

---

UDC [94:329.73](=161.2:438)“1795/1822”  
DOI 10.24919/2519-058X.28.287564

**Nazar RADETSKYI**

Postgraduate Student, Faculty of History, Ivan Franko National University of Lviv,  
1 Universytetska Street, Lviv, Ukraine, postal code 79007 (azaron35@ukr.net)

**ORCID:** 0000-0003-0329-0026

**Researcher ID:** HSD-8716-2023

**Назар РАДЕЦЬКИЙ**

аспірант історичного факультету Львівського національного університету імені Івана  
Франка, вул. Університетська, 1, м. Львів, Україна, індекс 79007 (azaron35@ukr.net)

**Bibliographic Description of the Article:** Radetskyi, N. (2023). Late Polish Enlightenment and the Ruthenian Issue (the end of the 18th – beginning of the 19th Century). *Skhidnoevropeyskyi istorychnyi visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 28, 38–48. doi: 10.24919/2519-058X.28.287564

## LATE POLISH ENLIGHTENMENT AND THE RUTHENIAN ISSUE (THE END OF THE 18th – BEGINNING OF THE 19th CENTURY)

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the article* to elucidate the influence peculiarities of the Enlightenment on the views formation about the nation in general and the Ruthenian issue in the Polish society at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century. To analyze how the worldview foundations laid by the Enlightenment influenced the reception of the Ruthenians by the Poles. **The research methodology** is based on the principles of historicism, scientific research. In the research there have been used general scientific principles of analysis, synthesis and generalization. **The scientific novelty** consists in the analysis of the Ruthenian issue through the prism of the Polish Enlightenment, and also in tracing the influence of the Enlightenment on the Polish scientific thought after the partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It has been clarified how socio-political views influenced the cameralistic studies of the Polish scholars. The meaning of the term “Ukraine” in the ideas of the Polish figures of that time has been studied. **The Conclusion.** The development of enlightened ideas in the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth caused radical social transformations. There was a change in the very understanding of the word “enlightenment”: from education or training without any religious content to the use of this word in opposition to the words “superstition” and “fanaticism”, which contributed to the growth of a religious tolerance in the country. The spread of enlightened ideas in the Polish lands is also connected with a social demand of the population to solve the problems of the political system. There appeared research papers with a moderate criticism of noble democracy and the ideas of Sarmatism, which were associated with traditions, the connection with which was often interpreted by enlightened people negatively. There was transition from reception of a person as a subject belonging to a certain ancestry to a broader category – the Motherland. Such conceptual changes in the minds of the Polish intellectuals led to the interpretation of the Ruthenians as part of the Polish nation. After all, for the Polish intellectuals of that time, the nation was a political community, and ethnic and cultural features were not of a particular importance. This conclusion is confirmed by the analyzed letters, papers, acts of F. Jezierski, H. Kołłątaj, T. Kościuszko, S. Staszic, T. Czacki, which show us that religion receded into the background, and state affiliation and common history became more important. The consolidating factor was to become the Polish language, which was to spread to religious rites, education, etc. In the era of the late Polish Enlightenment (1795 – 1822), an important change took place in the consciousness of the Polish public figures. They began to

move away from didacticism, and the main emphasis was placed on proving through science, literature and education the viability of the Polish nation under the conditions of statelessness. It was at that time that the papers of T. Czacki, T. Świącki and W. Marczyński appeared with descriptions of the territories of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. These research papers are characterized by the fact that all the territories of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth are considered as its integral parts and there is no focus on ethnic differences of inhabitants of these territories. It is obvious that this happened because of political reception of the nation.

**Key words:** Polish enlightenment, Ruthenian issue, F. Jezierski, T. Świącki, W. Marczyński.

## ПІЗНЄ ПОЛЬСЬКЕ ПРОСВІТНИЦТВО ТА РУСЬКЕ ПИТАННЯ (КІНЕЦЬ XVIII – ПОЧАТОК XIX ст.)

**Анотація. Мета статті** – розкрити особливості впливу Просвітництва на формування поглядів про націю загалом та руське питання у польському суспільстві наприкінці XVIII – на початку XIX ст. Проаналізувати, як закладені Просвітництвом світоглядні основи вплинули на сприйняття русинів поляками. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах історизму, науковості також використано загальнонаукові принципи аналізу, синтезу й узагальнення. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що руське питання в статті проаналізовано крізь призму польського Просвітництва, а також простежено вплив Просвітництва на польську наукову думку після поділів Речі Посполитої. З'ясовано, як суспільно-політичні погляди вплинули на камералістичні дослідження польських учених. Досліджено значення терміна “Україна” в уявленнях тодішніх польських діячів. **Висновки.** Розвиток просвітницьких ідей на території Речі Посполитої спричинив кардинальні суспільні трансформації. Відбулася зміна розуміння слова “просвітництво”: від освіти чи навчання без будь-якого релігійного змісту до його вживання у протиставленні до слів “забобон” і “фанатизм”, що сприяло зростанню в країні віротерпимості. Поширення просвітницьких ідей на польських землях пов'язане також із соціальним запитом населення для розв'язання проблем політичного устрою. З'явилися праці з поміркованою критикою шляхетської демократії та ідей сарматизму, які асоціювалися з традиціями, зв'язок з якими часто негативно трактувався просвітниками. Відбувся перехід від сприйняття особи як суб'єкта, приналежного до певного роду, до ширшої категорії – Вітчизни. Такі концептуальні зміни у свідомості польських інтелектуалів спричинили трактування русинів як частини польської нації. Адже нація для тодішніх польських інтелектуалів була політичною спільнотою, а етнічно-культурні особливості не мали особливого значення. Такий висновок підтверджують проаналізовані листи, праці, акти Ф. Єзерського, Г. Коллонтая, Т. Костюшка, С. Стаишиця, Т. Чацького, які показують нам, що віросповідання відступило на другий план, а важливішими ставали державна приналежність та спільна історія. Фактором консолідації мала стати польська мова, поширювана на релігійні обряди, освіту і т. д. В епоху пізнього польського Просвітництва (1795 – 1822) відбулася важлива зміна у свідомості польських суспільних діячів. Вони почали відходити від дидактизму, а головний акцент зробили на доведенні через науку, літературу й освіту життєздатності польської нації в умовах бездержавності. Саме в цей час з'явилися твори Т. Чацького, Т. Свенцького та В. Марчинського з описами територій колишньої Речі Посполитої. Характерним для цих праць є те, що вони розглядають усі території колишньої Речі Посполитої її невід'ємними частинами та не надають етнічним відмінностям їх мешканців помітного значення. Очевидно, що це відбувалося через політичне сприйняття нації.

**Ключові слова:** польське Просвітництво, руське питання, Ф. Єзерський, Т. Свенцький, В. Марчинський.

**The Problem Statement.** The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, being part of the European intellectual space, was influenced by Enlightenment ideas. The time frame for the existence of this phenomenon on its territory was from the 1740s to 1822. The spread of enlightened ideas on the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had a number of features, because it was primarily related to a social demand of the educated population to solve the instability problem of the political situation in the country. That is why, treatises

---

with a moderate criticism of aristocratic democracy and the tradition of Sarmatism began to appear during this period. Enlighteners received Sarmatism as a cause of backwardness, because this concept involved reliance on traditions and religion. They tried to consider the problems of relations between a person and a state rationally, rejecting religious and emotional aspects. The Age of Enlightenment contributed to transition from the category of belonging to a certain ancestry, which was relevant during previous eras for the nobility, to a broader category – the Motherland, which implied the entire Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Of course, this term was not equally significant for representatives of the crown and Great Lithuanian nobility (Tarasiuk, 2013, pp. 81–89). We will not analyze all aspects of the Polish Enlightenment and peculiarities of its spread comprehensively (Shek Brnardić, 2006, pp. 411–435). Let's dwell on only on those ones that influenced the attitude to the Ruthenian issue in detail. By the ethnonym “Rusyn” we mean modern Ukrainians. Certainly, in the context of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, this term could also refer to representatives of modern Belarusian nation, but the majority of the analyzed materials still refer to modern Ukrainian lands, that is why, it makes no sense to focus on a clear division of nations.

The spread of enlightened ideas led to the beginning of education in the Polish language, i.e. a language of instruction. One of the first to promote Polish as a language of instruction was Stanisław Konarski, a writer and education reformer. He spoke about the doom of learning Latin and introduced Polish as a language of instruction in several classes of the Noble College in 1740 (Coleman, 1934, p. 161). Later, this movement became more widespread. Another important aspect was that the word “enlightenment” acquired a new meaning, in addition to the main one – education or training without any religious content – it was also often used in opposition to the words “superstition” and “fanaticism” (Butterwick-Pawlikowski, 2005, p. 23). This transformation contributed to the growth of religious tolerance among the Polish intellectuals. A vivid example was the work of the Catholic priest Piotr Szwitkowski (Butterwick-Pawlikowski, 2005, p. 23).

In the political dimension, the Polish educators, unlike their Western colleagues, sought to overcome noble liberties (Zashkilniak & Krykun, 2002, p. 250). It was at that time that the process of understanding of the concept “nation” began. Representatives of one of the key currents – noble republicans – considered “nation” as a political and legal concept without linguistic or ethnic characteristics. Nation, in their view, included active citizens, i.e. all members of the nobility, regardless of their native language or ethnic origin. The central element of the republican view of nation was the idea of people's sovereignty. It is characteristic that noble republicans did not defend the position of representing the nation by only one state. Despite these differences, both camps neglected ethnic and cultural features, because the political understanding of the nation was more important (Walicki, 1997), i.e. belonging to a single state. In fact, the concept of “nation” (“narodowość”) – as a form of ethnic unity – could simply be ignored during the Enlightenment. As noted by A. Walicki, the Polish reformers understood that there was some difference among the population of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but for them the main task was to unite all its parts and form the Polish nationality (Walicki, 2009, p. 167). For example, a famous Polish figure of that time Franziszek Jezierski understood the nation as a group of people who spoke the same language, had the same traditions and customs contained in the same legislation for all citizens. That is why, ethnic and regional differences were considered harmful and sometimes dangerous (Tazbir). F. Jezierski, in order to elucidate his reasoning in more

detail, gave examples of the Italians and the Germans who did not have their own state, but were nevertheless a separate nation (Jeziński, 1952, pp. 217–218). This statement became especially relevant during the last years of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth existence and during the period after partitions. It was the last years of “a mature phase” (“faza dojrzała”) (1764 – 1795) and the entire “period of the late Polish Enlightenment” (“faza schyłkowa”) (1795 – 1822), which we will focus on, are of a particular interest to us.

Late Polish Enlightenment – the period from the Third Partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to the collection publication of “Ballads and Romances” by Adam Mickiewicz in 1822. At that time, there was a departure from didacticism – emphasizing the educational or informational qualities of any literature. Proving the viability of the Polish people through science and literature became more important for the Polish intellectuals. In 1800, the Warsaw Friends Society of Science was established, the main purpose of which was to preserve and improve the native language, history, and to learn about the native land (Danyliak, 2009, p. 55).

The political events of that time (the partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) caused the Polish educators to emphasize that the nation can exist without a state and remain a subject of social relations. Finally, the process ended in the era of romanticism, when the opposition between the nation and the state began, and the nation was considered a creation of God (Walicki, 2009, p. 75). The anti-Polish policy of the states participating in the partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth intensified the efforts of the Polish intellectuals to preserve the language and memory of the Polish state and to learn about their homeland. During these studies the Ruthenians acted as an integral part of the Polish nation and an ally. This approach became possible due to the fact that, as mentioned above, the influence of the Age of Enlightenment relegated religious and ethnic affiliation to the background, and staying in a once unified state became more important. It is also not worth rejecting the fact that the Poles, finding themselves in a difficult political situation, needed allies, who could be the Ruthenians of the Greek-Catholic or Orthodox faith in the struggle for restoration of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It should not be forgotten that, in addition to the Enlightenment, the Polish intellectuals were influenced by the ideas of the French Revolution at that time.

**The Analysis of Recent Research.** In the Polish social and political thought the Ruthenian issue often attracted attention of both Ukrainian and Polish researchers. However, the late Polish Enlightenment and the Ruthenian issue are usually covered in a fragmentary way, which does not allow a comprehensive consideration of the problem and tracing the tendencies of that time. For example, in Janusz Tazbir’s research on the Polish language, there is a brief analysis of the attitude of the Polish intellectuals to the Ruthenian language (Tazbir). Andrzej Walicki, in his research on the Polish public figures of the Enlightenment era, focused on the Ruthenian issue in the context of views of a certain intellectual (Walicki, 2009). A small, generalized section devoted to this issue can be found in Adam Świątek’s monograph (Świątek, 2014).

**The purpose** of the article is to elucidate the influence peculiarities of the Enlightenment on the views formation about the nation in general and the Ruthenian issue in the Polish society at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century.

**The Results of the Research.** The spread of the Enlightenment ideas, as well as the events of the French Revolution (1789 – 1799), during which the focus was on the unification of the language and attempts to get rid of dialects, had a significant impact on the Polish intellectual circles. For example, during the French Revolution, a politician and lawyer

Bertrand Barère's draft law on compulsory study of the French language appeared. We can trace similar ideas in the views of the Polish military leader Tadeusz Kościuszko. Most often, they appear in correspondence and various documents from the time of the 1794 uprising. In order to understand the ideas of a military figure better, it is necessary to consider his social and political views in general.

In modern Polish historiography, T. Kościuszko is often classified as a "new" republican. First of all, only because of his views on religious issues. If the "old" republicans called themselves "Servants of Mary" and fought for "faith and freedom", then T. Kościuszko clearly separated freedom from faith. He proclaimed equality of believers of all denominations – not only the Christians, but also the Muslims and the Jews (Askenazi & Dzwonkowski, 1918, p. XLVIII). During the uprising of 1794, he tried to put these ideas into practice. In Warsaw, there was an attempt to create Orthodox chapel and organize religious services for evangelists who were prisoners of war. He was especially concerned about the Orthodox and the Uniates, who were the largest population group after the Catholics in the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. He did not consider the Orthodox and Greek Catholics, who were usually the Ukrainians, as a separate entity, but believed that they were the Poles, and wanted to attract them to Polishness, providing them with full freedom of religion, including a decent salary for priests. For this purpose, in 1794 he introduced an Orthodox priest to the Supreme Council and recommended other state institutions to follow his example (Walicki, 2009, p. 142). However, it should be understood that these attempts were intended to contribute to Polonization of the Ruthenians, because as early as 1789, T. Kościuszko wrote in a letter to Michal Zalewski that the Ruthenians should be accustomed to the Polish language, so that the Ruthenian priests would conduct services in Polish, and over time the Polish spirit will enter their souls. The transition of the Ruthenians to celebrating religious holidays according to the Catholic calendar was important for the military leader. All these changes were supposed to lead to the fact that the moment should come when those people who do not know the national language – the Muscovites, the Prussians and the Austrians – will be considered enemies. All this is necessary for the "public good" (Tazbir).

The clergy occupied an important place in the views of T. Kościuszko, which can be seen from his address near Polianets in 1794. It contained strong anti-Moscow sentiments, and most importantly, appeals to the Orthodox and Greek Catholic clergy to maintain their loyalty to the Motherland – the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: "Do not fear that the difference of religion and rite prevents us from loving you as brothers and countrymen, and indeed we consider it our chief duty to make you feel the difference between the harsh and unjust government you are under, and the rule of law, the freedoms we call you to. [...] We, our brothers, want to tie you to our common homeland with favours and blessings. Therefore, connect your hearts with the Poles who are looking for their freedom and yours" (Mościcki, 1947, pp. 108–109).

From the content of this document, we can understand that the Orthodox population – the Ruthenians, the Belarusians – in T. Kościuszko's views belonged to the Polish nation, just like the Catholics. Affiliation was actually determined by political loyalty rather than religious or ethnic characteristics. Having analyzed the statement of 1789, one can understand that the final idea of T. Kościuszko was linguistic assimilation of the Ruthenians. It should be noted that his ideas did not include a mass conversion to the Catholic faith, which is quite natural, because the leader of the uprising was a supporter of the idea of separating state and church institutions. In his reasoning, T. Kościuszko went further and claimed that upbringing and education of the youth should be done by secular authorities (Humeniuk, 1965).

Such statements indicate that the Enlightenment era brought important changes in the socio-political views of the contemporary figures, because religious affiliation began to play a smaller role in determining nationality. Of course, T. Kościuszko was well aware of the role of the clergy in society, that is why, he always appealed to all representatives of the clergy to self-sacrifice for the sake of national interests. Appeals to representatives of the clergy of all faiths additionally show that T. Kościuszko viewed the nation as a political category that encompasses the entire population of the state, regardless of a religious affiliation.

It became obvious to the Polish social and political figures that the Roman Catholic religion could not act as a criterion of the Polish national identity, because identification of a representative of the Polish nation with the Catholic religion would contradict political tradition and desire to preserve and restore the state borders of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. According to statistical data, only about 53% of the population of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were Catholics (Próchnik, 1920, p. 13; Kukiel, 1966, p. 50). Accordingly, giving up the remaining 47% would mean the loss of a significant amount of territory.

T. Kościuszko did not ignore the peasant issue either. In his opinion, the peasantry of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth needed to be inculcated with Polish national consciousness through abolition of lordship and granting of political and electoral rights. According to the ideas of the military figure, the spread of Polish education and ensuring true equality of the Orthodox, the Uniate and the Roman Catholics was supposed to help acquire the Polish national identity (Mościcki, 1947, p. 45).

In fact, the activity of T. Kościuszko contributed to the spread of the idea of the Polish nation in the Polish society, in which the identification of a Pole with a Catholic was rejected, which allowed all the inhabitants of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to be included into the Polish nation. Linguistic differences were to be levelled due to the spread of education. After all, the Ruthenian language was often accepted as a dialect of Polish. It is worth understanding that these ideas laid the foundations for subsequent generations of the Polish social and political figures of the first half of the 19th century (Radetskyi, 2019).

At that time the spread of the Enlightenment ideas and the French Revolution ideas among representatives of the Polish intelligentsia confirmed the conviction of the need for assimilation of inhabitants of the eastern territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Assimilation was supposed to contribute to the state security due to the growth of loyalty in the eastern territories, as well as to weaken the influence of neighbouring countries on these territories. This was especially important because of the constant flirtation of the Russian Empire with the population of the eastern territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. For example, Hugo Kołłątaj argued that the Ruthenian uprisings occurred only where the population did not know the Polish language and bordered on the Muscovite state. He believed that one of the most important tasks of the Polish educators was the unification of regional differences in the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. First of all, it was about uniform legislation for all provinces (Kołłątaj, 1954, p. 367). In the style of the French Jacobins, H. Kołłątaj believed that after the unification of legislation, there should come a language unification. Such a process, according to the thinker's views, had to take place gradually, through the Polish culture, especially in the case of the Ruthenian lands. In his opinion, the nobility was the basis of the Polish culture, because they understood "the native language", unlike the peasants of the eastern territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, who still spoke Ruthenian. One of the reasons for this, the religious figure considered the Orthodox clergy, which spread a different language, faith and hostility to the government. H. Kołłątaj

argued that it was necessary to erase the boundaries between “dialects” and introduce the Polish language. This should apply not only to the eastern territories, but also to Zhmuda and Lithuania. The spread of the Polish language should take place through its introduction in educational and state institutions. The language was supposed to contribute to the unification of the provinces and formation of the nation (Kołłataj, 1954, p. 370).

In H. Kołłataj’s views, we also find a condemnation of the Polish clergy for the fact that in part of the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the foundations of the Catholic faith were spread not in Polish, but in a local language. Such was his vision regarding the spread of the Polish culture in the Ruthenian lands. Considering a difficult political situation, the author often made quite moderate statements about the then and past Ruthenian-Polish relations. For example, he despaired of the failure of the Treaty of Hadiach (1658), and considered the Russian incitement and ignorance of the Ruthenians as the causes of the Haidamak movement. The spread of science among the peasantry and the clergy was supposed to correct this situation. H. Kołłataj advocated the establishment of University on the Ukrainian lands and theological seminaries for local priests (Butterwick-Pawlikowski, 2005, p. 27). At the same time, the religious figure spoke against the educational monopoly of the Basilian Order among the Uniates, because in this way it was not possible to instill mercy and humanity (Butterwick-Pawlikowski, 2005, p. 106).

In general, this approach to the promotion of the Polish culture in Polish historiography is often assessed as moderate. This is especially noticeable against the background of T. Kościuszko’s views, who argued that the Ruthenian religious calendar should be abolished and the Polish language should be introduced in Orthodox services. He believed that this would be the best way to liberate the Ruthenians from fanaticism and ignorance, and over time “...the Polish spirit will enter them” (Walicki, 2009, p. 120).

Stanisław Staszic’s views help better understand the influence of Enlightenment ideas on the national issue in the Polish social and political thought. The scholar considered the nation as a political and legal community, which was especially evident during the period of the Great Diet (1788 – 1792). He rejected “Catholic Sarmatism” as a determinant of Polishness. Such an approach would make it possible to use the multiculturalism of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to attract representatives of other nationalities and religions (Matłęgiewicz, 2011, pp. 21–22). S. Staszic interpreted the nation as the totality of all its citizens, regardless of an ethnic origin. In the text “Notes on the Life of Jan Zamoiski” we can trace that this approach could have been caused by the First Partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the desire to compensate for the significant loss of population caused by this partition (Staszic, 1926, pp. 3–193). Tomasz Matłęgiewicz made a similar conclusion, but the researcher added that such an approach should contribute to the development of culture and economy (Matłęgiewicz, 2011, p. 22).

S. Staszic’s views, his attitude towards the Jewish population of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth help understand the concept of the nation. He believed that the Jews should be subject to nationwide legislation, judicial proceedings, and also switch to speak the Polish language. He was ready to recognize as the Poles those Jews who conducted their religious rites and studies in Polish, on a par with representatives of other religious minorities in Poland (Staszic, 1954, pp. 298–303). The Ruthenian population of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is rarely considered in S. Staszic’s research papers, but even those mentions that exist confirm that it was considered the Polish population. For example, during the period after the partitions of Poland, the researcher, characterizing the Poles, sometimes calls them a

tribe, sometimes uses the term “szczep” (an ethnic group), which consists of several subjects, one of which was the Ruthenians. In addition, in the work “On the Origin of the Carpathians and other Mountains and Plains of Poland” the Ruthenian lands are considered an integral part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Staszic, 1815). A similar principle was used in the work “Cautions for Poland”, in which it is mentioned that the richest Polish families are connected to Ruthenian voivodeships, and at the time of doing the research these lands were taken from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by the Austrians (Staszic, 1790, p. 34).

We can see the influence of the described ideas in the practical plane even after the partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. They became especially important after the Third Partition (1795). The policy of the states that participated in the partitions was aimed at eradicating any traces of the Polish domination on historical maps. New administrative and territorial units were created, old local names were replaced by new ones, and the use of the Polish language was restricted. However, Enlightenment ideas and the beginning of the cameralistic studies development contributed to the process of territorial description of the Polish lands by contemporary intellectuals. In fact, through the descriptions of the former territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, an attempt was made to form territorial self-awareness. The Ukrainian lands and many other territories were considered Polish, and any ethnic differences were eliminated. For example, in 1801, the Polish historian Tadeusz Czacki did research under the title “On the Name “Ukraine” and the Beginnings of the Cossacks” (“O nazwisku Ukrainy i początku Kozaków”), in which he tried to explain the term “Ukraine”. The scholar formed his views in a somewhat chaotic manner and not quite consistently, and in the 19th century another Polish historian Julian Bartoszewicz mentioned about it (Bartoszewicz, 1864, p. 2). Therefore, we will emphasize only the key points of the research. The author assumed that Ukraine, the territory on both banks of the Dnieper, can be called the homeland of the Ukrivis who came to Europe from the Transvolga region (Czacki, 1801, p. 32). The concept of Ukraine that was modern for him, as the author suggests after long reflections, appeared not earlier than the last years of the 15th century and underwent a certain transformation:

“The name Ukraine is new: it appeared in the last years of the 15th century. Under Olexander, it was called the empty land, then Ukraine. King Stefan called the lands Ukraine, which bordered on the Turks” (Czacki, 1801, p. 33).

According to the author the etymology of the term Ukraine is quite obvious and means a borderland, a territory bordering on a neighbouring country. He tried to substantiate his argument by citing examples from the reigns of Stefan Batory and Sigismund III, and even believed that the analogue of the word Ukraine in German is “mark” (Czacki, 1801, p. 34). In further reflections, the author writes about the division of Ukraine into Polish and Muscovite. According to the Constitution of 1580, Polish Ukraine was Kyiv and Bratslav Voivodeships with parts of Volhynia and Podillia.

These reflections of the Polish historian show that he considered the Ukrainian lands to be an integral part of Poland and such that they were actually inhabited only during the Polish rule. This approach completely denied any claims of the Ukrainian national movement, which emerged at that time. Comparing the ideas of T. Czacki and the views expressed in the “History of the Ruthenians”, which appeared at the same period time approximately, we can see a certain rivalry for the Ukrainian lands. The “History of the Ruthenians” primarily defended the interests of the Cossacks in the Russian Empire, but elements of the national narrative and attempts to oppose the “others” can be traced in it. The introduction contains a denial of ideas similar to those expressed by T. Czacki. The



author of the “History of the Ruthenians” claimed: “The Polish and Lithuanian historians, rightly suspected of fabrications and boasting, describing the actions of the Ruthenians, who tried to be the Polish subjects, overshadowed all kinds of great feats of the Ruthenians, performed for the benefit of the common homeland and Poland (...) Some new land above the Dnieper, is named Ukraine here, and in it new settlements are built by the Polish Kings and the Ukrainian Cossacks are founded; and before that the land was desert and deserted, and there were no Cossacks in Rus” (Drach). The theses presented in the “History of the Ruthenians” most likely did not concern the statements of Tadeusz Czacki specifically (Plochy, 2006, p. 342). But the theses show that, despite the needs and demands of the Ukrainian national movement, the Polish intellectual and political milieu did not try to go beyond the worldview foundations laid by the Enlightenment.

The works of a lawyer Tomasz Święcki, a regional historian and lawyer Wawzyniec Marczyński help us analyze the formation of the Polish territorial consciousness in more detail. Tomasz Święcki laid the beginning of descriptions of the Polish territories and created a certain canon scheme for describing Poland (Dybiec, 2021, p. 192). In 1816, he published the two-volume work “Description of Ancient Poland” (“Opis starożytnej Polski”). In his research T. Święcki described that the Polish territories included the lands from the banks of the Oder to the sources of the Dvina and the Dnieper (Święcki, 1861, p. 7). In the text we find many sentimental descriptions: “From the banks of the Oder to the sources of the Dvina and Dnieper lie the ruins of the once great and so famous in the history of Europe the Kingdom of Poland. Instead of towns that flourished with trade and crafts, travellers find heaps of ruins...” (Święcki, 1861, p. 7). In addition to pity for old Poland, we find in it a detailed description of the territories that the researcher considered to be Polish: “Greater Poland, Lesser Poland, Kuyavia, Mazovia, Pomerania, Prussia, Red Rus (Red Ruthenia), Volhynia, Podillia, Ukraine, Lithuania, Livonia, Courland and Moldova with Wallachia” (Święcki, 1861).

We can also see reception of the Ukrainian lands as part of the Polish ones in the work of Wawzynets Marczyński. In 1820, he published “Statistical, Topographical and Historical Description of the Podilska Province”, in which, in a manner similar to T. Święcki, he explained the history of Podillia from biblical times to the 19th century, and only then, according to the principles of cameralistics, he did research on the administrative and territorial system and power, dioceses, church and church hierarchy. The author, describing the peasantry, reduced its mission to several key aspects: “to love God, pay taxes to the monarch, serve the motherland in need and work without complaint for the common good” (Marczyński, 1820, p. 133). From this description, we can see that the territory of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was considered as a monolithic structure, because if the peasantry was interpreted in the state context, then the ethnic issue was almost completely ignored.

**The Conclusion.** The Age of Enlightenment caused significant intellectual transformations in the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Firstly, instead of receiving oneself as a subject belonging to a certain genus, there was a transition to receiving oneself as a being belonging to a broader category – the Motherland. The beginning of such a transition became possible due to criticism of the Sarmatian ideology, which was based on traditions and religion. This criticism allowed the Polish educators to think seriously about the possibility of involving different strata of the population in a political life. Reception of religion, which began to play a smaller role, changed, especially due to the fact that the word “enlightenment” began to be interpreted as opposed to “superstition” and “fanaticism”, which in turn gave an impetus to the growth of a religious tolerance. Active reception of the nation as a political unity began, and ethnic and cultural features were secondary. Another

very important transformation for us took place precisely during the period of the late Polish Enlightenment – departure from didacticism and an attempt to preserve the memory of the Polish state, which led to the appearance of works describing the territories of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, history, etc.

The above mentioned worldview foundations allowed the Polish educators to form their view on the Ruthenian issue. Since the intellectuals were based on a political understanding of the nation, the inclusion of the Ruthenians in the Polish nation was logical for them. Religious affiliation was not of great importance, therefore, for example, for T. Kościuszko, it was logical to introduce an Orthodox priest to the Supreme Council, because the main thing was a political loyalty. Ethnic and cultural features were secondary, because it was believed that all territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth should be included in the Polish nationality. This was due to the spread the Polish language as the language of instruction, which was one of the key aspects of the nation's consolidation. We traced this issue in the letter of T. Kościuszko to M. Zalewski, moreover, the leader of the uprising advocated that the Ruthenian priests conduct services in Polish. H. Kołłątaj and S. Staszic held similar ideas, the latter was ready to include the Jews who use the Polish language in their practices into the Polish nation. Any language differences on the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were interpreted as “regional”, i. e. the Ruthenian language was actually considered a dialect of Polish. The spread of education in the Polish language was supposed to eliminate these differences. In 1795 disappearance of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth from the political map of Europe led to attempts by the Polish social and political figures to preserve the memory of the former state through descriptions of its territories, history, language, etc., which we traced in the works of T. Czacki, T. Święcki, W. Marczyński, where the Ruthenian lands were an integral part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

A promising direction for further research is the search and study of views on the Ruthenian issue of representatives of the local Polish intelligentsia of Galicia and Right-Bank Ukraine.

**Acknowledgement.** I express my sincere gratitude to all members of the editorial board for consultations provided during the preparation of the article for publishing.

**Funding.** The author did not receive any financial support for the research, authorship and / or publication of this article.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

**Askenazi, S. & Dzwonkowski, W.** (Comps.). (1918). *Akty powstania Kościuszki* [Acts of the Kosciuszko Uprising]. (T. 1). Kraków. [in Polish]

**Bartoszewicz, J.** (1864). Co znaczyła i gdzie była Ukraina? [What does Ukraine Mean and where was it?]. *Biblioteka Warszawska*, 2, 1–26. [in Polish]

**Butterwick-Pawlikowski, R.** (2005). What is Enlightenment (oświecenie)? Some Polish Answers, 1765 – 1820. *Central Europe*, 3(1), 19–37. doi: 10.1179/147909605x44218 [in English]

**Butterwick-Pawlikowski, R.** (2008). Deconfessionalization? The Policy of the Polish Revolution towards Ruthenia, 1788 – 1792. *Central Europe*, 6(2), 91–121. doi: 10.1179/174582108X366063 [in English]

**Coleman, A. P.** (1934). Language as a Factor in Polish Nationalism. *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 13 (37), 155–172 [in English]

**Czacki, T.** (1801). O nazwisku Ukrainy i początku Kozaków [About the Name of Ukraine and the Beginning of the Cossacks]. *Nowy Pamiętnik Warszawski*, 4, 32–40. [in Polish]

**Danyliak, P. H.** (2009). Tadeusz Chatskyi ta yoho rol u rozvytku osvity na Pravoberezhnii Ukraini [Tadeusz Czacki and his Role in the Development of Education in Right-bank Ukraine]. *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, (2), 51–66. [in Ukrainian].

**Drach, I.** *Istoriia rusiv* [History of the Ruthenians]. URL: <http://litopys.org.ua/istrus/rusiv1.htm> [in Ukrainian].

- Dybiec, J.** (2021). *Nie tylko szabłą. Nauka i kultura polska w walce o utrzymanie tożsamości narodowej 1795 – 1918* [Not just with a saber: Polish science and culture in the struggle to maintain national identity, 1795 – 1918]. Kraków. [in Polish]
- Humeniuk, E.** (1965). Nieznany rękopis Tadeusza Kościuszki [Unknown manuscript of Tadeusz Kościuszko]. *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 4, 897–900. [in Polish]
- Jeziński, S.** (1952). *Wybór pism* [A Selection of Writings by Franciszek Saleza Jeziński]. (Z. Skwarczyńskiego ed.), Warszawa. [in Polish]
- Kollataj, H.** (1954). *Listy Anonima i Prawo Polityczne Narodu Polskiego* [Anonymous letters and the political law of the Polish nation]. (B. Leśnodorski, H. Wereszycka oprac.). (T. 1). Kraków. [in Polish]
- Kukiel, M.** (1966). *Dzieje Polski porozbiorowe 1795 – 1921* [A Post-Partition History of Poland 1795 – 1921]. London. [in Polish]
- Lukowski, J.** (2004). Political Ideas among the Polish Nobility in the Eighteenth Century (To 1788). *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 82(1), 1–26. [in English]
- Marczyński, W.** (1820). *Statystyczne, topograficzne i historyczne opisanie gubernii podolskiej z rycinami i mappami* [Statistical, Topographical and Historical Description of the Podolian Province with Pictures and Maps]. (T. 2). Wilno. [in Polish]
- Matłęgiewicz, T.** (2011). Wokół problematyki narodu w pismach Stanisława Staszica [Around the Problems of the Nation in the Writings of Stanisław Staszic]. *Studia Politicae Universitatis Silesiensis*, (7), 15–39. [in Polish]
- Mościcki, H.** (1947). *Pisma Tadeusza Kościuszki* [Works of Tadeusz Kościuszko]. Warszawa. [in Polish]
- Plokh, S.** (2006). Ukraine or Little Russia? Revisiting an Early Nineteenth-Century. *Canadian Slavonic Papers / Revue Canadienne des Slavistes*, 48(3/4), 335–353. [in English]
- Próchnik, A.** (1920). *Demokracja Kościuszkowska* [Kościuszko Democracy]. Lwów. [in Polish]
- Radetskyi, N. M.** (2019). Ukrainitsi ta ukrainska mova v uivlenniakh polskykh suspilno-politychnykh diiachiv Halychyny 1848 roku [The Image of the Ukrainians and Ukrainian Language among Polish Socio-political figures of Galicia in 1848]. *Spheres of culture*, (XX), 76–85. [in Ukrainian].
- Shek Brnardic, T.** (2006). The Enlightenment (Oświecenie)? Some in Eastern Europe: Between Regional Typology and Particular Microhistory. *European Review of History*, 13(3), 411–435. doi: 10.1080/13507480600893130. [in English]
- Staszic, S.** (1790). *Przestrogi dla Polski z terazniejszych politycznych Europy związkow y z praw natury wypadające* [Warnings for Poland, Coming from the Current European Politics and Natural Laws]. URL: <https://wolnelektury.pl/media/book/pdf/przestrogi-dla-polski.pdf> [in Polish]
- Staszic, S.** (1815). *O ziemióródtwie Karpatów i innych gór i równin Polski* [About the Origin of the Carpathians and other Mountains and Plains of Poland]. Warszaw. [in Polish]
- Staszic, S.** (1926). *Uwagi nad życiem Jana Zamoyskiego* [Remarks upon the Life of Jan Zamoyski]. (S. Czarnowski oprac.). Kraków: Nakł. Krakowskiej Spółki Wydawniczej. [in Polish]
- Staszic, S.** (1954). *Pisma filozoficzne i społeczne* [Philosophical and Social Writings]. (B. Suchodolski oprac.). (T. 1). Warszawa. [in Polish]
- Święcki, T.** (1861). *Opis starożytnej Polski* [The Description of the Ancient Poland]. (T. 1). Warszawa. [in Polish]
- Tarasiuk, Ya.** (2013). Doba Prosvitnytstva v Rechi Pospolytii: biloruska perspektyva [The Age of Enlightenment in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: a Belarusian perspective]. *Filozofska dumka*, (1), 81–89. [in Ukrainian]
- Tazbir, J.** Język polski a świadomość narodowa [Polish Language and National Identity]. URL: [https://rjp.pan.pl/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=1351](https://rjp.pan.pl/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1351). [in Polish]
- Walicki, A.** (1997). The Idea of Nation in the Main Currents of Political Thought of the Polish Enlightenment. In Samuel Fiszman (Ed.), *Constitution and Reform in Eighteenth-Century Poland: the Constitution of 3 May 1791*. URL: <https://publish.iupress.indiana.edu/read/0218d762-6267-420c-893c-e01fd963f4e9/section/6684fac1-d361-48af-92c0-11a7d262eb17#ch7> [in English]
- Walicki, A.** (2009). *Naród, nacjonalizm, patriotyzm* [Nation, Nationalism, Patriotism]. (T. 1). Kraków. [in Polish]
- Zashkilniak, L. & Krykun, M.** (2002). *Istoriia Polshchi: Vid naidavnishykh chasiv do nashykh dni* [History of Poland: From the earliest times to the present day]. Lviv: Lvivskiy natsionalnyi universytet im. I. Franka. [in Ukrainian]

*The article was received November 30, 2022.  
Article recommended for publishing 30/08/2023.*