right to purchase wineries, thus confirming the monopoly of the landowners. However, the Jews who rented alcohol production facilities, were allowed to continue their operations. (See Klier, *Russia Gathers Her Jews*, p. 71). It is clear that it is already at that time that the notions of "beneficial" and "harmful" types of Jewish economic activity begin to take shape.

15 Fishman, *Russia's First Modern Jews*, p. 5

16 Fishman, *Russia's First Modern Jews*, p. 81. The protectors of the Jews among the St. Petersburg notables in the latter decades of the 18th century and in the early 19th century included without doubt General Procurator A. B. Kurakin, Tsar Paul's favorite Count I. P. Kutaisov, E. F. Kankrin (the future Minister of Finance), Count V. P. Kochubei, and M. P. Speranskii, who had a widespread reputation of a Judeophile.

17 Klier, *Russia Gathers Her Jews*, pp. 75, 76.

18 The immediate reason for the introduction of the double tax was the critical state of the budget after the war and the Pugachev uprising. Why exactly the Jews were targeted remains unclear. The tax was planned as provisionary, unlike the permanent double tax in the Ottoman Empire.

19 "The Lament of the Daughter of Judah" (St. Petersburg: Vopl' Dscheri Iudejskoj, 1903).

20 The higher growth rate of the Jewish population in Russia is partly explained by the early marriages and the traditional structure of a family with many children, while the situation was already changing in this regard in many European countries. However, this is evidently not the only factor. It is clear that the physical conditions of Jewish life made this growth possible.

21 See Paul Robert Magocsi, *Historical Atlas of Central Europe* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002), p. 109.

22 A. Orbach, "The Development of the Russia Jewish Community 1881–1903," in John D. Klier and Shlomo Lambroza, eds., *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 137–163, quotation: p. 161.

23 *Evreiskoe naselenie Rossii po dannym perepisi 1897 goda i po noveishim istochnikam* (Petrograd: 1917), p. ix.

24 The Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th edition, Vol. XV (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), p. 410; Solomon Grayzel, *A History of the Contemporary Jews: From 1900 to the Present* (New York: Atheneum, 1969), p. 46.

25 On the German campaign in 1879–1881 against Jewish immigration from the Russian part of Poland, see Christhard Hoffmann, "Geschichte und Ideologie: Der Berliner Antisemitismusstreit 1879/81," in Wolfgang Benz and Werner Bergmann, eds., *Vorurteil und Völkermord: Entwiklungslinien des Antisemitismus*, (Freiburg: Herder Verlag, 1997), pp. 219–251.

26 See *Golos*, No. 26, 26 January 1866. The newspaper returned to this subject more than once.

27 See Michael Stanislawski, *Tsar Nicholas and the Jews: The Transformation of Jewish Society in Russia, 1825-1855* (Philadephia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1983), p. 48. It should be noted that initially the double recruiting, as with Poles, was meant to affect only certain categories of Jews, but in practice covered all of them. The same can be said about restrictions for University students—Jews were first targeted in 1880's, while Poles as early as the 1860's; regarding service in the army—certain careers were blocked to Jews again in 1880's, while they were blocked to Poles in 1860's.

28 The importance of also paying attention to the policies concerning Jews in other borderlands of the empire will be discussed further on.

29 It was generally assumed that Jews had to be released from the double taxation from the moment they became members of an estate. The double tax became practically extinct by 1807.

30 Besides the fact that the German colonists ran their economy in an exemplary manner, the linguistic similarity between German and Yiddish also played a role in this decision.

31 See *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar' F. A. Brokgauz i I. A. Efron*, vol. XI (St. Petersburg, 1893), pp. 480–483; Chizuko Takao, "The 'Jewish question' from a regional perspective." Conference paper at the Annual convention of the Japanese Society for Russian Studies, Sapporo, 2004.

32 Stanislawski, *Tsar Nicholas and the Jews,* pp. 15–16.

33 J. Petrovsky-Shtern, *Evrei v russkoi armii* (Moscow: Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie Publ, 2003).

34 Stanislawski, *Tsar Nicholas and the Jews,* p. 25. Rabbi Barukh Epstein, quoted by Stanislawski, remarks that the "time of the Cantonists" should rather be called the "time of the signs of the kahal" (p. 123).

35 John Klier is now working on documents concerning this question.

36 Stanislawski, *Tsar Nicholas and the Jews,* p. 21.

37 See Stefan Kieniewicz, "The Jews in Warsaw, Polish Society and the Partitioning Powers 1795–1861," *Polin*. Vol. 3 (1988): 120. In the period 1815–1830, the Jews already constituted about a quarter of the secret police agents in the Kingdom of Poland.

38 Leonid Gorizontov, "Pol'sko-evreiskie otnosheniia vo vnutrennei politike i obshchestvennoi mysli Rossiiskoi imperii (1831–1917)." Paper at the conference "History and Culture of the Russian and East European Jewry: New Sources, New Approaches," Moscow, December 8–10, 2003.

39 Stanislawski, *Tsar Nicholas and the Jews,* pp. 69–79.

40 "Obshchii otchet, predstavlennyi Ego Imperatorskomu Velichestvu po Ministerstvu narodnogo prosveshcheniia za 1842 g.," in *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniia*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (1843): 30.

41 Stanislawski, *Tsar Nicholas and the Jews,* p. 110.

42 Stanislawski, *Tsar Nicholas and the Jews*, p. 185.

43 I express my gratitude to V. O. Bobrovnikov for his assistance during the work on this section.

44 Klier, *Russia Gathers Her Jews*, p. 170.

45 See *Kratkaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Jerusalem: Evreiskii Universitet v Ierusalime, 1994), Vol. 7, columns 382–385; D. G. Maggid, *Evrei na iuzhnykh okrainakh Rossii.* Ch. 1. Evrei na Kavkaze (Petrograd, 1918), as well as I. Ia. Chernyi, "Gorskie evrei," in *Sbornik svedenii o kavkazskikh gortsakh*, Vol. 3, No. I (Tiflis, 1870; reprinted 1992); I.

Sh. Anisimov, "Kavkazskie evrei-gortsy," in *Sbornik materialov po etnografii, izdavaemyi pri dashkovskom muzee*, Vol. 3 (Moscow, 1888).

46 This tendency can be traced all the way back to the late eighteenth century, when the Karaims, officially regarded as Jews until the 1830s, were released from the double tax and simultaneously forbidden to accept Rabbanite Jews into their communities. Later, in 1827–1828, initially the Crimean and then Lithuanian and Volynian Karaims were released from military duty. Meanwhile, it was only in the 1830s that they came to be officially called "Russian Karaims of the Old Testament faith" rather than Jews. (See S. Ia. Kozlov, L. V. Chizhova, eds., *Tiurkskie narody Kryma. Karaimy. Krymskie tatary. Krymchaki*. Moscow: Nauka, 2003, p. 25). There were no clearly defined criteria for this separation of alien and "local" Jews, but occupation did not play a decisive role. In the Caucasus it was their involvement in agriculture or handicraft that saved some of the local Jews from eviction and discrimination, but in Turkestan the status of the native Jews was granted not only to artisans, but also to traders. However, these were rather large-scale traders, and large-scale merchant trade was also regarded by the authorities as a "useful" occupation. In all probability, the decisive factor was, after all, their difference, separateness from the bulk of the western borderland Jews.

47 Albert Kaganovich, "Russia 'Absorbs' Its Jews: Imperial Colonization, Jewish Politics and the Bukhara Jews," *Ab Imperio*, No. 4 2003): 301–328 (in Russian). Kaganovich notes that this emancipation of Jews along with the Muslim and Christian population took place immediately following the conquest, while in Algeria the French authorities implemented it 40 years after the conquest, and under the pressure of the Jewish lobby in Paris rather than at their own initiative (p. 314).

48 The point about relative weakness of anti-Judaic and anti-Semitic motives in Orthodoxy was first made in the late 19th – early 20th century. See N. D. Gradovskii, *Otnoshenie k evreiam v drevnei i sovremennoj Rossii,* Chast' 1. *Motivy istoriko-natsional'nye. S tochki zrenia russko-pravoslavnoi tserkvi* (Saint Petersburg, 1891); Iu. Gessen, "Evrei v Moskovskom gosudarstve XV-XVII v.," in *Evreiskaia Starina*, No. 7 (1915): 1–18, 153–172. For scientific analysis of recent years see B.N. Serov, "Les Juifs et le judaïsme dans les écrits polémiques des Slaves orientaux de la Rzeczpospolita (seconde moitié du XVIème–XVIIème siècle)," in *XVIIème siècle*, No. 3 (Juillet–Septembre 2003, 55ème année. Numéro spécial: "La frontière entre les chrétientés grecque et latine au XVIIème siècle. De la Lithuanie à l'Ukraine subcarpathique"), pp. 501–514; B. N. Serov, "Predstavlenija o evrejakh i iudaizme v ukrainsko-belorusskoj propovedi i polemike XVI v. ", in *Ivan Aleksandrovic Voronkov - professor-slavist Moskovskogo universiteta*, (Moscow: MGU, 2003), pp. 58–85; M. Dmitriev, "Christian Attitudes to Jews and Judaism in Muscovite Russia: the Problem Revisited, " in *CEU History Department Yearbook: 2001–2002* (Budapest: Central European University, 2002), p. 21–41, and the recent collection of articles: M. Dmitriev, D. Tollet et E. Teiro, eds., *Les Chrétiens et les Juifs dans les sociétés de rites grec et latin: Approche comparative. Actes du colloque organisé les 14–15 juin 1999 à la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme (Paris)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2003).

49 See: *Kratkaia Evreiskaia entsiklopedia* (Jerusalem – reprint Moscow, 1996), vol. 3, columns 985–989, and a review of literature in Benjamin Katz, "Nepogasshie iskry. Plennye evrei i russkie subbotniki." Downloaded Nov. 2, 2005, from: http://www.mahanaim.org/history/giyur/evrei.htm

50 John D. Klier, "State Policies and the Conversion of Jews in Imperial Russia," in: Robert Geraci and Michael Khodarkovsky, eds., *Of Religion and Empire: Missions, Conversion, and Tolerance in Tsarist Russia* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2001), pp. 92–112, esp. 100–103.
51 Klier, "State Policies and the Conversion of Jews in Imperial Russia," p. 112.
52 John D. Klier, "'Traditional Russian Religious Antisemitism'—A Useful Concept or a Barrier to Understanding?" *The Jewish Quarterly*, Vol. 29, (Summer, 1999): 29–34, quotation: p. 31.
53 GA RF, f. 109 (Secret Archive), op. 3, ed.khr. 2319, ll.3–10. Quoted from: Benjamin Nathans, *Beyond the Pale: The Jewish Encounter with Late Imperial Russia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), p. 369.
54 See Klier, *Imperial Russia's Jewish Question*, pp. 32–66.
55 Klier, *Imperial Russia's Jewish Question*, p. 67.
56 The conflict, along with the already traditional argument over the appropriateness of the use of the word *Yid*, was also concerned with the question, raised by P. Kulish, of why the Jews preferred to be assimilated into Russian, not Ukrainian, culture. The *Zion*, among other things, condemned Ukrainian separatism and called for a unity of the educated Russian public. (Miller, *The Ukrainian Question*, pp. 84–86; R. Serbyn, "The Sion-Osnova Controversy of 1861–1862," *Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1977).
57 Steven J. Zipperstein, *The Jews of Odessa: A Cultural History, 1794–1881* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1986), p. 96.
58 See G. B. Sliozberg. *Dela davno minuvshikh dnei. Zapiski russkogo evreia*. Vol. 2. (Paris, 1933), p. 146.
59 This measure, for instance, made possible the emergence of the Brodsky "sugar empire," which, in the shortest possible time, turned sugar from a luxury into an every day product for the entire population, including the peasantry.
60 The Governor-General of the Kingdom of Poland N. O. Sukhozanet wrote to the Tsar about this task in July 1861: "It is necessary to try to put an end to fraternizing between Jews and Christians by all means possible." See *Perepiska Namestnikov Korolevstva Polskogo v 1861 godu*. Wrocław, etc. 1864, p. 233.
61 Polish journalism provided grounds for that—e.g., on Eliza Orzeszkowa's calls for cooperation between Poles and Jews in Western *gubernias,* see Ursula Phillips, "The 'Jewish Question' in the Novels and Short Stories of Eliza Orzeszkowa," *East European Jewish Affairs*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (1995): 69–90.
62 For the ways in which the attempt to introduce the Latin alphabet to Rusyns in Galicia led to a ban on the use of "Polish letters" for Ukrainian and Belorussian publications in the Russian empire, see Aleksei Miller, "Iazyk, identichnost' i loialnost'v politike vlastei Rossiiskoi imperii," *Rossiia i Baltiia: Ostzeiskie gubernii i Severo-Zapadnyi krai v politike reform Rossiiskoi imperii. 2-ia polovina XVIII–XX vv.* (Moscow: Nauka, 2004), pp. 142–155; A. Miller, and O. Ostapchuk, "The Latin and Cyrillic Alphabets in Ukrainian National Discourse and in the Language Policy of Empires," in *A Laboratory of Transnational History*, eds. G. Kasianov, P. Ther (forthcoming, Central European University Press, 2008); see also chapter 3.
63 *Materialy Komissii po obustroistvu byta evreev.* (St. Petersburg, 1874), pp. 1–2.
64 LVIA, f.378, BS, 1867, d.1482, l.2–6, 30–34ob. (I am grateful to Mikhail Dolbilov for this quotation).

65 See *Moskovskie Vedomosti*, No. 143, 8 July 1866. Quoted from: M. N. Katkov, *Sobranie peredovykh statei "Moskovskikh vedomostei" 1866* (Moscow, 1877), p. 294.

66 In 1864, the Governor-General of Vilna M. N. Murav'ev by his own order transformed all the state-run Jewish elementary schools without exception into "popular" Jewish schools: special subjects, including religious studies and Hebrew, were replaced with the intensive courses on the Russian language and orthography. For details, see Klier, *Imperial Russia's Jewish Question, 1885–1881*, pp. 222–244.

67 See: *Moskovskie vedomosti*, No. 143, 8 July 1866. Quoted from Katkov, *Sobranie peredovykh statei "Moskovskikh vedomostei" 1866,* p. 293. The article makes it clear that Katkov believes that the emergence among Jews of an "honest Russian civic feeling" is not conditioned upon rejection of their faith, but rather upon the spreading of the Russian language and the legal emancipation of Jews—all of Katkov's examples are countries where such an emancipation had been mostly completed.

68 See: *Moskovskie vedomosti*, No. 53, 10 March 1866. Quoted from: Katkov, *Sobranie peredovykh statei*, p. 153.

69 *Ibid*., p. 155.

70 The most prominent part in this activity was played by Baron Yevzel Ginzburg and later by his son Horatio.

71 See: *Kratkaia evreiskaia entsiklopediia*, Vol. 7, columns 333–334; Yuri Slezkine, *The Jewish Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), pp. 123–124.

72 Gessen, *Istoriia evreiskogo naroda v Rossii*, Vol. 2, pp. 155–159, 208.

73 Nathans*, Beyond the Pale*; Idem, "Konflikt, obshchina i evrei v Sankt-Peterburge kontsa XIX v.," in P. Werth, P. Kabytov, and A. Miller, *Rossiiskaia imperiia v zarubezhnoi istoriografii* (Moscow: Novoe izdatel'stvo, 2005) pp. 634–687.

74 The total population of Siberia had grown between 1877 and 1911 from 4,889,663 to 8,393,469, and the Jewish population from 33,704 to 53,971. It must be borne in mind, however, that there was a rather large number of illegal Jewish residents in Siberia.

75 Klier, *Imperial Russia's Jewish Question, 1855–1881*, p. 229.

76 For example, the memorandum of the Kiev Governor-General A. M. Dondukov-Korsakov to Alexander II on the Jewish question, dated October 26, 1872, contained such a proposal.

77 On the eve of the First World War, Galicia with its 8 million people was home to 872,000 out of the total of 2,084,000 of the Habsburg Jews. See John-Paul Himka, "Dimensions of a Triangle: Polish–Ukrainian–Jewish Relations in Austrian Galicia," *Polin* (*Studies in Polish Jewry*), Vol. 12 (1999): 25–48.

78 Feldman, "Was Modernity Good for the Jews?" p. 172. The suspicions about the Jews were greatly increased both among the bureaucracy and in the public opinion after the publication in 1869 in Vilna by Jacob Brafman of the notorious *Book of the Kahal*, which was shortly reprinted in St. Petersburg.

79 "There was no meaningful way of measuring legal discrimination in the Russian Empire because there was no common measure that applied to all the tsar's subjects. Everyone, except for the tsar himself, belonged to a group that was, one way or another, discriminated against". This observation of Yuri Slezkine remains valid also for post-reform Russia. See Slezkine, *The Jewish Century*, p. 110.

80 Sulamit Volkov, *The Rise of Popular Antimodernism in Germany: The Urban Master Artisans 1873–1896* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 329–330.

81 Alfred Rieber, 'The Sedimentary Society,' in *Russian History*, Vol. 16, Nos. 2–4 (1989): 353–376, Festschrift for Leopold H. Haimson, ed. by R. Wortman.

82 The first pogrom took place in Odessa in 1821, the next large-scale pogrom happened in the same city in 1859. Odessa was also the site of a particularly brutal pogrom in 1871. In Odessa, pogroms became endemic long before the 1880s. The most active part in them was played by the local Greeks, who thus reacted to the increasing competition from the Jews. See John D. Klier, "The Pogrom Paradigm in Russian History," in John D. Klier and Shlomo Lambroza, eds., *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 15–18.

83 Thus, the vast majority of pogroms in the Russian Empire happened either in times of crisis following the regicide or during the revolution.

84 See Rogger, "Conclusion and Overview," in Klier and Lambroza, eds., *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History*, pp. 314–372. For the causes of the pogroms see also Michael I. Aronson, *Troubled Waters: the Origins of the 1881 Anti-Jewish Pogroms in Russia*, (Pittsburgh, Pa., University of Pittsburgh Press, 1990)

85 Donald L. Horovitz, *The Deadly Ethnic Riot* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 2001. Horovitz defines riots as "the reflection of ethnic conflict by violent means," with "spontaneous causality of riot behavior, which proceeds not in response to government orders, but in response to the heat of the moment and the feelings of the participants" (pp. 13–14).

86 Zygmunt Bauman, "Allosemitism: Premodern, Modern, Postmodern," in Bryan Cheyette and Laura Marcus, eds., *Modernity, Culture and the "Jew"* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1998), p. 144.

87 See Serguei Podbolotov, "'And the Entire Mass of Loyal People Leapt Up': The Attitude of Nicholas II towards the Pogroms," *Cahiers du Monde Russe*, Vol. 45, Nos. 1–2 (2004): 193–208; idem., "'True Russians' against the Jews: Right-Wing Anti-Semitism in the Last Years of the Russian Empire, 1905–1917", *Ab Imperio*, Vol. 3, (2001): 191–220. See also S. A. Stepanov, *Chernaia sotnia v Rossii* (Moscow: VZPI, 1992). According to S. A. Stepanov, who used data from police investigations, during the October pogroms of 1905 1,622 people died and 3,544 were injured. Determining nationality was only possible for 75 percent of the murdered and 73 percent of the injured. Stepanov concluded that Jews accounted for 711 of the murdered and 1207 of the injured; Orthodox Christians (Russians, Ukrainians and Belorussians) accounted for 428 murdered and 1246 injured; Armenians 47 of the murdered and 51 of the injured.

88 "Using the same name to denote phenomena separated by centuries hides as much as reveals," remarked Zygmunt Bauman about the indiscriminate use of the term "Anti-Semitism." Zygmunt Bauman, "Allosemitism: Premodern, Modern, Postmodern," in Bryan Cheyette and Laura Marcus, eds., *Modernity, Culture and "the Jew"* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1998), p. 145. The same is true of the term "pogrom."

89 Rogger, "Conclusion and Overview," in Klier and Lambroza, eds., *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History,* pp. 332–338.

90 See the description of the authorities' conduct during a pogrom of foreign subjects in Moscow in May 1915 in Lohr, *Nationalizing the Russian Empire,* chapter 2.

91 See for example, Michael Ochs, "Tsarist Officialdom and the Anti-Jewish Pogroms in Poland," in Klier and Lambroza, eds., *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History,* pp. 164–190.

92 The tsar refused clemency for 78 pogromists; his decisions on 147 others remain unknown; for 1713 cases the petitions for clemency were satisfied. (S. A. Stepanov, *Chernaia sotnia v Rossii*, p. 82). See also Podbolotov, "And the Entire Mass of Loyal People Leapt Up."

93 The authorities were aware that pogroms were especially frequent during the week after Easter and on other holidays accompanied by prodigious drinking.

94 I am grateful to John Klier for pointing to this fact.

95 Bauman, *Allosemitism: Premodern, Modern, Postmodern*, p. 152.

96 Russian nationalism has studied various aspects of the German experience very closely. The drive to create an "all-Russian nation" that would include all East Slavs was to a large extent a response to the German nation-building project, and methods of nation-building were often borrowed (not necessarily successfully) from the Germans. For a different treatment of the topic of connection between Russian and German anti-Semitism in that period see John D. Klier, "German Antisemitism and Russian Judeophobia in the 1880's: Brothers and Strangers," *Jahrbücher für geschichte Osteuropas*, Vol. 37, No. 4, (1989): 524–540.

97 D. Sorkin, "The Impact of Emancipation on German Jewry," in Jonathan Frankel and Steven J. Zipperstein, eds., *Assimilation and Community: The Jews in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 179.

98 Slezkine, *The Jewish Century*, p. 48.

99 Bauman, *Allosemitism: Premodern, Modern, Postmodern*, p. 150.

100 Klier, *Imperial Russia's Jewish Question, 1855–1881*, p. 203.

101 Armstrong, "Mobilized and Proletarian Diasporas,"; Slezkine, *The Jewish Century*; Derek J. Penslar, *Shylock's Children: Economics and Jewish Identity in Modern Europe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

102 Slezkine, *The Jewish Century,* p. 118.

103 Slezkine, *The Jewish Century*, p. 122.

104 It has to be noted that the peculiarity of Russian anti-Semitism of the early twentieth century in comparison to its German counterpart was the relative weakness of the racial motif. This is admitted by H.-D. Löwe, who generally tends to overestimate rather than underplay Russian anti-Semitism. See Heinz-Dietrich Löwe, *The Tsars and the Jews: Reform, Reaction and Anti-Semitism in Imperial Russia, 1772–1917* (Chur: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1993), pp. 282–284. An important reason for that was the general lack of popularity of racialist discourse in Russia, where both the nobility and the peasantry were of pronounced mixed ethnic origin, and saw nothing wrong in that. For more on the attitude of Russian nationalism towards the ethnically mixed descent of Russians see chapter "The Empire and the nation in the Imagination of Russian Nationalism". On racial anti-Semitism in Russia, see Eli Weinerman, "Racism, Racial Prejudice and Jews in Late Imperial Russia," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 3, (July 1994): 442–495.

105 A. Stieglitz, who served as Chairman of the St. Petersburg Bourse Committee for 13 years, was called "the King of the St. Petersburg Bourse." See B. V. Anan'ich, *Bankirskie doma v Rossii 1860–1914 gg. Ocherki istorii chastnogo predprinimatel'stva* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1991), pp. 14–15.

106 *Sbornik programm politicheskikh partii v Rossii*, vyp. VI (St. Petersburg: 1906), p. 20.

107 An important driving force, along with the increased hostility toward Jews and their legal discrimination, was poverty. A wave of mass Jewish immigration at the time was

also coming out of Galicia. The sharp increase in emigration precisely in this period of time is also connected with the opening of regular Transatlantic steamship lines, which made the travel significantly faster and cheaper. Jewish emigration was not unique—millions of Italians and Irishmen also moved to America in those years.

108 Erich Haberer, *Jews and Revolution in Nineteenth Century Russia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 256–257.

109 John D. Klier, "Why Were Russian Jews Not Kaisertreu?," *Ab Imperio*, No. 4, (2003): 41–58.We shall note generally that the phenomenon of the Habsburg Jews' loyalty was unique, and therefore the formulation of the question itself is not quite correct. It would be more proper to discuss the phenomenon of Jewish loyalty in Austria-Hungary.

110 The loyalty of the Jews to the ruling dynasty in the Habsburg empire was motivated, among other things, by the conviction that they were treated much better there than in the Romanov empire.

111 Alexei Miller, *The Ukrainian Question*. pp. 84, 93; John D. Klier. "The Jew as Russifier: Lev Lavanda's Hot Times," *Jewish History and Culture*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Summer 2001): 31–52; Theodore Weeks, "Polish 'Progressive Antisemitism,' 1905–1914," *East European Jewish Affairs*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (1995): 49–68, esp. 52–55.

112 The most aggressive anti-Jewish stance was taken in those years by the war ministry, the most principled opponent of new anti-Jewish persecution was the ministry of finance.

113 Even liberal lawyer A. F. Koni spoke against the abolition of barriers by the Council of Ministers, rather than by the Duma, for fears that the responsibility for pogroms that could be provoked by this decision would fall on the government. See A. F. Koni, *Sobranie sochinenii*, vol. 2 (Moscow: Iurid lit-ra, 1969), p. 367.

114 The appeals of the German command to Russian Jews, which began with the words "My dear Jews," only fanned the fire.

115 See Feldman, "Was modernity good for the Jews?", p. 173.

116 A different point of view is espoused by Benjamin Nathans, who believes that "there is no need to interpret Russian anxieties concerning the presence of Jews in institutions of civil society as a precocious or preemptive response to contemporary trends elsewhere in Europe." (Nathans, *Beyond the Pale*, p. 380). However, his argument is not convincing in this case, particularly when contrasted to his own analysis of how, two decades earlier, references to the European trends were commonplace and constituted the main argument in favor of the emancipation in the Russian debates of the late 1850s–early 1860s. (Ibid., pp. 369–370).

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CHAPTER 5

"OFFICIAL NATIONALITY"?

A REASSESSMENT OF COUNT SERGEI UVAROV'S TRIAD IN THE CONTEXT OF NATIONALISM POLITICS

The concept of "official nationality," which was introduced by the liberal literary historian A. N. Pypin in 1875,[1] eventually became the generally accepted term to describe the ideology of Tsar Nicholas I's reign and also, in particular, Count Sergei Uvarov's formula of "Orthodoxy, Autocracy, Nationality." From the very beginning it had negative connotations; this tradition treated Uvarov's triad as being not only anti-liberal but also anti-European, reactionary and highly primitive in general.[2] This censurous judgement was continued to a large extent in subsequent works.[3] Uvarov's reassessment mostly concerned his activities as a minister of education.[4]

This approach, which could be called the "Pypin tradition," needs to be substantially altered. It is not only a question of how correct Pypin's liberal-progressive stance was—though this is entirely debatable and this is not the most important issue either. Of more importance is the fact that this approach greatly restricts our freedom to ask probing questions and makes it difficult for us to gain a true understanding of Uvarov, who comes across as being a noticeably more one-dimensional and even primitive figure than was really the case.

This is particularly clear in what was written on the role of Uvarov's triad in imperial policy, as well as the influence of his work as Minister of Public Education. In this article I will attempt to show that Uvarov was a productive ideologist and an effective bureaucrat and that he also played a very important role in the formulation of the ideology of Russian nationalism, as well as in implementing nationalist policy in the Russian Empire during the reign of Tsar Nicholas I. What I have written should by no means be taken as a "positive assessment" of Uvarov's activity. A positive or negative assessment of any particular aspect of the work of the Minister of Public Education would depend on the ideological principles and nationalist sympathies of the historian, and is not a priority for this chapter.

The importance of the context

First and foremost, we must remember the particular circumstances of the situation in which Uvarov came to be appointed Deputy Minister of Public Education in 1832 and then Minister in 1833. The beginning of Tsar Nicholas I's reign saw the Decembrist uprising. The course of events during Nicholas I's reign was totally unlike the atmosphere which had prevailed during the final years of his elder brother's reign.[5] In November 1830, against a background of revolutionary events in France and Belgium, the uprising in the Kingdom of Poland had flared up. In January 1831 the Polish parliament, the Seym, who felt it necessary to go through the official ceremony of coronation with the Polish crown, announced the dethronement of Nicholas, the first (and last) of the Romanovs. The events of 1830–1831 challenged the Tsar's belief in his own legitimacy, and the Polish uprising, which was put down only after a gruelling war lasting several months, forced him to rethink the entire imperial political system in the western regions.

In circumstances such as these it would have been impossible to imagine that a man of liberal-progressive leanings would be appointed Minister of Public Education. Obviously, no candidate for the post of minister could afford to challenge the general conservative orientation of policy.[6] Uvarov was a career-minded man and had already been dismissed once before in 1821, so he agreed to play by the rules which were presented to him. However, it would be unfair to suggest that Uvarov was interested only in his own career. He was a man with a great deal of energy and valued his job not only for what it was, but also for the opportunities to do valuable work which the post of Minister of Education afforded.

The traditional view of Uvarov is that he "understood the secret hopes of the Emperor," or to put it in other words, the Uvarov has an ability to guess Nicholas' thoughts and adapt his own way of thinking to them.[7] As a strategy for investigation, it would help us to start from the assumption that Uvarov, on the one hand, had opinions of his own on many issues, and on the other, was not completely free in his words and actions.[8] In this case, we must pay attention to the unavoidable question of how we should interpret Uvarov's texts, in particular the key ones which were written to be read principally (or exclusively) by the Tsar, on whose wishes alone Uvarov's position as minister depended. (These documents also include the famous report on the decade of work by the Ministry of Public Education, which I shall focus on in particular).[9] If we assume it is possible that Uvarov's own views differed from those of Nicholas I, then these differences could, of course, have manifested them-

selves in other ways than in an open dispute. We must read them more carefully in order to uncover these divergences of opinion, Uvarov's true views and his attempts to influence the thinking of his patron.

Another important factor in the process of putting Uvarov's work into context is the fact that in his public speeches he not only showed opposition to the political left, i.e., more liberally-minded people,[10] but also had a somewhat clouded relationship with the section of the public loyal to the authorities which was more extreme rightwing than he was. In examining Uvarov's legacy closely, it will not be easy for us to spot many signs of this opposition, but we will find evidence to confirm that opposition from the right was by no means a minor obstacle for Uvarov. This means that we must make a distinction between Uvarov's own attitude to his famous triad and the various interpretations of it within that sector of society which swore allegiance to it. The concept of a "theory of official nationality" is thus wholly inappropriate because it suggests that Uvarov's opinions, the Tsar's position and that of the loyal public were all identical.[11] The notion of "official nationality" has to be discarded altogether, since it only obfuscates our understanding of the ideological struggle within the loyal part of society, and reduces the ideological differences to a primitive opposition of liberals and conservatives.

Orthodoxy and Autocracy in Uvarov's triad

It has already been observed in literature on the subject that the way in which Uvarov dealt with the first two elements of his triad was fairly pragmatic. Orthodoxy was not mentioned at all in the rough drafts of his ideas, which focused on "traditional" and "national" religion.[12] It was because of the fact it was a traditional and the prevailing religion that it was valuable to Uvarov. He spoke of the "government's duty to defend the dominant church" not only in respect to Orthodoxy, but also other denominations of Christianity (p. 54). We can see no trace of the "strong-arm attempt to create religious uniformity" which Pypin wrote about. He tried to oppose "positive" religiousness with, on the one hand, the "dreamlike spectres" of mysticism, which had been common in the final years of Alexander's reign (p. 107), and with rationalism on the other hand (p. 54).

Autocracy was also treated by Uvarov in a pragmatic way. In Zorin's accurate opinion, no mention whatsoever is made of the "providential nature of Russian autocracy" in Uvarov's texts, including those addressed solely to the Tsar, who strongly believed in his divine appointment.[13] According to Uvarov,

autocracy was "a necessary factor in the survival of the Empire in its present form" (p. 33).

> If it undertook the monstrous tasks of limiting the powers of the monarch, achieving equality of rights for all social classes, national representation according to the European model and a supposedly constitutional form of government, the Colossus would not last two weeks; indeed, it would collapse before these false transformations could be completed.[14]

Autocracy was treated as a conservative principle and a tool for preserving the Empire "in its present form." If he did not rule out transformations in various aspects of the life of the Empire (and for Uvarov it was not a matter of whether they were necessary, but which strategy to use and how quickly to phase them in)[15], then his attitude to autocracy in this system of beliefs was not immune to change either. Could Uvarov have said more without going into immediate retirement, in 1832 or 1843?

Another question is more difficult to answer: what, from Uvarov's point of view, did he need to do first of all in order to change the unstable, "fragile" state of the Empire (which he called a colossus—it seems he barely resisted adding "with feet of clay")?[16]

The role of "nationality" in the triad

It is hardly surprising that it is the way in which the concept of "nationality" in Uvarov's formula was treated that has caused the most disagreement among researchers. Uvarov himself defined it in a very vague way. It would be heuristically unproductive simply to agree with the view that this was because he himself had little idea of what it was supposed to mean. First we must ask whether Uvarov had any reasons for not expressing himself more precisely. Secondly, we must decide which indirect evidence, other than his own texts, could help us to understand his position.

We should certainly not consider the triad's general vagueness, which made it possible to interpret it in various ways, as a shortcoming of this ideological construction. On the contrary, it was precisely this aspect of it which enabled it to fulfil its role as the official ideology and to gain the support of a wide range of people, from Pushkin to Bulgarin, for example. However, the issue of nationality was more complicated.

The first issue of the *Journal of the Ministry of Public Education* began with a publication of P. A. Pletnev's speech 'On Nationality in Literature', which he had given in the summer of 1833 at the University of St. Petersburg and which was one of the first occasions when the public's interpretation of this part of Uvarov's formula was tested. Pletnev was quick to point out the novelty of this concept: "In the sound of the word 'nationality' we can also hear something which is fresh and, so to speak, not worn out."[17] He then tried to explain this concept by talking about the ancient principle of nationality and what it meant, referring to the example of the ancient Greeks but pointing out that it did not exist in imperial Rome.[18] On the whole, Pletnev's speech was rather confused and its writer either did not really understand what he wanted to say, or was afraid to express directly his views on "nationality" in the context of his contemporary Russian society.

There certainly were reasons to be afraid of saying something "wrong" in his speech on nationality, and very important reasons at that. This idea clearly contradicted those narratives of the Romanovs' rule that emphasized its foreign origins. It can be said that the idea of nationality contradicted the functioning principle of the traditional continental empires in general, since the ruling dynasties resisted "nationalization,"[19] and for good reason. It was much more convenient for an absolute monarchy to establish its legitimacy through the idea of "divine anointment" than through nationalism. The idea of nation was from its very inception connected with the principle of popular representation, and no amount of reassuring statements about an autocracy's permanence could cancel that. As early as the first half of the nineteenth century, there was already an awareness of the conflict between these principles. The only differences were in opinions on how quickly this conflict had to be resolved, and by what means. The "nationalization" of the dynasty, a gradual consolidation of the nation at the empire's core, a particular method of resolving the accompanying conflict between the autocratic and representative principles—all of these are elements of the general process of imperial modernization. It inevitably caused deep changes in the mechanisms of the imperial power, including the pattern of relations between the core and the periphery (further on we will try to provide evidence that Uvarov understood that).

There was a huge difference between the way Pletnev spoke about nationality in 1833 and the way M. Pogodin wrote about it in 1864. In 1864, Pogodin expressed his genuine indignation at Shedo-Ferotti's argument that a Tsar had to be a monarch who was equally close to all the peoples living in his empire:

> The Russian sovereign was born and grew up on Russian soil and acquired all the provinces with Russian people, with the help of Russian labour and Russian blood! Kurland, Imeretia, Aleutia and Kurilia are the essence of the skirts of his robe, the tails of his clothing, and his coat is Holy Russia ... to see in the sovereign not a Russian but a man made up of all the ethnic groups living in Russia is an absurdity which no true Russian can hear of without feeling indignant.[20]

As a matter of fact, even in 1864 such a peremptory "appropriation of the dynasty by Russian nationalism seemed, if anything, uncommonly tough. Still, Uvarov's formula was a major step on the way from the late eighteenth-century suggestions to rename Russia Petrovia or Romanovia to the nationalization of the dynasty during the reign of Alexander III.

However, the fear that nationality might be taken too far was not the only reason for Uvarov's guardedness, as one might imagine. He was well aware of how German nationalism worked and understood that its strength lay in the fact that it had broad public support. By including nationality in his triad, and leaving a large amount of room for different interpretations, Uvarov, as far as was possible in the Russia of Tsar Nicholas I, created an opportunity for a public debate to be held on this concept. With this in mind, the famous case of the publication of Petr Chaadaev's "Philosophical Letter" (1836) deserves a new interpretation. The cautious publisher of *Teleskop*, N. I. Nadezhdin clearly did not intend to "undermine the foundations" and to put at risk both his journal and his own well-being. When the scandal broke, he sincerely insisted that he did not share Chaadaev's views and had published his letter with the intention of engaging polemically with him in the next issue. Indeed, Nadezhdin's own article, "Europeanism and Nationality, with Regard to Russian Literature," published in the first issue of *Teleskop* that same year 1836, is close to Uvarov's views and is very far from the position of Chaadaev: "If we really want to be European, to resemble Europeans in more than dress and external manners, we should begin by learning from them how to respect ourselves, how to cherish our national personality, though without the ridiculous boastfulness of the French, the superior snobbery of the English or the dumb self-content of the Germans."[21] What is important is that a cautious Nadezhdin was sincerely mistaken in his understanding of the limits of what was permissible in the press in the course of the debate on nationality. In other words, the space for discussion was indeed perceived by the contemporaries as sufficiently broad.

The minister did not rely solely on censorial prohibitions as the most efficient way to regulate the debate. On the contrary, from the very beginning he tried to manage it indirectly, by supporting those authors whose views he shared.[22] A convincing example of Uvarov's involvement was his relationship with historians. In 1834, the Archaeographical Commission was formed, and in 1835 the new university regulations introduced new chairs of Russian history and Russian literature as an indelible element of the university structure. In a manner which was entirely in keeping with the principles of nationalist politics, these subjects now acquired a totally new status and prestige. Uvarov was the patron of many historians, but there is no doubt that he favored one in particular. He regularly attended lectures given by N. G. Ustryalov,[23] and it was Ustryalov who, in 1837, was awarded the prize for the best Russian history textbook and was singled out for the highest praise in Uvarov's report of 1843.[24]

One can note several distinctive features of Ustrialov's concepts that were valuable to his patron. First, he clearly defined the aims of history as being national history, in direct opposition to Karamzin who wrote the history of the state and ruling dynasty.[25] According to Ustryalov, the history of the state was less extensive than the history of the nation, since for a long time the state did not include Western Russia, i.e., the lands of the Great Principality of Lithuania.[26] This assertion, in turn, allowed Ustryalov to provide a new historical basis for claims to the lands annexed during the partition of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and their inclusion in Russian national territory—a basis which fitted in neatly with Uvarov's policy on this issue.[27] The claim that Little Russia and White Russia belonged not only to the Empire, but were also Russian national territory has become a doctrine of Russian nationalism ever since, and would remain unchanged until the twentieth century.

According to Ustrialov, the Russian notions of the Great Lithuanian Principality were corrupt and its "Russian nature" obfuscated by the Poles, "who, having subsequently enslaved the best part of the Russian land, also tried to deform its history."[28] The anti-Polish sentiment in Ustryalov's arguments was attractive to the Little Russian elites of the Western Province who entertained anti-Polish feelings.[29] Ustrialov was highly efficient when it came to propaganda—he clearly formulated many of his theses in a conscious opposition to the Polish ideological challenge.[30]

Compared to Pogodin, whom Uvarov patronized in a reserved manner, Ustrialov was also more consequential in his conceptualization of a nation. While Pogodin was preoccupied with pan-Slavism and ideas of a Slavic community, Ustrialov concentrated on the Russian nation and paid a great deal of

attention to the category of national territory, which is highly important for nationalism.[31]

Finally, Ustryalov never demonstrated the anti-European sentiments which were so evident in the writings of Pogodin and Shevyrev. According to Ustrialov, the Russian successes "prepare the Russian tsardom for taking an honorable place in the system of the European powers."[32] Later we shall see that this fact was also highly valued by Uvarov.

We do not know to what extent Uvarov influenced Ustryalov directly. The similarity between the views of the historian and the minister is so great that it gives us reason to suppose that such influence did exist. In any case we can see that Uvarov, even if he did not speak through "other mouths," did enthusiastically support writers who adequately expressed ideas close to his own heart.

Zorin believes that "the first two components of the triad were, in a way, attributes of national existence and national history, and had their roots in the third—the notorious Nationality."[33] If we remain strictly within the confines of the triad itself, then this is perhaps correct. However, Uvarov's "nationalism" was ultimately just as pragmatic as his "religion" and "autocracy." His task was to protect the integrity and stability of the Empire, which were the most important elements of Uvarov's formula even if they were not the declared ones. Perhaps it would be more accurate to define Uvarov as an imperial bureaucrat who had realized the importance of Russian nationalism for the future of the Empire.

Russia and Europe—the "eternal question" in Uvarov's interpretation

In his "relations with Europe" Uvarov sought the answer to a question which was of interest to all neighboring empires. This was the question of emancipation, i.e., the confirmation that Russia had successfully completed its period of obedient apprenticeship and had entered a period of "maturity," when it would be able to determine the scope of its activities independently, as well as how much it borrowed from others and from whom.

Liah Greenfeld wrote of the mood of *ressentiment* which had been widespread among the Russian elites (and also the elites of other empires) since the eighteenth century. Greenfeld sees *ressentiment* as the main source of nationalism,[34] but this hypothesis seems an exaggeration. In his "Letters of a Russian Traveller" Karamzin still felt that he and the Russia which he repre-

sented were quite comfortable with the role of apprentice, primarily because he felt like an apprentice just about to enter the guild and had no doubts that he would succeed, as if he had already married his master's daughter.

Iver Neumann accurately observed that Russia was assigned two roles in the European discourse: that of the "barbarian at the gates," and that of the "eternal apprentice" whose entry to the guild had been postponed indefinitely, while the criteria which she was supposed to meet were constantly changing.[35] In a situation in which the Napoleonic wars had transformed France, Russia's main role model, into her main threat, the Russian elites were more keenly aware of the complex nature of the relationship between Russia and Europe. Hardly anyone in Russia at that time would have believed, deep down, Neumann's conclusion that since it was not Russia which had begun and maintained this discourse of the "Other," it was incapable of stopping it. Yet even at that time they knew much of what Neumann later wrote about. In 1812, Kutuzov replied to Napoleon's complaint about the Russian methods of waging war and sarcastically played on the theme of barbarism with a reference to the fact that Napoleon should have expected nothing less from people whom he called barbarians. In another answer to Napoleon's complaints about the involvement of the civic population in the attacks on the French soldiers, Kutuzov wrote that he was unable to prevent people from fighting the French invasion, because they saw it as a new series of destructive Mongol conquests, thus describing Napoleon himself as a barbarian.[36]

In an effort to dispute Russia's role as an "eternal apprentice," Uvarov hit upon the highly effective image of a "mature Russia." According to Uvarov, what Russia's maturity and "coming of age" meant was that it had the right to choose what it borrowed and select its development strategy independently. In a kind of homage to the liberal tradition, A. Zorin condemned Uvarov and the Russian authorities in general for their attempt to "borrow the accomplishments of western civilisation, at the same time ignoring the system of social values which had created these achievements."[37] However, all the countries which bordered on the West, including those which had been successful in their efforts to "catch up with the West," concentrated on acquiring western ways while attempting to preserve their own systems of social values and to find new formulae for development. The only difference between them was the fact that some were more successful in this than others.

Confirming the image of Russia as a mature and independent nation was another vital prerequisite for Uvarov in carrying out his main task, which was to inspire feelings of loyalty towards the core of the empire among its various regional elites and respect for the Russian language and

culture,[38] as well as the gradual consolidation of the imperial elite on these foundations.

At the same time, Uvarov tried to prevent the misinterpretation of his hypothesis of emancipation of Russia *in* Europe, into an effort to emancipate it *from* Europe. He saw the danger of the simplification of his ideas both by the Tsar and Russian society as anti-Europeanism and systematically tried to prevent this. In his report of 1843, he stressed the importance of European accomplishments and culture for the work of his ministry at least three times—at the beginning, in the middle and at the end (pp. 4, 75 and 103). Here is one of these passages: "The Ministry was ruled by one guiding intention: ...keeping all the advantages of European education, and having brought Russian intellectual life forwards to the same level as that of other nations, it wished to give it a distinctive national character, base it on its own principles and lead it in accordance with the needs of the people and the government" (pp. 75–76). Researchers usually highlight the "distinctive character" and "own principles" mentioned in Uvarov's statements, but it is nonetheless worth asking why Uvarov always considered it necessary to talk also of the "European spirit" (p. 4) and "world education in general" (p. 106).

A powerful description of the sentiments Uvarov was so afraid of may be found in a letter from P. Y. Chaadaev to P. A. Vyazemsky of 29 April 1848. Chaadaev wrote to Vyazemsky about the latter's laudatory review of N. V. Gogol's "Selected passages from correspondence with friends." Chaadaev agreed with Vyazemsky's main points, but on every occasion he agreed with him, he added a sceptical comment as to how these ideas would be perceived by society, which had twisted Uvarov's ideas of "maturity" and "self-confidence" into a feeling of self-righteousness and self-love.

> It would be madness for us to glorify ourselves before our elder brothers. They are not better than us, but they are more worldly-wise than we are. In the first half of your article you have said some clever things about our newly-invented nationality, but you have said nothing about the fact that we are invisibly attempting to distort our national character. Think about this. You will not believe the extent to which the character of people in our country has changed since we clothed ourselves in this national arrogance, which was unknown to our fathers.[39]

However paradoxical it might seem, Uvarov himself might have put his own signature to these words of Chaadaev's.

A curious episode was Uvarov's reaction to a lecture by Professor M. Roseberg of the University of Dorpat (Tartu), "On Russia's historical significance," presented in French and later published in Russian translation in the Journal of the Ministry of Public Education in 1838. Among other things, Roseberg expressed a view which entitles him to be regarded as the forgotten predecessor of the Eurasianists. He said that Russia belonged to neither Asia nor Europe, but was an independent, distinct world. "Two opposite elements must have a meeting-place where they merge, a meeting-place which embraces them and, at the same time, is different from both: thus, in chemistry, two substances are lost in this process when their various properties disappear and they assume another form."[40] Uvarov felt it necessary to add a lengthy two page note to this hypothesis, which was a rare practice in this journal. The closing words of this note clearly show that Uvarov was worried that Roseberg's theory might be interpreted to mean that Russia should be separate from the West and hostile to it: "Is it not obvious," Uvarov hastened to add to prevent such an interpretation, "that it (the Fatherland) is destined one day to become a mediator between the East and the West, not only with regard to public education but also faith itself? ... The West is striving for perfection in every sphere, while the stationary East was destined from on high to preserve the pure knowledge of God since the world began ... The West will never be able to repay the East for this gift from God" (p. 14).

In other words, the value of what the East had preserved (in this case Uvarov was referring to the eastern tradition of Christianity) should be passed on to the West, and it would be for this cooperation that the East would be thanked by the West.

Uvarov searched for spheres of science and culture in which Russia could, in the near future, take a leading role in Europe and make a unique contribution to the European store of knowledge. It was with this aim in mind that Uvarov highlighted the importance of eastern studies as the field in which Russia had unique opportunities. "Russia [...] was chosen by destiny over all other educated nations to study the East" (p. 23). The University of Kazan, where direct contact between European science and the East was possible, was important to him for two reasons: "to pass on knowledge of this fascinating region of the world to Europe, and to bring its inhabitants gradually closer to European accomplishments and science."

Uvarov's ideology belongs among the first attempts to escape from the "narrow path of strict imitation" on which the societies that were slow to modernize were supposed to follow the leading countries, imitating their experience. In this respect, the first half of the nineteenth century was a period of

great uncertainty. All over Europe, the creation of various forms of conservatism—including reformist conservatism—became the reaction to the French revolution and its aftermath. Uvarov's brand of reformist conservatism proposed a selective attitude towards Europe. He believed Europe was in crisis, but there was an enormous distance between this view and the reactionary conservatism of Joseph de Maistre, or even the popular idea of the "decline of Europe" which appeared soon afterwards. Uvarov saw Russia not as being aloof from Europe, still less as hostile to it, but as an integral part of it, "worthy of its place... *alongside* other European nations" (p. 107, Uvarov's italics).

Minister Uvarov's tactics and strategy in the borderlands of the Empire

At the end of the 18th century, East Slavs constituted about 84 percent of the empire's population. Great Russians's share was over 50 percent, that of Little Russians 20 percent. As a result of subsequent annexations, the East Slavs proportionally decreased to 68 percent (that of Great Russians to 46 percent). The heterogeneity of the empire increased dramatically, including its European part which was the focus of Uvarov's attention. The borderland policy was gaining a new importance because of the structural changes in the empire's make up as a whole. The Kingdom of Poland created after the Congress of Vienna, had turned into an alternative center for the wide belt of the lands of the former Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth annexed by Russia. The uprising of 1830–1831 put an end to the illusion that the Polish nobility could become a loyal regional elite of the empire like the German nobles of the Baltic provinces were.

An important element of the tactics of Uvarov, the bureaucrat, was his attempt to avoid strong-arm methods in pursuing policy on the various ethnoreligious groups, and to secure the cooperation of representatives of whichever group he was trying to influence. This may clearly be seen in the example of one of Uvarov's most successful reforms with regard to ethnoreligious policy: the introduction of state schools for Jews at the beginning of the 1840s. Uvarov persistently tried to involve Jews in the planning of the new schools. He invited the young reformist rabbi Max Lilienthal, a graduate of the University of Munich, to serve as an intermediary between the Ministry and the communities. Uvarov also tried to enlist representatives of the local Jews to help develop the new school syllabuses. The main reason why these schools became successful, in spite of active opposition from traditionalist senior

community figures, was that Uvarov managed to enlist some of local "maskils." Uvarov himself considered this fact to be of primary importance from the outset. In the Report of the Ministry of Public Education for 1842, he wrote: "A comforting assurance is reached that even now there are a good number of young educated people among Jews who could usefully occupy teaching positions in the Jewish schools now being planned."[41] In an assessment of the measures taken by Uvarov, M. Stanislawski writes: "we can date the emergence of a coherent Russian-Jewish intelligentsia to the latter part of the rule of Nicholas I, in large part as a response to the stimulus provided by the Russian government itself."[42]

The documents written by Uvarov to the Tsar provide significant contrast between the methods used by the Ministry of Education in its work (gradual and nonrepressive) and the impulsive, repressive and police-like measures, so typical for Nicolas I. "Education is not a matter of policing," Uvarov wrote (p. 125). Certain passages in his Memorandum on a decade in the post of Minister seem rather like exercises in suggesting the preferability of gradual and gentle measures and the "damage done by excessively abrupt measures." This theme also features in his policy discussions on the Poles, as well as in the description of his plans with regard to the Baltic provinces (see pp. 51–52 and 125–129).[43] This was nothing short of an attempt to influence the emperor, among whose qualities patience, gentleness or moderation were not observed (see, in particular, pp. 142–143).

The minister's strategy for his program was intended to last for decades. "This is not a new idea; it was that of all brilliant rulers, from the Romans to Napoleon—those who intended to unite the tribes they conquered with the victorious tribe, invested all their hopes and all the fruits of all their labours in future generations instead of the present generation" (p. 142).

Uvarov's program for the western provinces consisted of establishing the prestige of Russian culture and undermining the rival cultural influence of Poland. It was a matter of a battle between two gravitational centres of culture and civilization. The issue was not only in confirming that the western provinces belonged politically to the Russian Empire, it was also a battle between two expansionist projects of nation-building: the Russian and the Polish. There is no evidence that Uvarov actually tried to implement a program of mass assimilation. Uvarov said nothing about mass primary education, by which means the aim of assimilation may have been achieved. For him, this was a question to be resolved by future generations. His immediate objective was the acculturation of the local elites, including the Polish elites, in order to confirm their loyalty to the empire. When Uvarov speaks in his 1843 memo-

randum of the necessity to suppress among the young Polish nobles the idea of a "separate nationality and an empty striving to reclaim their lost *samobytnost'*," by "nationality" and "*samobytnost'* " he means state sovereignty and a nostalgia for the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. Otherwise, it is impossible to understand his musings on the necessity to acquaint young Poles with "Russian views," to move them closer to the "Russian mores" in a gradual and cautious way according to his thesis (p. 124). The "confirmation of respect for Russian accomplishments," the freeing of educational institutions from the influence of the Polish nobility, and convincing the gentry of the need to "have their children brought up" in state educational institutions were the immediate goals which Uvarov set for his ministry (p. 127).

In order to appreciate the novelty and the scale of this enterprise, we should consider two facts. One, on its western borderlands the empire under Alexander I was conducting a policy that the Belorussian historian M. V. Dovnar-Zapolskii justifiably calls "polonization."[44] The educational system was entirely Polish. Secondly, it is safe to say that when Uvarov took up the position of minister of education, the number of the tsar's subjects who could read Polish exceeded the number of those who could read Russian. When we consider the limited resources at his disposal, it can be said that Uvarov proved himself a very capable administrator who achieved great success in carrying out his declared aims.

Modernizing the empire meant, among other things, a transition from the policy of indirect rule, which was based on the recognition of the broad autonomy of the traditional elites in the peripheries of the empire, to a more centralized policy which relied on a modern bureaucracy.[45] Such a policy meant that a fairly high degree of national consolidation would be needed at the core of the empire. This was the general trend of all modernizing empires. Uvarov was one of the first among the upper echelons of the imperial bureaucracy to understand this trend and to demonstrate an ability to take account of it in his policy-making.

The transition to a greater degree of bureaucratization and centralization, particularly with regard to the use of elements of Russian nationalism as a means of legitimizing the regime, was bound to meet with resistance from the regional elites. Not only the mutinous Polish gentry but also the Baltic German nobility, who were loyal to the dynasty, became problems from Uvarov's point of view. Acknowledging the steadfast "feeling of devotion to the legal sovereign" (p. 49) of the nobility of the Baltic region, Uvarov also saw a problem since the "idea that their supposed nationality is *German* has firmly taken root amongst them" (p. 51), and since they were "hardly likely to recognise

Russians as intellectually equal" (pp. 50–51). However, he stressed that this view had to be changed gradually, not so much by trying to persuade the present generation, but more by influencing the minds of young people.[46]

In the final years of his work as minister, Uvarov played an active role in shaping the authorities' position on the first Ukrainian nationalist organization—the Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood. It was partly due to his influence that Nicholas I decided, first of all, to present the ideology of the young conspirators as a kind of Slavophilia, hiding its real significance as a manifestation of Ukrainian nationalism. This was part of a general policy of playing down conflicts over nationalism as much as possible. Secondly, the tsar decided not to punish the conspirators severely, so as not to drive them further into the arms of the Poles.[47]

Uvarov was clearly thinking of the empire, which would later make increasing use of Russian nationalism as the source of its legitimacy and as an instrument of mobilization. In order for these new mechanisms to function in the future, the regional elites had to be acculturated and their loyalty to the empire now had to include respect for Russia and Russian culture as "having reached maturity." On this point the aims of domestic policy for the outlying regions was linked both with the aims of shaping the ideology of Russian nationalism and also with the ideological solution to the question of Russia's relationship with Europe.

Conclusion

When we analyze Uvarov's ideological output closely, we find that he was one of the first among the upper echelons of the Russian bureaucracy to realize the importance of nationalism as a new ideology and a new political principle. He understood more fully than anyone else at that time the many challenges which the empire would later have to face, and consistently tried to develop a forward-looking strategy and sought ways of using elements of nationalist politics to consolidate the empire's position. Many of the issues which Uvarov examined—for example, Russia's relationship with Europe, the relationship between the Russian nation and the empire, the interrelationship between Russian national territory and the rest of the empire, and the question of the pace, methods and aims of efforts towards russification—remained the focus of public debate until the Romanov Empire ceased to exist. Some of them are still of interest today. It is not a question of whether Uvarov's solutions to these questions were correct; we can hardly claim to know the right

answers if they are still being discussed in the twenty-first century. Nonetheless, it may be said with certainty that Uvarov's solutions seem neither naively liberal nor reactionary. They were not afflicted with radicalism, isolationism or xenophobia. On the contrary, there is much evidence to suggest that he understood the dangers of these trends and tried to counteract them.

The analysis of Uvarov's triad and its role in the development of Russian nationalism serves as a perfect illustration of the complexity of interaction between the state and society in this area. Uvarov, as a minister of education, represented imperial power, but he also had to confront strong opposition among the highest bureaucracy, which is clear from his writings. The state power was not unanimous in these questions in that period—nor at any later point.

Uvarov's relations with society were even more complicated. He faced opposition here both on the liberal flank and from the right—the ultra-patriotic, often anti-European guardians of the regime. At the same time, Uvarov had faithful allies in society (Ustrialov and Granovskii) whom he often trusted with formulating and disseminating the ideas he believed in, probably surmising that they would be better and more easily accepted as a "voice of the public" rather than as a "voice of authority." The minister had complicated relations with regard to the issues of nationality with such outstanding public figures as Pushkin and Pogodin. In any case, there were at least as many shared points as there were differences. At this early stage of the development of Russian nationalism, we already see an intensive exchange of ideas between society and the state. This situation and Uvarov's activity cannot be described so much as an effort to prevent the public debate, as an attempt to impose on society a certain strict discursive matrix on the subject of nation. Along with this, Uvarov created space for this debate, made his own original contribution to it, and searched for and found his ideological allies in society.

Uvarov may firmly be classed as one of the most interesting ideologists of Russian nationalism, and in terms of caliber and originality he may be compared with M. N. Katkov. Uvarov was perhaps the most interesting figure of that early stage when many of the essential elements of this worldview were just being formed—to a large extent under his influence.

Notes

1 See A. N. Pypin, *Kharakteristiki literaturnykh mnenii ot dvadtsatykh do pyatidesyatykh godov: Istoricheskie ocherki*, 3rd edition (St. Petersburg: "Kolos", 1906).

2 Pypin described this policy as being based on "a more or less hostile attitude towards Europe", "Russification, a strong-arm attempt to create religious, legal and administra-

tive uniformity", and as "national romanticism which ended in bureaucratism, very similar to the European feudal romanticism of the Restoration which had also culminated in reactionism." Pypin, *Kharakteristiki literaturnykh mnenii*, pp. 97, 117, 118.

3 For a fairly detailed analysis of the views expressed in history-writing on Pypin's formula, see M. M. Shevchenko, *Ponyatie "teoriya offitsial'noy narodnosti" i izuchenie vnutrenney politiki imperatora Nikolaya I,* in Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta, Series 8 – History (Moscow: MGU, 2002), no. 4, p. 89–104.

4 Cynthia Whittaker has made an especially great contribution to this reassessment with her monograph on Uvarov, See Cynthia A. Whittaker, *The Origins of Modern Russian Education: An Intellectual Biography of Count Sergei Uvarov, 1786–1855* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1984).

5 See Wortman, *The Scenarios of Power*.

6 Uvarov did not have to reinvent himself in order to adapt to the general conservative orientation of tsarist policy. Today, thanks largely to the efforts of A. Zorin, we have a fairly complete picture of Uvarov's links with European conservatism, which were established long before he was appointed minister. See A. Zorin*, Kormia dvuglavogo orla...Literatura i gosudarstvennaya ideologia v Rossii v posledney treti XVIII- pervoy treti XIX veka* (Moscow: NLO, 2001). Zorin describes Uvarov, along with Karamzin, as an "enlightened conservative". (See A. Zorin, "Ideologiia 'pravoslaviia-samoderzhaviia-narodnosti': opyt rekonstrukcii," *Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie*, 26 [1997], pp. 71–104, esp. 82). If the word "enlightened" in this definition means "educated," then the most consistent reactionaries were also thus, more often than not. If this refers to the ideas of the Enlightenment, then this is simply untrue – conservatism was created specifically to oppose the ideas of the Enlightenment. I would suggest the definition of "reformist conservatism", i.e., conservatism which does not rule out changes and reform, but plans them according to principles other than those of the liberalism which grew from the Enlightenment. K. Mannheim wrote about these ideologies with relation to Prussian conservatives (see Karl Mannheim, "Conservative Thought" in Karl Mannheim, *Essays on Sociology and Social Psychology*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1953), as did A. Walicki in relation to the Slavophiles See: Andrzej Walicki, *W kręgu konserwatywnej utopii, Struktura i przemiany rosyjskiego sławianofilstwa* (Warsaw: Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1964); ibid, *Rosyjska filozofia i myśl społeczna od Oswiecenia do marksizmu* (Warsaw: Wiedza Powszechna, 1973) (in English: *A History Of Russian Thought: From the Enlightenment to Marxism*, Tr. Hilda Andrews-Rusiecka, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1979.)

7 See e.g. Zorin A., *Kormia dvuglavogo orla... Literatura I gosudarstvennaya ideologia v Rossii poslednei treti XVIII - pervoi treti XIX veka.* (Moscow: NLO, 2001), p. 344.

8 It is precisely when Zorin adopts this strategy that he makes particularly valuable observations on Uvarov's treatment of Orthodoxy and autocracy as defined in his famous triad.

9 *Desyatiletie Ministerstva narodnogo prosveschenia, 1833–1843* (Zapiska predstavlennaia G[osudariu] I[mperatoru] Nikolaiu Pavlovichu Ministrom N[arodnogo] P[rosveschenia] grafom Uvarovym v 1843 godu i vozvraschennaia s sobstvennoruchnoi nadpisiu E[go] V[elichestva]: "Chital s udovolstviem" [A Decade of the Ministry of Public Education, 1833–1843. (Memo for Tsar Nicholas Pavlovich from the Minister of Public Education, Count Uvarov of 1843 which was returned with the inscription, written by

his highness himself, "Read with pleasure")] (St. Peterburg: Tipografiia Imperatorskoi AN, 1864). References to this memorandum are hereinafter given in parentheses.

10 It should be noted that Uvarov's contemporaries on the left were far from unanimous in their negative assessment of the education minister and his triad. I will suggest that the thesis of B. A. Uspenskii, that the Russian intelligentsia was forming in opposition to the Uvarov triad, is probably correct when applied to the times of Pypin who invented the formula of "official nationality." However, in the era of Uvarov, particularly in 1830's, the "anti-state" ethics of the intelligentsia had not yet been formed, and the attitude toward the triad even among the intellectuals not on the government's service could be described as anything but a full-frontal opposition. See B. A. Uspenskii, *Russkaia intelligentsia kak spetsificheskii fenomen russkoi kul'tury*, In: idem, *Etiudy o russkoi kul'ture* (St. Petersburg: Azbuka, 2002), pp. 393–413, esp. 404–406.

11 Here I agree fully with M. M. Shevchenko, "Ponyatie 'teoriya offitsiatl'noy narodnosti'," p. 104.

12 See Zorin, *Kormia dvuglavogo orla*, p. 360. Zorin is quite justified in writing of Uvarov's "religious non-discrimination". Similar formulae ("their warm faith", "sincere loyalty to the church of their fathers") also featured in Uvarov's report to the Tsar on his ten years of work as Minister. See *Desyatiletie Ministerstva narodnogo prosvescheniya, 1833–1843*, pp. 2–3.

13 Zorin, *Kormia dvuglavogo orla*, p. 361.

14 Quoted in: Zorin, *Kormia dvuglavogo orla*, p. 361.

15 In the same "Memorandum on a Decade of the Ministry of Public Education" he writes, for example, of the "decaying and oppressive" privileges of the Baltic gentry and the fact that these privileges "would undoubtedly have ceased to exist long ago if the Baltic provinces had been ruled by, for instance, the Prussian government instead of the Russian Empire". Uvarov's argument in favor of their abolition was typical of reformist conservatism—he said that they "arouse hatred among all the other ranks" (i.e. classes – A. M.), (pp. 52–53).

16 Cf. Uvarov's address to the censors in 1835: "If I manage to push Russia 50 years away from what the theories have in store for her, I will have my duty done, and will rest in peace." A. V. Nikitenko, *Dnevnik*, Vol. 1, (Moscow: 1955), p. 174.

17 Pletnev, P. A. "O narodnosti v literature," Speech of 31st August 1833 at the University of St. Petersburg, *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosvescheniia*, No. 1 (1834): p. 2.

18 Pletnev, "O narodnosti v literature," pp. 6–8.

19 On the Romanovs' emphasis on their "foreignness", see R. Wortman, *Scenarios of Power*, Vol. 1. On the difficulties that all European dynasties experienced in the process of nationalization, see, Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire: 1875–1914* (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), p. 149.

20 M. P. Pogodin, *Pol'skii vopros. Sobranie rassuzhdenii, zapisok i zamechanii, 1831–1867* (Moscow: Tipografiia gazety "Russkii," 1867), p. 189.

21 See: N. I. Nadezhdin, *Literaturnaia kritika. Estetika* (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1972), p. 441.

22 See a different interpretation by Whittaker who believes that Uvarov flirted "indiscriminately" with various movements within Russian nationalism (Whittaker, *The Origins of Modern Russian Education*, p. 107).

23 N. M. Kolmakov, "Ocherki i vospominaniia N. M. Kolmakova" *Russkaia Starina*, Vol. 70, (April 1891): 468.

24 Another figure that enjoyed a similarly constant protection from Uvarov was T. Granovskii. See Whittaker, *The Origins of Modern Russian Education*, pp. 107, 110. A. Pushkin could be also regarded as an important ally of Uvarov. Uvarov adored his nationalist poems of 1831 and translated some of the verses into French. But later the minister was offended by wicked epigrams and ill-treated the poet in his last years.

25 N. Ustryalov, *O sisteme pragmaticheskoy russkoy istorii.* (St. Petersburg, 1836), p. 21.

26 Ustryalov meant the Great Principality of Lithuania before its unification with Poland, i.e. with the lands along the river Dnieper. See N. G. Ustryalov, *Issledovanie voprosa, kakoe mesto v russkoy istorii dolzhno zanimat' Velikoe knyazhestvo Litovskoe?* (St. Petersburg, 1839).

27 Meanwhile, as early as 1819 N. M. Karamzin had used every argument imaginable in his so-called "Letter from a Russian Citizen", in which he objected to Alexander I's plan to unite part of this territory with the Kingdom of Poland, apart from this one. See more in chapter 6.

28 Ustryalov, *O sisteme pragmaticheskoi russkoi istorii*, p. 72.

29 "Here we stand and take up arms against the Polish spirit for holy, ancient, first-called Kievan Russia", wrote M. A. Maksimovich Vyazemsky in 1840. See "Pis'ma M. P. Pogodina, S. P. Shevyrevai, M. A. Maksimovicha kniaziu P. A. Vyazemskomu," *Starina i novizna* (St. Petersburg, 1901), Vol. 4, p. 199.

30 I will provide a few quotations to illustrate the way Ustryalov, discussing the aims of Russian history writing, responded to some questions on the nature of the Russian–Polish conflict which were very pertinent after the uprising of 1830–1831. "The history of the Lithuanian Principality which emerged in the Russian lands, preserved the main conditions of the Russian nationality, served as a cause for almost all the conflicts between the sovereigns of Muscovy and the Polish kings, and which finally returned to the bosom of the ancient father state—the history of this Principality deserved the same attention of the writer as the fate of Muscovy, especially if one takes into consideration that: 1) the Lithuanian Principality before the final union with Poland, in the first half of the 16th century, and before the Church Union, had been Russian in the full sense; ... 3) the union of the Lithuanian Principality and Poland was a matter of chance; 4) its inhabitants, despite all the efforts of the Polish government, have never abandoned the idea of kinship with Russia... 6) that, finally, the striving, on the one hand, for domination over all of the Russian land and the effort not to allow its unification on the other was the sole source of all the wars between Russia and Poland." (Ustryalov, *O sisteme pragmaticheskoi russkoi istorii*, pp. 36–37). "To show the fate of the Russian people beyond the Dnieper, all the sufferings it experienced under the Polish yoke, all the policies of the Roman Court and the Warsaw Sejm, is one of the most important tasks of History." (Ibid., p. 37). "The intrigues of the Polish magnates and Jesuits were the only obstacle to the reunification of the two peoples of one tribe, one faith, separated by accidental circumstances." (Ibid., p. 44).

Continuing to compare the views of Ustryalov and Karamzin, one can see that this system of argumentation is radically different from the discourses of "the last chronicler." Karamzin admitted that the policy of Catherine II in regard to the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth was aggressive and worthy of regret, while Ustryalov wrote of "the unification of almost all the Russian lands in one whole by Catherine II." (Ibid., p. 47). We must also note that Ustryalov fully repeats the interpretation of the Russian–

Polish conflict by Pushkin in his poems of 1831. Uvarov himself, bearing no grudges at the time against Pushkin's epigrams, translated his poem "Klevetnikam Rossii" ("To the Slanderers of Russia") into French, and, on October 8, 1831, sent his translation to the author, "in admiration for the beautiful, truly *national* verses."

31 On the fact that Uvarov did not share Pogodin's pan-slavist enthusiasm, see: T. Zhukovskaia, "S. S. Uvarov and the Cyril and Methodius Society, or The Crisis of 'Official Nationality.'" Paper presented at the conference "Research and Identity: Non-Russian Peoples in the Russian Empire, 1800–1855" (Kymenlaakso Summer University, 14–17 June 2006).

32 N. Ustryalov, *O sisteme pragmaticheskoi russkoi istorii*, p. 74.

33 A. Zorin, *Kormia dvuglavogo oral*, p. 362.

34 Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992).

35 Neumann, *Uses of the Other.*

36 A. G. Tartakovskii *Voennaya publicistika 1812 goda* (Moscow: Nauka, 1967), p. 135. See more in A. Kurilkin, *Barbarians: The Rhetoric Repertoire of 1812* (unpublished article).

37 Zorin, *Kormia dvuglavogo orla,* p. 367.

38 In early nineteenth-century Eastern Europe, all local languages, including those with a long literary tradition, were not highly esteemed even in their "native" environment. The efforts of Karamzin to raise the standing of the Russian language in the educated societies of St. Petersburg and Moscow are well-known. As David Altoen has demonstrated in his dissertation, Polish society at the time was also engaged in an effort to raise the prestige and status of the Polish language in the public's perception. See: David Altoen, *That Noble Quest: From True Nobility to Enlightened Society in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, 1550-1830.* PhD. dissertation, University of Michigan, 2000. It is useful to remember this in assessing the novelty and complexity of the goal of establishing the prestige of the Russian language among the borderland elites formulated by Uvarov.

39 *Russkii Archiv*, 1866, No. 7, columns 1082–1088. Quotation – column 1088. Cf. M. Maksimovich's reproach to his friend M. Pogodin: "You know, don't recall our alienation from the West too often: even if it is constantly on your mind, don't put it on show every time." N. P. Barsukov, *Zhizn' i trudy M. Pogodina*, Vol .6. (1892): 62.

40 See *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosvescheniia*, Vol. 1 (1838): 1–16: quotation from p. 15.

41 "Obshchii otchet, predstavlennyi Ego Imperatorskomu Velichestvu po Ministerstvu narodnogo prosveshcheniia za 1842 g.," *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniia*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (1843): 30.

42 Stanislawski, *Tsar Nicholas and the Jews*, p. 110.

43 L. Zasztowt, who studied imperial policy on education in the western provinces, believes that it was precisely because of views such as these that Uvarov was gradually prevented from taking the majority of decisions in this area. L. Zasztowt, *Kresy 1832-1864. Szkolnictwo na ziemiach litewskich i ruskich dawnej Rzeczy Pospolitej* (Warsaw: Instytut Historii Nauki PAN, 1997), p. 365.

44 M. V. Dovnar-Zapolskii, *Istoriia Belarusi* (Minsk, 1994), p. 250.

45 In some of its main features, this program also applied to the Russian nobility. Uvarov's program to develop university education was, among other things, also a reaction to the conflict of the "elites of education" and the hereditary elites, which had already begun in

the 18th century. Uvarov's principle was that everyone had to study, and study together. "Together" also meant that members of the nobility had to study alongside common people, and that the sons of the local elites had to go to school with Russian youth. This was the main task he set for the University of St. Vladimir which was opened in 1834 in Kiev. To this end he also strove to harmonize university programs of study, so as to make it easier for students to move to another university during their course of study. Uvarov's belief that universities were a means of solving many problems was by no means shared by everyone. Nicholas I was inclined to view universities rather as part of the problem. Uvarov was well aware of this, which was why he felt it necessary to persuade the emperor: "Universities are often accused of leading the minds of their students astray, but have they really acquired this mistaken tendency in universities? No, they brought it into the universities; and here it changed, partially if not completely. Universities do not create, but rather remove harmful ways of thinking" (p. 129). It was precisely because he held this point of view that Uvarov would later retire when Nicholas I decided to reduce the number of students in the empire's universities.

46 See a different treatment by Whittaker who believes that Uvarov set out to russify the elites of the western borderlands (Cynthia Whittaker, *The Origins of Modern Russian Education,* p. 108).

47 See P. A. Zaionchkovsky, *Kirillo-Mefodievskoe obshchestvo (1846–1847)* (Moscow: Nauka, 1959), pp. 118–130; A. I. Miller, *The Ukrainian Question,* chapter 1.

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CHAPTER 6

THE EMPIRE AND THE NATION IN THE IMAGINATION OF RUSSIAN NATIONALISM

In 1885, the noted literary historian Aleksandr Pypin published an article entitled "The Volga and Kiev."[1] He begins it by recounting a conversation he once had with Ivan Turgenev, known for his mastery of the literary treatment of nature. It comes out in the conversation that the latter has never been on the Volga. That becomes for Pypin a starting point for his argument that "Russian literature has not explored the Volga," that "the Volga is absent in Russian painting as well." (pp. 188–9) "If we are truly so committed to the challenge of *samobytnost'*, the originality of the Russian nation and state, so dedicated to lend weight to what is ours, native as opposed to foreign, etc., then one of our primary concerns should be to know that native, at least in its basic, most characteristic points. The Volga, undoubtedly, is one of these points." (p. 193) Pypin expresses similar reproaches and regrets concerning Kiev:

> A historian, a publicist, an ethnographer, an artist must see Kiev, if they want to imagine vividly Russian nature and Russian people, since here again (as on the Volga—*A. M.*) one finds some of the best examples of Russian nature and one of the most interesting aspects of the Russian nation... Kiev is the only place where one feels the Russian city as it was ages ago. (pp. 199–200)

To interpret these arguments correctly, we should pay attention to two motifs present in the article. First, the Saratov-born Pypin is fully aware that "here, on the Volga, there is ethnic and blood mixture." (p. 196) He ridicules the attempts of some to "erase" all non-Russian nationalities: "That would be a task for a monomaniac, deserving of the well-known character of Shchedrin's who asked, 'Why the river?'" (p. 211) In this article, as in his numerous other works, he protests against the repressions of the Ukranian language, and supports the right of the Little Russians to be different from the Great Rus-

sians, "the way the northern Frenchmen, Germans, and Italians are to the present day different from their southern counterparts."

Second, having called the Volga and Kiev "characteristic points of the native" that had not been explored by Russian art, Pypin contrasts them to the Caucasus, Crimea and the Baltic province, popular with authors and painters, but, in his opinion, lying outside of the "native feature" category. He writes sarcastically of Russian painters "who prefer to portray 'the windmills of Estlandia' or a heap of red-and-brown rocks under the title of 'Crimean studies,' or something equally amusing." (p. 190) In other words, from his standpoint, not all the imperial territory qualify as "the native, Russian," while he does not question the unity of the empire.

The ideological basis of Pypin's text did not contain anything revolutionary or original; the article was fairly typical of the sentiments of educated Russian society. It is remarkable only for a full and systematic expression of a widespread point of view, and we will return to it later in this chapter to pinpoint the most general dimensions of the subject that has failed to receive due attention so far. The subject in question is the "mental maps" of Russian nationalism.

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It is regrettable that too many historians underrate the ideas and sentiments, indeed, the whole discourse that Pypin's article illustrates so well. When Rogers Brubaker wrote that "nowhere is theoretical primitivism in the study of nationalism more striking than in the literature (and quasi-literature) on this subject," what he had in mind was Eastern Europe and political science.[2] However, the perspectives on the range of problems of Russian nationalism, on the relationship between this nationalism and the empire that dominate today's historiography, show convincingly that this criticism partly concerns historians as well.

I will cite examples from several of the most recent publications. David Rowley in his article comes to the conclusion that there is no basis for discussing Russian nationalism "in [the] generally accepted meaning" during the age of the Romanovs. The "generally accepted meaning," for Rowley, is the definition by Ernest Gellner who stated that "nationalism is primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent... Nationalist *sentiment* is the feeling of anger aroused by the violation of the principle, or the feeling of satisfaction aroused by its fulfillment. A national *movement* is one actuated by a sentiment of this kind." Consequently, Rowley concludes,

> Russian nationalist resentment... could be manifested in two forms: either the Russian nation could draw a boundary around the territory in which Russians lived, and separate itself from all non-Russian territories, or it could seek to turn all the residents of the Russian state into members of the Russian nation. The first alternative would mean to disband the empire and to create a Russia of, by, and for its people. The second would mean the thorough enculturation with Russian ethnicity (Russification) of all peoples of the state."[3]

In this passage Rowley clearly expresses and takes to their logical conclusion the theoretical theses that form the basis of many works on Russian nationalism.

The thesis that the Russians did not differentiate between the empire, the nation-state and the nation is repeatedly cited in various publications and leads many historians to conclude that the Russian nationalist program was nothing more than but the clearly unrealistic project of transforming the empire into a nation-state. It is this thesis that Robert Kaiser, for one, employs when he writes that the "distinction between Russia the ancestral homeland—and Rossiya—the geographic extent of the Russian Empire lost clear meaning over the course of time," and defines "the Russian nationalist vision" as "recreating the Russian empire as a Russian nation-state."[4] "The great question for Russian leaders during the nineteenth and twentieth century might be formulated as whether they could intricate an analogous (to British) compound national identity in their empire's more diverse ethnic elements": this is also the spirit in which Geoffrey Hosking writes in his book about "how the building of an empire impeded the formation of a nation."[5] "Imaginative geography: Russian empire as a Russian nation-state" is both the title of a chapter and the subject of the entire recent book by Vera Tolz.[6]

But to what extent is Gellner's definition of nationalism, on which all the quoted and many similar discussions are based, applicable in the Russian case? Nationalists inevitably come to ask what space their nation should occupy in terms of political control and as a "national territory."[7] In the case of non-imperial nations it can be said that a national territory encompasses what the nationalists believe to be "their" state ideally or "rightfully." That is, a "national territory" and the space of political control are congruent. With imperial nations, these two categories of space may differ significantly. The point is that an effort to consolidate the nation, including a definition of a certain part of the territory of the empire as the "national territory," does not necessarily signal an intention to "disband" the empire.

It was exactly with the view of establishing imperial control over particular territories that most of the colonial wars were waged, not for including them in the "national territory." The English attempted to establish the British identity only in one part of their empire—on the British Isles. The French strove to do the same only in the European part of their empire. Of course, in Britain, France and even Spain, nationalism of the dominant nation had been marked by a considerably richer "heritage" than in Russia. The degree of society's modernization and the extent to which the job of its cultural and linguistic homogenization had been already done by the ancien régime were significantly higher here compared to Russia. Even so, it would be quite erroneous to imagine that the colonial expansion was begun by full-fledged nation-states. The nation-states of the major maritime empires were being "completed" parallel to and in a close association with imperial expansion. If the "British identity," as Linda Colley has demonstrated, was largely born out of the empire's struggle against its enemies, the same holds true of other "imperial" nations, including Russia.[8]

Russian nationalism was also selective in its project. At the same time, for Russian nationalism, just as for French, British or Spanish nationalism, an attempt to consolidate the nation was far from irreconcilable with an attempt to preserve and, given the opportunity, expand the empire. Gellner's formula of nationalism fits the experiences of the movements that tried to "cut" new states out of the existing ones, but it does not work in cases when a particular nationalism could adopt as its "own" an already existing state, including an empire.[9]

The Russians, regardless of the definition of this notion,[10] were the central and most populous ethnic group of the empire. For a number of reasons, it is not quite correct, at least until the early twentieth century, to call them a dominant group, in the sense that the British and the French dominated in their empires. The ruling dynasty had resisted "nationalization" longer than in the majority of the European states, the empire was dominated by a multiethnic gentry; for a long period of time a Russian peasant could have been, and often was, a serf to a non-Russian, non-Orthodox, and even non-Christian nobleman. The "nation" did not rule, and had no system of political representation. Ju. F. Samarin had exactly this problem in mind when he wrote in 1864: "We, the Russians, plan to be in Russia what the French are in France and English are in all the British possessions."[11]

On the other hand, the position of Russian as the official language of the empire had been constantly strengthened, and the Orthodoxy had a privileged status vis-à-vis other religions, the elite Russian culture in the nineteenth cen-

tury was becoming increasingly more "complete" and adhering to European standards. Under these conditions, the Russian nationalists' desire to "russify" the empire was not at all utopian in the sense that the Russians, as a nation, were supposed to occupy a dominant position in the Russian empire, similar to the position of the French and the British in theirs. I am consciously leaving out of this chapter a great number of issues regarding the changes in the political system and forms of political mobilization necessary for such an undertaking. (It can be suggested that the most realistic route to such political modernization was through the establishment of a constitutional monarchy.) I would like to emphasize that it would be a mistake to consider, even before the creation of a system of political representation, that there was an impenetrable membrane between the public nationalist discourse and the imperial bureaucracy. If the Romanovs could seek out new sources of political legitimization of their power in nationalism, it could only be Russian nationalism, and the Romanovs' "official nationalism"[12] inevitably had to search for common ground with the Russian nationalism of the public. The process was slow, fraught by resistance and internal contradictions, but the ruling elite was gradually accepting certain elements of the Russian nationalist ideology, which by the mid-nineteenth century had already begun to motivate its policies.

Richard Wortman wrote recently that "the task of the historian is to understand Russian nationalism as a field of constant struggle, contestation. This struggle began in the 19th–early 20th century between monarchy and the educated part of society when, in their fight to control the state, each of the two sides sought the right to represent the people."[13] In this truly incessant fight there were other frontlines; differently drawn, there were subjects for argumentation, in which a part of educated society formed or sought to form a union with the state power against another part of that educated society. This is what often happened in the discussions of Russian-ness and of the borders of the Russian "national territory."[14]

In these arguments the supporters of the identification of the Russian Empire with the Russian nation-state and the consequent, truly utopian drive to russify the entire population of the empire invariably constituted a guaranteed minority among Russian nationalists. Also in a minority were those who were prepared to equate Russians and Great Russians and to accept the traditional area of the Great Russian population as the national territory.[15]

The obvious distinction of the Russian Empire compared to the British, French and Spanish empires was its continental character, the absence of the "great water" between core and periphery. That created, understandably, diffi-

culties for "imagining the national territory" within the empire, but opened up certain possibilities as well.

Compared to other continental powers, the problem of the relationship between Russian nationalism and empire also had a number of specific features. All her problems notwithstanding, nineteenth-century Russia continued territorial expansion and preserved a level of military power, economic potential and faith in the future that made foreign influence and dissolution of the empire more of a hypothetical threat rather than an everyday factor, as it was in the Ottoman Empire. Of course, by the time Russian nationalism gained a certain public recognition and an opportunity to manifest itself in the course of the reforms of the early years of Alexander II's reign, it was an imitative reaction to the challenge of the more developed nationalisms of Europe and the humiliation of the Crimean War.[16] But this nationalism was not a reaction to the unavoidable disintegration of empire, already underway, as was the nationalism of the Young Turks. This was not a project aimed at minimizing the damage or salvaging what could still be saved, as in the Turkish case.

Russia was different from the Habsburg Empire in that its feudal tradition in structuring the imperial realm was significantly less powerful. Russia had no Pragmatic Sanction that firmly fixed the borders of the "Crown Lands" and the rights of the local noblemen's Diets. Only the Kingdom of Poland, Finland and, to an extent, the Ostzee Provinces had, during certain periods, a status comparable to that of the Habsburg crown lands (Länder). If in the Hapsburg monarchy the borders of the feudal crown lands became the basis for "territorialization of ethnicity" already in the nineteenth century, in the Russian Empire the corresponding processes were very limited, and the general territorialization of ethnicity began, based on different principles, only in the USSR.[17]

In the Habsburg monarchy the demographic balance between different ethnic groups and the peculiarities of the political development led to a point where, in Cisleithania, the expansionist project of building a dominant German nation did not play an important role. Only as late as 1882 did the Linz program of German nationalists call for the creation of a new unit, which would embrace all the lands of the former German Union in order to defend their German character. The program suggested ceding Dalmatia, Bosnia and Hercegovina to the Hungarians. Galicia and Bukovina could also be transferred to Transleithania or acquire a special autonomous status. Germanization efforts had to be focused on Bohemia, Moravia, Slovenia and the Italian lands, which at that time were under Habsburg rule. But even in this area German nationalism had to focus on the defense of the existing

sphere of German cultural influence, than on cultural expansion and assimilation.[18]

Thus, the Russian nationalist project of national consolidation within the empire, which implied "appropriation" of a certain part of the imperial territory as the "Russian national territory," had existed for a longer time than analogous projects in the Ottoman or Habsburg empires. Only in Transleithania did the Hungarians, during a comparable period, attempt to actualize in their sub-empire a similar project using the situation that had come into being with the adoption of the law on the exclusive rights of the Hungarian language in the lands of St. Stephen's Crown in 1844 and the compromise agreement of 1867.

The nationalist "appropriation" of territory motivated by Russian nationalism was a process, not an act. This process had several important components. First of all, the debates on "Russian-ness," on what are the criteria according to which an individual, group or territory belonged to Russia, had a truly ferocious character up until the collapse of the empire.

Second, Russian nationalism had a great potential for expanding the "national territory" and in a number of ways met with fewer obstacles in this expansion than the analogous projects in the continental Hapsburg and Ottoman empires. But this, I will stress again, did not mean that Russian nationalism, or to be exact, its discursively predominant versions, contained an attempt to encompass the whole empire as the "national territory." In essence, the very tension of the debates on the limits of Russian-ness and the criteria of belonging to it serve as a convincing proof that the Russian project of nation building, while expansionist, was not aimed at encompassing the whole empire and all its subjects.

By the nationalist appropriation of space I mean a symbolic, imagined geography. The subject is a complex web of discursive practices that included ideological motivation, symbolic, toponymic, artistic familiarization with and appropriation of a particular space in such a way as to make the public conscience aware of this space as part of its "own," "national" territory.

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Let us return to Pypin's article "The Volga and Kiev." When he discusses the means of developing and affirming the idea of "native" land among Russians, the present-day reader may get the impression that Pypin has recently read the second, expanded edition of Benedict Anderson's book or some other modern research that deals with the "imaginative component" of na-

tionalism. Having mentioned, *in passim*, as self-evident, "the institutions, economic ties, railroad building, higher education," Pypin writes in more detail about instruments of nurturing an emotional attachment: on museums; on the historical narrative; on "travel literature," including both fiction and guidebooks; on ethnography and "regional fiction of everyday life"; and on the representation of landscape and of "local types" in painting. Failures in this area seem especially dangerous to him because the great distances and the high cost of travel do not allow Russians as effectively as Germans and others to use the "experience of learning about one's homeland" through organized travel of the "student youth." (p. 197)[19] "Our fatherland is so expansive, so varied, that a love for this entirety, which very few have seen in its boundless expanse, is only possible through the closest idea of local homeland... Ordinary people's sense of belonging to the whole is created through an idea of 'Russian' land and people, and through the notion of one faith, one authority." (p. 206) "Without such literature, without other studies of Russian nature and life of the people, our so-called 'self-conscience' will remain a boring phrase," he writes in conclusion. (p. 215) Pypin is obviously responding to the sentiments and discussions of the Russian national self-conscience that were widespread in contemporary society, and seeks to attract the reader's attention to the "instruments" used, in nations that succeeded more in this respect, in nurturing an emotional attachment to the "native land."

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Russian nationalism was developing ideologically and formulated its image of a national territory in encounters with other nationalisms of the empire. The methods of definition and exploration of a particular space as a "national territory," the sets of arguments and images employed in this discourse were significantly different depending on the situation and the type of challenge that Russian nationalism faced in the empire's various outlying.

Arguably, this set of problems has been explored most consistently in the studies of the western provinces. In this area, the Russian nationalist project was initially formulated in a violent confrontation with the Polish project, which began by defending the 1772 borders as a "Polish property," and was later ready to join forces with the Ukrainian movement against the empire and Russian nationalism. Ukrainian nationalism that entered this contest in the mid-nineteenth century with its own project of a "national territory" to a great extent borrowed forms and methods of ideological struggle from its more powerful competitors.

Little Russia and the western borderland were predominantly populated by East Slavs who, within the concept of the "all-Russian nation" were considered branches of the Russian people. The colonization of this space by the Great Russian population did not play any important role. The main emphasis was precisely on the notion that all East Slavs belong to the all-Russian nation. It was in the context of polemics with Ukrainian nationalists that the Little Russian nobleman and all-Russian nationalist M. V. Juzefovich first formulated the slogan that received such wide currency in the early twentieth century—but already in a different sense. By a "united and indivisible Russia" Iuzefovich did not mean the empire in its entirety, but specifically the Russian nation in its "all-Russian" version.

In the nineteenth century, the space and population of the western province became targets of a raging war of words in which, it seems, there was no place name or ethnic group name that would be ideologically neutral. Each one of them either reaffirmed or rejected a particular nation-building project.[20]

As in other similar discourses, the appellation to an old tradition of statehood had an important role to play, that of Kievan Rus in the Russian case. Clearly, it was in the western part of the empire and its "neighborhood" that this motif was exploited particularly rigorously. The interpretation of Kievan Rus as the crucible of the Russian nation was providing a foundation for the traditional motif of "the ancestral land," a land that is "truly Russian."

The concept of Kievan Rus as "the crucible of the Russian people" went well with the dynastic logic. Thus, the famous dictum by Catherine the Great, after the partitions of the Polish Commonwealth, that "we only took what is ours," can indeed be interpreted both as dynastic (ours as belonging to the Rurik dynasty whose heir she considered herself) and as nationalist—that is, the lands of Kievan Rus, predominantly populated by East Slavs, all of whom were considered Russian in the dominant version of the Russian nationalist discourse. I will point to deviations from this concept, which show that "correct" formulas were not found immediately. One example is the polemic between M. P. Pogodin and M. A. Maksimovich in the mid-1850s, wherein Pogodin was arguing for the preferred historical rights to Kiev of the Great Russians as compared with the Little Russians.[21] But this motif did not receive a subsequent development in the Russian nationalist discourse, giving way instead to the interpretation of Kiev and its historical heritage as the common root and common property of all East Slavs, which was quite logical in view of the goals that the discourse was pursuing.

It is interesting to look at the combination of the role of Kievan Rus and the role of Moscow in Russian nationalist narrative. Moscow as the contem-

porary "heart," the embodiment of Russian-ness, as the center of "collecting" the Russian lands was undoubtedly present in the Russian nationalist discourse. In the traditionalist version of Russian nationalism, it was Muscovy that was contrasted to St. Petersburg's Russia. But the historical boundaries of Muscovy did not "work," or were perceived as a tool in the adversary discourses, as unacceptable boundaries which Russia's enemies wanted to reduce her to.[22]

Already by the mid-nineteenth century we can find instances of the influence of the notion of the "Russian national territory" in the highest bureaucratic echelons. For example, in 1863, V. I. Nazimov, the then governor-general of the Northwest Province, which included both Belorussian and Lithuanian lands, made a clear distinction in his russification program between the "centuries old Russian" lands (*iskonno russkie zemli*) and localities traditionally dominated by Lithuanians and Jews. It was not only the contemporary demographic situation that he used as a basis for this differentiation. Nazimov points out particular places with a predominantly Jewish population that should be given back their "Russian" character, and immediately specifies that neighboring places should be "left as is," since the Slavic population was never predominant there.[23]

The image of a national territory was selective here in the sense that it did not include all the lands of the western province, nor all of its population. One is reminded of the letters of Katkov to Alexander II and Alexander III, in which he repeatedly discusses the benefits of giving Poland independence "in its ethnographical boundaries."[24] Katkov was not alone in his sentiments. From the Russian nationalist viewpoint, the empire's western periphery was thus divided into three categories of lands: first, the "truly Russian"; second, the Lithuanian lands that were not included in the image of the Russian national territory but were a desired part of the empire; and, finally, the ethnically Polish lands that, ideally, would have to be "expelled" from the empire as an undesirable, incorrigibly alien and hostile part.

At the same time, the logic of this discourse was pushing the boundaries of the "Russian national territory" beyond the empire's borders, into the provinces of the Habsburg Empire populated by East Slavs. The discourse of *Cherwonaja* (Red) Rus' (Eastern Galicia) and *Ugorskaja* (Ugric) or *Karpatskaja* (Carpathian) Rus' (Bukovina and present-day Transcarpathian Ukraine) was different in principle from the general Pan-slavist discourse on the Slavs of the Habsburg and Ottoman empires. It was, in essence, a discourse of nationalist irredenta. Pypin, for instance, was not a Pan-slavist, but in the article in question, "The Volga and Kiev," he deemed it necessary to write about the

plight of the "south-Russian people in Galicia" (p. 211). Already in the nineteenth century, the Russian nationalists repeatedly criticized "Catherine's mistake"; in the course of the partitions the Empress left the "Russian" population of East Galicia to the Austrian empire where it remained "under the Polish rule."

Thus, according to this vision, the "truly Russian lands" were divided into "well-accommodated," that is those where their Russian character was well established;[25] "ailing," that is those that required an eradication of hostile influences; and, finally, the ones that remained "torn away," that is, not included in the empire, and, as a result, the body politic.

This discourse remained in force up until the collapse of the empire. When in 1911 the creation of the Kholm (Chelm) *gubernia* was discussed in the Duma (that is, moving Kholmshchina (Chelm region) out of the Kingdom of Poland), V.A. Bobrinskii II argued that this territory should be "in an uncontested national possession not of Russia—everything here is Russia—but of Rus, so that this land would be not only a part of the Russian state, but be universally recognized as an ancient Russian land, that is Rus."[26] This did not prevent Bobrinskii from admitting that the population of *Kholmshchina* was deeply polonized. But this fact served as an argument in favor of urgent steps to "save" "its original Russian nature," not altogether lost. "This is an exceptionally sickly, tormented Russian land, and so it is singled out to treat it with a particular attention and care."[27] The image of the sick "national" body politic—sick precisely as a part of the national body, not as an imperial province—comes through here with an absolute clarity.

It is in connection with the western peripheries that it becomes possible to trace how the discourse of the national territory was reflected in the concepts of such a consistent Russian imperialist as P.B. Struve prior to and during the First World War. He begins his article "Great Russia and Holy Rus'" with the statements that "Russia is a nation-state," and that "expanding its nucleus geographically, the Russian state has turned into a state that, while multiethnic, at the same time possesses a national unity."[28] It is exactly these quotations that are often presented to argue that nation-state and empire had been conflated in Russian perception. Meanwhile, in that same article Struve speaks of a "national nucleus state," in which "Russian tribes melted into a single nation." He notes the ability of this national nucleus to expand, and differentiates it from imperial expansion. The connection of various peripheries to the "state-national nucleus" could be, according to Struve, "purely or predominantly a state matter," or, possibly, that of "state and culture, leading in its final development up to the complete assimilation, [and] russification of

the 'aliens.'" Struve's ideal is, of course, a gradual expansion of the nation-state to fill the boundaries of the imperial state, based on "the law and a representative political system," but he, first of all, clearly sees the differences between them, and secondly, understands his ideal as a distant perspective. Some time earlier, in his polemic with Ukrainian nationalism, Struve repeatedly used the formula "a Russian Russia," meaning the "all-Russian nation."[29]

Thus, the very idea of a Russian national territory is manifested even in the ideology of the liberal imperialist Struve. When Struve goes on to formulate the goals of Russia in the war, it turns out that the most important task, in his opinion, is to "reunite and melt together with the empire all parts of the Russian people," that is the annexation of the "Russian Galicina." Here he resorts again, as is generally typical of the nationalist discourse of organic unity, to the metaphor of sanitation of the national body, proving that the annexation of Galicina is necessary for the "internal sanitation of Russia, since the life of a Malorossian tribe under Austrian rule has generated and given support here to the ugly so-called 'Ukrainian question.'" The second task, from Struve's standpoint, is to "regenerate Poland as a single national organism." And the control over the Bosporus comes only third. Thus, in this hierarchy Struve places first and second the tasks that come directly from the nationalist discourse, and does not bother to substantiate them as obvious, concentrating instead on a lengthy explanation of why Russia still needs Constantinople.

One important aspect of the topic is the relationship between the religious and ethnic factors in the Russian nationalist discourse. On the western peripheries, in the context of the Russian–Polish rivalry, the emphasis on the opposition of Orthodoxy and Catholicism was very strong. However, with time the religious factor in the nationalist rhetoric yielded to the ethnic factor. In the reign of Alexander II the authorities already began to gradually lean towards the point of view that even the Catholic Belorussians belonged to the Russian nation.[30] On the eve of the second occupation of Galicia during World War I, the Special Political Section of the Foreign Ministry prepared guidelines according to which the Russian authorities in Galicia would not show any difference in their treatment of the Orthodox and the Uniates (Greek-Catholics).[31]

It would be useless to search, in any period of late-imperial history, for an ideological consensus in Russian society on the issue of whether a Catholic Belorussian or children of mixed Russian–Polish marriages could be regarded as Russian, just as on the issue of exactly where the western territorial boundaries of the "Russian land" should be drawn and whether or not it was necessary to annex East Galicia and Hungarian Rus. The list of these contro-

versial, debatable questions is long. Just as long is the list of differing opinions on what degree of regional peculiarity could be tolerated among Little Russians (Malorussians) and White Russians (Belorussians). These debates were waged in the press, among the bureaucracy, and later in the Duma, too. But, the significant difference of opinion notwithstanding, the distinction between the empire and the "Russian national territory" is never questioned as such. The discourse of the national project undoubtedly influenced policy planning for the western provinces.

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Under the different conditions of another "characteristic point" that Pypin writes about—in the Volga region—the interpretation of the ethnic factor was different. The historical myth did not play a crucial role here. If the position of Moscow as the heir to Byzantium and Kievan Rus was actively used in the nationalist discourse, the motif of succession to the Golden Horde remained unrecognized up until the emergence of Eurasianism. Pypin only remarks in passim that "the Volga has long been known to the Russian tribe," that "Russian adventurers and industrialists" had appeared here before "the Tartar invasion." Discussing the Russian colonization of the region after the sixteenth century, he stresses the fact that both Great Russians (Velikorusy) *and* Little Russians participated in it. (pp. 190–191) Subsequently, the Russian discourse adopts the subject of colonization as an instrument of nation-building in the sense that the differences between Great Russians and Little Russians under the new circumstances were losing relevance, and the common features assumed renewed importance in the alien environment.[32]

In the western peripheries, the nationalist discourse emphasized the East Slav character of the nation and, while marking Little Russians and White Russians as Russians, was exclusive rather than inclusive. In debates with their Polish opponents, Russian nationalists put an emphasis on the commonality of the ethnic origins of the East Slavs, and, though not denying it completely, in any case did not accentuate the non-Slavic components of the Russian people.

In the highly ethnically mixed Volga region of the nineteenth century the Russians, as the result of migrations, already made up a little more than half of the population, both in the cities, and generally in the country.[33] What was stressed here was an openness to the non-Slavic, especially Finno-Ugric, element.[34] Pypin writes in the cited article that the Great Russian tribe was "not purely Slavic, but mixed," and speaks of its "Slavic–Finnish base." The au-

thorities and Russian nationalism not only did not see anything wrong with intermarriages, but perceived this mixture as an indelible aspect of Russian nation-forming.[35]

I. Ia. Iakovlev, a student of Kazan University and a Chuvash, wrote in his 1870 report to the trustee of the Kazan School District, P. D. Shestakov.

> It seems to me that a russification or assimilation of the Chuvash with the Russian people can only be reached in three ways: the first, and most important, is through their adoption of Orthodoxy—anyone knows what importance our ordinary folk ascribe to a difference of faith; secondly, through conjugal unions; and thirdly, through the learning of Russian by the Chuvash.

It is perfectly clear that Iakovlev does not have the slightest doubt that not only the adoption of faith and language, but also the intermarriage of the Chuvash and Russians would not raise any objections from his addressee.[36]

Comparatively small in numbers and devoid of modernized elites, the ethnic groups of the Volga region were not regarded as a serious threat to the Russian national project or the unity of the Russian national territory. "I suppose that such petty, isolated nationalities cannot exist firmly, and will finally fuse with the Russian people through the historical course of life itself. It has been noticed that educated aliens (*inorodtsy*) marry Russians, thus becoming akin to Russians, there is no doubt about that," wrote N. I. Il'minskii to K. P. Pobedonostsev on April 21, 1891.[37]

Already in the 1850s, however, Il'minskii, under the influence of V. V. Grigor'ev, construed the rise of the Tatar elites and Islam in the Volga and Urals regions was a major threat to the Russian nation-building, as an alternative project to Islamic–Tatar unity.[38] Within the framework of the new nationalist vision, the mediative role of the Tatars in regards to the eastern peoples of the empire, formerly endorsed by the authorities, was now seen as a menace. Regarding, not without reason, the current Russian-Orthodox assimilation project as weaker than the Tatar-Islamic one, Il'minskii and his followers resorted to the tactic of supporting separate, specific ethnic identities of the peoples of the Volga and Ural regions and created alphabets for each of their languages. Even the preservation of paganism in this context was an option preferred to possible Islamization.

The awareness of the threat of the spread of Islam was also connected with external circumstances, namely with the sympathy the Russian Muslims demonstrated toward the Ottoman empire during the Crimean War. Later, with

the emergence of Pan-Islamism, and, especially, Pan-Turkism, the connection of the empire's internal policies with the external situation became especially relevant.

In recent years, several historians have noted the structural similarity of conflicts in the Western Province, the Baltic Province, and the Volga–Ural region—everywhere the authorities and Russian nationalists were concerned about the competition with ethnic groups that possessed a powerful assimilating potential and were capable of carrying out their own nation-building projects. They were Poles in the Western Province, Germans in the Baltic *gubernias*, and Tatars on the Volga. This approach allows for important insights into the history of these imperial peripheries. But the differences in these conflicts from the Russian nationalist perspective should also be taken into account. In the Western Province, the Russian nationalist project included most of its territory, on the Volga—the entire region, and the Baltic Province was left out of it completely. In the Western Province, the effort to prevent the formation of separate national identities for the Belorussians and Ukrainians, as well as the endorsement of the formation of a specific Lithuanian national identity, came quite logically out of the all-Russian nation project. It was likewise comparatively easy to support the formation of Latvian and Estonian national identities to block the threat of "germanization" in the Ostsee Province, which was not included into the image of national Russian space. The Volga region, on the other hand, was completely included into the image of the Russian national territory, and here the paradoxical logic of Grigor'ev and Il'minskii that presupposed a temporary strengthening of the small peoples' identities for the sake of fighting the more active Tatar-Islamic project caused much misunderstanding and criticism.[39]

If the demographic situation on the Volga was the result of many centuries of the colonization process, then a number of territories in the regions that Pypin does not count among "typically Russian," were already populated by Russians in the nineteenth century. In the Northwest Caucasus and in Central Asia, the authorities resorted to the tactic of the "demographic conquest" of certain limited lands, which was motivated primarily by the logic of the militarily strategic competition among the great powers or intended to keep in submission the population of the conquered territories.[40] This russification of space, "imperial" in its logic and goals, in some cases led to the eventual inclusion of these territories into the symbolic geography of Russian nationalism, in others did not. How, and with what delay, were the fresh fruits of imperial russification (as a result of directly forced migration or expulsion beyond the imperial borders of the native population) gradually "appropriated"

by means of imaginative geography as the Russian national territory? This question still awaits its researcher.

In any case, it is evident that the inclusion of a particular territory in the empire and even its occupation by Russian settlers did not imply by itself that this space became part of the Russian national territory in terms of symbolic geography. The tactics of "nationalist appropriation" of certain parts of the imperial territory differed according to the situation and challenges. In the Western Province, it presupposed the inclusion of a huge mass of the native population as "Russian;" on the Volga, a fragmentation of non-Russian ethnic identities to enforce the dominant position of the Russians in the region; in Siberia, the change of territorial status from colonial to that of "homeland," etc.

It is difficult to assess from the perspective of the twenty-first century just how successful and well-advanced was the project of the consolidation of Russian national territory as carried out by Russian nationalism. The results of these efforts were severely tested in the course of World War I, the revolution and the civil wars on the imperial territory, and then in some cases were "cancelled," and in others reinforced within the framework of the Soviet policy of the territorialization of ethnicity.[41]

Notes

1 A. Pypin, "Volga i Kiev," *Vestnik Evropy* (July 1885): 188–215. Further references to this article in the text list the relevant pages in brackets.

2 Rogers Brubaker. "Myths and Misconceptions in the Study of Nationalism," in *The State of the Nation. Ernest Gellner and the Theory of Nationalism*, ed. John A. Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 272–306, here p. 302.

3 David Rowley, "Imperial versus National Discourse: the Case of Russia," *Nations and Nationalism*, No. 1 (2000): 23–42, quotations from pp. 24, 25.

4 Robert J. Kaiser, *The Geography of Nationalism in Russia and the USSR,* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 85.

5 Hosking, *Russia: People and Empire, 1552–1917*, pp. xix, xxi.

6 Vera Tolz, *Inventing the Nation: Russia* (London: Arnold Press, 2001), p. 155.

7 I use the terms "national territory" and "ideal homeland" to denote the nationalist ideas of what space should belong to the nation "rightfully"—exactly as a nation, as "our land." All kinds of arguments are advanced in support of this right—from the factual present-day demographic situation to the "historical right" ("our ancestors lived here"), to references to the blood shed by "our soldiers" on this land, etc. See Aleksei Miller. "Konflikt 'ideal'nykh otechestv,'" *Rodina*, No. 8 (1999): 79–82.

8 Colley, *Britons: Forging a Nation, 1707–1837*. See also the recent book by Henry Kamen, *Spain's Road to Empire,* for the argument that the Spanish nation was a product of its

empire: "We are accustomed to the idea that Spain created its empire, but it is more useful to work with the idea that the empire created Spain" (quoted in Ronald Wright, "For a Wild Surmise," *TLS*, December 20, 2002, p. 3).

9 On the inapplicability of Gellner's model to the British case, see Ben Wellings, "National and imperial discourses in England," *Nations and Nationalism*, No. 1 (2002): 95–109.

10 The notion of "Russian-ness" has been far from equivocal, and the discussions over this notion have constituted an important element in the Russian nationalist discourse.

11 *Perepiska Ju. F. Samarina s baronessoiu E. A. Raden, 1861–1876* (Moscow, 1893), p. 28. (Letter dated 5/17 of October 1864).

12 On the notion of "official nationalism" of the ruling dynasties, see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd ed. (London: Verso, 1991).

13 Richard Wortman, "Natsionalizm, narodnost' i rossiiskoe gosudarstvo," *Neprikosnovennyi zapas*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (2001).

14 Here I would like to question a certain argument recently suggested by R. Brubaker (Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups*, p. 144.). Brubaker is right, when he questions the productivity of classifying nationalisms as "civic" and "ethnic." As an alternative he suggests the distinction between "state-framed," when "'nation' is conceived as congruent with the state, and as institutionally and territorially framed by it," and "counter-state" nationalisms, which imagine "[a] 'nation' as distinct from, and often in opposition to, the territorial and institutional frame of an existing state or states." The description of the "counter-state" variety of nationalism seems accurate, and it is clear that Russian nationalism does not belong here. But if we try to fit Russian nationalism into the first category of "state-framed" nationalisms, tensions become obvious. Russian nationalism did not strive for territorial disintegration of the Russian Empire, even if it challenged the institutional framework of the autocratic state. But in any case Russian nationalism was very far from identifying the Russian "national territory" with the territory of Empire. We can better describe this nationalism, which was striving to appropriate the given state for a Russian nationalist agenda, as "state-loyal" then "state-framed."

15 This is how this movement in the early 1870s is described by M. Dragomanov who had his own reasons to overrate its influence: "This is truly what our ultra-Russian party, rather numerous among educated people in the capitals and in Great Russia, is all about; this new species of 'Great Russian separatists' says: God take care of those peripheries; we, the true Russians, on the true Russian soil, are still 30–40 million strong, we will mind our own business, and let the peripheries live as they will! Of course, if those 'ultra-Russians' were left without Riga and Warsaw, or, God forbid, without Vilno and Kiev, they would feel a certain discomfort... But this ultra-Russian separatism of the people of Central Russia is perfectly understandable and natural as a reaction against the trend that cares so awkwardly about tribal russification and re-russification..." (M. Dragomanov, "Vostochnaia politika Germanii i obrusenie," *Vestnik Evropy* [May 1872]: 239) Dragomanov was a Ukrainian, not Russian, nationalist, but he was a nationalist-federalist at that, and, all things considered, he was quite sincere when he argued for the unity of the empire which he, in the 1870s, attempted to "reform together with the Great Russians." (K. Studin'skii, "Lysty Dragomanova do Navrots'kogo" *Za sto lit*, No. 1 (1927): 135.)

16 On the formation of the public space for a Russian nationalist discourse in this period, see Andreas Renner, *Russischer Nationalismus und Öffentlichkeit im Zarenreich* (Köln: Böhlau, 2000).

17 See Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire*; Yuri Slezkine, "The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism," *Slavic Review*, Vol. 53, No. 2 (Summer 1994): 414–452; Kaiser, *The Geography of Nationalism in Russia and the USSR*. Unlike historians who emphasize a continuity of the process of the territorialization of ethnicity in imperial Russia and the USSR (see D. Brower and E. Lazzerini, "Introduction," in *Russia's Orient*, eds. D. Brower and E. Lazzerini, p. xix). I consider it important to stress exactly the difference in principle between the late-imperial policies and the Russian nationalist discourse on territoriality, on the one hand, and the Soviet policy of territorialization and institutionalization of ethnicity, on the other.

18 See Michael John, "National Movements and Imperial Ethnic Hegemonies in Austria, 1867–1918," in *The Historical Practice of Diversity: Transcultural Interactions from Early Modern Mediterranean to the Postcolonial World*, ed. Dirk Hoerder (New York: Berghahn Books, 2003), pp. 87–105, particularly pp. 96–98.

19 Imagined travels of this sort had long been used as a teaching tool in geography textbooks, but actual educational travel in Russia began only in the early 20th century. See Marina V. Loskoutova. "A Motherland with a Radius of 300 Miles: Regional Identity in Russian Secondary and Post-Elementary Education from the early Nineteenth Century to the War and Revolution," *European Review of History*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (2002): 7–22.

20 For more details, see Alexei Miller, "The Ukrainian Question," pp. 25–27.

21 *Russkaia beseda*, 1856, Vol. 4, p. 137.

22 In this regard, some very telling differences should be pointed out in the quoted works of Kaiser, Hosking and Rowley. For Kaiser, the empire's opposing number is an "ancestral land" (it is not clear whether he has in mind Muscovy or still the Kievan Rus of the Russian national myth); for Hosking, it is "Rus," quoted from G. Gachev, who writes, in a Slavophilic, vein about a break in the "Moscow tradition" by the Petrine reforms. For Rowley, it is the territory populated by Russians, which, even if we limit Russians to Great Russians only, was not compact to begin with, and which, by the 19th century, had expanded far beyond the Urals.

23 GA RF, f. 109, op. 38, 1863, item 23, pt. 175.

24 What these arguments finally led to was the conclusion of the impossibility of such a step precisely because the Poles were demanding the boundaries of 1772, that is, because of irreconcilable differences between the images of "ideal homelands." But the addressees and the private character of these letters suggest that these arguments were not a polemical trick of an imperialist who does not intend to surrender any of the empire's possessions and who looks for a "decent excuse." Neither Alexander II nor, especially, Alexander III needed convincing that the Kingdom of Poland was their possession. More likely, they were the musings of a Russian nationalist who, under certain circumstances, would be ready to sacrifice part of the imperial territory to create more beneficial conditions for the realization of the Russian nationalist project.

25 That was the way Ivan Aksakov saw the Left-Bank Ukraine and Novorossia in the 1860s; he suggested that particular districts of the Southwestern province be included, for their "sanitation," into these territories. See I. Aksakov, "Ob izmenenii granits Zapadnogo kraia," in I. S. Aksakov, *Sochineniia*, Vol. 3, Pol'skii vopros i zapadno-russkoe delo:

Evreiskii vopros, 1860–1886 (St. Petersburg, 1900), pp. 265–266. He suggested similar measures for the Northwest province as well. It should be noted that his arguments are always presented within the framework of the Russian nationalist discourse; his main criterion is "more of the Russian public element" (p. 267). (First published in *Den'*, 26 October 1863).

26 *Gosudarstvennaia Duma*, *3-ii sozyv*. *Stenograficheskie otchety 1911 g*., *Sessia* V, *Chast'* 1. *Zasedanie* 30, 25 December 1911. St. Petersburg, p. 2745.

27 Ibid., p. 2746.

28 *Russkaia mysl'*. 1914, No. 12, pp. 176–180.

29 P. B. Struve, "Obshcherusskaia kul'tura i ukrainskii partikuliarizm." *Russkaia mysl'*, No. 1 (1912): 68, 82.

30 See Weeks, "Religion and Russification; Ibid., "My ili oni? Belorusy i rossiiskaia vlast"; D. Staliunas, "Mozhet li katolik byt' russkim?"

31 See chapter 7.

32 See: P. Bizzilli, "Geopolitical Conditions of the Evolution of Russian Nationality," *The Journal of Modern History*, No. 1 (1930): 27–36.

33 In the Volga region, not a single town was left by the 19th century where Muslim population would constitute a majority. See Allen J. Frank and Mirkasyim A. Usmanov, "Introduction" in: *Materials for the Islamic History of Semipalatinsk*, eds. A. J. Frank, M. A. Usmanov (Berlin: Das Arabische Buch, 2001), p. 2. The authors describe Semipalatinsk, now in Kazakhstan, as "the only Muslim city in Russia proper." It would be interesting to see their definition of "Russia proper."

34 On the special positive image of the Finno-Ugric peoples in the Russian discourse, see Geraci. *Window to the East*, esp. chapter 2.

35 See, e.g., Knight. "On Russian Orientalism," p. 708.

36 *Agrarnyi vopros i krest'ianskoe dvizhenie 50-70-kh godov XIX v. Materialy po istorii narodov SSSR*. Vypusk 6. (Moscow–Leningrad, 1936), p. 333. "The circumstances have made me into a Russian, and I am proud of this name, without, however, feeling ashamed for being a Chuvash and without forgetting my origins. As a Christian, who loves Russia and believes in her great future, I would wish with all my soul that the Chuvash, my compatriots, were enlightened by the light of the Gospel and would become one with the great Russian people," wrote Iakovlev of himself. (pp. 331–332)

37 *Pis'ma N. I. Il'inskogo k ober-prokuroru Sviateishego sinoda K. P. Pobedonstsevu*, p. 399.

38 See Dowler, *Classroom and Empire,* particularly pp. 21–28, 66–68, 83–84; Geraci, *Window to the East*; A. Miller, "Rossiiskaia imperia, orientalizm i protsessy formirovaniia natsii v Povolzh'e," *Ab Imperio,* No. 4 (2003): 393–406. See also: *Pis'ma N. I. Il'minskogo*, pp. 2, 3, 53, 63, 64, 74.

39 See Dowler, *Classroom and Empire*; Geraci, *Window to the East*.

40 See Holquist, "To Count, to Extract, and to Exterminate," pp. 111–144, particularly p. 117 (on Caucasus) and p. 122 (on Central Asia).

41 See Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire*.

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CHAPTER 7

THE TESTAMENT OF THE ALL-RUSSIAN IDEA

Memoranda of the Special Political Section of the Ministry of the Interior for the Tsarist, Provisional and Bolshevik governments.[1]

It is no accident that the First World War is considered by many to be the true beginning of the twentieth century. Its new, sweeping character had deeply changed not only military strategies but also the foreign and domestic policies of the participating powers. First of all, the new mass armies based on universal conscription meant that the entire male population of conscription age was regarded as potential soldiers. Consequently, the retreating armies now tried to take with them—whether voluntarily or by force—all of the local adult male population, both loyalist and those that the enemy could enlist after occupying the territory in question. Following their fathers and brothers, sons and grandfathers (60 was still considered a conscription age), entire families were leaving, thus pushing the number of displaced persons into millions. The process of "Nationalization" was taking place in the refugee communities. It was partially caused by the natural desire to keep the natives in an alien environment and in difficult circumstances, and partially encouraged by the authorities themselves who kept track of the refugees' numbers and distributed aid according to ethnicity. The activists of the refugee movement would often attempt to exploit this situation for national mobilization. Many of the leaders of refugee organizations would later play prominent roles in nationalist movements and in the new states.[2]

The military authorities were also deeply concerned about the possibility of receiving information and other support from the loyal civilian population behind the enemy lines and about the necessity to curtail similar plans by the enemy. Ethnic and religious affiliation was turning into an important factor in the evaluation of the loyalty of the population and of the possibility of influencing that loyalty. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Russian General Staff had already begun making ethnic maps of the probable military theaters, primarily of the western borderlands and of the border areas of Austria-Hungary and Germany, even if the category of ethnicity had not figured in the official imperial statistics up to the very end of the empire. The same process

was taking place at the army headquarters of the Central Powers. Now, at the time of war, when the "wrong" national or ethnic affiliation could by itself become sufficient reason for repressions, expropriation, and deportations, the importance of these factors in the popular consciousness was increasing radically.[3]

It was also of utmost importance that in the course of the war the neighboring empires—Russia, Austria-Hungary and Germany—which had previously been extremely reserved about playing the ethnic card in their interrelations, and were even compelled into a sort of solidarity because of their joint involvement in the partitions of the Polish Commonwealth, were now fully using this weapon which turned out to be a double-edged sword. It can be said that the explosive growth of nationalism in the western borderlands was, to a great extent, the consequence of the burdens of a total war in general and of the new competitive imperial policies in particular.

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A new division appeared in the structure of the Russian Foreign Ministry during the First World War—the Special Political Section, or *Osobyi Politicheskii Otdel* (henceforth called OPO in the text). This Section's collection has been preserved in the Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire.[4] The documents in this collection deserve attention since they serve as a good illustration of the evolution of how the Ukrainian and Belarussian questions were perceived by the imperial bureaucracy during the dramatic period of the world war and the collapse of the empire.[5]

OPO was set up in 1916. However, some of the documents in its archive date back to an earlier period—to 1915 and even 1914. Apparently OPO had inherited a number of materials prepared in advance on the issues it was supposed to deal with. The former consul general in Budapest M. G. Priklonskii was appointed section chief and reported his acceptance of this position in a telegram dated March 9, 1916.[6] However, the organizational process was prolonged until August, when Nicholas II ratified the report of the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the organization of the section and its objectives.[7] The section's personnel consisted mainly of the experienced diplomats who had to return to Russia when the First World War broke out. Its staff included V. G. Zhukovskii, the former consul in Prague; B. V. Miller, the former consul in Colombo; N. N. Kratirov, the minister's aide for special missions; Obnorskii, who had previously served in the Serbian mission; and, an expert on the Polish question, Shishkovskii.[8] OPO did not strive for publicity, but in December

1916 a report on the creation of the Section did nonetheless appear in the press.[9]

The Section was initially named the Vatican–Slavic Section, and its aim was to analyze the political movements of the Slavs in the Habsburg Empire and their relationship with the Vatican. From the moment the Section became fully operational, however, its objectives had been significantly broadened and divided into three streams: a) issues connected with the Vatican, with the Polish and Carpathian Rusyn affairs; b) Czechoslovak affairs, including political influence on Czech and Slovak prisoners of war; c) South Slav and Hungarian affairs.

In 1916, OPO paid most of its attention to the problems of the East Slav population of Austria-Hungary. However, as early as mid-1916, the activities of OPO's East Slav division were extended to include the issues centered around the subjects of the Russian Empire, and by the end of 1916, OPO focused mainly on Ukrainians and partially on Belarussians. There were several reasons for that. First of all, by that time, a large part of the Ukrainian and Belarussian lands had been occupied by the Central Powers which tried to mobilize the support of the local population, using, among others, the national factor.[10] Particularly revolutionary steps (compared with the former Russian imperial policy) were taken with regard to language. In the Belarussian lands occupied in 1916, a special decree of Marshal Hindenburg allowed the languages of the local population (Polish, Lithuanian and Belarussian) and prohibited the use of Russian in education, in the press, and in the government. The linguistic "hierarchy" established in the Russian Empire was inverted. This certainly did not change overnight the linguistic situation from the perspective of the spreading of particular languages, but it did have long-term symbolic consequences—for the first time a situation emerged that granted individuals in command of the local languages of the borderlands significant advantages. An analogous policy was pursued in Ukraine. (We shall discuss other elements of the national policy of the Central Powers further on). The military defeats of 1915 led to a situation whereby the questions of identity and loyalty of the East Slav population of the western borderlands of the Russian Empire also turned into a field of competition between the empires.

Secondly, Brusilov's offensive in May and June of 1916 suggested a new occupation of Galicia by the Russian army and made it relevant to reassess the experience of the first occupation of the province and the errors that had been made then in the nationalist policies.

The section invited several experts to write analytical notes on the subject and collected a great deal of material that was prepared by interested individuals

at their own initiative. The majority of the notes—the ones by B. A. Budilovich, the son of the well-known Slavist and opponent of the ukrainophiles Anton Budilovich; by D. N. Vergun, a journalist and former representative of the St. Petersburg Telegraph Agency (as well as, apparently, of the Russian intelligence service) in Austria-Hungary; by A. Sobolevskii, the chairman of the St. Petersburg Charitable Society—were devoted exclusively to the issues of defining the ethnic borders of the Russian population in Galicia, Bukovina and Ugric Rus (i.e., the Transcarpathian part of the present-day Ukraine).[11] What all the authors had in common was a conviction that one of the main objectives of the war had to be the unification of the Russian nation that, according to the all-Russian idea, included the East Slavs of the Habsburg monarchy.

It has to be emphasized that there was nothing original about such views for that time, and it would be wrong to imagine the OPO writers as excitable individuals, divorced from reality and isolated from prevailing public opinion. For instance, P. B. Struve, a perfectly reasonable man who was at once a liberal, an imperialist and a nationalist (which was then the norm, throughout Europe), thought about "Russians under Austrian power" in exactly the same terms and was apparently convinced that his views were clear to the reader and required no detailed argumentation. When Struve, in his famous 1914 article "Great Russia and Sacred Rus," formulated the objectives of Russia in the world war, his first priority was the task of "reuniting and joining to the empire of all the parts of the Russian people," i.e., annexation of "Russian Galichina"[12].

All the authors who wrote for OPO in 1916 were preoccupied with the question of postwar borders and potential annexations after the success of the Entente, and their deliberations were based on ethnic and nationalistic arguments. An OPO memorandum titled "A Review of Sources and Materials for Drawing the Borders of the Russian Population in Galicia, Ugric Rus and Bukovina" clearly formulated a political objective: "The task of drawing the border consists in having this border charted primarily between the Russian population of eastern Galicia and the western neighbors of the Russian tribe within Austria."[13] It goes without saying that all the authors included territories with mixed population as part of the Russian Empire. Budilovich, for one, insisted that the entire Ugric Rus should be included in Russia, and that it was the Seret River, not the Prut, much less the Dniester, that should serve as the border.[14] Most experts had no doubts about the Russianness of the East Slav population of these territories.

Some authors still realized, however, that the identity of the East Slav population was not so simple and posed the question of what policy Russia

should pursue in regard to the population of the western borderlands of the Habsburg Empire while the world war was still going on.

The experience of the first occupation of Galicia in 1914–1915 was causing alarm, at the very least. In their policies concerning the Galician Rusyns the military and civilian authorities, as well as the representatives of the Orthodox hierarchy, had demonstrated not only a lack of any coordination between themselves, but also made attempts to undermine the lines followed by the other branches of the administration. This situation was largely caused by the absence of any clear political directives from the center. (This did not prevent the Tsar from arbitrarily taking sides in these conflicts from time to time.) On the whole, the authorities were inclined to treat the local population as Russians and to perceive the Uniate Church and the Ukrainian identity as something superfluous, something that was imposed by Vienna, the Vatican and the Poles, and something which was not supported by the local population, and thus was easily removable after establishing of Russian power. These perceptions entailed an openly repressive policy in regard to the Ukrainian language and the Uniate Church, which caused a sharp increase in anti-Russian sentiments among the indigenous Ukrainians.

It was A. Iu. Gerovskii, who offered the most developed concept for the policy in the course of a possible new occupation of Galicia.[15] "Ukrainian separatism directed at the weakening and dismembering of Russia is one of the most serious issues for the internal Russian policy. One of the main results of the current war must be the cessation of the Ukrainian irredenta. A successful termination of the Ukrainian question in Galicina will also partially render harmless the 'Ukrainians' in Russia who are used to seeing in Galicina a kind of Piedmont," wrote Gerovskii in July 1916.[16] Later Gerovskii would use the same argument in a special memorandum on the prospective Russian–Romanian border, warning against leaving the right bank of the Prut in the hands of the Romanians for the reason that "the Transprutian Bukovina will play in the Mazepist movement[17] the same role as the Krakow republic did after the partition of Poland."[18]

In his interpretation of the Ukrainian question Gerovskii follows the radical version of the all-Russian discourse that denied the meaning of the notion "Ukrainian" as such and in all cases bracketed the word *Ukrainian* and its derivatives in quotation marks. He also speaks of a local "Russian dialect." At the same time, however, Gerovskii advises against "creating unnecessary martyrs for the Ukrainian idea." Gerovskii thought that one "should not fight against Ukrainophilia by prohibition alone. The main weapon in the fight should be a positive, cultural work in the russifying vein, with the simultane-

ous correct resolution of other questions closely connected to Ukrainophilia, namely the agrarian, religious and other questions."[19] In this regard, Gerovskii also follows the traditional tactics of those representatives of imperial power who argued for a combination of limited repressions and something that they called "affirmative action." Even the expressions he uses in his recommendations are almost identical to those used by, e.g., P. A. Valuev in the 1860s.[20] Actually, the policy of "not creating unnecessary martyrs" was already revealed in the mild—by the standards of Tsar Nicholas I's reign—punishment for the members of the Cyril and Methodius Society in 1848. Consequently, in the highest echelons of power this line was continued by P. A. Valuev and A. M. Dondukov-Korsakov, the Kiev governor general in the 1870s.[21] Gerovskii also advised not abolishing the Ukrainian press, as had been done during the occupation of Galicia in 1915. Instead, he suggested that the press should be cut off from external sources of funding, since he was convinced that without Austrian and German money the Ukrainian newspapers would "die a natural death." He even suggested permitting the founding of new Ukrainian newspapers, if their publisher was able to prove that he possessed sufficient funds for publication.[22] However, subsidized Ukrainian newspapers could exist, too, if the money, and, consequently, the editorial policy, were Russian. Gerovskii considered it a mistake, during the first occupation, to have closed the newspaper *Dilo* whose contributor I. Sventsitskii "was ready to take the Russian side."[23]

Gerovskii believed that Ukrainian propaganda was closely connected to the social or, more specifically, agrarian question, but his conclusions from this correct assumption reached too far. Like many other authors of such analytical memoranda and recommendations, he did not stop at stretching and simplifying the facts in an attempt to prove the validity of his point of view. He did not believe that the properly nationalist side of the Ukrainian movement held any attraction at all for the Rusyns of Galicia and Bukovina. "The Ukrainian school with the corrupted Little Russian language of instruction was for the Russian Galician the same kind of surrogate of the real Russian school as the Union [Greek-Catholic Church – *A. M.*] was a surrogate of Orthodoxy." The main point of his memorandum consisted in recommending that the government establish radical agrarian reform in Galicia at the first opportunity in order to deprive Ukrainian activists of a chance to use the agrarian question for their purposes: "...with the agrarian question correctly resolved, the Ukrainians will not have an influence upon the peasant. Ukrainian private schools will not survive without subsidies... It is necessary to pull this rug from under the feet of the Ukrainian agitators by proving it clearly to

the Galician-Russian peasant that Russia liberates him not only in the political, but also in the economic and social respects."[24]

It was, in Gerovskii's opinion, simpler to carry out such a reform in Galicia since one does not have to expect loyalty from the Polish landowners, and there was no reason to defend the Jews whom Gerovskii especially hated. Here he was touching upon a very delicate issue on the one hand, a long conflict between the social identity of the imperial bureaucracy as a guardian of the rights of the nobility and of property rights in general, and on the other hand, the nationalist temptation to sacrifice these principles in the western borderlands of the Russian Empire and now in Galicia in order to undermine the Polish influence and advance russification. In the wake of the Polish uprising of 1863, the brothers Miliutin and M. N. Murav'ev were among those at the top of the bureaucratic pyramid who argued for at least a partial implementation of such a policy.

In terms of religious policy, Gerovskii's advice was to "support the point of view of the Galician Uniates that the Union and the Orthodoxy are the same." In other words, his recommendation was not to demand a formal transition from the Union to the Orthodoxy, and not to ask those who come to church about their religious affiliation. He called for sending to Galicia only educated Orthodox clerics, so that they could measure up to the Uniate priests whose higher education was the norm.[25]

The writer who was most perceptive to the changing realities and most responsible about his own recommendations was V. P. Svatkovskii, officially a journalist, and unofficially a Russian intelligence agent in Bern. Svatkovskii closely followed the Vienna and Berlin policies in the Ukrainian question, maintained contacts with a large number of Ukrainian émigrés of various political persuasions, and tried to use them for political purposes. He was involved in practical politics and at the same time supplied St. Petersburg with information and memoranda whose conclusions must have seemed extremely radical to their readers in the capital.

It is perfectly clear that Svatkovskii was well aware of the fact that his recommendations were transgressing certain limits. That is why he begins his first memorandum, "The Ukrainian Question on the Eve of the Spring Campaign," dated November 30, 1915, with the declaration that was design to shield him from suspicions of political disloyalty: "The author of this note has a perfectly negative attitude toward the political and national-separatist ideal of Ukrainophiles and considers it to be a great sin against Russia. The national-cultural demands of the Ukrainian programs also seem to him to be excessive and harmful." But he immediately goes on to say that "this basic

view does not prevent [him] from treating quite negatively the sad fact of the complete absence of tactics and even of simple tact that is absolutely necessary for the resolution of the Ukrainian question in our favor, which is far from impossible."[26] While Gerovskii preached moderation in repression, on the basis of the alleged weakness of the Ukrainian movement that, unsupported by the population, had to die a natural death, Svatkovskii's advice was to regard the Ukrainian movement as a serious power and to try and reach an agreement with it. Svatkovskii considered it to be a serious mistake that during the occupation of Galicia in 1914–1915, "in hopes for the support of the Russophile political circles of Galicia and the apolitical majority of the Galician-Russian population, not only did we completely neglect Ukrainians and Ukrainophilia, but we also demonstrated to them our sentiments and intentions in the strongest way possible."[27]

> An almost complete disappearance, at the initial stages, of Ukrainian separatism was interpreted as a proof of the weakness of Ukrainophilia and of the strength of the Russophile elements of the province. In fact, the reason for this phenomenon was different. We failed to notice the main factor of the political life of the Russian population of the province is the Polonophobia of this population for whom a stable occupation of the land by Russia meant above all the end of Polish domination. Hostility toward Russia and toward "Moskals" existed in the Ukrainian circles of Galicia more in theory, while hostility toward Poles was a traditional phenomenon, both politically and economically, that loomed large in the life of the entire Russian population of the province, in both the Ukrainian camp and ours.[28]

Svatkovskii criticized Bishop Evlogii and other oppressors of the Uniates and Ukrainophiles who had pushed Ukrainians away from Russia with their repressive policies.[29]

Svatkovskii was among the first individuals in Russia who understood that with the beginning of the war the nature of all ethnic problems had changed radically. In the course of the world war the great powers began to use the support of national separatism in the enemy's camp without the limitations characteristic of the previous period (when they had been more concerned with the preservation of a certain solidarity among empires in their fight against nationalist movements). Russia now had to struggle for the support and loyalty of the Ukrainians in a new situation, wherein the traditional players—the Poles, Vienna and the Vatican—were joined by an additional rival—Germany—which had a free hand in the Ukrainian question since there were

no Ukrainians under its power at all. Svatkovskii also believed that an independent policy in the Ukrainian question was developed by the Hungarians who, in his interpretation, were trying to unite under their power all the Ukrainian lands of the Habsburg Empire and create out of them an autonomous region on the model of Croatia that could serve as a powerful anti-Russian stronghold.[30]

In Svatkovskii's interpretation, Russia had strong advantages in this contest: Russia could give the Ukrainians something that Hungary could not, and Germany could only hold sway in the case of a full defeat of Russia—"the immediate consolidation of the entire Ukraine, of all 35 million of the Little Russian or Ukrainian population."[31] However, at the moment, in the course of the war, Russia already had to "give them something," or, in other words, to satisfy some of the demands of the Ukrainian movement.[32] Svatkovskii believed that these concessions could be quite limited, even largely symbolic, since the objective of uniting all Ukrainians in one state was so important for the Ukrainian leaders that they would be prepared for far-reaching compromises with the Russian government.[33] He pointed out reproachfully that during the occupation of Galicia the authorities had only published one document in the Ukrainian language. Svatkovskii repeated the same theses in a note sent to Petrograd on June 28, 1916. He believed that a good moment had come for attracting the Ukrainians to the Russian side since, besides the self-evident advantages provided by the Brusilov offensive, Vienna and Berlin were, in his opinion, prepared for a temporary sacrifice of the Ukrainian interests in return for reaching a union with "Polish imperialism."[34]

It would be wrong to consider such an approach a complete novelty. In the 1870s, the Kiev Governor General, Dondukov-Korsakov tried, to find a kind of *modus vivendi* with the leaders of the Ukrainian movement of the time. However, his game was interrupted by the anti-Ukrainian Ems decree of 1876. The important difference, however, lies in the fact that Dondukov-Korsakov played this game at his own risk, without attempting to substantiate his tactics in any official documents, and without hope of receiving the Tsar's endorsement, while Svatkovskii was the first to suggest an analogous tactic in attempting to influence the decision-making in the capital. By the time Svatkovskii wrote his memorandum he had some reasons to believe that his arguments would be heeded in the highest echelons of the imperial bureaucracy. In the summer of 1915, a great landowner of the Kiev *gubernia*, Count M. Tyszkiewicz[35] (who presented himself as a Ukrainian, conservative in his social views and loyal to the empire and the emperor) sent a telegram to the Tsar on behalf of the Ukrainians with an expression of loyalty. The Tsar, apparently

influenced by people of Svatkovskii's opinions, responded on August 24, 1915, with a telegram that was signed by the court minister Count Frederiks: "Sa Majesté m'a donné l'ordre de vous remercier ainsi que le groupe d'Ukrainiens réunis en Suisse pour les sentiments exprimés dans votre télégramme."[36] The revolutionary importance of this telegram for the official imperial discourse consisted in the fact that for the first time a public document, especially in a phrase that sounded like a quotation of the Sovereign himself, used the word "Ukrainians" rather than the previously obligatory "Malorussians."

It was probably after this telegram exchange that Svatkovskii was ordered to contact Tyszkiewicz, who was in Switzerland. By November, Svatkovskii was ready to inform St. Petersburg in detail about Tyszkiewicz's suggestions. The train of thought of the great landowner was of course directly opposite to that of Gerovskii. Tyszkiewicz stated that the main threat was the social program of the Ukrainian movement, and suggested making concessions regarding the national question, in order to neutralize the influence of the socialists who used national discontent in order to spread their revolutionary ideas about property.[37]

Tyszkiewicz and Svatkovskii suggested a few possible steps of a symbolic character—some copied the measures already undertaken by the Habsburgs and some went further. They advised proclaiming the heir to the throne as the Hetman of Little Russia and printing portraits of Prince Alexei in a Ukrainian costume.[38] They also suggested the publication, in Kiev, of an official newspaper in the Ukrainian language "which, while strictly protecting the unity of the empire, would be a sign of the government's readiness to meet the cultural expectations of a certain part of the population."[39]

Another recommendation—it is not clear whether it was suggested by Tyszkiewicz himself or was added by Svatkovskii[40]—consisted in establishing contacts with the leaders of the Ukrainian movement both in Russia and in Austria (with the exception of those who espoused extremely anti-Russian sentiments, e.g., Kost' Levitskii and Mykola Vasyl'ko) and discussing a possible agreement with them. Svatkovskii actively developed contacts with those Ukrainian leaders who were ready to cooperate with Russia. Svatkovskii named Vladimir Bachin'skii, Stepan Baran and Vladimir Kushnir (mid-level political figures in the Galician-Ukrainian establishment) as possible partners in such negotiations. "With even a minimal expression of goodwill on the part of Russia it is possible to challenge the Austrian orientation of the Ukrainians with a large chance of success," was the conclusion of Svatkovski's first memorandum.[41]

Svatkovskii's three other memoranda are dated August 17, November 7 and November 9, 1916. However, Svatkovskii begins the first of them with a mention of several notes he had sent to St. Petersburg following the first memorandum of November 1915. Unfortunately, these documents are missing from the OPO archive. Svatkovskii continued to inform the government on the policies of Vienna and Berlin on the Ukrainian question, emphasizing the point that both empires were trying to attract Ukrainians to their side. He noted important changes in the policy of Vienna in the Ukrainian question. For the first time since the 1870s, a non-Polish governor was appointed in Galicia, General Hermann Kolar, who immediately instructed his staff on the respectful treatment of the rights of the Ukrainian language in official institutions.[42] This was followed by a visit to Galicia by the heir into the Austrian throne during which he addressed Ukrainians in their language. Ukrainians began to be actively accepted to the officer corps of the Austrian-Hungarian army. However, what must have been especially alarming for St. Petersburg were the reports on the creation, by both Germans and Austrians, of special, privileged POW camps for Russian soldiers of Ukrainian origin.[43] The OPO archive devotes a special file to materials on these camps.[44] It includes testimonies of escaped prisoners of war as well as a report by the Russian envoy in Bern, M. Bibikov, who managed to visit two such German camps in Rastadt and Zahlzwedel (an analogous Austrian camp was located in Freistadt). By Bibikov's estimate, they contained 400,000 POWs. The food was "much better than in the Russian camps." The soldiers knew they were in a privileged position as Ukrainians. They were taught reading and writing according to the Galician phonetic system, as well as Ukrainian history and literature. Ukrainian newspapers were published in camps. Bibikov reported that the 40,000 POWs who were particularly responsive to this propaganda formed units of a future Ukrainian army and received training in special Ukrainian uniforms. "Propaganda," concluded Bibikov, has been put on a firm foundation, with highly satisfactory results received."[45]

It is necessary to emphasize the involvement of all the sides in such activities. István Deák notes the important role of the POW camps in the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire.[46]

It comes as no surprise that in this situation Svatkovskii insisted on the most expedient way of establishing contacts with Ukrainian politicians. His November 1916 memorandum "The Ukrainian organizations, bodies and activists abroad" includes a list of the most prominent Ukrainian political organizations of Galicia and Bukoviona together with characteristics of their leaders and assessments of prospects for contacts with them.[47] He decidedly

gave priority to the national problem, and thus advised developing contacts with, among others, the Ukrainian socialists from the "Borot'ba": "socialists, but generally decent people," who were ready to accept autonomy of Ukraine as a part of Russia.[48]

Svatkovskii paid special attention to the Ukrainian organizations under German control and to the German "Society for the support of the Ukrainian liberation fight." He looked at the German plans for Ukraine in the context of "Naumann's idea of Mitteleuropa."[49] A special file in the OPO archive (ed. khr. 36) contains a collection of materials from 1916 and 1917 from the Austrian and German press, as well as from the Ukrainian *Vistnik Soiuza vizvolennia Ukraini* (*The Herald of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine*) published in Vienna, which discussed the future of Ukraine and of all the western borderlands of the Russian Empire. These materials had all the features of wartime propaganda, with an emphasis on the creation of the image of the enemy as a "Russian imperialist spider." However, the main criterion for selecting these materials was the presence therein of more sophisticated geopolitical and civilizational arguments. These materials from the time of World War I provide the contemporary reader with an opportunity to see how little novelty there was in the discussions on these subjects that were so actively pursued in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. The articles reiterated that the only way to render Russia harmless was to separate it from Ukraine, that it was necessary to draw the European border along the eastern border of Ukraine and dwelled on the damage suffered by Europe when it allowed Asiatic Muscovy to separate Europe from Poland and Ukraine.[50]

Svatkovskii apparently considered it important to prepare the ground for an agreement on the Ukrainian question with the allied great powers, primarily with the United States. He sent his own agent Tsetlinskii to work in the USA, including with the Ukrainian immigrant milieu.[51] In his list of the Ukrainian activists who merited cooperation he especially singled out V. Stepankivskii as a person who was in contact with R. W. Seton-Watson.[52]

Svatkovskii continued to keep close contacts with Tyszkiewicz. As an addendum to his November memorandum, he enclosed a letter from Tyszkiewicz in which he developed, in a markedly more decisive tone than before, the thesis of the necessity of concessions to the Ukrainian demands. In particular, Tyszkiewicz suggested that "a [Ukrainian—A. M.] university should be opened, that schools be opened and supported, not just permitted; that the local language have equal rights with Russian, while all the manifestations of separatism should be severely punished. To punish Mazepa, but not to persecute Khmelnitskii." He also demanded the release of "hundreds and thou-

sands of representatives of the Galician intelligentsia" exiled in deep Russia, and "to open up the press, associations, and, most importantly, not to keep the whole Ukrainian society in desperation for so long." Developing the subject of dynastic symbolism, Tyszkiewicz, clearly in an analogy with the Habsburg policy, advised a visit of the heir to L'viv. Tyszkiewicz repeated that Alexei's favorite manservant was Derevenko, a Ukrainian, and expressed hope that the heir would be able to address the people in Ukrainian. He even suggested that the Prince be proclaimed the King of Galicia.[53]

Svatkovskii passed on these recommendations of Tyshkevich without expressing his solidarity. He did not support the idea of a Ukrainian university, but he did approve the establishment of two Ukrainian gymnasia in Russia and the permission for the use of all local languages in elementary schools in the occupied territories. He also considered the plan to proclaim Alexei the King of Galicia impossible, but at the same time noted that one could find a different way to take steps in the same direction.[54] One can surmise that Svatkovskii, who did not hesitate to repeat that he had "a negative attitude toward the more advanced plans of the Ukrainians," used the letter of Tyszkiewicz to tell his patrons in St. Petersburg the things he did not want said in his own name.

Svatkovskii and Gerovskii were united in their criticism of the hard, repressive official policy during the first occupation of Galicia. However, the principal difference between them consisted in the fact that Gerovskii believed that a more efficient policy would lead to the complete annihilation of the Ukrainian movement, while Svatkovskii was much more realistic in his advice to seek a compromise with the Ukrainian movement which had already gained momentum, largely thanks to the conflict between the great powers, and to make immediate, if limited, concessions to the Ukrainian demands.

The February revolution made an imprint on the rhetoric and arguments of the documents that OPO was sending to the government. On May 18, 1917, OPO reported to the Chairman of the Provisional Government, Prince G. E. Lvov, on the "meeting of Russian refugees from Galician, Bukovinian and Ugric Rus" held on May 14 in St. Petersburg. The meeting's resolution emphasized in particular that the participants expressed a "will for self-determination in the sense that they wished to see Galician, Bukovinian and Ugric Rus united with the great Russian democratic Republic," and thus the subject was not annexation but rather the realization of the right to self-determination: "The meeting is deeply confident that the annexation of the regions in question would be only a restoration by the Russian revolutionary people of justice and [the return] of a debt to the Malorussian people that had

for centuries taken a most active part in creating and reinforcing Russian culture and had been, like the Polish people, dismembered by the senseless caprice of the authoritarian tsars and Kaisers."[55] In all probability, the meeting was organized by OPO, which had also worked on its resolution, to be used for propaganda and diplomatic purposes. In fact, as early as May 20, Lvov handed the materials to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, P. N. Miliukov. It is very likely that the idea of this action originated with Svatkovskii who continued to work for the Provisional Government, which seemed in the meantime to have become more responsive to his arguments. Svatkovskii at the time was conducting negotiations in Switzerland with Galician and Bukovinian activists, who according to his reports, "were decisively inclined to have these regions join Russia, but considered it necessary that this should be loudly demanded by the Russian Ukrainians."[56]

As we can see, the concepts of self-determination and democracy replaced those of religious unity and loyalty to the tsars who are now listed, along with the German and Austrian emperors, as among those guilty of past sins. The all-Russian idea is preserved, but is now combined not with the call for all-Russian unity, but rather for the unity of the Malorussian people.

Around this time, at the order of the Supreme Commander General L. G. Kornilov, the army units began to undergo ukrainization and belarussization. Kornilov expected this measure to be a protection from Bolshevik influence, and simultaneously regarded it as a response to German activities in the Ukrainian and Belarussian questions. The Ukrainian units were created on the Ukrainian territory, while the Belarussian units were primarily set up on the Romanian front and in the Baltic Fleet, where they were cut off from their native lands and thus could not play the role performed by the ukrainized units.

Here is how these events were remembered in 1919 by the former hetman of Ukraine P. Skoropadskii, who in 1917 was the loyal imperial general trusted by Kornilov with the ukrainization of the corps under his command:

> I answered Kornilov saying that I had just been to Kiev where I observed Ukrainian activists, and that they had produced rather a negative impression on me, that the corps may consequently become a serious basis for the development of Ukrainophilia in the sense undesirable for Russia, etc. The frivolous attitude of Kornilov to this question showed me his incompetence and lack of understanding. I tried to turn his attention to the seriousness of the question, realizing that the kind of national feeling that the Ukrainians possessed should be treated with tact and without exploiting it for its sincerity.[57]

The Bolshevik takeover in the autumn of 1917 for all practical purposes destroyed that legitimate center in Petrograd with which the peripheral movements could haggle over the extension of their federal or autonomous rights, and made many of those who had not previously regarded independence as a serious prospect to consider it as such.

In late April 1918, the coup in Kiev made P. Skoropadskii the hetman of Ukraine. Skoropadskii was supported by the Germans in an opposition to Austrian candidate, Wilhelm Habsburg, who was nicknamed Vasil Vyshivanyi by the Galician Ukrainians who served under his command. The Central Powers were vying for influence in Ukraine, but the Germans were decisively overpowering. Categorical rejection of the Bolsheviks and efforts to find some forces that could oppose them explains the evolution of many politicians, including the Tsar's general, Skoropadskii.[58] He preserved his loyalty to the Provisional Government, but strongly objected to Kornilov's orders for the ukrainization of army units. However, he ultimately obeyed these orders and conducted the ukrainization, which earned him, unbeknownst to himself, the high reputation among the Ukrainian nationalists and propelled him into play the role of hetman.

Co-operating with Skoropadskii at the time was V. I. Vernadskii, who was involved in the setting-up of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. Along with the respect for the Ukrainians' effort to develop their own culture, Vernadskii was guided by the hope that the scientific and cultural institutions of Ukraine would also become a refuge for the Russian culture, which he did not believe would survive under the Bolsheviks.[59] He also believed that the Russian scientists should participate in the construction of the Ukrainian Academy because their place would otherwise be taken by Germans or Poles.[60] In his diary, Vernadskii would often express the hope, quite in the spirit of the all-Russian idea that Ukraineness does not negate Russian-ness, and was planning an article on the subject: "It seems to me that one has to differentiate—Russian, Ukrainian, Great Russian. I should write [about it]."[61] A similar position was characteristic of many other representatives of the Russian elite who had found themselves in the empire's borderlands.

It is not quite clear how OPO's status changed after the Bolshevik takeover. It is evident that the department lost some of its personnel, [62] its activity decreased noticeably, and only a few documents from the subsequent period remained in the archive. However, one of these documents is of special interest—this is an expansive (over 40 sheets) memorandum "The Historical Destinies of Belarussia and Ukraine." The text which is written according to the rules of reformed orthography, is anonymous and not dated. The initial ver-

sion was prepared by a specialist in dialectology, and the text had not been completed until 1919, since it mentions the Freitag map of Ukraine, which was published only in 1919. Later, the text was corrected by an OPO editor. Initially, the anonymous author wrote two texts (one on the boundary between Great Russians, Belarussians and Ukrainians, the other on the boundary between Russia and Poland), providing a detailed description of the ethnic and linguistic situation in the space that had until recently constituted a borderland of the Russian Empire. The reference to the second text as a separate document survived in the first part of the memorandum, but the document in the archive already combines both texts.[63] In all probability, it was already the OPO editor who complemented the memorandum with political conclusions, since the original author concentrated solely on the scholarly side of the matter and declared that as a dialectologist he had no right to draw conclusions about whether one group or another speaking a transitional dialect belonged to a particular people. This question, in his opinion, had to be resolved "with the help of certain ethnographic or other considerations."[64] It is impossible to trace back all the inserts and corrections in the text, and it is equally impossible to state with any assurance that there was only one editor, so we shall speak about the authors without specifying their number. In any case, the text reflects the position of those OPO members who for some reason continued to work in the Department almost two years after the Bolsheviks took power.

The authors of the memorandum were advocates of the all-Russian nation. They believed that "the territory located between Congressional Poland in the west and Great Russia ... from the ancient times to the present was and has remained Russian."[65] They write about "all three representatives of the Russian tribe" living in the Grodno *gubernia*,[66] about areas where "the Belarussian dialect comes into contact with other Russian dialects,"[67] and so on. On the other hand, they admit that in both Belarussia and Ukraine "the Russian domination has not changed the ethnographic countenance of the mass of the people."[68] Their interpretation of this fact reflects changes in the political situation and the (often very clumsy) attempts of the departmental staff to adjust to these changes.

Early in the text, the Belarussian dialect, in full accordance with the all-Russian discourse, is characterized as a "relic of the Belarussian old times."[69] However, in the memorandum's conclusion the picture gets more complicated. The authors praise the abolition of serfdom, the development of education, and especially, the Russian revolutionary movement for their role in "reviving the Belarussian freedom and... in the development of a national self-consciousness in the Belarussian people." They give a positive assessment to

the fact that "the local intelligentsia, which would previously become either Polish or Great Russian, began to realize itself as inseparable from the mass of its people and to strive for autonomy of its land while preserving a connection to the federal Russian republic."[70] The memorandum even allows for the possibility that "there may be individuals who will be inclined to implement the autonomy of the province in a federation with Poland or Lithuania."[71] The authors, however, hasten to add that "many Belarussians do not separate themselves from the rest of Russia, do not wish to isolate themselves as a separate nationality, and continue to remain simply Russians."[72] This statement leads the authors to the memorandum's main thesis which is addressed to the Bolshevik leadership:

> The great majority of Belarussians[73] think of themselves as a branch of the Russian people, and would probably be very upset by an artificial dismemberment of their homeland and by annexation of its parts by Poland and Lithuania. Such dismemberment would not correspond to the principle of national self-determination proclaimed and implemented by Soviet Russia either. Having consented to the separation from Russia of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania which are populated by non-Russian nationalities, Soviet Russia cannot agree to cede to these newly forming republics those parts of the Russian people that do not wish to join the alien republics. Neither can she consent to give the Belarussian territory away to the Polish authority with the exception of localities predominantly settled by the Polish working population and clearly inclined to join Poland.[74]

It was also noted that the religious factor—and the majority of Belarussians in western Belarussia were Catholics—"cannot prevail over the ethnographic, especially in the matter of separation of the church from the state and in implementing the principle of religious freedom."[75]

The demarcation of the borderline between Soviet Russia and Poland, as well as the borders between RSFSR, Belarussia and Ukraine, was an important part of the political agenda of the time. The reputation of the Bolsheviks as an anti-Russian force or, at least, as a force that did not attach great importance to the ethnic factor and was prepared to sacrifice any territories for the sake of keeping power, was highly persistent, especially after the Brest peace. While extolling the revolutionary movement and discussing the right to national self-determination and the rights of the working population, those officials who still remained in the department in 1919 were trying to persuade the new masters of the country, who were deeply alien to them, to accept at least

a part of the All-Russian idea, and to provide them with arguments for its defense at negotiations.

Ukraine is not mentioned in the memorandum's conclusion for the probable reason that the situation there—a strong nationalist movement and a lack of force to claim all the Ukrainian territories—did not correspond well with the memorandum's main thesis.

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OPO documents were prepared either by imperial officials or by experts they invited. They demonstrate how this group reacted to the dramatic events of the First World War and the revolution. The circumstances forced them to shift the focus of attention: instead of cutting pieces off Austria-Hungary, they had to concentrate on attempts to stop further dismemberment of their own empire. By adjusting their arguments and rhetoric to the changing regimes, the department officials were prepared to seriously change their views on possible concessions to the Ukrainian and Belarussian national movements. However, the concept of all-Russian unity that had to include all East-Slavs proved to be the core of their perspective that survived all rhetorical, tactical and even ideological changes. The memorandum of 1919 was a kind of testament that the officials of the Special Political Section of the imperial Ministry of the Interior tried to pass on to the new Bolshevik rulers of Russia.

The "Post-Mortem"

After the sequence of wars and revolutions triggered in Eastern Europe by the First World War ended in the Riga peace between the Soviet state and Poland, and after hundreds of thousands of émigrés from the former Russian Empire found themselves in Europe, it was then that the debates on the all-Russian nation were resumed. They unfolded both within the Russian immigrant community and between Russians and Ukrainians.[76] The dramatic political events of the revolutionary and war years, the creation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the official recognition in the USSR of the Ukrainian nation as independent and separate, the vigorous Soviet policy of ukrainization and belarussization within the framework of the general drive toward *korenizatsia* (nativization) were development that the advocates of the all-Russian national idea were trying to comprehend. They also had to take them into account in their changing concepts. Politically, their discussions were

already debates "on the roadside," held among people who had lost any political influence. In a sense, it was not even a time "after the hurricane," but rather a "post-mortem" period.

In 1922, the well-known Russian nationalist V. V. Shulgin was still dreaming of how Russia could be managed after the impeding collapse of the Bolsheviks. In his book *Something Fantastic*, he called for a concentration on a "solid organization of the Russian tribe." Shulgin's "Russian tribe" included, naturally, the "southern-Russian people that was called 'Ukrainians' initially by Poles and then by Germans."[77] In regard to the rest he suggested the guiding principle of "Love cannot be forced." But if any of the former borderlands asked to be taken back, they should be accepted not as federal subjects but with autonomy rights only. Shulgin thus took the side of Stalin in the debates on the principles of the organization of the USSR that were just then taking place in the Bolshevik leadership. It is not impossible that Shulgin was quite consciously trying to participate in these debates with his book.

> Instead of federation, grant them a 'broad autonomy'... While in Russia there will be, shall we say, Petrograd, Moscow, Kiev, Kharkov, Odessa regional autonomies or oblasts, here you will have Lithuanian, Latvian or Georgian oblasts. There will be, for instance, the Kiev Oblast Duma, and here—the Lithuanian Sejm. There (for instance, in the "Kharkov Oblast Duma") the chairman speaks *only Russian*, and the others—whatever they want, even "Ukrainian," and here (for instance, in Latvia), the chairman speaks *only Latvian*, and the others, if they wish, may speak Russian.[78]

Shulgin's book was published in Sofia, but as early as the mid-1920s the center of Russian emigration in general, as well as the locus of the most activity of the supporters of the All-Russian idea and the debates between them and Ukrainian nationalists moved to Prague. In January 1925, the "society of Malorussian and Belarussian students 'Unity of Russian Culture'" was set up there. It came forth with a declaration which included all the key ideas of the all-Russian project. The authors of the declaration began with the description of the "harsh disasters that have befallen the entire Russian people." These disasters were "further aggravated by the internecine conflict between its three branches promulgated in an effort to create an abyss that would separate Malorussians and Belarussians from Great Russians."[79]

> We, Malorussians and Belarussians, do not reject our folk peculiarities that we know and love since childhood: the language of our native land, the

songs of our people; we hold dear its morals and customs, its whole way of life. But we do not forget that all of us—Ukrainians, Kubanians, Galicians, Belarussians—regardless of our political convictions—are all at the same time Russians, along with Great Russians, just like Bavarians and Saxons are Germans along with Prussians; natives of Provence and Gascogne are French along with those of Bretagne; Toscanians and Sicilians are Italians along with Lombardians. It is clear for us that great Russia (*velikaja Rossiia*) is not equal to Great Russia (*Velikorossiia*). Malorussians and Belarussians have labored as much to create the common Russian homeland as Great Russians... The St. Petersburg period of the Russian history abounds in outstanding South Russian and West Russian figures in all fields... The all-Russian literary language itself is not, as some claim, purely Great Russian, and does not owe its formation to one dialect, but rather has been created by the efforts of men of culture from various dialectical areas in different periods of historical life. The Cossacks of Ukraine defended the Russian Orthodox faith as early as the 17th century. We, Ukrainians, Kubanians and Belarussians, have also sacrificed our blood and our lives for the good of all Russia, feeling deep in our souls that we are not fighting for an alien cause, but for our father's house. For these reasons it is hard to comprehend the desire of some Malorussians to disavow their original name of Russians only because it also belongs to Great Russians, to betray the Orthodox faith because the all-Russian church is headed by the Moscow Patriarch, and to turn down the fruits of the cultural efforts of the preceding generations achieved together with Great Russians in order to build, under new names, following a new faith, the edifice of a new culture almost from scratch... The mutual estrangement between the Russian tribes which is artificially provoked and aimed at the destruction of everything that has held the Russian people together—a common name, a common faith, a common literary language, all the other fruits of the long life as one people—is threatening not only Russia, but primarily our own Ukraine, Kuban, Belarussia and Galicia with the unavoidable danger of foreign domination....

Being fully convinced that the denial of the Russian unity is explained only by the erroneous thinking of many Malorussians and Belarussians that has to be replaced by the realization of the inevitability of a close and voluntary cooperation of all the branches of the Russian people, we appeal to all the Ukrainians, Kubanians, Galicians and Belarussians whose souls have not become deaf to the feeling of the blood ties and cultural ties with Russia, calling them to join the collective work that will contribute for the unity of the Rus-

sian culture—live, free, and united in diversity. That will fully realize Gogol's dream that the features of the character of the Russian tribes should contribute to the state of things when the Russian people in its entirety would constitute "a most perfect thing among the humanity.[80]

That same year Miliukov in his book *The National Question* demonstrated that some basic elements of the all-Russian idea were not foreign to him either. He speaks of "the return of the Russian territories as a result of the Polish partitions at the time of Catherine II" as well as of the transfer to Poland, according to the Riga treaty of 1921, of "the Russian lands with the population of three and a half million."[81] Miliukov wrote extensively about the struggle between Russian and Polish nationalisms "on the broad stripe of borderline territories populated by Belarussians and Malorussians."[82] The peculiarity of Miliukov's position in the discourse of the Prague émigré circles lies in accentuating of the responsibility of the Russian "nationalist intelligentsia" which, in a union with the authorities that came into being after 1863, had gradually damaged relations with all the peoples of the empire, including Ukrainians.[83] That was in concert with the pre-war position of Miliukov who had already believed at the time that "ukrainophilia" should be recognized and its moderate leaders negotiated with, in order not to play into the hand of radical Ukrainian nationalists like D. Dontsov.[84]

At the same time, the philosopher G. P. Fedotov was reproaching the Russian intelligentsia for other errors, more in the spirit of Pypin's article "Volga and Kiev": "We ourselves have surrendered Ukraine to Grushevskii and prepared the independence movement. Has Kiev ever been in the center of our thoughts, our love? It is an amazing fact: the new Russian literature has completely bypassed Kiev."[85] In a polemic with Eurasianism, which had already made itself known by that time, Fedotov wrote: "They are now pointing at Asia and preaching to us the hatred of Latinism. But the true way was shown to us in Kiev: neither Latinism nor Islamism, but Ellinism." He understood the fight for Ukraine as a "struggle of two cultures: Byzanthian-Russian and Polish-Ukrainian."[86]

Iu. A. Iavorskii was close to Miliukov in his assessment of the causes for emergence and development of the Ukrainian movement. He descended from the Galician russophile community, and, after he came to the Russian Empire, he worked in the First Kiev Gymnasium until the revolution. Here is a characteristic example of his contemplations: "'ukrainophilia' is not a product of Austrian, German or Polish intrigue; rather, it is the result of sectarian disunity common in the Russian people on the one hand and of a stupid prohibi-

tive policy of the government on the other."[87] In 1926 Iu. A. Iavorskii made an attempt to organize a series of lectures and debates with Ukrainians on the subject of Russian–Ukrainian relations. "At the first stages, at least, [it is necessary] to unite libraries and museums, to participate jointly in scientific studies, in conferences." This is how he formulated the tasks at hand which simultaneously paints a clear picture of the alienation between the Russian and Ukrainian émigré communities.[88]

A year later, in 1927, one of the leaders of the Eurasianists, Prince N. S. Trubetskoi, published an article, entitled "Toward the Ukrainian Problem." Trubetskoi seems to have been the first from the "Russian camp" to describe the interaction between the "West Russian" and "Muscovite" lines of Russian culture in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as having achieved unity by the "eradication of the Muscovite line." The all-Russian culture emerged, according to Trubetskoi, by way of accepting in Great Russia the "Ukrainian line of Russian culture."[89] Trubetskoi was thus giving Ukrainians the symbolically prestigious first role among the creators of Russian culture in the hope it would become a new rationale against their alienation. "The Russian culture of the post-Petrine period is common Russian, and it is not alien for Ukrainians, but rather their own." Trubetskoi argued that if Ukrainian culture was built on the hatred for Russian culture, "it will be hands down bad" and will be "only a political weapon, and serve bad, angrily chauvinistic and arrogantly loud politics at that."[90]

Trubetskoi called for the "Ukrainian culture to become an individual manifestation of the common Russian culture," i.e., one of its local variations. [91] For Trubetskoi it meant that "the local and tribal differentiation of Russian culture should not go all the way to the top of the cultural edifice, to the values of the highest order," while on the "ground floor" the "tribal and local partitions should be strongly developed and clearly expressed."[92] "The very rightfulness of the creation of a special Ukrainian culture that is not equivalent to the Great Russian culture can no longer be denied, and the correct development of the national self-consciousness will show the future creators of this culture both its natural limitations and its true essence and true goal—to be a special Ukrainian manifestation of the all-Russian culture."[93] This recognition of the "rightfulness" of the Ukrainian culture was clearly a concession to the new reality, but Trubetskoi attempted to reconcile this fact with the all-Russian idea.

Trubetskoi soon corrected some of his arguments in his reaction to the response to his article that came from the "Ukrainian camp," from Professor D. Doroshenko.[94] "What is the bottom-line requirement of the All-Russian cul-

ture? It is that the national cultures of all the so-called East Slavs have to be closer to each other than to any other cultures." As a matter of fact, Trubetskoi is very close to replacing the concept of the all-Russian nation as a unity that denies Ukrainian and Belarussian *national* separateness with his version of a tightly knit family of Great Russians, Ukrainians and Belarussians precisely as nations—it is no accident that he speaks of "national cultures" of the East-Slavs. However, he still attempts to preserve the idea of "Russian" or "all-Russian" commonality precisely as a national one; he still speaks of the All-Russian *nation* that "really exists only in its individual manifestations—Great Russian, Ukrainian, Belarussian, etc., not outside of them.[95] On the whole, Trubetskoi's arguments are an attempt to salvage in the concept of "all-Russian-ness" what he believed could still be salvaged in the late 1920s while recognizing what neither Shulgin, in 1922, nor even the authors of the declaration of the student society in 1925 were ready to recognize yet—the Ukrainian national separateness as a reality, not as a figment of hostile or misguided imagination.

As early as 1929, the Russian émigré community in Prague created the publishing house "Edinstvo" ("Unity") which issued a whole series of booklets which, using material from different historical periods and an array of philological and historical arguments, all fairly traditional for their time, stressed the commonality of Little Russians and Great Russians and the historical and philological "unnaturalness" of ukrainophilia.[96] All these arguments had been voiced by the opponents of the Ukrainian movement even before the First World War. The Edinstvo booklets differ primarily in their tone—it is much less aggressive than in the pre-revolutionary publications of this sort, and they do not accentuate the subject of "ukrainophilia" as a result of enemy intrigue.[97]

The brochure by P. M. Bizzilli stands apart from the rest of Edinstvo publications. The publishers clearly understood it and remarked in the preface on the "peculiarity" of the author's approach. A professor of history at the Sofia University, Bizzilli understood the mechanisms of nation-formation processes much more deeply than his fellow émigrés. In the theoretical sense, he had anticipated many of the ideas of such scholars of nationalism of the late twentieth century as Benedict Anderson and Ernest Gellner.[98] Bizzilli was, in fact, negating the entire line of argument of the Edinstvo publishers by stating from the outset: "I declare the historical argument null and void, and I believe the philological argument to be based on a misconception."[99] "The Ukrainian nation," continued Bizzilli, "has a 'virtual,' 'potential' existence, it is a possibility... I am far from not taking this statement seriously. On the contrary, there

is a lot of truth to it... The racial, cultural, linguistic, historical ties are conditions for kinship, not its proof. The kinship of one people to another is a psychological fact, it is either experienced or—it does not exist."[100] Bizzilli understood well that "it is possible to create a Ukrainian nation. The Ukrainizers are quite right about that."[101] But he left himself the benefit of a doubt in 1930 that nationalism as a dominant principle would be long-lived in the world. He intended his arguments for "those Russians and those Ukrainians who have not yet lost hope to agree with each other." It was them that he tried to convince that the Ukrainian project was "fruitless," provincial and that the unity with Russia that he saw as a "union of regions" did not limit the possibilities of development for the Ukrainian culture—albeit regional, not national, but a "true" culture. As he said: "Unity in diversity, differentiation without disintegration—that is the formula of the goal that both Russians and Ukrainians should strive to achieve together."[102]

In a sense, Bizzilli repeated the line of thought of Katkov, who in 1861—before he began his sharp attacks on the Ukrainian activists—attempted to initiate a dialogue with them, not from the position of rejection of the viability of their project as such but as someone who doubted its fruitfulness. Katkov admitted that it was quite possible to create a Ukrainian language, but asked the ukrainophiles to abandon this plan for the sake of common work for the development of Russian culture: "How many beneficial elements Ukraine could bring into the Russian life and Russian thought under benign circumstances!"[103]

Thus, we see how, long after the collapse of the empire, already in emigration, the Russian thinkers attempted, with different degrees of inventiveness and intellectual integrity, to preserve the key element of the Russian nationalist heritage of the imperial period—the idea of all-Russian unity. Some tried to adapt it to the new realities of the Soviet national policy, while others hoped to preserve it until the longed for collapse of the Soviet power.

Notes

1 I am grateful to Ernest Gyidel for his valuable comments on this chapter.

2 On the refugee phenomenon, see P. Gattrell, *A Whole Empire Walking: Refugees in Russia During World War I* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999).

3 For various mechanisms of the mobilization of ethnicity during the First World War, see M. von Hagen, "The Great War and the Mobilization of Ethnicity," in *Post Soviet Political Order: Conflict and State-Building*, eds. B. R. Rubin and J. Snyder (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 34–57; also, M. von Hagen, "Russko-ukrainskie otnosheniia v per-

voi polovine XX v.," in *Ukraina i Rossiia: Istoriia vzaimootnoshenii* eds. A. Miller, V. Reprintsev, B. M. Flori (1997), pp. 183–196.

4 *Arkhiv vneshnei politiki Rossiiskoi Imperii* (The Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire), hereinafter: AVPRI. F. 135 (*Osobyi Politicheskii Otdel*). Op. 474.

5 It is precisely this quality that makes them valuable. Some historians have used materials from this collection primarily as a source for reconstructing the flow of events without, regrettably, paying due attention to their tendentiousness. See: A.Iu. Bakhturina, *Okrainy Rossiiskoi imperii: Gosudarstvennoe upravlenie i natsionalnaia politika v gody pervoi mirovoi voiny (1914–1917 gg.)* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2004); V. N. Savchenko, "Vostochnaia Galitsiia na isoricheskom pereput'e: 1910—nachalo 1920-kh godov," in *Regiony i granitsy Ukrainy v istoricheskoi perspective* (Moscow: Institut slavianovedeniia RAN, 2005), pp. 132–189.

6 AVPRI. F. 135. Op. 474. Ed. khr. 429. L. 2.

7 Ibid. Ed. khr. 1. L. 7.

8 Ibid. L. 30 – 30 ob.

9 *Birzhevye vedomosti*, December 17, 1916.

10 For an excellent analysis of the German policy on the occupied territories of the Russian Empire whose strategic goals from the very beginning consisted in preparing their annexation under the flag of the civilizing mission, see: Vejas Gabriel Liulevicius, *War Land on the Eastern Front: Culture, National Identity, and German Occupation in World War I* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000). See also recent Frank Grelka, *Die Ukrainische Nationalbewegung unter deutscher Besatzungsherrschaft 1918 und 1941/42,* Studien der Forschungsstelle Ostmitteleuropa an der Universität Dortmund, Vol. 38, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005).

11 AVPRI. F. 135. Op. 474. Ed. khr. 201; F. 135. Op. 474. Ed.khr. 418; F. 135. Op. 474. Ed.khr. 29/101. L. 55–59.

12 *Russkaia mysl*, 1914, No. 12, pp. 176–180. *Galichina* – Russian term of that time for Eastern Galicia.

13 AVPRI, F. 135. Op. 474. Ed. khr. 200. L. 1. The authors based their thesis mostly on the works of L. Niderle, S. Tomashevskii and K. Chernig.

14 Ibid., Ed. khr. 201. L. 1 ob.

15 The document was registered in OPO on August 4, 1916 (Op. 474. Ed. Khr. 403). Aleksei Gerovskii was a grandson of the well-known russophile Adolf Dobrianskii. On Gerovskii, see "Gerovskii, Aleksei Iulianovich," in *Encyclopedia of Rusyn History and Culture,* eds. Paul Robert Magocsi and Ivan Pop (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), pp. 132–133.

16 AVPRI, F. 135. Op. 474. Ed. khr. 403. L. 2.

17 "*Masepinstvo*," "*masepists*" (from hetman Masepa, who defected from Peter I for Charles XII of Sweden during the Northern war) were used in Russian anti-Ukrainian discourse as insulting tag for Ukrainian nationalists.

18 Ibid., Ed. Khr. 19. L. 28 ob. In this memorandum Gerovskii also discussed the chances of "persuading Romanian society that the Romanians, by their origin, geographic situation and, most importantly, by their culture, belong to the East rather than the West, that they are not a foreign enclave, but rather a constituent part of the Greco-Slavic world."(L. 27 ob). He pointed out the possibility of influencing the Romanian sentiments through the Chernovtsy University, firmly believing that Chernovtsy should be-

long to Russia after the war (L. 27). On the whole, Gerovskii regarded Romania as an object of competing influences of Russia and the West.

19 AVPRI, F. 135. Op. 474. Ed. khr. 403. L. 2.

20 See: A. Miller, *The Ukrainian Question*, pp. 113–114.

21 Idem, chapter 7.

22 AVPRI, F. 135. Op. 474. Ed. khr. 403. L. 2 ob.

23 Ibid. L. 3. On the motives of Sventsitskii, see I. Krups'kii, Ukrains'ka zhurnalistika L'vova v roki Pershoi svitovoi viini (1914–1918), in M. Mudrii, ed., *L'viv: misto—suspil'stvo—kul'tura. Zbirnik naukovikh prats'* (L'viv, 1999), p. 455.

24 AVPRI, F. 135. Op. 474. Ed. khr. 403. L. 4–5.

25 Ibid. L. 6 – 6 ob.

26 Ibid. Ed. khr. 27. L. 4.

27 Ibid. L. 4.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid. L. 4–6.

30 Ibid. L. 8.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid. Ed. khr. 32. L. 3.

34 Ibid. Ed. khr. 36. L. 2–4.

35 Mikhal Tyszkiewicz, the scion of the famous polonized aristocratic family with genealogic roots in the nobility of Rus', was not a unique figure for that time. Prominent among the Polish aristocrats who had pronounced themselves Ukrainians even before the world war was Viacheslav Lypyns'kyj (Vaclav Lipinski), subsequently the Ukrainian ambassador in Austria-Hungary in 1918 and an influential conservative ideologue of the Ukrainian movement in the interwar period. However, the cases of transformation of territorial loyalty into the Ukrainian national identity were not limited to Poles. Two other notable examples include Agatangel Krymskii and Feodor (Teodor) Schteingel. The former, a well-known Orientalist and Ukrainian nationalist, was the descendant of a russified Crimean-Tatar family. The latter, a Russian baron and later Ukrainian ambassador in Germany in 1918, was a russified German. See "Shteingel, Teodor," in *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, ed. D. Struk, Vol. IV. Ph–Sr. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), p. 676; "Tyshkevych, Mykhailo," *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Vol. V. St–Z., p. 334; S. Pavlychko, *Natsionalizm, seksual'nist', Orientalizm: Skladnii svit Agatangela Krims'kogo* (Kiev: Osnovi, 2001). One must note an incredible lack of interest on the part of Ukrainian historians in such national neophytes. Only Lipinskii, because of his prominent place in the Ukrainian intellectual history, has a large and ever increasing number of works devoted to him in the Ukrainian historiography. The major publications include: *The Political and Social Ideas of Vjačeslav Lypyns'kyj.* Special issue of *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*. Guest editor Jaroslaw Pelenski assisted by Uliana M. Pasycznyk, 1985. Vol. 9., Nos. 3–4, December; L. I. Rudnytstsky, *Essays in Modern Ukrainian History* (Edmonton, CIUS, University of Alberta, 1987), pp. 437–461; I. Lysiak-Rudnitskii, *Istorichni ese*. Vols. 1–2. (Kiev: Osnovi, 1994), Vol. 2, pp. 131–235; Ia. Pelens'kii, ed., *V'iacheslav Lipins'kii. Istoriko-politologichna spadshchina i suchasna Ukraina* (Kiev–Philadelphia, 1994).

36 AVPRI, F. 135, Op. 474. Ed. khr. 27. L. 12. "His Majesty has ordered me to thank you, as well as the group of Ukrainians reunited in Switzerland, for the sentiments expressed in your telegram."

37 Ibid. L. 15.

38 This line of reasoning was not entirely alien to the court circles. The last costumed ball in the Winter Palace held in 1903 was dedicated to the pre-Petrine Rus. Many courtiers wore Malorussian costumes, and the court minister Baron A. Frederiks was even dressed up as Bogdan Khmelnitskii from a famous portrait of the hetman. Photographic cards of this ball were widely sold for years afterwards. See A. Miller, *The Ukrainian Question*, p. 207. The Habsburgs had even more freedom in similarly playing with the Ukrainian costume and other symbols, especially after the war broke out. Wilhelm Habsburg adopted the name of Vasil Vyshivanyi, and claimed the Ukrainian throne in 1918. However, the Germans who had the decisive voice in the Ukrainian affairs during the war preferred to proclaim the Russian army general Pavel Skoropadskii as hetman. See the articles by Iaroslav Pelenskii, Petr Borovskii, and Igor Kamenetskii in *German–Ukrainian Relations in Historical Perspective*, eds. H.-J. Torke and J.-P. Himka (Edmonton, Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1994), as well as: Yu. I. Tereshchenko, T. S. Ostashko, *Ukrains'kii patriot z dinastii Gabsburgiv* (Kiev: 1999); L. Strel's'ka, "Do zhittepisu Vil'gel'ma Gabsburga" (Vasilia Vishivanogo), *Viis'kovo-istorichnii al'manakh* (Kiev: 2002), Pt. 1, pp. 137–141; V. Dmitrishin, "Povalennia nimtsiami Tsentral'noi Radi u kvitni 1918 roku: novi dani z nimetskikh arkhiviv," *Politologichni chitannia*, No. 1 (1994): 104–120; P. Skoropads'kii, Spogadi, kinets' 1917—gruden' 1918 (Kiev: 1995); O. Fedyshyn, *Germany's Drive to the East and the Ukrainian Revolution, 1917–1918* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1971); P. Borowsky, *Deutsche Ukrainepolitik 1918 unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Wirtschaftsfragen* (Lübeck–Hamburg: Matthiesen Verlag, 1970); C. Remer, *Die Ukraine im Blickfeld deutscher Interessen. Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts bis 1917/18* (Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 1997); G. Papakin, *Pavlo Skoropads'kii: patriot, derzhavotvorets, ludina. Istoriko-arkhivni narisi* (Kiev: Derzhavnyi komitet arkhiviv Ukrainy, 2003).

39 AVPRI, F. 135. Op. 474. Ed. khr. 27. L. 16.

40 The latter seems more probable, since such a suggestion went against Tyszkiewicz's ambition to speak as the chief representative of the Ukrainians.

41 AVPRI, F. 135. Op. 474. Ed. khr. 27. L. 17.

42 On the policies of Vienna in regard to Galician and Bukovinian Ukrainians during the First World War, see S. Popik, *Ukraintsi v Avstrii 1914–1918: Avstriis'ka politika v ukrains'komu pitanni periodu Velikoi viini* (Kiev-Chernovtsy: Zoloti litavri, 1999); T. Hornykiewycz, *Ereignisse in der Ukraine, 1914–1922: deren Bedeutung und historische Hintergründe.* Bd. 1–4 (Philadelphia: 1966–1969).

43 AVPRI, F. 135. Op. 474. Ed. khr. 27. L. 44–47, 48–61.

44 Ibid. Ed. khr. 26.

45 Ibid. L. 6, 7. On other aspects of German propagandistic work in regard to Russian prisoners of war, see: B. I. Kolonitskii, "Emigratsiia, voennoplennye nachal'nyi etap germanskoi politiki 'revoliutsionizirovaniia' Rossii (avgust 1914—nachalo 1915 g.)," in *Russkaia emigratsiia do 1917 goda—laboratoriia liberal'noi revoliutsionnoi mysli* (St. Petersburg, 1997), pp. 197–216.

46 Deák, *Beyond Nationalism.*

47 AVPRI, F. 135. Op. 474. Ed. khr. 27. L. 48–55.

48 Ibid., L. 55.

49 Ibid., L. 58. "Verrein zur Unterschtützung der Ukrainischen Freiheitsbestrebungen." The subject is the famous book by Friedrich Naumann, *Das Mitteleuropa*, which describes the

area of German domination in Europe that includes everything from Belgium to the Ukraine, see F. Naumann, *Das Mitteleuropa* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1915). For details, see A. Miller, "Tema Tsentral'noi Evropy: Istoriia, sovremennye diskursy i mesto v nikh Rossii," *Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie* (*NLO*), No. 52 (2001): 75–96 (available on the Web at: http://nlo.magazine.ru/philosoph/sootech/sootech29.html). See also O. Kuraev, "'Der Verband 'Freie Ukraine' im Kontext der deutschen Ukraine-Politik des Ersten Weltkriegs," *Osteuropa-Institut. Mitteilungen*, August, No. 35 (2000) (available on the Web at: http://www.lrz-muenchen.de/~oeihist/mitt35.pdf). However, in the German thought, the idea of weakening Russia by separating it from the Ukraine has deeper roots; see D. Doroschenko, *Die Ukraine und das Reich: Neun Jahrhundrete deutsch-ukranischer Beziehungen im Spiegel der deutschen Wissenschaft und Literatur* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1941); H. C. Meyer, "Rohrbach and His Osteuropa," *The Russian Review*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Autumn 1942): 60–69; Ibid., "Mitteleuropa in German Political Geography," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 36, No. 3 (Sept 1946): 178–194; P. Rohrbach, *Von Brest Litowsk bis Jalta: Ein Vierteljahrhundert Osteuropa* (München: Dt. Ukrain. Herderbund, 1961); M. Shvaguliak, "'Skhidna kriza' i zovnishn'opolitichni al'ternativi Prussii: ukrains'ki 'punktiri' (1853–1854), *Visnik L'vivs'kogo universitetu*. Seriia istorichna. Vyp. 37. Chast.1 (L'viv, 2002): 381–395.

50 Practically all the theses of Milan Kundera's article, "Europe Kidnapped," that are key for the discourse on Central Europe can be found in propaganda publications of the Central Powers of the First World War period.

51 AVPRI. F. 135. Op. 474. Ed. Khr. 27. L. 60–61.

52 Ibid. L. 52. R.W. Seton-Watson, the best British authority on ethnic problems in Austria-Hungary, sympathized with the Ukrainian movement. See R. Sirota, "Robert William Seton-Watson i zarozhdennia ukrainofil's'kogo rukhu u Velikobritanii na pochatku XX stolittia," in *Ukraina: kul'turna spadshchina, natsional'na svidomist', derzhavnist'* Vip. 9 (L'viv: 2001), pp. 506–528; H. Seton-Watson, C. Seton-Watson, *The Making of a New Europe: R. W. Seton-Watson and the Last Years of Austria-Hungary* (London: Methuen, 1981); D. Saunders, "Britain and the Ukrainian Question (1912–1920)," *English Historical Review*, Vol. 103 (1988) 40–68.

53 AVPRI. F. 135. Op. 474. Ed. khr. 27. L. 27, 28.

54 Ibid. L. 45 – 46.

55 Ibid. Ed. khr 429. L. 2.

56 The Russian envoy in Bern reported about these negotiations in a secret telegram to Petrograd on May 27, 1917. (Ibid. L. 5).

57 P. Skoropads'kii, *Spogadi. Kinets' 1917—gruden' 1918* (Kiev: 1995), p. 64. Skoropadskii reminisced about his childhood and his family thus: "Ukraine was understood as the glorious past of my homeland, but it was not at all related to the present; in other words, there were no political considerations connected to the restoration of Ukraine. My entire family was deeply devoted to the Russian tsars, but it was always somehow stressed that we were not Great Russians, but Malorussians of, as they used to say, noble origin." (P. Skoropads'kii, "Moe detstvo na Ukraine," in P. Skoropads'kii, *Spogady*, p. 387).

58 Similar political trajectories were taken by the Tsar's combat general Iu. Dovbur-Musnitskii and by the general of the Tsar's suite K. Mannerheim who went on to become the commander of the Finnish army.

59 V. I. Vernadskii, *Dnevniki 1917-1921. Oktiabr' 1917—ianvar' 1920* (Kiev: 1994), vol. 1, pp. 82, 89, 98.

60 Ibid., pp. 98; 14–15.
61 V. I. Vernadskii, *Dnevniki 1917–1921.* Vol. 1, p. 71, see also pp. 72, 93, 109; and Vol. 2, p. 91.
62 For instance, OPO director Priklonskii abandoned his position in 1917 and left for Stockholm (Ibid., L. 30).
63 Ibid. Ed. khr. 42. L. 9.
64 Ibid. L.10.
65 Ibid. L. 40.
66 Ibid. L. 33.
67 Ibid. L. 11
68 Ibid. L. 5, 8.
69 Ibid. L. 5.
70 Ibid. L. 40.
71 Ibid.
72 Ibid.
73 The tradition of writing *Malorussians* and *Belarussians* with two *s*'s had an ideological undertone. This spelling emphasized their "Russian-ness," while the advocates of the concept of the separate Ukrainian and Belarusian nations stressed that the notions *Rusyn* and *Rus'kii*, widespread as self-designation for centuries, were different from the notion *Russian* as it was used in the nineteenth and the turn of the twentieth century.
74 Ibid. 41 – 41 ob.
75 Ibid. 41 ob.
76 The polemic between representatives of the Russian and Ukrainian immigrant communities deserves a special study. We will not deal with this subject here.
77 V. V. Shul'gin, *Nechto fantasticheskoe* (Sofia: 1922), p. 18.
78 Ibid., p. 28.
79 GARF. F. 5974. Op. 3. D. 5. L. 6.
80 Ibid. L. 6 – 6 ob.
81 P. N. Miliukov, *Natsional'nyi vopros (Proiskhozhdenie natsional'nosti i natsional'nye voprosy v Rossii)* (Prague: 1925), p. 154.
82 Ibid., pp. 153–154.
83 Ibid., p. 162.
84 See *Gosudarstvennaia Duma. 4-yi sozyv: Stenograficheskii otchet.* g. Sessiia 2. Chast 2. Zasedanie 40. (19 February 1914). Columns 901–906.
85 G. P. Fedotov, "Tri stolitsy," *Novyi mir*, 1989, No. 4. p. 215. Originally published in 1926.
86 Ibid., pp. 116, 117.
87 GARF. F. 5966. Op. 1. D. 15. L. 15.
88 Ibid. L. 4. The problem of Russian–Ukrainian relations invariably remained in the center of Iavorskii's attention. For years, until 1933, he had been collecting notes for the article "A Double People"; the notes have been preserved in the archive and are of considerable interest.
89 See N. S. Trubetskoi, "K ukrainskoi probleme," in N. S. Trubetskoi, *Istoriia. Kul'tura. Iazyk* (Moscow: Progess, 1995), pp. 367–368.
90 Ibid., p. 374.
91 Ibid., p. 375.

92 Ibid., p. 377.
93 Ibid., p. 379.
94 D. I. Doroshenko, "K ukrainskoi probleme. Po povodu stat'i kn. N. S. Trubetskogo," in N. S. Trubetskoi, *Istoriia: Kul'tura. Iazyk*, pp. 380–392.
95 N. S. Trubetskoi, "Otvet D. I. Doroshenko," in N. S. Trubetskoi, *Istoriia: Kul'tura. Iazyk*, p. 405.
96 I. I. Lappo, *Ideia edinstva russkogo naroda v Iugo-Zapadnoi Rusi v epokhu prisoedineniia Malorossii k Moskovskomu gosudarstvu* (Prague: Edinstvo, 1929); A. M. Volkonskii, *Imia Rusi v domongol'skuiu poru. Istoricheskaia spravka* (Prague: Edinstvo, 1929); V. A. Miakotin, *"Periaslavskii dogovor" 1654-go goda* (Prague: Edinstvo, 1930) et al.
97 In recent years, the pre-revolutionary anti-Ukrainian texts have been actively reprinted by M. B. Smolin. It is not a useless business—such publications can serve as a good source for studying one of the trends of the Russian nationalist thought of the time. The only problem is that Smolin and his colleagues are sincerely convinced that nothing has changed since that time, and see in these early twentieth-century writings an adequate response to the present-day situation. See M. B. Smolin, ed., *Ukrainskii separatism v Rossii: Ideia natsional'nogo raskola* (Moscow: Zhurnal Moskva, 1998); M. B. Smolin, ed., *"Ukrainskaia" bolezn' russkoi natsii* (Moscow: Imperskaia traditsiia, 2004), et al.
98 It is not impossible that these scholars were actually familiar with Bizzilli's views, since his work, in a slightly altered version, had appeared in English. See: P. Bizzilli, "Geopolitical Conditions of the Evolution of Russian Nationality."
99 P. M. Bizzilli, *Problema russko-ukrainskikh otnoshenii v svete istorii* (Prague: Edinstvo, 1930), p. 6.
100 Ibid., pp. 13, 17–18.
101 Ibid., p. 19.
102 Ibid., p. 38.
103 *Russkii vestnik*, Vol. 32, (1861): 2–5.

CONCLUSION

"For many years now, study of Russia as a polyethnic state has been one of the fastest-growing and fastest-moving fields of scholarship in the Eurasian area," states the recent editorial in *Kritika*.[1] The statement can be accepted with one correction. It has not been such a long time—since the early 1990s that this growth began. This is especially evident if we consider how long this subject had remained on the margins of historians' attention, partly because of restricted archival access and censorial prohibitions in the USSR, and partly because the political map of the contemporary world still holds such a sway over historians' imagination. Considering also that historians in the post-Soviet region have until recently lived, and in some places are still living, in a truly horrible financial situation, the results of these years have to be evaluated positively.

I would note the following achievements as fundamentally important, setting new parameters and standards for the historiography of the Romanov Empire as a polyethnic state.

Bringing empire back is an important change in the new approach to the history of nationalism in general. We can observe this trend not only in the history of the Russian Empire. Probably, the very fact that, methodologically the domain of the history of the Romanov Empire has not remained as isolated as it was is in itself the main achievement of recent years. The history of empire as the history of interaction of multiple agents, as a field where alternative strategies of identification and alternative nation-building projects competed—often with unpredictable results—is by definition hostile to all sorts of national narratives, which invariably focus on a single actor, that is, a particular national movement. It is exactly the focus on the interactions of multiple agents, including local and central authorities, other (often rival) national movements, imperial, nationalist and non-nationalist actors from other empires; that it is concerned with loyalties, identity formation and nationalist agenda with their possible alternative outcomes that allows the stu-

dent to grasp the fabric of imperial history. Such an approach—I call it situational in this book—allows historians to go beyond the traditional narratives, whether imperial or national, and to avoid the potential pitfalls of the regional approach.[2]

Another major achievement was a more complex understanding of the authorities' policies on the national question, of the mechanisms of decision-making and implementation, of the intricate interweaving of interests of the center and of the local elites. The "decline and fall" motifs and the notion of the empire as a "prison of nations," which remained dominant until recently, have been to a large extent corrected. The Russian Empire was not alone in searching for answers to the challenges of modernity, and these answers often resulted in some success.

For instance, we now understand that the empire did not always suppress nation-building processes but, in a number of cases, actually facilitated them, sometimes quite consciously. This is especially relevant to the nation-building at the core of the empire, and the problems of the interrelation between the empire and Russian nationalism are now considered in a more complex (and adequate) perspective than was still the case in the 1990s. We can see that part of the higher imperial bureaucracy began to consider the possibility of using nationalism in the empire's interests, while, at the same time, the rank-and-file bureaucrats and the monarchs themselves invariably treated nationalism with suspicion because of its connection to democratic representation and demand for broader autonomy of public opinion.

It is equally important that we are now prepared to see not only the restrictive, but, at times, encouraging role of the empire in the processes of national identity formation in the empire's peripheries. Related to this was the necessary problematization of the notion of "russification." A renewed interest in the place and role of Russian nationalism in the empire is to a great extent associated, first, with the realization of the complexity of relationships between Russian nationalism and the imperial authority, and second, with the understanding of the necessity to study Russian nationalism in its interaction with other nationalisms. Even in its most expansionist versions, Russian nationalism never equated the territory of empire and the "national territory," and never attempted to assimilate all the groups of the empire's subjects. We can now see more clearly the diversity of processes and practices that are often grouped together under the term "russification," and we can differentiate between the politics of assimilation and the politics of acculturation.

Historians now pay more attention to the interactions across imperial borders, be it borrowings of institutional and organizational patterns, as well as of

methods of political action on the side of both imperial and local actors, or be it ties of various religious and ethnic groups with similar groups across the border, or be it the projection of influence of neighboring empires on the situation in Russia. The history of transfers and entangled historical perspective constitute the field where we can expect a lot of new valuable contributions.

I would not consider the entangled history approach to be "the enemy" of comparative history, as some have recently. These are rather mutually complementing perspectives, which allow, among other things, to look with a due portion of skepticism at various attempts to detach the space of the Romanov Empire or part of it from the neighboring regions. One can sometimes catch a "whiff" of this tendency in attempts at restyling the concept of Eurasia, which in my opinion remains too vague and open to all sorts of (mis)interpretations to be a useful term for the description of the space of the Romanov Empire. As Steven Kotkin has nicely put it recently in a conference paper, the concept of Eurasia is less of a cure than of a disease.

It would be a sin of impatience to expect a new general narrative, based on these new methodological perspectives, to emerge at this point already. Today we can see only the first attempts at its creation.[3] An important sign of the new approach to history is the clearly expressed effort of many researchers to explore material from several regions, even regardless of whether or not a comparative study of different borderlands is an element of their investigative strategy within a particular project. Historians who would do full-fledged studies of various peripheries are still more of an exception,[4] but, as a whole, the tendency to think on the imperial scale, not in terms of a teleologically constructed national narrative, is now quite pronounced. The accumulation of theoretically informed case studies that has been taking place in recent years will prepare the necessary foundation for more comprehensive works in the foreseeable future.

At the same time, some important questions still require serious discussion. It seems that there is a very intense debate ahead concerning the degree of continuity and rupture between the Russian Empire and the USSR as imperial systems. In his book *The Affirmative Action Empire*, Terry Martin has demonstrated quite compellingly, in my opinion, the fundamentally innovative character of the Soviet project. However, his concept was recently challenged by Francine Hirsch's book on the role played in the establishment of the Soviet national policy by expert ethnographers whose professional credentials dated back to the pre-revolutionary period.[5] It is immediately apparent that Hirsch invariably speaks of "*imperial* ethnographers." As Marina Mogilner has correctly observed in her review of Hirsch's book,

> it is safe to say with a great degree of probability that a study of their biographies and academic "orientations" would reveal that those who supplied ethnographic data for the new power were mostly ethnographers of *narodnik* orientation, people with a populist-revolutionary past and exile experience. They had developed a romantic nationalizing paradigm with positivist flavor even before the revolution... Likewise, it is unclear whether, under the Bolshevik regime, they thought of themselves as professional experts or as revolutionaries with expert knowledge.[6]

The constant epithet "imperial" seems even more incongruous in view of Hirsch's own observation that the "Old Regime" Ministry of the Interior treated ethnography with suspicion as a "tool of [national] separatism," and that the Russian ethnographers were envious of their foreign colleagues believing that the latter had a much greater involvement in developing state policies.[7]

However, this insistence on characterizing the experts who collaborated with the Bolsheviks as "imperial" is no accident in Hirsch's book. It is used to prepare one of the book's key theses on the determining role of the "imperial ethnographers" in the formation of the Soviet national policy at its early stage. This thesis, however, is left hanging in the air. Hirsch provides absolutely no documentary evidence or not even any collateral arguments to support the claim that S. F. Oldenburg and his colleagues played any role in the debates of the political leadership over the principal questions of national policy. Hirsch's theses of the "evolutionist" understanding of nation by the "imperial ethnographers" and their Bolshevik patrons, of the similarity between the USSR and other modernizing empires, of the absence of any elements of "positive discrimination" of the formerly oppressed nationalities at the expense of Russians in the Soviet politics of the 1920s are all united by a common goal of arguing against Terry Martin's book that describes the USSR as a new kind of empire and the Soviet national policy as a policy of affirmative action and a radical break with the policy of the Romanov Empire.[8]

In general, one of the major achievements of the historiographical analysis of the early twentieth century in recent years has been the overcoming of the hypnotic influence of 1917 as a watershed marking the beginning of a "different history." The fruitfulness of such approach was persuasively demonstrated, e.g., by Peter Holquist in his article on the mechanism of mass surveillance by the Bolshevik regime. This approach can also be usefully applied to many other aspects of Russian history of the early twentieth century: it dem-

onstrates to what extent the modern tendencies of the late imperial period found continuation, albeit in radically different forms, in Soviet policies.[9] However, on the question of whether the USSR should be regarded as the heir to the Romanov Empire or as a radically new imperial project, I am fully on the side of Terry Martin.

The point here is not that any revolution is a disruptive event. It will suffice to conduct the following mental experiment. Let us imagine that the fall of monarchy in February 1917 was not followed by the Bolshevik victory in October. Regardless of whether the liberals and moderate socialists succeeded in keeping power or whether, more likely, they were replaced by a new rightist, authoritarian regime, the changes that followed would have been qualitatively less radical than those that actually happened after October 1917. First, there would not have been such a radical disruption of the continuity of the elites, either in the center or in the periphery. There would have been no such radical disruption in property relations and generally in the legal sphere. Second, no revision of imaginary geography and administrative structure as radical as the one that took place within the framework of the Soviet project would have happened. This does not mean that there would not have been highly significant changes, comparable in scale even to the changes in the Habsburg Empire as a result of the 1867 agreement. But here, too, the Soviet project of the territorialization of ethnicity presents an even more radical disruption of continuity. The all-Russian nation project that was the core of Russian nationalism in the Romanov Empire was not simply rejected; many of the achievements in its implementation were dismantled.

An important consequence of this fact is that today it is extremely hard for us to assess the situation with of the processes of assimilation and national identification before the First World War, since our knowledge of the changes that took place in the empire between the 1894 census and the beginning of the war is far from perfect, and we often look at this period through the prism of reality as it evolved as a result of the war and the Soviet *korenizatsia* policy of the 1920s and 1930s.

Alfred J. Rieber has called the Russian Empire a "sedimentary society." He wanted to describe the peculiarity of the Russian situation whereby the reforms did not change fundamental social structures but rather imposed new structures and forms on the old ones that continued to exist "underneath."[10] Speaking of the Russian situation today, we often say that the present-day development happens "on the ruins" of the Soviet Empire. Perhaps this thesis needs to be modified in the spirit of the image suggested by Rieber: we deal with several layers of ruins, both in the institutional sphere and in the area of

group identities and imaginary geography. Over the ruins of the Russian Empire there are several strata of the Soviet-era ruins that still await serious analysis.

Notes

1 *Kritika*, 7:4 (2006), p. 705.
2 I am aware that the situational approach has its own "pitfalls" partially resembling the ones I discussed in regard to the regional approach. I believe, however, that the "construction" of actors—which we inevitably engage in when we speak of imperial bureaucracy or national movements as actors—does not have an effect as obstructive at the stage of setting research goals as does the essentialization of regions, since the logic of study itself implies an assessment of the number of actors and their internal structure.
3 One of them is a book about the western borderlands of the Romanov empire: Mikhail Dolbilov, and Alexei Miller, eds., *Zapadnye okrainy Rossiiskoi imperii* (Moscow: NLO, 2006). Its spatial framework is determined precisely by the geography of the empire, not by the present-day political map imposed onto the past and not by national narratives.
4 This strategy is most consistently implemented by Paul Werth in his studies of religious politics.
5 Francine Hirsch, *Empire of Nations. Ethnographic Knowledge and the Making of the Soviet Union* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2005). This tendency can also be seen in a number of other works. See, e.g.: Juliette Cadiot, "Searching for Nationality: Statistics and National Categories at the End of the Russian Empire (1897–1917)," *The Russian Review*, 64 (July 2005): 440–455. Cadiot practically repeats—also without evidence—Hirsch's thesis of the special role of the "imperial scholars" in the formation of the Bolshevik national policy (Ibid., p. 441).
6 Marina Mogilner, "Review of Hirsch, Francine, *Empire of Nations*," *Ab Imperio*, No. 3 (2005): 540.
7 Hirsch, *Empire of Nations*, p. 33.
8 Hirsch, *Empire of Nations*, pp. 4–8.
9 Peter Holquist, "'Information is the Alfa and Omega of our Work': Bolshevik Surveillance in its Pan-European Context," *Journal of Modern History* 69 (September 1997): 415–450; P. Holquist, "To Count, to Extract, and to Exterminate: Population Statistics and Population Politics in Late Imperial and Soviet Russia."
10 Alfred Rieber, "The Sedimentary Society," in: *Between Tsar and People: Educated Society and the Quest for Public Identity in Late Imperial Russia*, eds. E. Clowes, S. D. Kassow, and J. L. West (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 65–84.

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GLOSSARY

AVPRI	Arkhiv vneshnei politiki Rossiiskoi Imperii (The Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire)
GARF	Gosudarstvennyi Arhiv Rossiiskoi Federacii (State Archive of the Russian Federation)
RGIA	Rossiiskii Gosudartvennyi Istorichskii Arhiv (Russian State Historical Archive)
TsDIAU	Tsentralnyi Derzhavnyi Istorychnyi Arhiv Ukrainy (Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine)

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