




Viktoriia Voloshenko

Institute of Religion Studies – a branch of Lviv Museum of Religion History, Lviv, Ukraine  
antgrej@gmail.com

 0000-0002-1286-7870

## Colors of Resistance: Visual Representations of Ukrainian History in Popular Editions at the Turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract.** In the face of the imperial monopoly on educational services in the Russian Empire, printed materials remained the main communication tool for broadcasting the Ukrainian view of its own history. The book illustrations images that reflected Ukrainian cultural uniqueness acquired the significance of unifying cultural codes for the formation of national identity, deconstructing the imperial version of the historical knowledge ordering.

The article analyses the ways of visualizing the Ukrainian past in historical popular editions as a form of counteracting *cultural colonialism* (Mark Pavlyshyn). Using the concept of *border thinking* by Walter D. Mignolo, the content of the visual language of book illustrations is considered in the multilayered space of the intercultural borderland, in light of the unfolding horizontal dialogue between Ukrainian intellectuals and artists on both sides of the Austrian-Russian border.

**Key words:** historical popular editions – book illustrations – intellectual and artistic environment – anti-colonial resistance

**Słowa kluczowe:** historyczne wydania popularne – ilustracje książkowe – środowisko intelektualne i artystyczne – opór antykolonialny

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## Introduction

At the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the issue of visualizing Ukrainian history in popular editions<sup>2</sup> for readers from Dnieper Ukraine<sup>3</sup> went far beyond the personal preferences of authors, illustrators, and editors. Only in late 1905 and early 1906 were the repressive decrees of the Russian government<sup>4</sup> that banned Ukrainian–language popular science and didactic publications abolished<sup>5</sup>.

2 In this article, the term *historical popular editions* is considered as a series of printed publications on historical topics (historical fiction, educational and popular science works), which were related to the concept of *people's editions* or went beyond its boundaries; these are publications in which historical knowledge is presented in a form understandable to a wide range of readers (or they were created with this purpose).

The concept of *people's editions* is a general term for a series of printed publications in the late Russian Empire, which, in terms of content, graphic design, price, and distribution methods, were accessible (or were created as accessible) to peasants and representatives of the urban “lower classes”. As a particular group, they were formed against the backdrop of a gradual increase in the number of commercial publishing houses, the intensification of educational initiatives by the intelligentsia from the 1840s onwards, and the introduction of social censorship by the government. According to Arlen Blum, in 1848 there was a legislative separation of the sphere of “common” and “general” reading; in 1865 the censorship statute fixed the previous censorship for inexpensive books of small volume; in 1895 a special government decree expanded the rights of censors, who were not to allow works to be published that “cannot be recognized as absolutely harmless for popular reading”; in 1895 a special government decree obliged censors to ban manuscripts that “cannot be recognized as absolutely harmless for popular reading” (А. Блюм, *Система правительственной регламентации круга народного чтения во второй половине XIX в.*, [in:] *Книжное дело в России во второй половине XIX – начале XX века. Сб. науч. тр.*, Ленинград 1983, pp. 125–133).

*People's editions* appeared: 1) as individual or collective educational projects of representatives of various groups of the intelligentsia; Russian educators singled out publications of this group as *editions for the people*; Ukrainian educators partially used this term; along with this, from the 1850s, they called Ukrainian–language publications of this type (usually small format) *metelyky* (butterflies); from the 1890s, they increasingly employed the term *popular editions*; 2) as a commercial offer to satisfy the consumer demand of a) beginning readers and illiterate people who could read or listen to specific texts read aloud; b) readers with different levels of reading competence (mainly through cooperation with authors and publishing houses of an educational orientation). The most famous representative of commercial publications were *luboks*. Their production was carried out by specialized publishing houses, most of which were concentrated in Moscow. These publishers employed large numbers of booksellers to mass-distribute *lubok* books and pictures, while simultaneously monitoring the tastes of their audiences; they tried to publish works attractive to consumers (from textbooks and lives of saints to fiction) and widely practiced the reworking of original texts and illustrations, disregarding copyright (V. Voloshenko, *Cheap Print for the Ukrainian People: Lubok Books*, “*Little Russian Literature*”, and “*Literature for the People*”, [in:] *Cheap Print and the People: Popular Literature in the European Perspective*, ed. D. Atkinson and S. Roud, Cambridge 2019, pp. 223–251).

3 Dnieper Ukraine – unofficial conventional name of the part of Ukraine that belonged to the Russian Empire at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Eastern Galicia, Transcarpathia, and Northern Bukovyna were parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at that time.

4 Valuev circular (1864) and Ems decree (1876).

5 Political changes during the revolutionary events of 1905 also made it possible to establish Ukrainian periodicals in the Russian Empire and, accordingly, to hold public discussions.

However, in the conditions of the imperial monopoly on educational services<sup>6</sup>, printed materials remained the main source for presenting of the Ukrainian view of one's own history. Visual representations of Ukrainian history created outside Russian imperial discourse acquired the meaning of visualized unifying cultural codes and became an important form of resistance to colonial cultural policies<sup>7</sup>. In addressing a wide range of readers, the transmitting of these images made them visible to both literate and illiterate recipients. By evoking an emotional response, visuals of book illustration became a communicative tool for "establishing control over one's own past"<sup>8</sup>.

In the public space of the Russian Empire, the importance of this issue was highlighted during the broad discussion sparked by the publication of the illustrated *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusi* (History of Ukraine-Rus) (1907) by Mykola Arkas (1852–1909), the founder of Mykolaiv *Prosvita*<sup>9</sup>. Moreover, this event had an inter-imperial dimension, as its participants included Ukrainian scientists, writers, artists, and publicists who lived on both sides of the border between the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires. The presence of leading Ukrainian historians among the debaters<sup>10</sup> confirmed the role of publishing popular Ukrainian history books in opposition to imperial attempts to turn Ukrainians into a "people without history"<sup>11</sup>. At the same time, the visual means used to depict the past in *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusi*, the number and content of critical comments

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6 The Russian authorities did not allow the establishment of Ukrainian educational institutions. They began to be founded only after the beginning of the Ukrainian Revolution in 1917.

7 According to Madina Tlostanova, for a long time the Russian Empire was not even classified as a colonial project (M. Tlostanova, *Between the Russian/Soviet dependencies, neoliberal delusions, dewesternizing options, and decolonial drives*, "Cultural Dynamics" 2015, vol. 27(2), p. 271). In the Ukrainian case, Russia's "self-proclaimed role" as a "modernizer and civilizer" (Ibidem, p. 272) was complemented by the imaginations that Ukrainians are only an integral of the Russian people and that Ukraine was nothing more than *Malorossia* (Little Russia).

8 *Edukacja historyczna społeczeństwa polskiego w XIX w. Zbiór studiów*, ed. J. Maternicki, Warszawa 1981, p. 11–12.

9 *Prosvitas* – Ukrainian public enlightenment societies. The first *Prosvita* was founded in 1868 in Lviv. It coordinated the activities of local centers in the Ukrainian lands that were then part of the Austro-Hungarian empire. In Dnieper Ukraine, limited opportunities of founding *Prosvitas* appeared in 1906.

10 Among them were Mykhailo Hrushevsky (1866–1934), Vyacheslav Lypynsky (1882–1931) and Dmytro Doroshenko (1882–1951) (all from Dnieper Ukraine), Bohdan Barvinsky (1880–1958) and Stepan Tomashivsky (1875–1930) (both from Galicia). The editor of *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusi*, Vasyl Domanytsky (1877–1910), also had a professional historical education, he was a graduate of the Faculty of History and Philology of Kyiv University.

11 "The pluriversal (emerging from diverse local experiences through time and around the world, between local Western histories and non-Western local histories) epistemology that interconnects the plurality and diversity of decolonial projects" (W.D. Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs. Book Subtitle: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking*, Princeton 2012, p. 3).

indicate not only to the nonlinearity of public perception of this problem at the time of the book's publication, they also point to the existence of previous experience in searching for a visual language for Ukrainian popular history books as a practice of intellectual and artistic resistance to imperial pressure.

The analytical framework of the study draws on Walter D. Mignolo's concept of "border thinking"<sup>12</sup> as "other" thinking, which arises at the border between cultures and allows for the redefinition of the location of cultural centres and peripheries. The scientist considers the concept of "culture" in the horizontal dimension of the coexistence of a plurality of diverse cultural manifestations. Tamara Hundorova, based on this approach, notes the potential of peripheral *popular culture* (from her viewpoint, it is located between folklore, high and mass cultures). The scholar cites such examples of "border" culture as *luboks* ("a phenomenon of intercultural dialogue") and the painting image of the Cos-sack Mamai, created in the traditions of Baroque and reproduced over centuries in both professional and popular art<sup>13</sup>. In this article, W.D. Mignolo's ideas of decentering the notions of core and periphery becomes a theoretical basis for considering not only the vertical but also the horizontal level of interaction, regardless of imperial borders and without structural dependence on the imperial center. T. Hundorova's conclusions are valuable for understanding spontaneous forms of artistic resistance, which unfolded outside the organizational efforts of Ukrainian intellectuals. The theoretical concept of *cultural colonialism*<sup>14</sup> proposed by Mark Pavlyshyn is the basis for characterizing Russian imperial cultural policy and forms of direct and subtle confrontation<sup>15</sup>.

The purpose of this article is to explore the ways of anti-colonial resistance in the field of illustrating Ukrainian popular historical editions. Particular attention is paid to the analysis of the possibilities for countering *cultural colonialism* within and beyond the cultural forms defined by the empire; the establishment of interaction between Ukrainian intellectuals and artists in the preparation of illustrations: changes in the definition the visual representation of "Ukrainianness".

12 Ibidem, p. xxii.

13 Т. Гундорова, *Транзитна культура. Симптоми постколоніальної травми*, Київ 2013, pp. 262–280.

14 "A complex of measures (cultural institutions, ideologies, practices, rhetorical strategies) in any form of popular or high culture aimed at supporting political and economic power" (М. Павлишин, *Козаки в Ямайці: постколоніальні риси у сучасній українській культурі*, "Слово і час" 1994, no. 4–5, pp. 65–71).

15 Ibidem: М.Павлишин, *Постколоніальна теорія і критика*, [online] <http://vpered.wordpress.com/2009/10/08> [accessed 15.10.2023].

## In the face of colonial challenges

“Imperial control over cultural resources” (M. Pavlyshyn) was one of the main colonial challenges facing Ukrainians. During the brief periods of liberalization of imperial cultural policy, until 1876, Ukrainian intellectuals were able to publish only a few unillustrated historical brochures and a few ABCs with images of Cossacks. Already according to the Valuev Circular (1863), the government banned the printing of Ukrainian-language textbooks and “books for people’s beginning reading”. Under the Ems Decree (1876), only fiction was allowed to be published in Ukrainian. Additional censorship resolution (October 8, 1876) prohibited the publication of Ukrainian-language children’s books, works from the life of the intelligentsia, and editions with historical plots, as well as the use of the name “Ukraine”<sup>16</sup>. Such thematic limitation contributed to the formation of “the myth about the backwardness and inferiority” (M. Pavlyshyn) of Ukrainian culture and the creation of its “peasant” image. In 1908, Ukrainian poet and art historian from Galicia Vasyl Pachovsky (1878–1942) recalled the prohibition of depicting “dramatic scenes” from Ukrainian history and the requirement to represent in the literature “a peasants’ idyll or drama”<sup>17</sup>. The imposed demands provoked self-censorship. In 1901, the head of the St. Petersburg *hromada*<sup>18</sup> Petro Stebnytsky (1862–1923) asked Amvrosii Zhdakha (1855–1927) to depict “something peasant-like” without political overtones on the logo for the Ukrainian publishing house of “useful and cheap books”<sup>19</sup>.

In 1892, the censors were instructed to “especially carefully” examine all Ukrainian works and, at the slightest opportunity, reduce their number “in the interests of the state”<sup>20</sup>. A number of Ukrainian manuscripts disappeared without a trace after these inspections<sup>21</sup>. Censors checked the texts of Ukrainian histor-

16 С. Єфремов, *В тісних рамах. Українська книга в 1798–1916 рр.*, Київ 1926, pp.10–16.

17 “Історія України-Русі” у листуванні Миколи Аркаса з Василем Доманицьким. 1906–1909 роки, eds. І. Старовойтенко, Kyiv 2009, p. 221.

18 *Hromadas* – national and cultural societies that were introduced by Ukrainian intellectuals since the late 1850s.

19 Odesa National Scientific Library Department of rare publications and manuscripts (Одеська національна наукова бібліотека – ОННБ), Відділ рідкісних видань та рукописів, ф. 28, карт. 7, од. зб. 486, арк. 23–24.

20 С. Петров, *Книжкова справа в Києві*, Київ 2002, p. 222.

21 В. Широchanский [В. Біднов], *К вопросу об издании украинской научно-популярной литературы*, “Киевская Старина” 1905, no. 11/12, p. 83. Even after the actual abolition of anti-Ukrainian censorship decrees in late 1905 and early 1906, the situation with the publication and distribution of Ukrainian-language books was not stable. Waves of withdrawals of Ukrainian books from libraries and bookstores were caused by Peter Stolypin’s circular against “foreigners” (January 20, 1910), and later by the beginning of World War I: during July 1914, 15 Ukrainian publishing houses and most periodicals were closed (С. Єфремов, op. cit., pp. 18, 28; *Українська книга в селі*,

ical fiction, and in some cases the illustrations for them. They allowed works about the Cossack struggle against the Poles, Tatars, and Turks, but banned manuscripts with attempts to glorify the Cossack fight for freedom and independence<sup>22</sup>. In 1901, censors banned the printing of a drawing by A. Zhdakha for the cover of Panteleimon Kulish's (1819–1897) novel *Chorna Rada* (Black Council) (which Odesa *hromada* activists planned to publish in the format of a *popular edition*)<sup>23</sup>. The central government's policies were reinforced by the actions of officials. For instance, in 1881, Kyiv, Podilla, and Volyn General-Governor Aleksandr Drenteln (1820–1888) informed the censorship authority about the inadmissibility of printing portraits of Ukrainian writers and drawings of historical monuments with Ukrainian-language poetic captions<sup>24</sup>.

Instead, the historical section of the catalog of books approved for distribution by the Ministry of Education was filled with editions that glorified imperial rule and expansionism<sup>25</sup>. Russian textbooks and popular publications provided historical knowledge in which the memory of the Ukrainian past was completely erased or reduced to a few plots of Cossack history, which were “appropriated” by imperial historiography through the myth of Ukraine's “voluntary entry” into Muscovy. The image of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky (1595 [1596]–1657) was supposed to symbolize this event. The image of Hetman Ivan Mazepa was presented as a traitor to the empire. The next popularized “historical figure” was a literary hero: Mykola (Nikolai) Gogol's *Taras Bulba* was widely popularized in numerous reprints and adaptations in the format of *people's editions*. In 1890, Kyiv *hromada* member Irodion Zhytetsky (1851–1913) found five Moscow *lubok* pictures (printed between 1879 and 1888) on topics related to Ukrainian history. Their heroes were the two aforementioned hetmans and Taras Bulba. In 1897 and 1899, the Kyiv Censorship Committee approved the publication of three Kyiv *luboks* with references to the Ukrainian past; the themes were the same<sup>26</sup>. These brochures were reprinted several times in 1895–1903<sup>27</sup>.

“Украинская Жизнь” 1913, no. 5, pp. 97–98; *Преследование украинских изданий*, “Украинская Жизнь” 1914, no. 4, p. 97; С. Петров, *op. cit.*, p. 287).

22 Central Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv (Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Київ – ЦДАГО України), ф. КМФ-19, оп. 1, од. зб. 4, арк. 51–52, 245, 256–257, 260.

23 А. Мисечко, *До співпраці Амвросія Ждахи з одеською громадою та “Просвітою” наприкінці ХІХ – на початку ХХ ст.*, [online] <http://www.history.odessa.ua/publication8/stat06.htm> [accessed 18.11.2023].

24 *Українська ідентичність і мовне питання в Російській імперії: спроба державного регулювання (1847–1914). Збірник документів і матеріалів*, відп. ред. Г. Боряк, Київ 2013, p. 184.

25 *Каталог книг для употребления в низших училищах ведомства Министерства Народного Просвещения*, Санкт-Петербург 1891.

26 ЦДАГО України, ф. 294, оп. 1, од. зб. 312, арк. 1–8.

27 С. Петров, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

Thus, images of Cossacks had become the main theme representing “Ukrainianness” in popular publications of the Russian Empire until 1905. The demand for these images among Ukrainian readers of *people’s editions* was supported by their presence in the intergenerational memory, folklore and artistic practices. Villagers requested “portraits” of Cossacks, and “recognized” their own ancestors<sup>28</sup>.

The pages of *people’s editions* on topics from Ukrainian history became a field of tension between imperial cultural policy and manifestations of nonobvious, invisible, spontaneous resistance. Gaps in the imperial cultural construct left spaces for the formation of changing, multiple identities.

According to ethnographer Mykola Sumtsov (1854–1922), there was “nothing Ukrainian” on the covers of thousands of *lubok* copies distributed in Ukrainian villages<sup>29</sup>. Researchers of *lubok* graphics, in particular, have similarly characterized illustrations in *lubok* brochures from 1874 and 1902 and a *lubok* drawing from 1878<sup>30</sup>. However, the design of *people’s editions* could combine images with different content, including those related to the Ukrainian visual system.

In the case of *luboks*, it depended on the method of their creation. One of the common practices of *lubok* publishers was to decorate their editions with drawings borrowed from other printed publications. The covers of five *luboks* about Taras Bulba (1892, 1899, 1900) were illustrated with reworkings of a drawing by the court painter Mikhail Zichi (1827–1906), transferred from the books (1893, 1895) of the St. Petersburg publisher Adolf Marx (1838–1904). In turn, M. Zichi copied this image from Pavel Sokolov’s (1826–1905) album (1869)<sup>31</sup>. In the same A. Marks’s edition of *Taras Bulba* also reproduced illustrations by Ralf Shtain(?) and Igor Grabar (Khrabrov) (1871–1960). Ukrainian critics especially noted I. Grabar’s skill in conveying the features of the “Ukrainian character” (there were proposals to use his drawings to illustrate the Lviv *Prosvita* edition of M. Gogol’s stories). Among the R. Shtain’s drawings, they liked the image of a Cossack playing the kobza (explicit reference to the image of the Cossack

28 *Самі про себе: Автобіографії українських митців 1920-х років*, eds. Р. Мовчан, Київ 2015, p. 402; В. Яковенко, *С книгами по ярмаркам. Письмо из Полтавской губернии*, “Вестник Европы” 1894, no. 9, p. 415. Peasants continued to be interested in publications on Cossack themes later on. When they looked at the images of Cossacks and hetmans in M. Arkas’s book, “their eyes shone” (“*Історія України-Русі*”..., p. 217). In 1914, in peasant houses “one could find” portraits of hetmans and Taras Shevchenko (1814–1861) (*Рост национальной сознательности*, “Украинская Жизнь” 1914, no 4, p. 94).

29 М.В., *Настінні календарі*, “Маяк”, 1.10.1913, no. 42, pp. 12–13.

30 Н. Гіляровська, *Гоголь в народній книжці та картинці*, “Бібліологічні вісті” 1927, no. 3, p. 56; М. Ш–ін, *Народные иллюстрированные издания повестей Н. Гоголя*, “Зоря”, 01.09.1895, no. 17, pp. 339–340.

31 Н. Гіляровська, *op. cit.*; М. Ш–н, *op. cit.*

Mamai)<sup>32</sup>. A combination of identifying meanings could also be present in other popular publications. The name “Ukraine” in the title of awareness-raising edition *Istoriicheskiie deiateli Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii* (Historical figures of South-Western Russia) (Kyiv, 1885) was replaced with a colonial euphemism, but its cover was decorated with a reproduction of a 17<sup>th</sup>-century Ukrainian engraving depicting Hetman Petro Konashevich-Sahaydachny (1570–1622) framed by Cossack military symbols. Artistic images rooted in the Ukrainian cultural tradition of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries also marked peasant decorative practices and influenced the work of representatives of old local icon painting schools and artists with academic education<sup>33</sup>.

Deprived of the opportunity to decorate Ukrainian popular historical editions, professional artists published their graphic images on Ukrainian historical topics in Russian magazines, and Russian-language brochures. The works of professional artists could strengthen the imperial structure of domination and, at the same time, popularise Ukrainian visual codes. For instance, Mykola Karazin (1842–1908), one of the best European battle painters in graphic art, on the one hand, helped to “glorify imperial militarism”, and on the other hand, he illustrated texts by T. Shevchenko and M. Gogol, as well as Oleksandra Yefymenko’s (1848–1918) historical sketch *Na Ukraine* (In Ukraine) (1901)<sup>34</sup>.

Illustrating Ukrainian-language fiction with historical themes was also an important legal field of representation of visual images of Ukrainian history. Besides M. Karazin, among the illustrators of T. Shevchenko’s poems were Opanas Slastion (1875–1928), Porfyrrii Martynovych (1856–1933), Kostiantyn Trutovsky (1826–1893), Mykola Pymonenko (1862–1912), Mykhailo Mikieshin (1835–1896). Later such illustrations also appeared in Ukrainian periodicals (after the ban on their establishment was lifted). During the revolution of 1905–1907, the image of the Cossack in these illustrations acquired a new meaning. Thus, Pavlo Naumov (1884–1942) emphasized the role of the Cossacks as bearers of memory, cultural communicators between the world of heroes who died for their homeland and the new generation of Ukrainians<sup>35</sup>.

Ukrainian specificity also appeared through the implanted imperial commemorative and educational practices. To celebrate the anniversary of the

32 В. Лукич [В. Левицький], Н. Гоголь. Народное издание, “Зоря”, 15.08.1893, no. 22, pp. 441–442; Залуквич [В. Масляк], *Иллюстрированные издания сочинений Н.В.Гоголя. В Петербурзі, 1895 р. Друге виданє А.Ф.Маркса*, “Зоря”, 15.03.1896, no. 6, p. 119.

33 See more: V. Voloshenko, “Public Images of Sentiment” for Peasants: *Lubok Pictures in the Context of Ukrainian Cultural Experience*, “Skhidnoievropeiskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk” 2022, no. 22, pp. 54–63.

34 *Українська культура: лекції за ред. Д. Антоновича*, eds. С. Ульяновська, Київ 1993, p. 142.

35 Заступець [П. Наумов], *[Ілюстрація до «Кобзаря» Тараса Шевченка]*, “Шершень” 1906, no 10, p. 5.



“Patriotic war” of 1812 Kyiv *zemstvo*<sup>36</sup> purchased sets of paintings for schools with the usual “pantheon” of Russian tsars and generals, but they were supplemented with an element of “remembrance” of local culture such as the pictures with images of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra saints<sup>37</sup>. In 1904–1906, Arkhip Kuindzhi’s student Viacheslav Rozvadovsky (1875–1943) took advantage of the government’s attention to “supporting the arts and crafts” and held a unique travelling exhibition in Ukrainian towns and villages of six Ukrainian gubernias. He demonstrated more than 220 paintings (in particular on historical topics), provided free of charge by famous artists, including Illia Repin (1844–1930). In one of the tours alone, 12 540 copies of reproductions were sold. The exhibition was viewed by about 200 000 people. About half of them were peasants who reacted emotionally to the images<sup>38</sup>.

Many Ukrainian students at the Academy of Arts had contacts with Ukrainian *hromada* in St. Petersburg, yet it is unknown whether this action by V. Rozvadovsky was coordinated with representatives of the Ukrainian movement or whether it was an individual initiative.

### Intellectual and artistic decentered mobilization on the borderlands of empires

The centres of institutionalised resistance to Russian imperial policy were Ukrainian *hromadas*. From the mid-1890s, activists affiliated with them were able to establish Ukrainian publishing houses in Chernihiv, Kharkiv, Kyiv, and St. Petersburg, joining forces to obtain censorship permits for the printing of Ukrainian-language manuscripts, including popular science brochures of historical content. In 1900, another attempt was successful, when they disguised two popular science texts on Cossack themes as fiction. Both works were written by Odesa *hromada* activist Mykhailo Komarov (1844–1913) and illustrated by A. Zhdakha<sup>39</sup>. To avoid problems with censorship, the artist drew a scene from peasant life for the cover of a brochure about B. Khmelnytsky. Most likely, for the same purpose, publishers associated with the St. Petersburg *hromada* included images of the Pereiaslav Council (an event [1654] symbolic for the empire) among the illustrations. State control over the publication of Ukrainian-language

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36 *Zemstvos* – an elected bodies of local self-government in 1864–1918.

37 С. Петров, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

38 Л. Овчаренко, *Народні виставки картин В'ячеслава Розвадовського (1904–1906)*, “Етнічна історія народів Європи” 2014, no. 43, pp. 52–59.

39 М. Комарь [М. Комаров], *Оповідання про Антона Головатого та про початок Чорноморського козацького війська*, Санкт-Петербург 1901; *Idem*, *Оповідання про Богдана Хмельницького*, Санкт-Петербург 1901.

historical popular science books remained strict. Publishers were worried that these editions would be withdrawn from circulation. So, at that time, such maneuvers were not unnecessary; they helped promote Ukrainian content.

The protection of Ukrainian cultural interests was facilitated by the interaction of Ukrainians divided by the Russian-Austrian border. In Galicia and Bukovina, it was possible to publish not only fiction, and authors were not limited in their choice of topics. Ukrainian periodicals in Galicia have become communication platforms for public discussion of the problems of Ukrainian popular book publishing, particularly in the field of visual representation of Ukrainian history. A special place belonged to the Lviv magazine “*Zoria*” (Star) (1880–1897). “*Zoria*’s” editor Volodymyr Levytsky (1856–1938), together with scholar Ahatanhel Krymsky (1871–1942) and writer Borys Hrinchenko (1863–1910) (both from Dnieper Ukraine), began cataloging artworks on Ukrainian topics that appeared in the public space of the Russian Empire. They searching for such images in illustrated magazines, *luboks*, and paintings by famous artists. The articles by these authors initiated discussions about the origins of found images, the ways of their appropriation by the empire, and the prospects for their reinterpretation<sup>40</sup>.

Ukrainian public figures on both sides of the border shared the same opinion about the importance of visual historical images. They were convinced that “a good picture in the reader’s imagination completes the picture of the actions of the characters or a historical event”<sup>41</sup>, and believed that “a pictures are better than words”, because they “delight the eyes and bring thoughts to the soul”<sup>42</sup>. Preparation for printing Ukrainian historical fiction and popular science publications required intensification of interaction with artists.

Ukrainian activists contacted I. Repin, who was born and began his artistic education in Ukraine (studied under icon painters) and constantly addressed Ukrainian themes in his work. *Hromadas* participants consulted him about the candidacies of illustrators, asked for advice on evaluating already created graphic images<sup>43</sup>. I. Repin’s images were used to illustrate popular historical publications by Adrian Kashchenko (1858–1921)<sup>44</sup> and Lviv

40 В. Волошенко, *Агатангел Кримський у комунікаційному середовищі діячів “справи народної літератури”*, “З історії західноукраїнських земель” 2021, no. 17, pp. 108–114.

41 О. Рогова. *Теміш Хмельниченко, гетьманів син*, “Маяк”, 9.09.1913, no. 36, p. 13.

42 “*Історія України-Русі*”..., pp. 218, 224–225.

43 ОННБ, Відділ рідкісних видань та рукописів, ф. 28, карт. 9, од. зб. 488, арк. 53–54.

44 *Запорозьська слава. Історичне оповідання Кащенко*, “Рідний Край”, 25.12.1906, no. 51–52, p. 4; А. Кащенко, *Запорозьська слава*, Катеринослав 1906; Idem, *Бусурманська неволя в українській народній поезії*, Катеринослав 1915; Idem, *Оповідання про славне військо Запорозьське низове*, Катеринослав 1917.

*Prosvita*<sup>45</sup>. Impressed by I. Repin's paintings, artists Vasyl Korniienko (1867–1904)<sup>46</sup> and (1870–1933) Petro Sharvarok<sup>47</sup>, turned to the topics of Ukrainian history, and the drawings of both were later considered by publishers as illustrations for popular Ukrainian historical publications.

Ukrainian intellectuals practiced joint searches for illustrators. In 1899, Oleksandr Borodai (1844–1914) offered to M. Komarov “to take a risk” (under those political circumstances) and publish for the people *Chorna Rada* with drawings. He suggested contacting P. Sharvorok or O. Slastion<sup>48</sup>. To illustrate this M. Kulish's novel, as well as own two above-mentioned brochures, M. Komarov chose A. Zhdakha<sup>49</sup>. Activists from the Odesa, Kyiv, and St. Petersburg *hromadas* appreciated his “taste and an idea”, his ability to detail images<sup>50</sup>. After 1905, A. Zhdakha collaborated with Odessa *Prosvita* (one of the founders of which was M. Komarov) and the Kyiv publishing house *Chas* (Time) (1908–1920). In 1893–1914, *Chas*'s publishers issued a series of postcards with A. Zhdakha's drawings<sup>51</sup>. In 1912 and 1914, at their invitation, the artist illustrated two historical novels<sup>52</sup>. Another work in this series was designed by a descendant of a family of Poltava icon painters, a representative of Neo-Byzantine style, and future minister of the Ukrainian People's Republic (1917–1921), Petro Kholodny (1876–1930)<sup>53</sup>.

The outstanding Ukrainian artist Serhii Vasylykivsky (1854–1917) interacted with Kharkiv *hromada* activists. He used Volodymyr Aleksandrov's (1825–1894) library, and created illustrations for Mykhailo Lobodovsky's (1841–1919) books<sup>54</sup>.

In 1904, Serhii Yefremov (1876–1939), the leader of the Kyiv publishing house *Vik* (Century) (1895–1918), was amazed by V. Korniienko's drawings.

45 This refers to the collection *Yak voiuvaly zaporizhtsi?* (How did the Zaporozhian Cossacks fight?) (1908). (*Товариство “Просвіта” у Львові: покажчик видань, 1868–1939: [каталог]*, eds. О. Бербека, Л. Головата, Львів 1996, р. 166).

46 Н. Василенко, *Корнієнко Василь Онисимович*, [online] <https://www.museum.dp.ua/uk/article0073/> [accessed 18.12.2023].

47 В. Жердев, *Нео-византийские реминисценции в росписях украинского художника П. С. Шарварока в православном храме во Флоренции*, [in:] *Архетип и универсалии искусства христианского мира от античности до современности*, Москва 2018, pp. 147–151.

48 ОННБ, Відділ рідкісних видань та рукописів, ф. 28, карт. 1, од. зб. 480, арк. 75.

49 А. Мисечко, op. cit.; І. Козирод, *Амвросій Ждаха – художник – ілюстратор*, [online] <http://www.history.odessa.ua/publication8/stat02> [accessed 18.12.2023].

50 ОННБ, Відділ рідкісних видань та рукописів, ф. 28, карт. 7, од. зб. 486, арк. 23.

51 І. Козирод, op. cit.

52 З. Левицька. *При бутій дорозі*, “Дніпрові хвилі”, 2.09.1912, no. 15–16, pp. 215–218.

53 Г. Стрельський, *Петро Іванович Холодний*, [in:] *Енциклопедія історії України*, ed. В. Смолій, Київ 2013, Vol. 10, p. 408.

54 *Українська культура...*, p. 142.

He recommended to M. Komarov engage this artist “in Ukrainian work”<sup>55</sup>. Even earlier, this painter communicated with future members of the Katerynoslav (Dnipro) *Prosvita*, writer A. Kashchenko, historian Dmytro Yavornytsky (1855–1940), and artist Mykola Bohuslavsky (1850–1933). V. Kornienko dreamed of illustrating the entire history of Ukraine, but died prematurely. Some of his drawings are paraphrases of the image of the Cossack Mamai. In 1913, M. Bohuslavsky published several drawings by V. Kornienko in the form of postcards. In 1916 and 1917, A. Kashchenko used his drawings to illustrate two of his own brochures about the Cossacks<sup>56</sup>.

In preparing his book for publication, M. Arkas used ready-made drawings, some of which were criticized. While reflecting on the design of the second edition of his book, he was looking for an illustrator who would be an “expert on Ukrainian heritage” and a “bearer of the Ukrainian view of history”<sup>57</sup>. M. Arkas thought about Yukhym Makovsky (1862–1919), yet doubted his skill in historical painting. In this search, the author was assisted by V. Domanytsky, V. Pachovsky, and a member of the Kharkiv *hromada*, author and publisher of Ukrainian books “for the people” Hnat Khotkevych (1877–1938). They discussed the candidacies of S. Vasylykivsky and O. Slastion, as well as the Galician artists Yuliiian Pankevych (1863–1933), and Osyp Kurylas (1870–1951). Being in Krakow, V. Domanytsky consulted with the artist Bohdan Lepky (1872–1941)<sup>58</sup>. Due to the sudden death of M. Arkas, work on the second edition of his book was completed without him.

In the artistic decoration of own popular works on Ukrainian history, M. Hrushevsky fruitfully interacted with the prominent artist Vasyl Krychevsky (1873–1952). Together they introduced innovative approaches to the design of this type of publication. According to the historian of Ukrainian culture Dmytro Antonovych (1877–1945), this collaboration launched “a new movement of Ukrainian book art”<sup>59</sup>.

### Cultural intersections of finding “Ukrainianness”

Until 1905, the aspirations of Ukrainian intellectuals and artists to present a visual representation of Ukrainian history to a wide audience were significantly limited in the possibilities of printing different types of publications and the

55 ОННБ, Відділ рідкісних видань та рукописів, ф. 28, карт. 3, од. зб. 482, арк. 25.

56 Н. Василенко, *op. cit.*

57 “*Історія України-Русі*”..., pp. 91–93.

58 *Ibidem*, pp. 106–108; 122; 146–149; 151–158.

59 *Українська культура*..., p. 143.

choice of topics. However, even under these conditions, they sought to enrich the palette of images and detail them.

Under the influence of the European “arts and crafts” movement, attention was increasing to local crafts, decorative and applied arts, etc. The development of archaeology and ethnology increased interest in local material culture. Ukrainian artists collected antiquities and popularized them in special printed collections and their own work, improving images of Ukrainian past in easel painting and graphics. In 1900 and 1902, artists S. Vasylkivsky and Mykola Samokysh (1860–1944) compiled and published two albums with motifs of Ukrainian ornaments, in particular, embroidery patterns on Ukrainian Baroque church vestments. Since 1901, S. Vasylkivsky participated in collecting materials for a textbook on pottery and carving<sup>60</sup>. He also had a collection of Cossack costumes<sup>61</sup>. While researching Ukrainian Baroque, A. Zhdakha created a significant number of sketches of furniture and interiors. His apartment resembled a museum of Cossack weapons and decorative and applied arts<sup>62</sup>. The artist used this knowledge to design historical brochures, detailing depictions of Cossack clothing and weapons, enlivening images of everyday life and battle scenes, executed in the academic style.

To create the painting *Zaporizhian Cossacks Writing a Letter to the Turkish Sultan* (reproductions of which have repeatedly become illustrations for Ukrainian popular historical editions), I. Repin received professional advices from a recognized expert in the history of the Cossacks, D. Yavornytsky. From his collection of antiquities, the artist painted most of the Cossack weapons and paraphernalia. He made drawings of Cossack ammunition at the Vasyl Tarnovsky Museum. In his work on Cossack images, he also used archaeological finds<sup>63</sup>.

Romanticism and Realism in the visual arts were closely linked to linguistic, ethnographic, and historical research and focused on depicting life of *the people* (in fact, the peasantry). Gradually, this concept has been redefined, with the rejection of its forced class limitations. Therefore, in the illustrations of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, there is a noticeable interest in reflecting the artistic and material heritage of representatives of different social classes. The publishers illustrated M. Komarov’s brochure about B. Khmelnytsky with both drawings specially commissioned by A. Zhdakha and reproductions of

60 О. Ніколаєв, *Сергій Васильович Васильківський. Життя і творчість*, Харків 1927, р. 15.

61 “*Історія України-Русі*”..., pp. 127–129.

62 І. Козирод, *op. cit.*

63 Ю. Пуківський, *Запорожці пишуть листа турецькому султанові*, [online] <https://localhistory.org.ua/rubrics/painting/illia-riepin-zaporozhtsi-pishut-lista-turetskomu-sultanovi/> [accessed 20.11.2023].

old Ukrainian engravings and portraits of Ukrainian historical figures (not only Cossacks)<sup>64</sup>. H. Khotkevych, working as an editor of Lviv *Prosvita*, found 100 new drawings and 43 photographs for the second edition of M. Arkas's book. Among other things, he persistently searched for portraits of Kyivan and Galician princes, hetmans, and Cossack elite in Lviv and Krakow museums, and gathered information about private collections of paintings in Dnieper Ukraine<sup>65</sup>. Some of the portraits he found were published by the Lviv *Prosvita* in the *Albom istorychnykh portretiv* (Album of historical portraits) in 1908<sup>66</sup>. In 1912, art historian Kostiantyn Shyrotsky (1886–1919) recommended looking for samples of ornaments in 14 special collections, as well as in the Ukrainian and foreign magazines. He emphasized the need to study “a wide range of Ukrainian artistic life” such as embroidery, textiles, carved and painted furniture, inlays, beads, ceramic tiles, wall paintings, bindings of old books, chased and engraved dishes, weapons, jewelry, horse harnesses and other<sup>67</sup>.

Among the illustrations for M. Komarov's brochure about B. Khmelnytsky a reproduction of a drawing by T. Shevchenko depicting a church in the Ukrainian Baroque style attracts attention. In 1909, M. Sumtsov suggested looking for “the best drawings of Ukrainian content” in the albums of S. Vasylyivsky, M. Mikeszyn, and T. Shevchenko. The ethnographer also remarked that T. Shevchenko's image of a Cossack was replicated until the beginning of the 20th century<sup>68</sup>. In 1912, the unknown author of an article for the “*Ridny Krai*” (Native Land) (1905–1916) noted that T. Shevchenko “can still be a teacher of our artists” in depicting Ukrainian history<sup>69</sup>.

In turn, architectural objects were considered as an integral component of the visualization of Ukrainian history. In particular, S. Vasylyivsky was known as a researcher of Ukrainian architectural heritage<sup>70</sup>. A. Krymsky and V. Levytsky, analyzing the visual content of Russian magazines, singled out depictions of ancient Ukrainian cities, remains of fortresses and monasteries. Later, such images appeared in Ukrainian books, drawings, postcards, and periodicals. The Odesa *Prosvita* activist Serhii Shelukhin (1864–1938) suggested illustrating the second edition of M. Arkas's book with images of historical and

64 М. Комарь, *Оповідання про Богдана Хмельницького...*

65 “*Історія України-Русі*”..., pp. 106–108; 122; 146–149; 151–158.

66 *Альбом історичних портретів*, “Рідний край”, 4.12.1908, no. 43, p. 10.

67 К. Шероцкий, *Мотивы украинского орнамента* (К альбому художника С. Васильковского), “Украинская Жизнь” 1912, no. 11, pp. 64–70.

68 М. Сумцов, “*Благотворительна*” розпуста, “Літературно-Науковий Вістник” 1909, no. LV, pp. 351–352.

69 К-ч, *Малюнки Т. Шевченка*, “Рідний Край” 1912, no 4, p. 6.

70 О. Ніколаєв, op. cit., pp. 12–15.

ethnographic costumes and architectural monuments from different parts of Ukraine<sup>71</sup>. M. Hrushevsky popularized examples of Ukrainian visual art in his popular editions and the newspaper for peasants and workers “*Selo*” (The village) (1909–1911), which he edited.

One of the most important “the source for modern Ukrainian graphics” for M. Hrushevsky and V. Krychevsky was the art of old printing. In their activities, they sought to return to the modern book the aesthetic value of manuscripts and printed works of the past ages<sup>72</sup>. A. Zhdakha and Heorhii Narbut (1886–1920) were also interested in the methods of decoration old books. Significantly, many key figures in the artistic scene of book graphics (among them A. Zhdakha, O. Slastion, S. Vasylykivsky, V. Krychevsky, H. Narbut) represented Ukrainian *Modern* (Art Nouveau). To convey a modern understanding of “Ukrainianness”, they turned to studying the heritage of Ukrainian Baroque. Art historian Natalia Asieieva claims that the Baroque method was perceived as “consonant with the aesthetic requirements of *Modern*: it combined reality and fiction, interest in graphics”, and attracted “the use of the artistic traditions of ancient Kyivan state, reinterpreted European artistic experience, and subtle folklore”<sup>73</sup>.

Eventually, detailed, diverse Cossack images became spread. A. Kashchenko’s brochures were illustrated with photographs of Zaporizhia nature, images of architectural monuments of the Cossack Baroque, reproductions of engravings and images of the Cossack Mamai, as well as drawings and paintings by I. Repin, V. Kornienko, O. Slastion, Mykola Pymonenko, Mykhailo Pogribnyak. In 1920, historian Vasyl Bidnov (1874–1935), emphasizing the importance of artistic images, noted that A. Kashchenko’s historical stories, “rich in various historical errors, play a huge role in awakening the national consciousness of the masses”: their popularity proved that “it is not scientificity” that captivates captures readers’ attention, but “something opposite”<sup>74</sup>.

Even before 1905, more and more objects of cultural heritage entered the visual field of representation of Ukraine’s historical past, initially as details, and later as separate illustrations. Publishing projects that were impossible in the Russian Empire were implemented in Ukrainian cities under Austrian rule. Of particular interest is the design of *Iliustrovana istoriia Rusi* (Illustrated history of Rus) by Oleksandr Barvinsky (1847–1926). This book was published by the Lviv *Prosvita* in 1890. It contained images reflecting the history of Ukraine

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71 “*Історія України-Русі*”..., pp. 106–108; 120–121.

72 *Українська культура*..., p. 128.

73 *Українське мистецтво та архітектура кінця XIX-початку XX ст.*, ed. Н. Асєєва, Київ 2000, pp. 28–29.

74 В. Біднов, Коротенька історіографія України (з викладів на учительських курсах українознавства), Катеринослав 1920, pp. 33–34.

from the ancient Kyiv and Galicia–Volyn states to the 19<sup>th</sup> century in a common Ukrainian space. The pages of the book depicted architectural monuments, portraits of Kyivan and Galician princes, Cossack elite, Ukrainian educators, writers, cultural and public figures of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries from Dnieper Ukraine, Galicia and Bukovina<sup>75</sup>.

M. Arkas did not underestimate the power of emotional influence in “awakening” the senses of his readers. He was not only a writer and historian, but also a composer and was convinced that he must “vividly depict everything that his native land had experienced”<sup>76</sup>. M. Arkas also attempted to take into account all modern requirements (in force at the time of the book’s preparation) regarding its content. The illustrations he chose represented the history of people’s lives on the territory of Ukraine from ancient archaeological cultures to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. These were reproductions of contemporary drawings on historical themes and photographs of numerous historical artifacts of material and artistic culture. However, under the new political conditions, the criteria for evaluating such publications have also become stricter.

This book was generally well received in the Ukrainian intellectual and artistic community. Reviewers highly appreciated the publication with its large number of illustrations, maps, and tables of genealogies of princes, hetmans, and clergy<sup>77</sup>. S. Tomashivsky even noted that “we have never had such a book rich in illustrations”<sup>78</sup>. In turn, V. Lypynsky remarked that *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusi* gained popularity “among the wider circles of our people” due to its “attractive and rich” design<sup>79</sup>.

Reviewers, though, criticized M. Arkas’s work for the “excess” of the foreign rulers’ portraits (some of which were uncritically borrowed from Russian illustrated magazines); the *lubok* way of depicting “bloody” scenes; an ethnographic map with incorrectly delineated boundaries of Ukrainian settlement, which “contributed to the spread of false ideas about Ukrainian territory”<sup>80</sup>. Artist Fotii Krasysky (1873–1944) caustically characterized the “obtrusive style” of those illustrations that represented the Ukrainian past “with Moscow historical and ethnographic features”. He was indignant that the ancient Kyiv “was depicted as Muscovy”. Instead of Princess Olga’s stone house, there was

75 А. Катран [А. Синявський], *Оповідки і замітки*, “Зоря”, 15.06.1891, no. 12, pp. 235–36.

76 Ibidem, pp. 123–127.

77 “*Історія України-Русі*”..., pp. 201, 221.

78 Ibidem, p. 203.

79 Ibidem, p. 307.

80 М. Грушевський, *До рецензії д. Липинського*, “Літературно-Науковий Вістник” 1908, no. VIII, pp. 319–320; Idem, *На українські теми. Ще про культуру і критику*, “Літературно-Науковий Вістник” 1908, no. IX, pp. 127; “*Історія України-Русі*”..., pp. 199, 203, 221.



a “wooden Moscow *izba* (house)” against the backdrop of a “Moscow church”. The princess herself was dressed in a *sarafan* (Russian sleeveless dress), while Prince Ihor looked like “a Moscow boyar” with a beard and in a fur coat. F. Krasysky argued that these images contradicted the information from chronicles, book miniatures, and archaeological research. He was convinced that Ukrainian specificity could be depicted only on the basis of “true historical illustration”<sup>81</sup>.

The participants of the discussion supported the idea of purifying the verbal and visual language of popular editions from discriminatory and assimilationist vocabulary that promoted inequality and hierarchy. They agreed that the illustrations should be marked by a “Ukrainian flavor” and reflect “the liberating spirit of our history”<sup>82</sup>.

New approaches to preparing popular historical publications were theorized and used by M. Hrushevsky. Historian referred to M. Arkas’s book as a source of “outdated, undesirable views of Ukrainian history” that were harmful from scientific, educational, and national perspectives. He called for coverage of historical events in the Ukrainian lands, not the political history of the states of which they were part. M. Hrushevsky emphasized the timeliness of ending the period of “ethnographic existence”, dilettantism, and “the atmosphere of compliments” in Ukrainian cultural life. He especially underlined the need to professionalize the design of historical books in accordance with the world cultural norms and the restoration of the memory of Ukraine’s separate historical development<sup>83</sup>.

M. Hrushevsky demanded a distinction between the requirements for the content of historical fiction and historical popular science literature. He thought that illustrations for popular science books should be selected according to “strict requirements of science”: the emotional impact of images had to be based on a rational basis and documentary evidences. Scientist applied this approach in 1909–1913, when he prepared and published his popular historical books “under the artistic supervision” of V. Krychevsky” (who also criticized “uneducated” illustrators without sufficient knowledge of Ukrainian history and ethnography<sup>84</sup>). They selected images and placed them mainly in the form of photographs and restored drawings, preferring “strict factual illustration” to “romantic fantasy”<sup>85</sup>. To show the “general image of time, epoch” in *Iliustrovana*

81 Ibidem, pp. 202–205.

82 Ibidem, pp. 197–198, 217–218.

83 М. Грушевський, *До рецензії д. Липинського...*, pp. 318–323; Idem, *На українські теми...*, pp. 121–136.

84 В. Кричевський, *Ілюстрований Кобзарь*, “Літературно-Науковий Вістник” 1911, no. IV, pp. 119–121.

85 В.П., *Искусство старой Украины в новом труде проф. М. Грушевского “Культурно-національний рух на Україні в XVI–XVII віці”*, “Искусство. Живопись. Графика. Художественная печать” 1912, no. 7–8, pp. 301–303.

*istoriia Ukrainy* (Illustrated history of Ukraine)<sup>86</sup> they presented 399 “authentic images”, such as photographic reproductions of portraits, engravings, state and military symbols, architectural structures, samples of old manuscripts and other documents, household items, and weapons, etc. Only a few portraits were “restored” by V. Krychevsky based on images on ancient coins and seals. The author and illustrator did not want to “clog” the book with “arbitrary restoration” and “antique” underpainting<sup>87</sup>. The “artistic side” of the book (without “fakes and decorations”) was highly appreciated by the critics<sup>88</sup>.

Along with this, the aesthetics of stylized authenticity with the old romanticized images of the Cossacks and the pastoral idyll of the artistic image of Ukraine, which were multiplied in popular culture, also remained relevant in the Ukrainian artistic field. This way of reflecting reality caused objections from supporters shaping the modern Ukrainian visual landscape<sup>89</sup>. However, these images, reproduced in “pure” peasant art throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>90</sup>, became one of the factors preserving Ukrainian authenticity after the physical destruction of an entire generation of Ukrainian cultural figures during the Stalinist repressions of the 1930s, at a time when Ukrainian cultural heritage was once again being destroyed and hidden.

## Conclusions

The public debate surrounding M. Arkas’s book was only the tip of the iceberg in the long process of searching for the meaning of the visual representation of Ukrainian history, which unfolded outside the organizational efforts of Ukrainian intellectuals and artists, or through them.

Shaping the visual language of Ukrainian popular historical print editions took place in tense with the imperial center, which was noticeable before 1905. Spontaneous, nonobvious, “invisible” resistance was evident in visual “mentions” to Ukrainian identity in the decoration of the permitted types of publications, in educational and commemorative practices, and in the individual creative and public activities of artists. The emergence of this form of opposition to colonial challenges within the sphere of dual influence of imperial and national cultures could contribute to the formation of multiple identities.

86 М. Грушевський, *Ілюстрована історія України*, Київ–Львів 1911, pp. 3–4.

87 В.Н.П–н, *Иллюстрации в новом издании “История Украины” проф. М. С. Грушевського*, “Искусство. Живопись. Графика. Художественная печать” 1911, no. 5, pp. 245–249.

88 В.П., op. cit., pp. 302–303.

89 Ф. Ернст, *Георгій Нарбут та нова українська книга*, “Бібліологічні вісті” 1926, no. 3, p. 7.

90 Л. Лихач, П. Гончар, “Чисте мистецтво” (малий каталог мистців), Київ 2017.

External restrictions constrained the construction of organized resistance, imposing thematic and stylistic conservatism, and provoking self-censorship. Changes began before these restrictions were lifted in a dialogue between Ukrainian scholars, writers, civic activists, and artists who lived on both sides of the Russian-Austrian border. The establishment of such a dialogue opened alternative communication channels for the exchange of information on the preparation of manuscripts and the possibilities of their printing; studying the experience of illustrating Ukrainian history; discussing ways to standardize the design parameters of popular publications; searching for illustrators (with professional skills and knowledge of the Ukrainian past). The institutional framework for intellectual–artistic interaction (outside the imperial power vertical) was provided by *hromadas*, *Prosvitas*, Ukrainian periodicals and publishing houses.

The search for the meaning of “Ukrainianness” for its representation in popular historical publications took place at the polystylistic intersection of romanticism and realism, the formation of Ukrainian modernism; it was based on the study of ancient Kievan art and the Ukrainian Baroque; it was marked by the development of Ukrainian historical science, archeology, and ethnography, as well as changes in public perceptions of the social boundaries of “the people” (as a representative of Ukrainian history) and, accordingly, the limits of the choice of symbolic objects from the material and artistic heritage. The artistic practices of professional artists were influenced not only by their academic education, but also by their familiarity with the system of images rooted in Ukrainian artistic and craft traditions. Ukrainian intellectuals and artists sought visual evidence of the development of Ukrainian history and culture in ancient manuscripts and printed publications, contemporary thematic collections, periodicals, private collections, as well as Ukrainian and Polish museums. The accumulation of this knowledge made it possible to counteract the flow of controlled, varying degrees of distorted visualization of Ukraine’s past in plots tied to the Russian imperial historical narrative. The enrichment of the palette of depictions of Cossack history occurred alongside general thematic diversification and the emergence of visual images that were to characterize historical processes from antiquity to the present. Authors, illustrators, and publishers appealed to the audiences emotions in various ways (through sensual imagery or rationalized factuality). The lifting of censorship restrictions only accelerated emancipatory processes.

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Figure 2. *Zaporozhets–kharakternyk* [Reproduction of Vasyl Kornienko's drawing *Kharakternyk* (1890s), whose main character is a paraphrase of *Kozak Mamai*; *kharakternyk* – the name of a Cossack in the Zaporozhian Sich with magical abilities attributed to him], A. Kashchenko, *Opovidannia pro slavno viisko Zaporozhske nyzove*, Katerynoslav 1917, p. 367 (V. I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine)



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Figure 4. *Kyivsky mytropolyt Petro Mohyla* [Reproduction of an unattributed image of Archimandrite of the Kyiv–Pechersk Lavra, Metropolitan of Kyiv, Halych and all Rus, patron of the Kyiv–Mohyla Collegium Petro Mohyla (1596-1647)], O. Barvinsky, *Iliustrovana istoriia Rusi*, Lviv 1890, p.154  
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Figure 5. *Ivan Mazepa* [Reproduction of an unattributed portrait found by Hnat Khotkevych], H. Khotkevych, *Albom istorychnykh portretiv*, Lviv 1908, p. 2. (V. I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine)





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