Contents

PREFACE
LIST OF TABLES XXIII
LIST OF MAPS XXV
Part One: Introduction and Pre-Kievan Times
1 Ukraine's Geographic and Ethnolinguistic Setting 3
Territory and geography Climate
Natural resources Administrative and ethnolinguistic divisions Population
Nomenclature
2 Historical Perceptions
The Russian historical viewpoint
What is eastern Europe? The Polish historical viewpoint
The Ukrainian historical viewpoint
Kostomarov on Ukrainians, Russians, and Poles
The Soviet historical viewpoint
3 The Steppe Hinterland and the Black Sea Cities 25
The steppe hinterland
Nomadic civilizations on Ukrainian territory
The nomads of the steppe hinterland
The Greeks of the coastal region
The Pax Scythica, the Sarmatians, and the Pax Romana
Scythian customs The Byzantines and the Khazars
The byzantines and the imazars

4 The Slavs and the Khazars

The origins of the Slavs *The original homeland of the Slavs* The migrations of the Slavs The Antes *Archaeology in Ukraine* The Pax Chazarica The Slavic tribes in the shadow of the Khazars 36

51

65

83

Part Two: The Kievan Period

5 The Rise of Kievan Rus'

The origin of Rus' The great debate: The origin of Rus' Europe in the ninth century The Varangians in the east The era of growth and expansion

6 Political Consolidation and Disintegration

Volodymyr the Great The meaning of Rus' Christianity and the baptism of Rus' Christianity in Ukraine Iaroslav the Wise The Kievan system of political succession The conference of Liubech and Volodymyr Monomakh The era of disintegration

7 Socioeconomic and Cultural Developments

Demography and social structure The ruling social strata The social structure of Kievan Rus' The subordinate social strata Other social strata The legal system The economic order The voyage from Kiev to Constantinople Byzantine cultural influences The Byzantine Empire and its attitude toward Kievan Rus' Kievan Rus' architecture Kievan Rus' architecture What was the language of Kievan Rus' ? The 'Lay of Ihor's Campaign'

8 The Mongols and the Transformation of Rus' Political Li	fe 10
The rise of the Mongols	
The Mongol invasion of Kievan Rus'	
The Golden Horde	
The Pax Mongolica and Italian merchants	
9 Galicia-Volhynia	114
Galicia and Volhynia before their unification	Sugar Charles
The unification of Galicia and Volhynia	
The metropolitanate of Rus'	
The demise of Galicia-Volhynia	
Part Three: The Lithuanian-Polish Period	
10 Lithuania and the Union with Poland	127
The consolidation of the Lithuanian state	
The Polish-Lithuanian connection	
Muscovy and the Polish-Lithuanian union	
11 Socioeconomic Developments	138
Lithuania's social structure	Referenced I
Lithuania's administrative structure	
Poland's social and administrative structure	
Peasants, nobles, and Jews	
The manorial estate	
The coming of Jews to Ukraine	
The realignment of international trade patterns	
Poland's economic and cultural revival	
12 The Orthodox Cultural Revival	151
The Metropolitanate of Kiev	and and the
The Metropolitanate of Kiev and All Rus'	
The monastic movement	
The role of townspeople and magnates	
L'viv's Stauropegial Brotherhood	
13 Reformation, Counter Reformation, and the Union of Bre	st 160
The Protestant Reformation	
The Counter Reformation and Orthodox Ukraine	
The Union of Brest	
The views of Prince Kostiantyn Ostroz'kyi	
The Union of Brest	

	JIII	

14 The Tatars and the Cossacks

The Cossacks and the steppe The name Ukraine' The Crimean Khanate Crimean socioeconomic life Duma about the Lament of the Captives The rise of the Cossacks The Cossacks of Zaporozhia The Cossacks of Zaporozhia The Cossacks in Polish society Social estates in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Ukraine A male-dominated society? The international role of the Cossacks The Cossacks and Orthodoxy Orthodox versus Uniate The calm before the storm

Part Four: The Cossack State, 1648-1711

15 Khmel'nyts'kyi and the Revolution of 1648

195

207

217

229

170

Khmel'nyts'kyi's early career The revolution of 1648 *Khmel'nyts'kyi and the Jews* Khmel'nyts'kyi as a national leader

16 Muscovy and the Agreement of Pereiaslav

The rise of Muscovy Muscovy, Poland, and Ukraine Khmel'nyts'kyi and Pereiaslav The agreement of Pereiaslav

17 The Period of Ruin

Changing international alliances The Cossack turn toward Poland *The Union of Hadiach* Anarchy, ruin, and the division of Ukraine

18 The Structure of the Cossack State

Registered and unregistered Cossacks Internal administration What to call the Cossack state? The Cossack state administration International status

Contents xv

	19 Mazepa and the Great Northern War	23
	The image of Mazepa	43
	The rise of Mazepa	
	Mazepa as hetman: The early phase	
	Mazepa during the Great Northern War	
	Mazepa's defection	
	Mazepa and Ukraine after Poltava	
	20 Socioeconomic and Cultural Developments in the Cossack State	24
	Social structure	8 8
	Social estates in the Cossack state	
	Economic developments	
	Church and state	
	Cultural developments	
	The transformation of Ukraine after 1648	
	Part Five: The Hetmanate and the Right Bank in the Eighteenth Century	
	21 Ukrainian Autonomy in the Russian Empire	269
	Muscovy becomes the Russian Empire	
	Sloboda Ukraine	
	Zaporozhia	
	The Hetmanate	
	Centralization and the end of Ukrainian autonomy	
	22 Socioeconomic Developments in the Hetmanate	277
	The changing social structure	
	Economic developments	
	International trade and commerce	
	23 Religious and Cultural Developments	283
	The integration of the Orthodox church Education	
	Architecture and painting	
	Literature and history writing	
	chardse line of Neforms	
	24 The Right Bank and Western Ukraine	290
	The return of Polish rule in the Right Bank	
	Social protest and the haidamak revolts	
	Uman' as a symbol for Ukrainians, Poles, and Jews	
A STATE OF STATE OF STATE	The Partitions of Poland	

XVI	Con	

Part Six: Ukraine in the Russian Empire

25 Administrative and Political Developments in Dnieper Ukraine

Territorial divisions Administrative structure Administrative structure in Dnieper Ukraine before the 1860s Administrative structure in Dnieper Ukraine after the 1860s The evolution of the Russian Empire, 1814-1914

26 Socioeconomic Developments in Dnieper Ukraine

Social estates before the 1860s Social estates in Dnieper Ukraine The reforms of the 1860s Economic developments

27 The Peoples of Dnieper Ukraine

331

305

316

The Russians The Poles What Ukraine means for Poland The Jews Memories of the 'shtetl' Pogroms The Germans and Mennonites The Crimean Tatars The Romanians Other peoples

28 The Ukrainian National Renaissance in Dnieper Ukraine before the 186os

351

The idea of nationalism What is a nationality? The phenomenon of multiple loyalties The early histories of Ukraine The belief in mutually exclusive identities

29 The Ukrainian National Movement in Dnieper Ukraine after the Era of Reforms

365

The Right Bank and the 'khlopomany' movement Ukrainianism in St Petersburg and the renewal of the organizational stage Russian reaction to the Ukrainian movement The Valuev decree Schools in Dnieper Ukraine The Ems Ukase

The church in Dnieper Ukraine The return to the heritage-gathering stage The beginnings of the political stage

Part Seven: Ukraine in the Austrian Empire

30 The Administrative and Social Structure of Ukrainian Lands in the Austrian Empire before 1848

Austria acquires Ukrainian lands The structure of the Austrian Empire The demographic and administrative status of Galicia and Bukovina The economic status of Galicia before 1848 Other peoples in eastern Galicia

The Ukrainian National Awakening in the Austrian Empire 31 before 1848

397

385

The Austrian government and the Ukrainian national awakening The heritage-gathering stage in Galicia Bukovina and Transcarpathia before 1848

32 The Revolution of 1848

The revolution in Austria The revolution in Galicia and the Ukrainians The Supreme Ruthenian Council The Galician-Ukrainian national movement: The organizational stage The revolution of 1848 in Bukovina and Transcarpathia

33 The Administrative and Socioeconomic Structure of Ukrainian Lands in the Austrian Empire, 1849-1914

Administrative structure International developments and Austria's internal politics Austria's parliamentary structure Social structure and economic developments The problem of statistics The Ukrainian diaspora Other peoples in eastern Galicia and Bukovina Ukraine's other diasporas

34 The Ukrainian National Movement in Austria-Hungary, 1849-1914

In search of a national identity Old Ruthenians, Russophiles, and Ukrainophiles Language as the symbol of identity The national movement in Galicia: The organizational stage

417

436

The national movement in Galicia: The political stage Independence for Ukraine	and the second second	Bukovina and Transcarpathia
At the bottom of the pecking order	Savel 1	The Ukrainian revolution: Success or failure?
The national movement in Bukovina	Sight was	The Orientian reformation ouccess of fundre.
The national movement in Transcarpathia		Part Nine: The Interwar Years
	as the	
Part Eight: World War I and the Struggle for Independence	adT or	40 The Postwar Treaties and the Division of Ukrainian Lands
35 World War I and Western Ukraine	et de	The Paris Peace Conference Soviet Ukraine and the Soviet Union
The outbreak of World War I	461	Treaty of Union between the Russian SFSR and the Ukrainian SSR
The Russians in Galicia and Bukovina	MIL gids	
Ukrainian political activity in Vienna	22	41 Soviet Ukraine: The Struggle for Autonomy
	AND AND	The government of Soviet Ukraine
36 Revolutions in the Russian Empire	468	The Communist party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine
Russia's first revolution of 1917	400	The policy of Ukrainianization
Revolution in Dnieper Ukraine	and the second	Communism and the nationality question
The Central Rada	1983	Ukrainianization, the governing elite, and demographic change
First Universal of the Ukrainian Central Rada	ALL C	Ukrainianization
I ne Bolshevik Revolution		Ukrainianization and the return of the émigrés
Third Universal of the Ukrainian Central Rada (Preamble)		Ukrainianization in education
The Okrainian National Republic	and the second second	Ukrainianization in the arts
The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk	100 M	Religion
of The Data to a second		Ukrainianization in the era of transition
37 The Period of the Hetmanate	488	42 Soviet Ukraine: Economic, Political, and Cultural Integration
The establishment of the Hetmanate	1	
Authoritarian in form, Ukrainian in content		War communism and the New Economic Policy
The fall of the Hetmanate		NEP in Soviet Ukraine
of The D'	(T)	The end of NEP
38 The Directory, Civil War, and the Bolsheviks	494	Central planning and industrialization
The Directory of the Ukrainian National Republic	151	The collectivization of agriculture Dekulakization and the Great Famine
The boisneviks		Ukraine's Holocaust: The Great Famine of 1933
The peasant revolution		The apogee and the decline of Ukrainianization
The White Russians		The end of Ukrainianization
The Entente		Purges and integration
The West Ukrainian National Republic and Dnieper Ukraine Poland and Dnieper Ukraine		The purges
- orange and Diffeper Ukraine	a	
The revolutionary era and Dnieper Ukraine's other peoples Petliura and the pogroms	N 44	43 Minority Peoples in Soviet Ukraine
Mennonites caught in the revolution		Nationality administration in the Soviet Union
and the revolution	W te	The Russians
39 The West Ukrainian National Republic	1	The Jews
Austria's Ultraining and a stational Republic	512	The Poles
Austria's Ukrainians prepare for their postwar future	6	The Germans
West Ukrainian independence and war The West Ukrainian engendence and war		The Tatars
The West Ukrainian government-in-exile	1	The Greeks

572

523

529

548

44 Ukrainian Lands in Interwar Poland The administrative status of Ukrainian-inhabited lands The economic status of Ukrainian-inhabited lands Poland's initial policies and Ukrainian reactions The cooperative movement Women and the Ukrainian national ethos Ukrainian political parties, schools, and churches Armed resistance and pacification	583 National repression Urbanization and th 50 From Devolution The Gorbachev reve The Soviet heritage 'Glasnost'' in Ukrai The road to soverei	ne new Ukraine to Independence olution in Ukraine ne gnty and independence
 45 Ukrainian Lands in Interwar Romania and Czechoslovakia Ukrainians in Romania The Rusyns/Ukrainians of Czechoslovakia Part Ten: World War II and the Postwar Years 	Declaration of Indepen- 599 NOTES FOR FURTHER READI INDEX	
46 The Coming of World War II Germany and the 'new order' in Europe Autonomy for Carpatho-Ukraine The fall of Poland The 'reunification' of western Ukraine The Generalgouvernement	611	
47 World War II and Nazi German Rule The German and Romanian invasions of Ukraine Nazi rule in Ukraine Nazi racial policies and the Holocaust <i>Thou shalt not kill</i> Nazi policies toward Ukrainians Resistance to Nazi rule	622	
48 Soviet Ukraine until the Death of Stalin Wartime destruction and territorial expansion Voluntary reunification, Soviet style The minority question Industrial and agricultural reconstruction The nationality question Western Ukraine	638	
49 From Stalin to Brezhnev Ukraine under Khrushchev The sixties phenomenon Economic developments Brezhnev and the era of stability	652	

67' 68

666

72