

ВПЛИВ КУЛЬТУРНО-ІСТОРИЧНИХ ТРАВМ НА РОЗВИТОК УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ІДЕНТИЧНОСТІ В ДРУГІЙ ПОЛОВИНІ ХІХ – НА ПОЧАТКУ ХХ СТОЛІТТЯ: ІСТОРИОГРАФІЧНИЙ АСПЕКТ НАТАЛІЯ СЕМЕРГЕЙ,

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INFLUENCE OF CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL TRAUMAS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF UKRAINIAN IDENTITY IN THE SECOND HALF THE XIXth – THE FIRST THIRD OF THE XXth CENTURY: HISTORIOGRAPHY ASPECT

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Семергей Наталия. Влияние культурно-исторических травм на развитие украинской идентичности во второй половине XIX – начале XX века: историографический аспект. Цель исследования. Статья освещает и анализирует новейшие студии украинской историографии, посвященные изучению влиянию культурно-исторических травм на становление украинской национальной идентичности во второй половине XIX – начале XX века. Научно-исследовательский инструментарий представлен эмпирическими (поисково-библиографический и библиометрические методы), общенаучными (описание, объяснение, анализ, синтез, обобщение) и специальными (историко-понятийный метод, метод научно-исторической интерпретации, герменевтический метод) методами, которые позволяют осуществить научное осмысление и научную репрезентацию накопленных исторических знаний о месте и роли культурно-исторической травмы в развитии украинской идентичности в имперский период. **Научная новизна** заключается в том, что впервые в отечественном историографическом познании рассмотрено состояние освещения в новейшей исторической науке проблемы развития украинской национальной идентичности второй половины XIX – начала XX века с точки зрения западноевропейской методологии культурно-исторической травмы. **Выводы.** Установлено, что в новейшей украинской историографии проблеме травматического развития украинской национальной идентичности в имперский период посвящено значительный массив научных трудов. Выявлено, что к культурно-историческим травмам ученые относят такие социокультурные и геополитические явления как малороссийская идентичность, синдром двойной лояльности, углубление комплекса неполноценности, искусственное разъединение украинских земель в политических системах Российской и Австро-Венгерской империй, братоубийственность и разъединяющий удар первой мировой войны.

Ключевые слова: новейшая историография, культурно-историческая травма, украинская идентичность, национально-культурное возрождение, малороссийство, синдром двойной лояльности.

Introduction. The development of modern Ukrainian historiography demonstrates the awareness of objectivity of cultural and linguistic turning point which is of great interest for historians since the end of the XXth century. Such innovative and multidisciplinary studies as cultural studies, gender studies, memory studies are becoming more influential. A new comprehension of the principle of history objective interpretation which is connected with pluralism, mutual criticism, addition and mutual acceptance of historical narratives is emerging¹. In such methodological way, a new metaphor “cultural and historical trauma” is being much discussed. Its theoretical roots belong to European historiography but the comprehension of the tragic events of the Ukrainians requiring proper methodological tools, is at an early stage. The implementation of a multidisciplinary approach (including history, cultural studies, sociology, psychoanalysis, and others) within the integration of methodology of new historical narrative about a cultural and historical trauma enables historians to describe more objectively and deeper aspects of nation’s history.

The study of Ukrainian history of the second half of the XXth century in terms of cultural and historical trauma has a considerable heuristic, theoretical and methodological potential. In spite of the fact that the given period in historiography discourse is examined mainly within the paradigm of national and cultural revival, however a measure of injuring of the personal and social (especially national and political) identity of Ukrainian nation in that period of time was rather substantial. In modern domestic historiography this issues not sufficiently addressed, however, some historical works analyze a concept of Ukrainian cultural and historical trauma in a context of mental and ethnic changes of Ukrainian identity, as well as in terms of historical memory.

Historiographic review. In national historiography the theoretical aspects of cultural and historical trauma are presented in scientific research of such prominent scientists as P. Hornostai, Y. Kalakura, O. Kis, L. Naidonova, V. Ohienko, H. Rutar, O. Sushyi, I. Usatenko and others. At the same time, the development of integral methodology of cultural and historical trauma must be done in terms of

¹ Repyna L. P. “Teoretycheskye novacy v sovremennoj istoriografii” [Theoretical Innovations in Modern Historiography], *Harkivskij Istoriografichnij Zbirnik* [Kharkiv Historiographical Collection], Kharkiv : HNU imeni V. N. Karazina, 2010, N 10, P. 13, 16 [in Ukrainian].

gnoseology.

Formulating research aim and objectives. The article deals with the coverage of modern historical discourse, which analyzes the influence of cultural and historical traumas on the formation and development of Ukrainian national identity in the second half of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth century. Particular attention is drawn to the coverage of such cultural traumas of the Ukrainians as Malorossiya's identity, double loyalty syndrome, artificial separation within political systems and military strategies of different empires.

Presenting main material. As it has been already noted, the category “cultural and historical trauma” was introduced in an active scientific vocabulary in western historiography. Traditionally it marked the disastrous, extreme, maximum and tragic events of the past (genocide, ethnic genocide, terrorism, slavery, colonialism), which considerably influence further development of society². Scientists emphasize that cultural trauma is not an individual phenomenon, but a collective one. Moreover, the American sociologist K. Erikson paid attention to the fact that cultural trauma was “...a blow to the basic tissues of social life that damages the bonds attaching people together and impairs the prevailing sense of communality”³. According to the scientist Kh. Rutar, a trauma is a crisis, which destroys the usual scope of life up to the measure that it cannot be renewed. A cultural trauma takes place then, when the members of society feel that they have been forced to outlive some terrible event which left a trace in collective memory⁴.

It is important to underline that today a collective trauma is examined according to the several aspects: 1) trauma changes a nature of memory as it makes the memory be more expressive, uncontrolled, firm and durable; 2) trauma is a result of influencing an individual not so much negative events, but the experience of long-term negative anomalous social conditions; trauma has social roots in a system of discrimination, persecution, humiliation or official indifference⁵.

The development of historical discourse concerning cultural and historical trauma is connected to the democratization of historical knowledge and the emergence of the necessary socio-political and socio-cultural conditions for the reinterpretation of national historical memory. The scientific and objective analysis of the historical progress, the desire of the nations to find and defend their own vision of the past makes historians assume a task to evaluate not only the state-creating and triumphant events and phenomena of the past, but also the tragedies and traumatic subjects of national history. O. Kis emphasized that “For post-colonial and post-totalitarian Ukrainian society the problem of finding an acceptable way of conceiving, awareness,

comprehension and perceiving their own historical experience was particularly acute problem in times of independence. ... Collective memory plays a considerable role in maintaining group identity, which inevitably requires a joint understanding of history and its importance in creating narrations that connect the past, the present and the future”⁶.

Scientists have noted that verbalization and narrating play an important role in overcoming of cultural and historical traumas. It is required to carry out these tasks of historical cognition, which provides remembering, comprehension, maintenance and retaining information about collective traumas. At the time of Soviet history, the possibility to heal wounds by means of historical discourse was lost because traumatic pages of Ukrainian history were a subject to censorship, fear, stereotypes and concealment. Nowadays, new socio-political circumstances, democratization of cognition, claim of pluralism and reflexive historiography paradigm enable historians to speak about traumatized Ukrainian historical memory of the XIXth century.

Erikson's understanding of trauma as a dissociative blow to the social relationships in community enables historians to examine the artificial division of Ukrainian nation between two empires – Austro-Hungarian and Russian monarchies as a cultural and historical trauma. Scientists (O. Subtelnyi, Y. Kalakura, O. Rafalskyi and others) pay attention to political, ethnical and mental as well as civilization measuring of such particularism. At this stage, focus of interest is the fact that despite an imperial, colonial and chauvinistic policy of both states on the Ukrainians, however, their public status within the state systems of the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires was different. Strengthening of Russian imperial ambition on the way forward of elimination of the Ukrainian language, practical absence of public activism, propaganda of chauvinism impeded the development of Ukrainian identity. But liberalism and prudence of the Austrian monarchy in relation to the status of the Ukrainian language and culture, though, provided dynamism of social and cultural as well as national development for the Ukrainians of Galicia⁷. Moreover, historians pay attention on the negative consequences of trauma of cultural division of the eastern and western Ukrainians in the XIXth century in the context of S. Huntington's conception about “the line of break between East and West civilizations, which was in the center of Ukraine”, as well as in motivations of R. Kipling's formula “East VS West”.

In connection with such historical circumstances of Ukrainian consciousness development in the XIXth century, some historians are skeptical about the modern level of the Ukrainian nation formation. So, M. Riabchuk has noted that, “... on the one hand, in the western, “Polish-Austrian”, part of Ukraine a new Ukrainian nation with an entirely new

² Usatenko I. “Istorychna travma : sotsialno-kul'turne iavysche chy novyj metanaratyv?” [Historical trauma: a socio-cultural phenomenon or a new meta-standard?]. *Istorychni i politolohichni doslidzhennia. Spetsvyypusk: Transformatsii istorychnoi pamiaty* [Historical and political studies. Special issue: Transformations of historical memory], Vinnytsia : Donetsk. nats. un-t imeni Vasylia Stusa, 2018, P. 90 [in Ukrainian].

³ Erickson K. A. *New Species of Trouble : The Human Experience of Modern Disasters*, NY : Norton, 1994, P. 243 [in English].

⁴ Rutar Kh. “Travmovana chy mifolohizovana pamiat? (na materialy romanu “Tanho smerti” Yurii Vynnychuka)” [Injured or mythologized memory? (on the material of the novel Tango of Death by Yuri Vinnychuk)]. *Suchasni problemy movoznavstva ta literaturoznavstva* [Modern problems of linguistics and literary studies], Uzhhorod, 2018, N 23, P. 295 [in Ukrainian].

⁵ Kis O. “Kolektyvna pamiatka istorychna travma: teoretychni refleksii na tli zhinochykh spohadiv pro Holodomor” [Collective memory and historical trauma: theoretical reflections against women's memories of the Holodomor], *U poshukakh vlasnoho holosu : Usna istoriia iak teoriia, metod ta dzherelo* [Finding Your Own Voice: Oral History as Theory, Method, and Source], Kharkiv: PP “TORHSIN PLYuS”, 2010, P. 172–173 [in Ukrainian].

⁶ Ibidem, P. 171, 173.

⁷ Kalakura Ya. S., Rafalskyj O. O., Yurij M. F. *Mentalnyj Vymir Ukrayinskoyi Cyvilizaciyi* [The Mental Dimension of Ukrainian Civilization], Kyiv : Geneza, 2017, P. 320–331 [in Ukrainian].

national consciousness was formed. But on the other hand, in the eastern part, so called “Soviet-Russian” part of Ukraine, transformation of “Malorossiya’s” ethnos in to the Ukrainian nation was not a widespread phenomenon, as a result even at the end of the XXth century “proto-Ukrainian” ethnic substratum has here rather medieval “local”, than modern national identity⁸.

The first aspect of cultural and historical trauma of the Ukrainians of the XIXth century is in artificial separation of the Ukrainian ethnic, whilst the other aspect is of ethnic value. The question is that in the conditions of prevailing of colonial cultures there were deep mental transformations of the Ukrainians, vanishing of its identity, forming a syndrome of “malorossiya’s identity” and double loyalty⁹. Especially sharply Ukrainian identity was injured in Naddnipyrianska Ukraine. P. Magochij has noted, that without regard to a national revival and preserving Ukrainian traditions, their publications were mainly in Russian. Consequently, society has no doubt that, Ukraine or Malorossiya was natural and inseparable part of the Russian imperial world. Society accepted the fact existence of a few loyalties or identities¹⁰. A scientist makes a conclusion about forming of the phenomenon of multiple loyalty, as Malorossiya’s identity was considered to be acceptable and even desired part of national ideology of the Russian Empire. That was the lower degree of the social and cultural system which acknowledged the hierarchy of different and complementary types of loyalty and identities¹¹.

Scientists examine phenomenon of Malorossiya’s identity in the context of boundary loyalty as an area of contacts of a few civilizations and mentalities. Historians consider that, though Malorossiya’s identity extensively drew on the Ukrainian culture, it sharply opposed to the Ukrainian one. Malorossiya’s identity was the synonym of negligibility, it ridiculed the folk Ukrainian culture, its traditions and customs¹². It is important to underline that forming of a concept of Malorossiya’s identity was a logical result of integration of the Ukrainian culture in the basis of Russian chauvinism. Ukrainian patriots were deprived of their own national schools, national organizations, editions, etc. Consequently, they created the culture, using possibilities, which found among prevailing nation. It has necessarily resulted in adopting of foreign conceptions which they adjusted to the creation of own national identity¹³.

A significant step towards the overcoming Malorossiya’s identity was taken in a time of T. Shevchenko’s creative work, whose masterpieces marked the emergence of new, alternative Ukrainian identity¹⁴. According to the author of the work “The mental dimension of Ukrainian civilization” Kobzar “... broke

canon of Malorossiya’s culture, his symbolic “tsar’s dethroning” and properly “dismissal” of all empire from the system of social establishments to physical image of the Main City inclusive ... turned “Malorossiya’s” space upside down, providing him solid foundation. Ukraine has emerged from these “ruins of Malorossiya’s empire”¹⁵. T. Shevchenko’s national philosophy made an outstanding contribution to the development of Ukrainian mentality. He was the first who mentioned concepts “the native” and “the stranger”, thus affirming the idea about mental dissimilarity and difference between the Ukrainians and their neighbours – the Russians, the Poles and others. Rebellious Ukrainian, fighter for national and social liberation, was gradually replacing the image of obedient maloross T. Shevchenko coded the phenomenon of Large Ukrainian, the essence of which was conditioned by his world view and whole perspective¹⁶.

National and cultural revival of the second half the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth century took place at the time of the Great war of 1914–1918. It is difficult to determine the scope and power of its traumatic influence on Ukrainian society. The number of scientific works in modern Ukrainian historiography dedicated to historical and ethnic measuring of the First World War. They include works of such scientists as T. Hunchak, V. Lytvyn, M. Popovych, O. Reient, B. Yanyshynand others. Publication of fundamental edition of Institute of History of Ukraine of NAS “The Great War of 1914–1918 and Ukraine” (2013, 2015) was of the paramount importance for a broader understanding of the First World War.

It was obvious that the tragedy of the First World War, above all, is in its senseless fratricidal essence, the Ukrainians were on opposing sides in the War, fighting on the side of the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires. Historians underline that the war was the great tragedy for the Ukrainians. It negatively affected their worldview, moral, spirituality, especially peasants from the East to the West¹⁷. Thus, Erikson’s understanding of cultural and historical trauma as a “dissociative blow” has been mainstreamed again. One more military aggressive component was added to the traumatic state of Ukrainian political division, namely the Ukrainians were forced to fight each other, they were used as an instrument in the context of the cultural and national conflict. All these aspects affected the structure of Ukrainian identity. According to Ukrainian historian T Hynchak “...the Ukrainians were tyrannized by the Russians, trying to take away a sense of national consciousness and honour..., Magyars and Austrians humiliated them, blaming for Russophilia”¹⁸.

At the same time, there is a perception in historiography

⁸ Riabchuk M. Vid Malorosii do Ukrainy: paradoksy zapizniloho natsiietvorennia [From Little Russia to Ukraine: Paradoxes of Delayed Nationalization], Kyiv: Krytyka, 2000, P. 7 [in Ukrainian].

⁹ Kalakura Ya. S., Rafalskyj, O. O., Yuriy, M. F. Mentalnyj Vymir Ukrayinskoyi Cyvilizaciyi [The Mental Dimension of Ukrainian Civilization], Kyiv : Geneza, 2017, P. 281 [in Ukrainian].

¹⁰ Magochij P.-R. Ukraina. Istoriia ii zemel ta narodiv [Ukraine. History of its lands and peoples], Uzhhorod: Vyd-vo V. Padiaka, 2012, P. 344 [in Ukrainian].

¹¹ Ibidem, P. 348.

¹² Kalakura Ya. S., Rafalskyj O. O., Yuriy M. F. Mentalnyj Vymir Ukrayinskoyi Cyvilizaciyi [The Mental Dimension of Ukrainian Civilization], Kyiv : Geneza, 2017, P. 304 [in Ukrainian].

¹³ Hrytsak Ya. Narisy istorii Ukrainy: formuvannia modernoi ukrainskoi natsii XIX-XX stolittia [An outline of the history of Ukraine: the formation of the modern Ukrainian nation of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries], Kyiv: Heneza, 1996, P. 55 [in Ukrainian].

¹⁴ Magochij P.-R. Ukraina. Istoriia ii zemel ta narodiv [Ukraine. History of its lands and peoples], Uzhhorod: Vyd-vo V. Padiaka, 2012, P. 352 [in Ukrainian].

¹⁵ Kalakura Ya. S., Rafalskyj O. O., Yuriy M. F. Mentalnyj Vymir Ukrayinskoyi Cyvilizaciyi [The Mental Dimension of Ukrainian Civilization], Kyiv : Geneza, 2017, P. 303 [in Ukrainian].

¹⁶ Ibidem, P. 312–314.

¹⁷ Ibidem, P. 334.

¹⁸ Hunchak, T. Ukraina. Persha polovyna XX stolittia. Narisy politychnoi istorii [Ukraine. The first half of the twentieth century. Essays on Political History], Kyiv: Lybid, 1993, P. 69 [in Ukrainian].

that the tragedy of the First World War, however, wasn't fully realized in Ukrainian national memory. G. Hausman has noted that the First World War was not of great importance for national historical memory. The historian stated, "None of the battles was known in history, especially in national memory – neither so-called Brusilovsk breach of 1916 nor heroic defensive of the Fortress of Przemyśl"¹⁹. The scientist attributes this failure to the lack of the proper level of Ukrainians' self-identification at that time and involvement of marginalized regions in the military action. G. Hausman marks, "In Russia and between the Russians, the Ukrainians were usually named malorossians, and in the Habsburg Empire – Rusyns. Even in a domestic usage the name "Ukraine" has come widely into the use since the end of the XIXth century. As it often happens in history, marginalized regions became the battle places of the great states"²⁰.

At the same time, historians pay attention to dialectical value of cultural and historical traumas of the First World War and, above all, in social and political aspects. G. Hausman notes, that for a national elite and other people the essence of war, its violence and death, lies informing of a nation and a national state²¹. Such a conclusion is relevant for historiography. Historians are unanimous that the First World War resulted in politicization of Ukrainian mentality, opened up wounds inflicted by Austro-Hungarian and Russian chauvinism, stipulated dissatisfaction of monarchical regime, and consequently crystallized national slogans, enabled elimination of mental distinctions between the eastern and western Ukrainians and was the key to development of national consciousness.

Conclusions. On the whole, in modern Ukrainian historiography methodology of cultural and historical trauma is only beginning to find its rightful place among research and evidence-based tools. As we can see its application in order to understand the problems of development of Ukrainian identity in imperial age is very expedient. Proper categorical apparatus enables historians to find out those historical events which negatively and tragically influenced the processes of formation of the Ukrainian nation. Demarcation of Ukrainian lands considerably restrained the idea of unification, and phenomenon of Malorossiya's identity and double loyalty were considerable obstacles on the way of modern Ukrainian self-consciousness.

Наталія Семергей. Вплив культурно-історичних травм на розвиток української ідентичності в другій половині XIX – на початку XX століття: Історіографічний аспект. Мета дослідження. У статті висвітлено та проаналізовано новітні студії української історіографії, що присвячені вивченню впливу культурно-історичних травм на становлення української національної ідентичності у другій половині XIX – на початку XX століття. Науково-дослідницький інструментарій представлений емпіричними (пошуково-бібліографічний та бібліометричний методи), загальнонауковими (опис, пояснення, аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) та спеціальними (історико-понятійний метод, метод науково-історичної інтерпретації, герменевтичний метод) **методами**, які дають змогу здійснити наукове осмислення та наукову репрезентацію нагромаджених історичних знань про місце і роль культурно-історичної травми у розвитку української ідентичності в імперську добу. **Нау-**

кова новизна полягає в тому, що вперше в вітчизняному історіографічному пізнанні розглянуто стан висвітлення у новітній історичній науці проблеми розвитку української національної ідентичності другої половини XIX – початку XX століття під кутом зору західноєвропейської методології культурно-історичної травми. **Висновки.** З'ясовано, що в новітній українській історіографії проблеми травматичного розвитку української національної ідентичності в імперську добу присвячено значний масив наукових праць. Виявлено, що до культурно-історичних травм вчені відносять такі тогочасні соціокультурні та геополітичні явища як малоросійська ідентичність, синдром подвійної лояльності, поглиблення комплексу меншовартості, штучне роз'єднання українських земель в політичних системах Російської та Австро-Угорської імперій, братовбивчість та роз'єднуючий удар Першої світової війни.

Ключові слова: новітня історіографія, культурно-історична травма, українська ідентичність, національно-культурне відродження, малоросійство, синдром подвійної лояльності.

Sémerhei Natalia. L'impact des traumatismes culturelles et historiques sur le développement de l'identité ukrainienne dans la seconde moitié du XIX - début du -XX siècle un aspect historiographique. Le but de l'étude. L'article met en évidence et analyse les dernières recherches de l'historiographie ukrainienne, qui sont consacrées à l'étude de l'impact des traumatismes culturels et historiques sur la formation de l'identité nationale ukrainienne dans la seconde moitié du XIXe et au début du XXe siècle. Les outils de recherche scientifique sont présentés par des méthodes empiriques (recherche bibliographique et bibliométrie), scientifiques générales (description, explication, analyse, synthèse, généralisation) et spéciales (méthode historique et conceptuelle, méthode d'interprétation historique et scientifique, méthode herméneutique) qui permettent une compréhension scientifique et une représentation scientifique des connaissances historiques accumulées sur la place et le rôle des traumatismes culturels et historiques dans le développement de l'identité ukrainienne à l'époque impériale.

La nouveauté scientifique est que, pour la première fois dans la connaissance historiographique nationale, on a considéré l'état de la couverture du problème du développement de l'identité nationale ukrainienne de la seconde moitié du XIXe - début du XXe siècle du point de vue de la méthodologie de l'Europe occidentale pour les traumatismes culturels et historiques.

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¹⁹ Hausman G. Kultura porazky. Persha svitova vijna v ukrainiskij pamiaty [The culture of defeat. The First World War in Ukrainian memory], URL : <https://m.krytyka.com/ua/articles/kultura-porazky-persha-svitova-vijna-v-ukrayinskiy-pamyati> (date of the application : 17.01.2010) [in Ukrainian].

²⁰ Ibidem, P. 334.

²¹ Hausman G. "U iakyj sposib mozna napysaty sohodni istoriiu Pershoi svitovoi vijny? Pro ukrainsku perspektivu v ievropejskij istorii Pershoi svitovoi vijny (Propozytsii do diskusii)" [How can you write the history of the First World War today? On the Ukrainian perspective in European history of the First World War (Suggestions for discussion)], *Ukraina Moderna* [Ukraine is Modern], 2016, N 23, P. 14 [in Ukrainian].