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From the City to the Mountains: Imagining the Carpathians in Culture and Art

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Editorial
From the City to the Mountains: Imagining the Carpathians in Culture and Art

by Bohdan Shumylovych and Joshua First

This special issue of *Euxeinos* explores the ways that urban Poles, German-Austrians, Ukrainians and Soviets have imagined and constructed an image of the Carpathian mountains from the mid-19th century to the current day. The city is often seen as the epitome and engine of modernization and progress, whether through trade, technological advancements, or industrial development. It is in the city that cultural institutions, commerce, and political power predominantly reside. Urban centers, whether large or small, have been the epicenters of massive mediatization, shaping our imagination of places beyond the cities. Urban dwellers have actively imagined, reinvented, and transformed rural life, often through a process of destruction and reconstruction. Folk arts and rural lifestyles were invented and reinvented, imagined, and reimagined, resulting in new forms of culture. Natural phenomena, like mountains and rural areas, were transformed into imaginary spaces that expressed anxieties about urban conditions, community bonds, environmental crises, human relations and power structures. The landscape became integral to depicting practices and imposing ideas about belonging, authenticity, roots, communities, states, hierarchies, and borders.

Nature, beginning just beyond city limits, became a reachable Arcadia. Artists, writers, and urban dwellers engaged in both real and imagined escapes into nature, and armed with pens, cameras, skis, or walking boots, were the agents of transformation. Simultaneously, the projections onto nature reflected urban public discourses: the contours and composition of empires, the strength and rootedness of nation-states, and the progressiveness and justice of socialist projects. Mountains held a special place in these discussions and imaginations. They served as spaces that divided and delineated, as boundaries defining what lies within, and as sources of authenticity. However, mountains were not merely subjects of overlapping and layered imaginations and policies emanating from urban centers but also sites of human existence and interactions. They can be viewed as contact zones where rural cultures intersect with urban imaginaries, locals and outsiders must cognize each other, ethnic groups encounter national agents, empires shape landscapes, and people reconnect with nature.

The Carpathians were incorporated and cultivated over the centuries by various kingdoms, empires, and ethnic groups. In the late 19th century and later in the 1920s-1930s there emerged “new” border regions, frontiers (or the outer

limits),[1] boundaries,[2] transcultural zones[3] or spaces of colonial encounters.[4] The Ukrainians'/Rusyns' imagination about the Carpathians Mountains and its people went through significant evolution during the 19th century.[5] An important role was played by multiple trips to the mountains (and travelogues) that, beginning from the early 19th century, had different aims and produced various results. Early travelers collected folk songs and were interested in regional popular culture. Iakiv Holovatskyi (1814-1888) from Galicia made his first trip[6] to the Carpathians (including to Uhorska Rus' [Hungarian Rus]) and later issued his observations in the form of a book, *Mandrivka po Halytskii i Uhorskii Rusi* [A Trip Through Galician and Hungarian Rus'] (1841), originally published in German, Polish and Czech languages.[7] This was a typical travelogue where the author strived to depict local color and to mix it with his knowledge about regional culture and history.

Holovatskyi was a member of *Ruska Triitsia* [Rus' Triad], which published in 1837 (in Buda, Hungary) *Rusalka Dnistrovaia*, [Ruthenische Volks-Lieder, or The Dniester Rusalka, a Ruthenian Folk Song] a collection of verses and songs written in Rus-Ukrainian language.[8] In this text, the authors declared that we (Rusyns, later Ukrainians) are the last among the Slavs and "when others [Slavic nations of Europe] already reached the peaks and bask in shining sun [they develop their fiction and poetry], we still remain in the depths of cold darkness [no fine literature produced by Rusyns]."[9] Alongside Holovatskyi there were many others who left recollections and travelogues about the Carpathians in Ukrainian language: Ivan Vahylevych (1811-1866),[10] Mykola Ustyianovych (1811-1885),[11] Ivan Nechui-Levytskyi (1838-1918),[12] Ivan Franko (1856-1916),[13] Kyrylo Ustyianovych (1839-1903),[14] Volodymyr Hnatiuk (1871-1926),[15] or Mykhailo Kotsiubynskyi (1864-1913).[16] At the same time, when writers and poets rediscovered their "native" folk culture and art, others strived to delineate boundaries between various ethnic groups in the mountains, envisaging these borders more and more in national terms. Even though the first publications to mark Carpathian lands that were settled by Rusyns started in the mid-19th century,[17] the more frequent imagination of lands flourished later, in the 1860s.[18] When imagining their native land and drawing ethnic borders, most Rusyns/Ukrainians borrowed from foreign cartographers while indicating that their nation was unique and separate from others, due to its ethnic and linguistic diversity.[19]

The process of incorporation of the alpine landscape into the modern Polish imagination also started before the Great War.[20] For the Polish intelligentsia, living in three different states, the Tatra Mountains (the western part of the Carpathians) formed the natural space where the national substance remained, unconstrained from the limitations of imperial powers.[21] Patrice Dabrowski confirms that predominantly metropolitan (often Varsovians from the Russian Empire) intellectuals (not only artists but also urban dwellers of various new professions) at the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries re-colonized the Carpathian mountains

in national terms.[22] An important role in this re-imagination was played by the Tatra Society (originally the Galician Tatra Society), which was established in 1873, and was later renamed the *Polish* Tatra Society, which indicated the developing national character of this organization.[23] The Tatra Society stood behind the "rediscovery" of the Southern margins of Galicia and Bukovyna, the mountains mostly populated by the Orthodox or Greek-Catholic Rusyns.

Even this brief introduction shows that several national groups considered the Carpathian Mountains to be their "place of power," and this natural landscape is up to this day divided between Hungarians, Slovaks, Romanians, Ukrainians, and Poles, not to mention various ethnic subgroups that did not or could not form into separate nationalities. The Carpathians were an important "borderland" for interwar Poland and a source of conflict with the Slovaks and Czechs. After the occupation of Prykarpattia (former Galicia and Bukovina) and Zakarpattia (former Czecho-Slovakia) by the Soviet Union in 1939 and 1945, these lands turned into the westernmost outpost of Soviet socialism. Enterprises were built here, and the region was rapidly modernized but also militarized. After the collapse of the USSR, the region underwent another change and transformation.

This special issue emerged from an international project carried out by the Center for Urban History (Lviv, Ukraine) in 2021, with the support of the University of St. Gallen in Switzerland. We aimed to explore how cities and their inhabitants influenced the imagination of those living in non-urban areas and how the creative interaction between these two spaces fostered new cultural phenomena. We sought to highlight how urbanites constructed a social imagination of the mountains and how this imagination began to shape reality. Patrice Dabrowski (HURI, Harvard, University, USA) inaugurated the program with her lecture "Discovering the Carpathians" (March 2021), which posed the questions: What does it mean to discover mountains that are already, to some extent, known and even inhabited? What impact did these encounters with the mountains have on the discoverers as well as the mountains and the indigenous mountain folk?

In our series of lectures, we explored various contexts in which the Carpathian Mountains were approached and engaged. Collaborating with researchers from Ukraine, Austria, Poland, Canada, and the United States, we examined how the Carpathians have been viewed, visited, written about, and depicted in photography and cinema. Our chronological scope extended from the late-19th century to the current day, covering the discovery and appropriation of the mountains, their representation in writing, photography, and film, and the evolving experiences of inhabiting and reimagining these landscapes. By addressing this wide range of topics, we traced the changing perceptions of the mountains and rural landscapes—as spaces for agriculture, exotic (pre-modern) living, and sources of urban symbolism and imagination. This approach revealed how mountains and the city are inextricably intertwined and interdependent, highlighting their mutual

influence and significance.

The issue begins with Ksenya Kiebuzinski's (University of Toronto, Canada) exploration of the lost career of photographer Juliusz Dutkiewicz, whose images (mostly anonymously or incorrectly attributed) graced the more famous ethnographic books by Volodymyr Shukhevych and others. An examination of Dutkiewicz's work and career shows that the urban imaginary of the Carpathians involved the cross-pollination of ideas formed and expressed by business people, artists, intellectuals, tourists, and the Hutsuls themselves (often objects of study and curious fascination). Although Dutkiewicz himself was largely peddling stereotypes of the Hutsuls, his work and career nonetheless demonstrate the complex cosmopolitanism of the Pokuttia region of the Carpathians.

In "Habsburg Imperial Image-Space," Martin Rohde (Leibniz Institute for East and Southeast European Studies, Regensburg, Germany) and Herbert Justnik (Folklore Museum, Vienna, Austria) continue the exploration of photography and the circulation of images as a primary site for urban knowledge of the Carpathians and its "colorful" inhabitants. Their sophisticated treatment of the use of photography (largely Dutkiewicz's images) from tourism to ethnography highlights how its meanings shifted accordingly. Rohde and Justnik are keen to mention, however, that, despite the urban use of images of the mountains, all the purveyors of ethnographic knowledge were themselves from the Carpathian region but were acting "like urban intellectuals when they reproduced and redefined image-spaces."

Vladyslava Moskalets's "The Roads of Baal Shem Tov" offers a needed corrective to the Hutsul-centered urban imaginary of the Carpathians. She demonstrates how Jewish scholars, rabbis, poets and other intellectuals sought to dispel the idea that Carpathian Jews were "aliens" among the "native" highlanders. Through the retrieved (and constructed) memories of the Hasidic leader, who meditated in the mountains at various points in his life, Moskalets argues that these Jews attempted to build their own narrative of belonging.

The article by Joshua First (University of Mississippi, USA) takes up the "discovery" of the mountains within the space of Ukrainian cinema during the post-war period, after the Soviet Union had "re-united" the Carpathians with the rest of Ukraine. First situates this cinematic interest in the Carpathians within a broader discourse of "mountains and meaning" that occurred within the global nationalisms of the first half of the 20th century.

Finally, in "Vernacular Landscapes in the Carpathians," Roman Lozynskyi (Ukrainian Catholic University, Lviv, Ukraine) explores architectural designs and the aesthetics of property in the mountainous region of Boikivshchyna in Lviv Oblast' in the present Lozynskyi examines notions of urbanness among affluent highlanders since the fall of the Soviet Union. As in many of the articles collected in this special issue, he reveals the problems with ascribing "folk-ness" to the

Carpathians, but also that a variety of Marxist materialism was correct in that, under certain material conditions, the highlanders will happily abandon their colorful backwardness and embrace the culture of urban mass culture, and that this gets reflected in the very ways that Hutsuls choose to build their houses, that most iconic expression of the "everyday."

We wanted to thank all the participants of the original conference for setting the stage for this issue, the authors of these articles for their insightful contributions, and the editors of *Euxeinos* (Oleksii Chebotarov and Elena Natenadze in particular) for helping us through a long process that was interrupted by Russia's continued invasion of Ukraine.

About the authors

Bohdan Shumylovych holds a master's degree in modern history from the Central European University (Budapest, Hungary, 2004-2005) and a diploma in art history from the Lviv Academy of Arts (Ukraine, 1993-1999). In 2020, he earned a Ph.D. from the European University Institute in Florence. He has been a fellow in several academic programs and has worked with the archive of the Faculty of Visual Arts at George Washington University, Washington (USA), and the archive of the Open Society Institute in Budapest. At the Center for Urban History in Lviv, he lectures, develops thematic exhibitions, and conducts research. Combining history and art history, he has created numerous exhibitions as a public historian. He initiated the Urban Video collections (2008-2011) and led the Urban Media Archive (2011-2019), later shifting his focus to Public History projects (2020-2022) and concentrating more on research since 2022. At the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv, he teaches courses in visual studies and aesthetics, leads the visual laboratory, and coordinates research seminars for BA students. His work primarily focuses on media history in East Central Europe and the Soviet Union, media arts, visual studies, urban spatial practices, and urban creativity. Since the onset of the Russian war against Ukraine in 2022, he has been collecting diaries and ego documents of the war, with a particular focus on dreams. In 2024, he plans to concentrate on the changes in nightlife and urban temporalities during the war.

Joshua First is the Croft Associate Professor of History and International Studies at the University of Mississippi, in Oxford, MS. He specializes in the history of Russia and Ukraine during the 20th and 21st centuries. First received his Ph.D. in History from the University of Michigan. He has published articles on Ukrainian cinema, Soviet film sociology, and the politics of melodrama. His book, Ukrainian Cinema: Belonging and Identity during the Soviet Thaw (I.B. Taurus) appeared in December 2014 and a follow-up volume on the Ukrainian film, Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors (Sergei Paradjanov, 1964) was published in late 2016. First's current project examines literary, cinematic and administrative representations of technology, scientific management, and medicine under late socialism in the USSR.

Endnotes

1 This concept of frontier was developed by Frederick Jackson Turner (1861-1932), who presented in 1893 paper "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," at American Historical Association, later published as a book, see: Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt and Co, 1920). About the concept see: Nurit Kliot and Stanley Waterman, *Pluralism and Political Geography: People, Territory and State* (Routledge, 2015), 139.

2 Political boundaries as modern definitions of territorial sovereignty discussed in: Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (University of California Press, 1989), 2–7.

3 The idea of 'transcultural zones' is discussed in: Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (Routledge, 2007), 32–33.

4 Pratt interested in 'spaces of colonial encounters', describes these contact zones as social spaces where different cultural groups meet and interact, often in conflict, emphasizing how subjects are constituted in and by their relations to each other. Key Askins and Rachel Pain admit that the concept of 'zones' "has since been deployed widely in anthropology and postcolonial studies, while geographers have utilized it to suggest that humans create contact zones that are both embodied and metaphorical, emphasizing interconnections as well as conflict, and destabilizing overly simplistic representations of bounded geographical worlds," see: Kye Askins and Rachel Pain, "Contact Zones: Participation, Materiality, and the Messiness of Interaction," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 29, no. 5 (October 1, 2011): 805.

5 The general history of Carpathian Rusyns and their national aspirations see: Paul Robert Magocsi, *With Their Backs to the Mountains: A History of Carpathian Rus' And Carpatho-Rusyns* (Central European University Press, 2015).

6 He traveled to Carpathians (Dzików, Tarnobrzeg) while being a university student in 1832 to catalogue the collection of books and publications in the library of count Zdzisław Jan Tarnowski (1862-1937). Also, he frequently visited mountains in Eastern Galician and Bukovina, travelled to Košice (Slovakia) and Pest (Hungary), where he studied.

7 M. Valio, ed., *Podorozhi v Ukraiinski Karpaty* [Travel to the Carpathian Mountains] (Lviv: Kameniar, 1993), 11; Nelia Svitlyk, "Zakarpattia u Publitsystychnii Retseptsii Halychan (Seredyna XIX Pochatok XX Stolitta) [Zakarpattia in Journalistic Reception of Galicia (mid-19th-early-20th centuries)]," *Naukovyi Visnyk Uzhhorodskoho Universtytetu* [Scientific Bulletin of Uzhhorod University], History, no. 27 (2011): 285.

8 This work was the first in Ukrainian West, in which authors used the so-called phonetic Cyrillic version of Ukrainian language. Holovatskyi's career is very interesting since he shifted from populist position to Russophile/Panslavist and after being a rector of Universität Lemberg in 1864-1866 he was accused in separatism and left Austro-Hungary, baptized in orthodoxy and settled in Vilnius (Russian Lithuania). He also published *Halytski prypovidky I zahadky* [Galician Riddles and Bywords] (1841) collected by Mirosław z Horodenki (Hryhorii Ilkevych).

9 *Rusalka Dnistrovaia* (Buda, 1837), 3. Later Mykhailo Drahomanov (1841-1895) became known to say that Hungarian Rus was more cut-off from Europe than Australia from the rest of the world, see: Ivan Petrushevych, "Vrazhinnia z Uhorskoii Rusi [Impressions from Hungarian Rus']," *Literaturno-Naukovyi Visnyk (Lviv)* [Literary Bulletin] 5 (1899): 51.

10 *Berda v Urychi* [Mountains in Urych], 1843.

11 *Nich na Borzhavi* [Night on Borzhava Mountain], published in 1852 but depicts his trip from Slavske (Galicia) to Hungary in 1841.

12 He published in 1884 his recollections from the Carpathian resort in Shchavnyk (now Polish

Szczawnik), the land of orthodox Lemko people.

13 Except multiple literary works in which Franko depicted Carpathians he also organized trips to the mountains for young people, especially known is one from 1884, that resembled similar organized Polish travels to Tatra Mountains, which aimed to re-establish national feelings among participant by the means of landscape and local culture.

14 Son of Mykola Ustyianovych, in 1902 he published in Chernivtsi (Bukovina) a literary-historical essay *Put za Beskyd* [the Way Behind Beskyd Mountain], which was part of his book *Try Tsikavykh Zahadky* [Three Interesting Riddles].

15 Hnatiuk was one of the most prominent Ukrainian ethnographers in Galicia and published many works on the mountains starting from *Ethnographic Materials from Hungarian Rus* [Etnografichni materialy z Uhorskoii Rusi] printed in 1897. He also played a role of intermediary between artists and the mountains attracting attention of Ukrainian writers to the region and its folk culture.

16 The most known literary work of Mykhailo Kotsiubynskyi about Carpathians was *Tini Zabutykh Predkiv* [Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors] which he wrote in 1911 after visiting in 1910 a village of Kryvorivnia, on the way back from Italy to Russian Empire. In 1911, the same village after the initiative of ethnographer Volodymyr Hnatiuk, became a place of meeting for many Ukrainian intellectuals, like Oleksandr Oles, Hnat Hotkevych and many others, see: Maria Halushka, "Tvorcha Spivpratsia Volodymyra Hnatiuka i Mykhaila Kotsiubynskoho [The Creative Collaboration between Volodymyr Hnatiuk and Mykhailo Kotsiubynskyi]," *Naukovi Zapysky Ternopilskoho Natsionalnoho Pedahohichnoho Univ Ersytewtu Im. V. Hnatiuka*, Literaturoznavstvo [Scholarly Notes of the Ternopil National Pedagogical University, Literature Studies], no. 32 (2011): 15–19.

17 Among the ideas of Rusyn/Ukrainian scholars was to delineate Rusyn, Polish, Hungarian or Romanian population in various lands, see for instance: Dyonizy Zubrzycki, *Granice Między Ruskim i Polskim Narodem w Galicyi* [Dyonizy Zubrzycki: Borders Between the Russian and Polish Nation in Galicia] (Lwow: Druk. Inst. Stauropigijańskiego, 1849). Ukrainian cartographers followed Czech, German and other cartographers, like Csaplovics J. (1829), Šafařik P. J. (1842), Fröhlich R. A. (1849), Berghaus H. (1845), Haeufler J. V. (1845), Raffelsperger F. (1849), etc.

18 Neonila Padiuka, "Pochatky Ukraiinskoii Etno-Kartohrafii [The Beginning of Ukrainian Ethno-Cartography] (Druha Polovyna 19 Stolittia)," *Zapysky Lvivskoii Natsionalnoii Naukovoii Biblioteky Ukrainy Imeni V. Stefanyka* [Notes of the Lviv Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine], no. 1 (2008): 436.

19 Padiuka, 457.

20 Patrice Dabrowski, "Encountering Poland's 'Wild West': Tourism in the Bieszczady Mountains under Socialism," in *Socialist Escapes: Breaking Away from Ideology and Everyday Routine in Eastern Europe, 1945-1989*, ed. Cathleen M. Giustino, Catherine J. Plum, and Alexander Vari (Berghahn Books, 2013), 76–78.

21 Patrice M. Dabrowski, "Constructing a Polish Landscape: The Example of the Carpathian Frontier," *Austrian History Yearbook* 39 (April 2008): 53.

22 Dabrowski, 65.

23 This society was founded in 1873, at the same time was formed *Hungarian Carpathian Association* [Magyaroszági Kárpátegyesület, Ungarischer Karpathenverein], see: Dabrowski, 57.

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Presenting the Carpathians: The Visual Economy of Juliusz Dutkiewicz's Photographs

by Ksenya Kiebuzinski

Juliusz Dutkiewicz (1834-1908) was an ethnographic and mountaineering photographer of the greater Pokuttia region and its people. His images captured the interest of a bourgeoning circle of scholars who were eager to describe and promote the Carpathian Mountains, and the region's diverse ethnographic communities, for imperial, urban, and/or national readers and tourists. Dutkiewicz's photographs served as ethnographic sources and sightseeing souvenirs. The considerable circulation, dissemination and imitation of this photographer's images throughout the turn of the 20th century helped create the visual idea of the Carpathians across Europe.

Keywords: Juliusz Dutkiewicz, Photography, Carpathian Mountains, Hutsuls, Ethnography, Landscapes, 19th century

Knowingly or not, for over a century, armchair travelers visiting the Carpathian Mountains, and scholars studying the history, lands, and peoples of Austrian Galicia, have experienced these highlands through the mediation of images. One of the foremost authors of their visual experiences is the 19th-century Galician photographer Juliusz Dutkiewicz. He shaped the encounters and understandings of this mountain region for numerous groups and individuals: Polish contemporaries of Oskar Kolberg interested in its peoples and folk traditions, late Victorian-era Brits captivated by Ménie Muriel Dowie's travels into the Carpathians, continental tourists sending family members and friends whimsical postcards from Lviv, and a 21st-century historian grappling with the conceptual "idea" of Galicia. Researchers of Austrian imperial and ethnographic history routinely came and continue to come across Dutkiewicz's photographs, and not always intentionally. His images often appeared anonymously, either as illustrations or photolithographic reproductions, in works such as Crown Prince Rudolf's imperial project, the *Kronprinzenwerk,* a luxurious illustrated encyclopedia of all the regions of Austria Hungary, or in Julius Jandaurek's survey of Galicia and Bukovina, or in similar works by other Polish, Ruthenian, Czech, Romanian, Austrian, and German folklorists, ethnographers, and historians.

Given the extent of Dutkiewicz's anonymity in the visualization of the Carpathian Mountains, we may ask by what process did the image of them get shaped and disseminated from a hitherto forgotten photographer's studio in Kolomyia?

In his lifetime, Dutkiewicz (1834–1908) was a pioneering ethnographic and

mountaineering photographer of the greater Pokuttian region in general and of the Carpathian Mountains in particular. His photographs captured the interest of a bourgeoning circle of 19th-century entrepreneurs and scholars who eagerly promoted tours to the Eastern Carpathian Mountains, and readily described the region's diverse ethnographic communities, especially Hutsuls, for imperial, urban, and/or national readers and tourists. Dutkiewicz's photographs would serve as bestowed tokens of esteem, reliable ethnographic sources, and as illustrative supplements to literature, travel advertisements, and sightseeing souvenirs. His ethnographic types and picturesque landscapes were transformed into watercolors by artists, lithographically reproduced in books and journals by editors, assembled into presentation albums by the photographer himself, and manipulated into composite postcards by publishers. The photographs, in the form of *cartes de visite (*visiting cards), as well as the larger and more popular cabinet cards, existed materially in the world beyond Dutkiewicz's modest studio in Kolomyia (German: Kolomea; Polish: Kołomyja), a city on the Prut River, located in southeastern Galicia (and within today's Ivano-Frankivsk oblast). The considerable circulation, collection, dissemination, duplication, and imitation of this photographer's images throughout the late 19th to early 20th century contributed to how the Carpathians, particularly the Eastern range, came to be seen across Europe and beyond.

What follows is an exploration of how the visual idea of the Carpathians was conveyed materially, that is, three-dimensionally, through the objecthood of Dutkiewicz's photographs. Photographs are both images and physical objects that exist in time and space and thus in social and cultural experience. They are multifaceted sources for inquiry: from what they do or do not depict, their creation (authorial, technical, productive, and distributive aspects) to the enterprise behind them (studios, exhibitions, and sales) and their manipulation and reproduction. Studying the content of a selection of Dutkiewicz's photographs, together with their formats and presentational forms, and how they were made, distributed, offered, consumed, deposited, stored, or used, offers a way to consider the socio-economic and socio-cultural value of photographic images by the way they are sold by commercial establishments, exchanged by individuals, accumulated by museums, or offered to patrons. Following an introduction to Dutkiewicz's background and career, the analysis considers specific kinds of object/image relationships: first, the circulation of his cabinet cards among individuals, publishers, and ethnographic museums; and two, the narratives of Dutkiewicz's presentation albums to Franz Josef I and Carol I of Romania.

This author's own discovery of Dutkiewicz dates to 2014 in response to a colleague's question: Did I know anything about a photo album held by the University of Toronto's Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library entitled *Album Pokucia* by Juliusz Dutkiewicz? Intrigued, I requested the volume to be retrieved and held for me in the Fisher Library's reading room.

Anyone who works with old imprints, manuscripts, and printing and graphic arts knows that a visit to special collections is very much a sensory experience, from disencumbering oneself of all personal effects except for a pencil (or computer) and passing security, to registering for reading-room privileges and having a physical item placed before you in a cradle, with book snakes to gently keep the pages open. The formality of the process imparts experiential value to research and preciousness to the material consulted far beyond its intrinsic textual or indexical worth. Elements such as the odors of volatile organic compounds of paper, inks, adhesive, and leather; the sight of autographs, dedications, marginalia, or pressed mementos; or the physical touch of decorative tooled bindings, clasps, and heft, all contribute to revery and time travel. How did the physical items under study come to be here before me? The embodied experience is not something new. Ruth Perry writes of it when she describes how "One has to experience the historical artifacts of another time with one's whole body, in three-dimensional space, in order to apprehend them. It is a mistake to think that we know only with our eyes, or that the photographic reproduction of anything can convey its whole meaning."[1]

When I visited the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, I found out that the album's contents included several images associated with the Kolomyia Ethnographic Exhibition Committee, as well as portraits of various types from Pokuttia (Polish: Pokucie).

Figure 1. View of the city Kuty, with Mount Ovyd in the background, ca. 1880, ©Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library

Flipping through the Toronto album's pages led me down the rabbit hole. My own reading (or viewing) of the physical album helped me undertake research to better comprehend the effects of print culture. A pursuit that began as an answer to a reference question turned into a resurfacing of forgotten photo albums in national libraries, the correction of mistaken attributions, and documentation of Dutkiewicz's photographic career.

1 Biography

Who is Dutkiewicz? He grew up during the 1830s and 1840s, a time when Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre and William Henry Fox Talbot were developing their first photographic technologies, respectively in France and England. Aspiring daguerreotypists quickly adopted Daguerre's and Talbot's technical processes and began to set up studios throughout Europe and the United States within the first decade of the medium's discovery. The introduction of the speedier and duplicable wet-collodion process in 1851, followed by more portable factory-produced gelatin plates in 1878, enabled early photographers to open commercial establishments in even the most remote parts of the world. Dutkiewicz belonged to this second generation of photographers.

It is challenging to document the practice of this generation of photographers in Austrian Galicia. This holds true for researching and writing about the region's other professional classes: lawyers, notaries, merchants, and physicians. Individuals with these occupations have received less attention by historians as compared to the clergy, teachers, and political leaders who are associated with the Ukrainian enlightenment movement and nation building. As someone associated with a trade, Dutkiewicz's life trajectory has proven especially difficult to situate and verify. Until very recently, many of his photographs were attributed to another photographer with the same surname, Melecjusz Dutkiewicz, or not attributed at all.[2] The photographic albums he compiled that are held by major cultural, national, and academic institutions, such as the one at the University of Toronto, offered minimal descriptions. Cataloguers focus more on the subject matter or geographic scope of the images and not as much on the creator or source of acquisition.[3] The iconicity of some of Dutkiewicz's photographs, especially his portraits, leads to their constant reproduction, imitation, rearrangement, and excision over more than a century of time.

However, thanks to information printed on the fronts and backs of Dutkiewicz's photographs, as well as notices and mentions in contemporary newspapers, memoirs, ethnographic histories, and exhibition catalogs, among other sources, we can sketch this photographer's background.

The personal details reveal that Dutkiewicz's identity was complex and marked by national indifference. One multifaceted way to characterize him is as a Polonized Ruthenian-German with Russophile sympathies. Yet the attribute of Galician is more appropriate. Born in Peszt in 1834, his father was Ruthenian (a canonist in the Austrian Army and a bookbinder), his biological mother German Hungarian, and his stepmother Galician German. Dutkiewicz married (twice) and baptized all his children in the Roman Catholic Church. His first wife was German, his second one Ukrainian. He maintained close personal contacts with Russophile priests, such as Iakiv Holovatskyi and Ivan Naumovych. Working his trade, he needed to be conversant in German, Polish, and Ruthenian (and, maybe, Romanian) to

accommodate a clientele ranging from Austrian bureaucrats to Polish nobles, and from Jewish merchants to Ruthenian intellectuals or Hutsul mountaineers. Dutkiewicz's familial and cultural background suggest that he shifted comfortably from one class or national group to another depending on the circumstances in his role as photographer, one in which he honed his skills as a documenter of Hutsul, Galician, and Bukovinian folk in a land undergoing changes from the increase in railway networks and growth of the petroleum industry.

Dutkiewicz grew up and matured in an era of "ethnic heterogeneity and socio-political complexity" unseen elsewhere in the Habsburg Monarchy.[4] German administrators turned Polish or Ruthenian. Reciprocal Polish-German, Polish-Ruthenian, or Ruthenian-Polish assimilation was common in the bureaucratic and landowning classes. Most of the landed class, though, especially in mixed families, favored a Polish identity. These orientations evolved with late-19th century modernization of political-bureaucratic structures—the rise of state functionaries—and of industrial complexes—oil extraction and railway expansion. National awakening followed. Polonization diminished among the Ruthenian lay intelligentsia after 1848 when they mobilized politically. Dutkiewicz was a product of a special generation that fluctuated between pro-Austrian, pro-Polish, pro-Russian, and Ruthenian orientations.

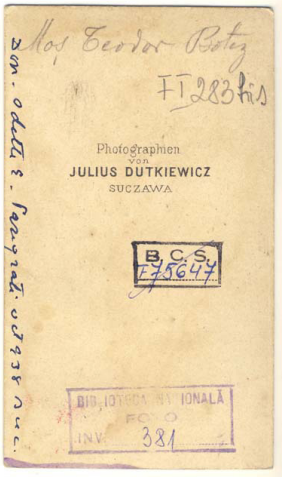
Dutkiewicz was raised within a familial milieu with ties to the Austrian military and upper civil-servant class and the Greek-Catholic clergy. Within this environment, he and his generation of the family developed strong interests in the natural sciences and technology. Three of his cousins were also accomplished professional photographers, with the one often confused with Juliusz, Melecjusz Dutkiewicz, building a name for himself as a portraitist and copyist of artworks in post-1867 Congress Poland (and as a horticulturalist, raising rare cacti and orchids in his greenhouse).[5] Another cousin taught natural sciences at a gymnasium, and an uncle was a famed beekeeper. Dutkiewicz's first business partnership was with Julian Wang (1844–1910) in Lviv (German: Lemberg; Polish: Lwów) in 1866. Later, Wang was a successful engineer, chemist, industrialist, and entrepreneur in Stanyslaviv in the 1870s, who built the city's first gasworks.[6]

Dutkiewicz's nascent photographic skills, and connections to Russophile clerics and the Polish ruling class, led to his earliest commissions in support of science when he participated in several graphic arts, ethnographic, and trade exhibitions held in Moscow (1867), Kolomyia (1880), Przemyśl (1882), Chernivtsi (German: Czernowitz) (1886), and Kraków (1887). These venues brought him local, national, and international recognition, both for his subject matter and for his technical proficiency. His participation was solicited from varying groups, ranging from Pan-Slavists intent on building closer ties to Saint Petersburg, to the Kolomyia branch of the Tatra Society focused on spurring tourism in the Eastern Carpathians, and the Greek-Orthodox Church in Bukovina looking to document and protect its local

heritage and religious culture.

2 Professional Practice

Dutkiewicz's professional practice developed in the easternmost part of the Austrian Empire (from 1867, Austro-Hungary) during the second half of the 19th century. He first stamped his name on the back of formal portraits of wealthy boyar families beginning in the 1850s in the small town of Suceava (German: Suczawa) located in the historical region of Bukovina, in present northeastern Romania.



Figures 2-3. Portrait of Moș Teodor Botez, with verso displaying stamp of J. Dutkiewicz's studio in Suceava, ca. 1861–1865, ©Romanian National Library

From there, Dutkiewicz's career advanced, and he moved his portraitist business northwards to the city of Lviv circa 1865, at first on his own, then, in 1866 in partnership with Julian Wang, in a studio located centrally in one of the most prestigious areas of this important city, between Hotel European and Hotel George. While in Lviv, Dutkiewicz prepared traditional *cartes de visite* (visiting cards), as well as applied images onto porcelain, enamel, and glass. His practice was then mostly limited to portraiture. Among his clientele were prominent citizens of, and visitors to, Lviv. They included veterans of the 1863-1864 uprising against Russian rule in the Kingdom of Poland, who held young Polish conscripts in their ranks, senior officers, and members of the political class. One veteran who walked into Dutkiewicz's studio to sit for a portrait was the 50-year-old Jan Zeh, the chemist who pioneered techniques to distill and purify oil and introduced kerosene lamps to Lviv and Vienna. Dutkiewicz's other sitters were members of Lviv's high society. Dutkiewicz's venture in Lviv was short lived, and after only two years, he returned to Stanyslaviv, where he had lived as a young boy, to ply

his trade there independently. We find references to Dutkiewicz's activities in Stanyslaviv from Galician directories and the press. He was present there soon after the great fire of 28 September 1868 and took pictures of the ruins of Market Square and City Hall.[7] He also photographed the city's buildings and streets during its subsequent reconstruction. A local newspaper publicized these prints by their "fotograf tutejszy" (local photographer) in the winter of 1874.[8] Dutkiewicz regularly ran advertisements in the press, promoting in 1870 "his newly decorated photographic studio," in the building owned by the pharmacist and former mayor, Dr. Antoni Suchanek, on Lypova Street. His studio offered photographs of assorted sizes, according to the "latest inventions," "regardless of weather," and sold them at "the most moderate prices."[9]

He was among the first photographers to establish a studio in Stanyslaviv. Those set up by Ignatz Fleck, B. Rapacki, Józef Eder, Tadeusz Artychowski, and Leon Rosenbach date after Dutkiewicz's return to the city. Dutkiewicz, along with Eder, was among very few photographers who ventured beyond portraiture. Eder began to shoot urban scenes of Lviv, Przemyśl, and Rzeszów in the 1860s, and produced a series of photographs of all the Kraków-Lviv railway stations. Taken a decade later, Dutkiewicz's street views of Stanyslaviv, Kolomyia, Chernivtsi, and elsewhere, bear a striking resemblance to Eder's photographs of Lviv, particularly in their points of view and composition, which suggests that they may have held some informal partnership and kept in close contact between Lviv and Stanyslaviv. Dutkiewicz, though, went further afield than Eder, and made excursions from Stanyslaviv to the nearby highlands and the Carpathian Mountains.

The short-lived monthly *Omnibus pokucki* delivered the following praises to the city's photographer in 1870, extoling his images of the area's natural beauty:

> *Dutkiewicz's photographic studio deserves universal recognition. Dutkiewicz excels especially at photos of the area, houses, mountains, waterfalls, and the like, which are so polished, that one is amazed at how one man has sufficient strength for such vast, but tedious work. Dutkiewicz's photographs from nature have these advantages; one cannot see any corrections or erasures on them, etc., or other inconveniences, which pain the eye of the beholder. Worthy also of admiration are his photographic works on enamel - such a little widespread type of photography in our country. We also value Dutkiewicz's work in the sphere of souvenirs, and his photographs in this area are very beautiful, for example, the celebrations and the consecration of the church [kościół] in the upper town square, as well as the manor house in which lived the late Teofil Wiśzniowski, and the view of the upper town square. We only regret that Dutkiewicz does not display his photographs anywhere in public view. They are so beautiful, maybe they would spur the public not only to look at them, but also to buy them.*[10]

We know that Dutkiewicz's studio reproduced historical paintings, photographed landscapes, including scenes of *Naddnistrianshchyna* (lands along the Dniester River), took portraits of important personages, produced burnt-in

photographs onto porcelain, glass, and enamel, and was an authorized distributor of images of Emperor Franz Josef I and his family.[11] Announcements in the regional press indicate that Dutkiewicz also worked as an itinerant photographer during this time, periodically traveling from Stanyslaviv to either his familial home in Nadvirna (Polish: Nadwórna) (in 1868), again to Lviv (circa 1875), or to Skalat (Polish: Skałat) (in early 1877), the latter town which he visited under the patronage of Rev. Ivan Naumovych.[12] His reputation grew near and wide.

By 1875, Dutkiewicz left Stanyslaviv, and soon thereafter established a new studio, one closer to the mountains, in Kolomyia, where he remained for the long term.[13] The new atelier opened in 1877.[14] In Kolomyia, Dutkiewicz's atelier was located first on Pańska Street (today vul. Teatralna), in a building owned by Count František Brodowski, and later, on Szewczenko Street (vul. Tarasa Shevchenka).

Figure 4. J. Dutkiewicz's studio in Kolomyia, ©Muzeum Etnograficzne im. Seweryna Udzieli, Krakow

This latter site remained his professional base until his retirement. His studio served as both a workshop and gallery. There, besides individuals sitting for portraits, he displayed and sold his photographs and works by other artists. Dutkiewicz advertised that he could "take pictures at any time at low prices," and offered for sale his award-winning stock views of the Prut, Cheremosh, and Dniester River valleys, the Carpathians, the oil fields of Słoboda-Rungurska, as well as scenes of Kolomyia, Chernivtsi, Horodenka, and other regional towns.[15] He also dealt in photographs of the criminal and illustrious, such as single and group portraits of the Drahiruk band of *opryshky* (brigands) who were tried and sentenced in Kolomyia in 1878 on 40 charges of robbery and theft, which resulted in the public hanging of the band's ringleader, Jura Drahiruk, in March 1879.[16]

Why did Dutkiewicz choose to settle and work in Kolomyia? The city was accessible on the new Lviv-Chernivtsi railway, and thus served as a convenient transit point and resource base for Dutkiewicz's enterprise. The town prospered from that point forward, 1866, until the end of the century, and was soon the third most populous city in eastern Galicia after Lviv and Przemyśl.[17] By 1862, even

before the opening of the train station four years later, the city's population had grown by over 35% from the previous decade. It had, comparable to most eastern Galician cities, a decidedly multicultural character. Its primary inhabitants included Jews, followed by Poles and Ruthenians, with a visible presence of Germans and Armenians. Once the rails connected Kolomyia to cities to the north and south, along with extensions of tracks to the oil rich regions of Pechenizhyn (Polish: Peczeniżyn) and Sloboda to the west, the city grew rapidly. It reached a population of 23,100 in 1880, 30,000 in 1895, and 34,200 in 1900. It was a market center. From the railhead in Kolomyia, there expanded eastwards and westwards trade in Podillian grain and grain-derived spirits; Carpathian *bryndza* (sheep's milk cheese), mineral water, livestock, lumber, quarry stones, and tar; Hutsul folk crafts; Kolomyian leather and pottery works; and coal, glass, salt, and sugar from nearby towns, as well as goat meat, sausages, suet, and sheepskins from the Armenians of Kuty.[18]

Figure 5. Drahiruk band of brigands from Żabie (Verkhovyna), 1878, ©Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library

Enticed by its size, location, culture, and tourism, Dutkiewicz's move to Kolomyia was thus strategic. To start with, Kolomyia offered him easy access via rail to Lviv and Chernivtsi, whereby he could expand his trade to, and receive visitors from the capitals Galicia and Bukovina. Moreover, the city served as a gateway for his expeditions into the Carpathian Mountains. Lastly, it was a place where he could make his name as a professional photographer without much competition. In 1869 there were 100 photo ateliers in Vienna, 16 in Warsaw, five in Kraków, and 12 in Lviv, whereas Dutkiewicz had relatively few rivals in Kolomyia, a situation that would remain in his favor for the next 20 years in the gateway city.[19]

3 Carpathians Disseminated: Sale, Distribution, and Reproducibility

Kolomyia, located at the foot of the Carpathian Mountains, and relatively accessible by train, was a city with great touristic potential and one that offered Dutkiewicz access to scenic locations to photograph and sources of revenue

from visitors. For example, Leopold Wajgiel, in his role as vice-president of the "Czarnohora" branch of the Tatra Society, devoted considerable attention in his 1885 mountaineering guide in promoting Kolomyia as a well-situated place to begin journeys into the highlands. In it, he explained that tourists could reach the city easily by rail from either Lviv or Chernivtsi. From there, they could rent a fiacre and arrive in Żabie (today Verkhovyna) via Kuty the same day. From Żabie, a tourist party should plan to spend eight to ten days exploring the most beautiful parts of the mountains. For the less adventurous, who wanted to get to know only one or two peaks of the Chornohora range, five days would suffice, including the round trip from Kolomyia to Żabie or Mykulychyn. The starting point for all trips was Kolomyia, whether for one-, two-, or three- or more day trips. In the guide, Wajgiel encouraged visitors to better assess the beautiful location of the city and its surroundings, by taking in the views from atop the town hall's tower. Additionally, whether as mementos of places visited during their tours, or in lieu of mountain escapades, he directed sightseers to purchase prints from a selection of fifty views by Dutkiewicz, taken in 1880. Stores throughout the city sold them, with the best prices offered by the photographer himself at his studio on Szewczenko Street. To help promote Dutkiewicz's work, Wajgiel listed title by title each of his photographs and included an advertisement for the studio on the guide's back cover.[20]

Visitors and tourists followed Wajgiel's advice, whether hiking in the Carpathian Mountains, taking short tours by local rail or carriage, or purchasing locally crafted souvenirs or photographic mementoes and studies. Two well-known ethnographers and an adventuress were among Dutkiewicz's clients, purchasing from the stock listed by Wajgiel.

František Řehoř, an aspiring Czech ethnographer, having lived with his parents on a farm in Volkiv, near Lviv, became a keen observer of the area's inhabitants. He traveled and researched the Galician folk. His scientific interests spurred him to visit Kolomyia during its ethnographic exhibition in September 1880. During his stay, Řehoř dropped by Dutkiewicz's studio and ordered several dozen folk portraits for Vojta Náprstek's museum in Prague.[21] The photographer was impressed with the young man. Dutkiewicz offered Řehoř his work at a discount, each photograph at 15 *heller* a piece, writing: "this is truly a low cost; furthermore, for science, I will not charge for the mounting …. One thing that I would like to ask of you is that you not let anyone know the price that I charged you." Money matters came to the fore soon after, with Dutkiewicz expressing annoyance in a subsequent letter that the advance provided by Řehoř was insufficient to complete the order and requesting payment of the balance.[22]

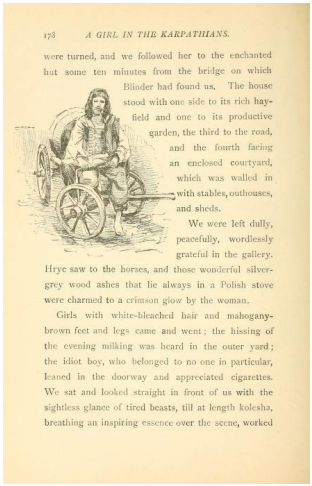
Oskar Kolberg also supplemented his ethnographic research with Dutkiewicz's photographs. Władysław Przybysławski, chair of the 1880 ethnographic exhibition committee, wrote to him in 1881 that he would send him photographs by Dutkiewicz of whatever folk types he needed, and that Kolberg could select the

most appropriate ones to include in his forthcoming volumes on Pokuttia, as part of his major work *Lud*.[23] Kolberg, based on the illustrations included in two of the four Pokuttia volumes (1882-1889), received photographs of Ruthenians from Kulachyn, (now a part of Sniatyn), Iaseniv-Pilnyi (Polish: Jasienów Polny), and Chortovets (Polish: Czortowiec), the latter two towns not far from Horodenka, and an additional image of a farm in Beleluia (Polish: Bełełuja).[24] The illustrator, Tadeusz Rybkowski, executed drawings based on Dutkiewicz's original photographs. Rybkowski, like Kolberg, spent summers in Pokuttia, where he sketched the region's natural surroundings and people. He knew the views and folk groups closely. Rybkowski was also acquainted with Dutkiewicz, as they both took part in the exhibition in Kolomyia.

Figures 6-8. T. Rybkowski's illustration "'Taniec 'Kołomyjka'" for Oskar Kolberg's, Pokucie: obraz etnograficzny, t.3, Krakow, 1888, ©Archiwum Polskiego Towarzystwa Ludoznawczegom Teka nr 47, Miscellanea, teka rycin II, alongside photographs of musicians and dancers from Chortovets by J. Dutkiewicz, ca. 1880, @Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library

Another visitor to Kolomyia came from further abroad. Ménie Muriel Dowie, a young Scottish writer and explorer, recounted her journey in *A Girl in the Karpathians*. She described Kolomyia as a convenient starting and ending point for her expedition into the mountains via Żabie. She traveled there in 1890 primarily because of the city's accessibility to the southeasterly range of the Carpathians, located just upwards and westwards away from its center. Kolomyia itself did not

lack attractions to entice curious and lively tourists such as Dowie: "Kolomyja is not early, and good and quiet, as becomes a small white town; on the contrary, it is quite suggestively hilarious, and the square does not tuck itself in till after one." In the market square, Dowie was able to stock up on provisions for her horseback riding journey into the mountains, and, on her return, to buy folk artifacts made by local peasants and Hutsuls. She must have purchased several of Dutkiewicz's photographs which would serve as the basis for the illustrations in her travelogue. Among the depictions featured in her book are a Jew and Hutsul from Żabie on their way to market, a Rom from Kosiv (Polish: Kosów), and Hutsuls from Rozhniv (Polish: Rożnów) and Usteriky (Polish: Uścieryki).[25] These anonymous illustrations add to the charm and authenticity of her Carpathian expedition.


178 *A GIRL IN THE KARPATHIANS.*

were turned, and we followed her to the enchanted hut some ten minutes from the bridge on which Blinder had found us. The house stood with one side to its rich hay-field and one to its productive garden, the third to the road, and the fourth facing an enclosed courtyard, which was walled in with stables, outhouses, and sheds.

We were left dully, peacefully, wordlessly grateful in the gallery. Hrye saw to the horses, and those wonderful silver-grey wood ashes that lie always in a Polish stove were charmed to a crimson glow by the woman.

Girls with white-bleached hair and mahogany-brown feet and legs came and went; the hissing of the evening milking was heard in the outer yard; the idiot boy, who belonged to no one in particular, leaned in the doorway and appreciated cigarettes. We sat and looked straight in front of us with the sightless glance of tired beasts, till at length kolesha, breathing an inspiring essence over the scene, worked

Figures 9-10. Rom from Kosiv as illustrated in Ménie Muriel Dowie's Girl in the Karpathians, 1892 and the photo by J. Dutkiewicz, ca. 1878, ©Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library

With an ever-increasing clientele, Dutkiewicz seized the opportunity of Kolomyia's favorable location to perfect his skills as an enterprising landscape photographer of the mountainous region and portraitist of Hutsuls. He would travel in summertime, and capture images of the nearby rugged scenery, towns, castles, ruins, and villages of the Carpathian Mountains. These seasonal excursions were no easy task in the era of the wet-collodion process, which was a standard photographic practice from the 1850s to 1880s, given the weight (upwards of 60 kg) and multitude of appliances, chemicals, and gadgets needed to be carried for extended forays into the not yet fully mapped mountains with unmarked trails.

His regional photographs of the Carpathian region and of the Hutsuls portray a world associated with the everyday and serve as a precursor to photojournalism.

His images depict activities connected with agricultural, economic, religious, and village life from the mountains to the foothills and the plains. We see scenes associated with market days and hunting lodges, the timber and petroleum industries, churches and monasteries, and ones with villagers at work and play, whether stacking hay (Unizh; Polish: Uniż), spinning wool (Żabie, Myshyn (Polish: Myszyn), and Usteriky), or at a dance (Yaseniv; Polish: Jasienów).

His photographs of the greater Hutsul region range geographically from Berezhany (Polish: Brzeżany) in the north to Vatra Dornei (Romania) in the south, and from the summit of Pip Ivan in the west to the castle ruins of the village Zhvanets (Polish: Żwaniec), near the junction of the Zhvanchyk and the Dniester Rivers in Kamianets-Podilskyi raion, to the east. Dutkiewicz photographed extensively the Chornohora mountain range in the Eastern Beskids, including its highest peaks, as well as scenes of highland pastures, valleys, cliffs, waterfalls, bridges, alpine lodges, villages, churches, ruins, and logging along the Cheremosh River. He faced little to no competition photographing this discrete region of the Carpathians and his images formed the outward representation and visualization across the Empire and Europe through the late nineteenth century.[26]

Aside from Kolomyia's advantageous location as a tourist destination and its proximity to mountains and river valleys, the city also represented a commercial opportunity for the photographer. There, facing few rivals, Dutkiewicz developed into a recognized and prolific studio portraitist as well as a photographer of ethnographic types. He continued to take traditional head-and-shoulder photographs of known, distinguished, or wealthy urban elites, their wives, and children. He also took advantage of his geographic location to photograph local folk dressed in traditional, regional garments.

For three decades, Dutkiewicz documented folk types, particularly Hutsuls, but also Armenians, Jews, Poles, and Roma. The diversity of his subjects reflected the population of Kolomyia,[27] its district in general, and neighboring villages. An 18th-century visitor described the town on the banks of the Prut River as being among the most diverse centers of trade in all of Galicia. There one could encounter merchants from all over, day after day, year after year, including "Vlachs, Hungarians, Poles, Greeks, Russians, Armenians, Jews, Roma, Turks, and Lithuanians."[28]

Dutkiewicz photographed the area's people either in his studio, or at local inns, against a background, or in the open air, and often posed with objects associated with their socio-cultural environment. This practice was typical of 19th-century photographers, who sought to build reality in accordance with contemporary pictorial conventions. Dutkiewicz employed neutral backgrounds, or painted scenes that suggested forests, mountains, or the snowy outdoors. He sometimes supplemented these scenes with props, such as balustrades, columns, side tables, drapery, and furnishings, or, when a rustic scene was required, with gazebos, tree stumps, artificial conifers, and stone piles. His ethnic subjects posed in appropriate

folk attire and stance, were photographed less as individuals, but as types, representative of their cultural group, social class, and/or profession.

Dutkiewicz mostly shot his "folk" fully, from head to toe, or, more rarely, from the waist up. The individuals sat or stood to show as much detail as possible of their clothing and accessories. When photographing groups, he sometimes arranged his subjects with some facing forward and others away from the camera to highlight different aspects of their costumes. The attire and held objects suggest the subjects' status. For the Hutsuls, the props involved smoking pipes, musical instruments, axes, pistols, shotguns, powder horns, canes, jugs, spindles, or, even, a stuffed hen or rooster. Dutkiewicz presented Jews in their prayer shawls with books, or next to bottles suggesting their association with taverns and breweries; while he photographed Armenians in three-piece suits, or by, or astride, their prized horses. In this sense, the images reproduced the ethnographic iconography of contemporary drawings and paintings and did little to convey the culture of the people in context.[29]

Figure 11-12. Group of nobles from Bereziv, Kosiv district and Armenian men from Kuty @Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library

Museums or private collections that hold Dutkiewicz's ethnographic portraits (or those sold at auction) rarely document the personal names of his subjects. He took the images over a century ago. Those who knew the subjects (sitters) have long since passed away, so the people remain largely anonymous. Any information noted down from the photographer to the collector or curator is generalized or inconsistently documented. People are classed into categories, such as, "musicians from Chortkiv," "a group of peasants from Berehomet," "beekeeper from Chortovets,"

"a gypsy from Kosiv," or "an Armenian from Kuty." The more prominent people among the region's rural and pastoral population are characterized by their professions, such as sculptor, coppersmith, or *wójts* (village heads or mayors).

Figures 13-14. Jewish man from Unizh and young Hutsul woman from Usteriky spinning wool, ©Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library

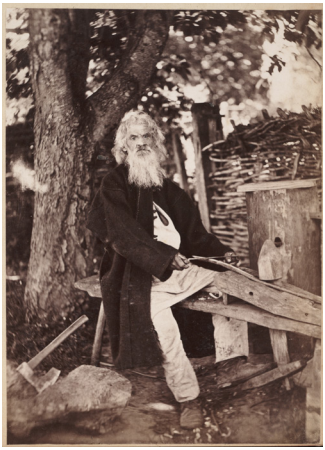


Figure 15. 100-year-old beekeeper from Unizh, ©Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library

For the most part, the individuals, or groups, Dutkiewicz photographed were not paying clients. They had little social need for personal portraits and in many cases could not afford them; many of them served as models for Dutkiewicz.

Their likenesses were sold as single images or in cycles in black-and-white, or, sometimes, in colored versions, to local elites, the intelligentsia (particularly ethnographers), and tourists. Thus, Dutkiewicz supplemented the income from his non-ethnographic studio portraits, selling them in the form of albumen prints mounted on cabinet cards (in a range of sizes from 10 x 13.5 cm to 11 x 16 cm), with his signature and the location of his studio printed below. On the reverse, were reproduced emblems of his numerous awards and honors. Residents and visitors could easily purchase these prints from Dutkiewicz's studio or from bookstores in the market square.

Furthermore, in the late 1890s to early 1900s, the photographer sold the rights to his negatives to Mykhailo Bilous, a publisher of popular books in Kolomyia since 1864; Józef Accord, a local purveyor of cameras, postcards, and letterhead; and to Iakiv (Jacob) Orenshtein, who arrived in the city from Kosiv in 1902 and began to publish Ukrainian books under the imprint *Halytska nakladnia* (Galician publishing house). The book, paper, and photograph dealer Leon König cornered the market for postcards of Dutkiewicz's Bukovinian views, and sold these out of his shop in the central square (no. 6) of Chernivtsi.[30] These four publishers, as well as the Prague-based photomontage company Lederer & Popper (Josef Lederer & Rudolf Popper) and Henryk First's Kraków-based publishing company Wydawnictwo Salonu Malarzy Polskich[31], produced picture postcards based on Dutkiewicz's stock of images from which the identity of the man who captured the images was completely erased. The subjects of postcards, mostly ethnographic "types" from the Carpathian region often became disassociated with their geographical context.

We thus find ourselves left with artistic simulacra of the original meeting between the photographer and his subject or client. For example, two Ruthenian peasants from Kosmach (Polish: Kosmacz), originally photographed circa late 1860s-1880, are depicted in First's lettered souvenir postcard of Lviv floating above the letter "O" of Lwów, just above another photographer's images of the Dormition Church and City Hall. In one of Lederer & Popper's busy urban street scenes of Lviv, one Jew, from an original photograph of two men posed beside bottles of wine or beer, is cropped out and dropped onto ul. Stefana Batorego (today Kniazha Romana) where he observes a bicycle accident. Where Dutkiewicz photographed two Hutsul men from Żabie leading a Jewish man to market, the Hutsuls are cropped out from another Lederer & Popper postcard and the Jewish man is set in the foreground of Lviv's city slaughterhouse. Postcard publishers could easily modify "good motifs" which led to mass sales.

Figures 16-17. J. Dutkiewicz's two Hutsuls and Jewish man going to market, ©Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, and Lederer & Popper's postcard in front of a Lviv slaughterhouse

Despite the mass commercial potential offered by the cheap and mass means of publishing, Dutkiewicz continued to see scientific and research potential of his photographs. He simultaneously sold large series of his images to private collectors and museums, drawing from a vast stock of older prints. In the late 1880s, the Czech ethnographer and folklorist František Řehoř purchased another set of prints for the Náprstek Industrial Museum in Prague.[32] Řehoř travelled through the Carpathians in 1889 with Volodymyr Shukhevych, a teacher and expert on Hutsul folk life, and visited there again in 1891-1892. Dutkiewicz's photographs were useful for his study of people and dress of the area's rural areas and small towns. In a letter to Josefa Náprstková, the wife of the founder of the Czech Industrial Museum, written probably in 1889, Řehoř mentions revisiting the photographer in Kolomyia:

> *On my way back from the Carpathians, I stopped by Kolomyia at Dutkiewicz's, the photographer, from whom I bought images of Galician types, Ruthenians and Hutsuls, about eight years ago. I would like to have a complete topographic scope of the Hutsuls, and to add to the previous photographs his newer ones, and the collection is available at a reasonable price. But I have depleted my funds, so forgive me if I ask that you purchase these pictures. They cost 35 gulden. In the fall, so that I can study them, please purchase at least the Hutsul series.*[33]

The Museum for Austrian Folklore (today's Austrian Museum of Folk Life and Folk Art) purchased 28 cabinet cards of Dutkiewicz's series of eastern Galician ethnic types in 1904. The artist donated photographs to other institutions. Following the close of an exhibition in Kraków, Dutkiewicz gave to the local Academy of Sciences his photographs of ethnic groups, and to the anthropological-ethnographic department of the Imperial Royal Natural History Court Museum, and the Imperial Royal Austrian Museum of Art and Industry (today the Austrian Museum of Applied Arts) in Vienna, large numbers of images.[34] 64 prints of Hutsuls and Pokuttian mountain scenes were presented to the Starzeński Museum.[35] Private individuals also collected his photographs. The family of Count Emeryk Hutten Czapski, a famous numismatist, Polish memorabilia collector, and the founder of the Czapski Museum in Kraków, purchased a collated album of scenes and people of Pokuttia. Wilhelm Exner, a pioneer in Austria's industrial development and the founder and director of the Industrial Museum of Technology in Vienna, bought a series of 37 folk types.

Dutkiewicz's experimentation with color, sales to ethnographers and museums, and the commercialization of his work in the form of cheap postcards, did not offset his debts. The widespread use of his images in printed works, either as adapted illustrations or lithographs, such as in Dowie's or Kolberg's publications, brought little to no profit for Dutkiewicz. His experience was not unique. His cousin Melecjusz Dutkiewicz encountered similar, if not greater, difficulties in Warsaw. In the late 1870s and early 1880s, Melecjusz borrowed funds from his photographic atelier to invest in his photolithographic workshop. Seeking to generate increased revenue at the atelier, he introduced innovations, such as photography by electric light, as well as the sale of dry bromide plates. However, the expenses led only to bankruptcy. Soon thereafter, the photolithographic business he ran together with Karol Beyer was also financially ruined. From 1885 until his death in 1897, Melecjusz Dutkiewicz's business and personal life was in a downward spiral, and on his death, he left his widow and large family destitute.[36]

Photographic studios could be run as profitable businesses, but the product needed to be protected from illicit copying by those wishing to have a share but unwilling or unable to make the necessary investment. Photographers could charge for prints but not for negatives, and the negative gave them the right to multiply and sell copies. However, contemporary attitudes towards photography viewed its results as merely a result of mechanical processes and chemical combinations servilely reproducing material objects without the need for the talents of an artist.

The debates about the artistic merit of photographs ran throughout the 19th century, with Britain, France, and the United States granting copyright to photographers in the 1860s, while Austria-Hungary lagged far behind. Within the Habsburg Empire, photographs gained protection only in 1895, and with that, only for the duration of ten years. Reciprocal copyright agreements were not signed

until 1899, with Germany, and much later with other countries when Austria joined the Berne Convention in 1920, which left little protection of photographs and their authors throughout the 19th century. Furthermore, with the 1895 "Law on Copyright in Works of Literature, Art, and Photography," a person who commissioned a work of art or photography was entitled to its copyright, as were the sitters of portraits, or images used by businesses for 'works of industry,' such as packages, advertisements, and picture postcards.[37]

Photographers such as Dutkiewicz clearly viewed their work as if they were its authors and not just its manufacturers. A strong indication of this is the adoption of the most fundamental sign of authorship, the signature, on their output. The cursive signature, usually applied to the front of the image, denoted a personal type of authorship in which the body of the maker was invested in the product. Aside from his signature, Dutkiewicz often added a copyright statement to his prints: "zastrzegać sobie prawo własności" (I reserve the right of ownership). The emblems on the versos of his images further referenced Dutkiewicz's authorial credentials and artistic achievements, among them, are the bestowal by His Excellency Franz Josef I of the Gold Medal for art and skill in 1881, by Romanian King Carol I of the Gold Medal (first class) in 1883, by Serbian King Milan I of the Gold Medal (first class) in 1884, and by Prince of Bulgaria Ferdinand I of the National Order for Civic Merit circa 1891-1894.

Yet Dutkiewicz, whose images were either adapted as illustrations to literary and ethnographic works, or mass-produced for picture-postcards, within the Austro-Hungarian and German Empires throughout the 1880s to 1900s, received relatively insufficient credit for his work. We can reasonably assume that he collected little to no monetary compensation outside the sale of his prints to the editors. His name is absent whether his images appear as creative illustrative adaptations, such as in the Crown Prince Rudolf's imperial project the *Kronprinzenwerk*, a luxurious illustrated encyclopedia of all the regions of Austria-Hungary, or one-to-one photolithographic reproductions, as in Julius Jandaurek's survey of Galicia and Bukovina.[38] Dutkiewicz's name is equally absent in the works by Michael Haberlandt, Sigmund Schneider and Benno Imendörffer, and Georg Buschan.[39] We only begin to see Dutkiewicz's name credited alongside his images in the year leading up to and those years immediately following the adoption of the Austrian law on copyright, such as in Kaindl's ethnographic studies on Hutsuls (1894 and 1896),[40] Kupchanko's volume on Galicia (1896),[41] or in the illustrated guide to the Imperial-Royal railway (1897).[42]

However, even within this timeframe, publishers applied the credit inconsistently. They reproduced continuously some of the most iconographic of Dutkiewicz's images. Their various photomechanical processes further removed the copies from their creator and their historical context so that the authorship of the originals became completely lost to future generations. Among the most recognizable and

frequently published images are those of a festively dressed Ruthenian youth from Mykulyntsi (Polish: Mikulińce), musicians from Chortovets with fiddle and cimbalom (the fiddler sometimes cropped out), two of a blind Ruthenian musician from Chortovets being guided by a youth, and Hutsuls from Velykyi Rozhyn (Polish: Rożen Wielki) on a cart loaded with timber. The two most widely disseminated images are the ones depicting a Jew and Hutsuls from Żabie on their way to market, and of a seated elderly Jewish man from Kolomyia. The former loses its geographical context in Buschan's history and is titled simply as "Polish Jew in caftan riding to market," with the Hutsuls cropped from the photograph. The latter becomes simply a "Galician Jew" in Jandaurek's volume, a transplanted "Jew from Sniatyn" in the railway guide, and an ethnographic "Polish Jew with fur trimmed velvet cap and overcoat over a kaftan" in Buschan's work. These two photographs gained iconographic status representative of Jews of Galicia. They continue to be referred to in this way until now, with the re-production of each of the two images from Jandaurek in Larry Wolff's important history *The Idea of Galicia* (2010), in which he analyzes the Austrian province as a site for the evolution of cultural meanings and identities for the people who lived there.[43] The identities of the individuals from Żabie and Kolomyia are equally obscured from us as that of the photographer, with no way of tracing any of their personal histories. Their meanings proliferated in the capitalist expression of photographic production.

4 Carpathians Curated: Authored Albums for Elite Audiences

Dutkiewicz had little control over what stories his individual photographs told once sold and distributed; however, as a professional photographer there was one medium—the presentation album—in which he could control the artistic narrative, even if the "text" was written on commission or for an interested reader of one. Bookbinding and photography went hand in hand for Dutkiewicz. He created handcrafted albums, with beautifully designed leather covers, ornate and embossed details, and decorative clasps, in which to arrange and house his prints.

The historical record and library-museum collections document the fabrication and/or existence of several such albums. For example, Dutkiewicz compiled his landscape views and ethnographic portraits of peoples into presentation albums for European emperors and kings, including Franz Josef I, Carol I of Romania, and Alexander III,[44] as well as for regional gentry and literary celebrities, such as, for example, Józef Ignacy Kraszewski.[45]

4.1 Album Erinnerungen an Kolomea (Memories of Kolomea) (1880)

The first documented album traces its history to 1880 when the *Towarzystwo Tatrzańskie* (Tatra Society) invited and commissioned Dutkiewicz to participate in their ethnographic exhibition organized to take place in Kolomyia that September. The exhibition was administered and organized by the foremost Polish

ethnographer, Oskar Kolberg; the avid collector and patron of Hutsul arts, Count Włodzimierz Dzieduszycki; and the president of the society, Mieczysław Rey.

The Tatra Society, akin to other European alpine clubs of the time, had as its goals the exploration and popularization of the Carpathian Mountains, the fostering of tourism, the protection of endangered alpine animals, and the support and promotion of indigenous folk industry. Founded in Nowy Targ in 1873 as the Galician Tatra Society, the society simplified its name and moved its seat to Kraków the following year. Branches of the Tatra Society were formed in eastern Galicia in the towns of Stanyslaviv (1876), Kolomyia ("Czarnohora," 1878), and Lviv (1883). The former two branches devoted their attention to improving access to the highlands by marking trails and building accommodations in the form of rustic lodges for members and tourists. By 1878, the mountainous Chornohora region of the Eastern Beskids was preliminarily mapped and open for tourism. As a next step towards reaching a broader public, the Tatra Society drew up plans for the first ethnographic exhibition ever organized in Galicia. Interest for the exhibition peaked when word came that Emperor Franz Josef I would attend its opening during his official tour of Galicia.[46]

Kolomyia's main draw in 1880 was its location. Stanisław Tarnowski, a landowner, painter, and art collector from the village Sniatynka near Drohobych, refuted the city's bad reputation and dismissed its naysayers in a letter to the chair of the exhibition's organizing committee, Władysław Przybysławski. Tarnowski wrote:

> *Let's go to Kolomyia … let's go as soon as possible, because near this Hutsul capital there are supposed to be some mountains, and in these mountains, there are some interesting people, and a river called Cheremosh, which is supposed to be as beautiful as the Dunajets in the Pieniny Mountains; as well as the river Prut, which near Dora cascades down as a waterfall. We need to make sure this is all true.*

While the proposed exhibition was not a world one on the scale of London in 1862 or Paris in 1878, Kolomyia was not without its own attractions.[47]

Notwithstanding Kolomyia's modest charms and favorable location, the main draw for visitors in late summer 1880 was the exhibition, and, particularly, its association with the distinguished guests of the Viennese Court. Journalists and an extensive imperial entourage, including the emperor's brother Archduke Karl Ludwig, accompanied Franz Josef to Kolomyia. The visitors from the Habsburg court reviewed the handicrafts of not only Hutsul culture, but also those by local Armenians and Roma. Exhibited were fine examples of embroidered linens, colorfully woven textiles, elaborately decorated weapons, smoking paraphernalia, and riding tack, as well as a series of photographs by Dutkiewicz.[48]

Visitors to the exhibition, from casual observers to the serious could select from a range of townships, landscapes, and folk types by Dutkiewicz. The exhibition's

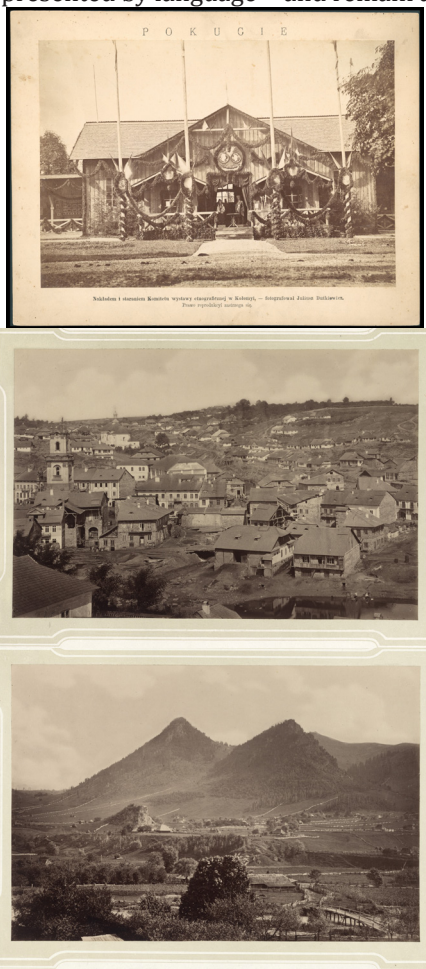
organizers had commissioned Dutkiewicz and compensated him five gulden ($2.50 USD) for each large-format view, and two gulden ($1 USD) a piece for portraits. Over the summer of 1880, Dutkiewicz took new photographs, and assembled selections from his earlier work to exhibit, including panoramas, views of villages and towns, as well as portraits of the local population. For the display at the exhibition, Dutkiewicz compiled two albums with identical sets of images. He mounted the pages of one set in long rows along the walls of a room and laid out the other ones along the lengths of tables. On view was a whole series of views of the Chornohora mountain range, including its highest peaks, Hoverla, Pip Ivan, and Shpytsi, plus ones of the townships of Horodenka, Kolomyia, Kosiv and Sniatyn, as well as a variety of portraits of folk types from the Hutsul region and Pokuttia.[49] Featured prominently, too, was a photograph of the estate of Przybysławski, the landowner of Chortovets, with whom Kolberg often stayed during his field research. The views and portraits, which Tarnowski described as "deadly interesting" for commoners and "invaluable" to ethnographers, raised his desires to the upmost of seeing for himself the Chornohora range, or at least Żabie, and of floating down the rapids of the Cheremosh River on a raft.[50]

Dutkiewicz's photographic display caught the attention of other important guests and officials, particularly that of the Emperor and the Archduke, "who paused frequently and expressed their approval" of them. After the exhibition ended, Dutkiewicz prepared a special presentation album for the emperor, including images originally on display and additional new ones. The Governor-General, Count Alfred Potocki von Piława, and his staff, facilitated the bestowal of the album to Franz Josef, for which the emperor bestowed on Dutkiewicz a gold medal, the Austro-Hungarian Order "Literis et Artibus," for outstanding service to the arts.[51]

Dutkiewicz produced 121 albumen prints, captioned them in Polish, and mounted them onto stiff drawing paper measuring approximately 47 by 35 centimeters. The landscapes were mounted as single images, while the portraits were mounted two to a leaf. The photographer assembled them into a portfolio and placed the portfolio into a box covered in amaranth-colored velvet with silver-reinforced corners. He lined the inside of the box with white moiré fabric and provided ribbons for lifting out the individual photographs. Dutkiewicz laid the individual photographs in a deliberate order, so that the emperor's souvenir of Kolomyia (or Erinnerungen an Kolomea, with the seal bearing Franz Josef's personal motto Viribus Unitis) would be read narratively, with a beginning, middle, and end.

The metatext includes a mixture of German (the album title: *Erinnerungen an Kolomea*), Latin (the phrase on the seal: *Viribus Unitis*), and Polish (captions of the landscapes, for example: *Spławienie drzewa na Czeremoszu*). The languages read sequentially from the cover to the inside album pages offer an intertextual

commentary on empire and coloniality: German is the language of the Empire; Latin is the language of the Roman Catholic Church; and Polish is the language of the ruling Galician bureaucratic and business class. Most of the subjects photographed are Hutsuls and Ruthenians of the Carpathian region or the places associated with them. They are not represented by language—and remain anonymous.



Figures 18-20. Several photographs exhibited at the Ethnographic Exhibition in Kolomyia and presented to the emperor, ca. 1880: main entrance to the exhibition in Kolomyia; panoramic view of the city of Buchach; and the mountains Adam and Eve in Kimpolung province in Bukovina, ©Austrian National Library

The 1880 imperial album comprises 67 landscape photographs from the Galician districts of Horodenka and Kosiv, and the Bukovinian districts of Rădăuţi

and Câmpulung Moldovenesc, as well as the cities of Sniatyn, Buchach (Polish: Buczacz), Chortkiv, and Kolomyia, with additional views of the Cheremosh River. The panoramas capture images of monasteries, churches, and ruins of castles taken from a distance, and mountainous scenery of lakes, waterfalls, and rocky crops. There are also 'aerial' views of the central squares in Kolomyia and in Buchach, taken from advantageous vantage points, such as building ledges and towers.

The rest of the 1880 presentation album consists of 54 ethnographic portraits (types), from a variety of classes, ethnicities, and professions: Polish *bauern* (peasants) from Berehomet and Mykulyntsi, burghers from Sniatyn, musicians from Chortkiv, Hutsuls from Dolhopillia, Usteriky, and Żabie (Verkhovyna), Roma from Kosiv, Armenians from Kuty, and Jewish people and a beekeeper from Unizh.

What is the narrative beyond the textual descriptions? The photographs Dutkiewicz assembled for Franz Josef have been little handled over the last century and a half; yet the staff at the Austrian National Library cannot assure researchers whether the original order has been maintained since the album was deposited there. The photographs were not numbered at the time of receipt and today's sequence is simply the order in which the staff of the Library's Picture Archives and Graphics Department digitized them.

4.2 Album Pokucie (1880s)

Nonetheless, we can look elsewhere to venture how Dutkiewicz meant the album to be organized. The Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library at the University of Toronto houses a contemporaneous album, the previously mentioned Album Pokucie. This bound album was once owned by the Hutten-Czapski family, whether firsthand or second-hand is unclear (I would venture that the owner of the album had a stake in the sawmill in Turka which is featured in the final two photographs). The leather-tooled binding is also the work of Dutkiewicz. He compiled the prints and bound them around the time of the Ethnographic Exhibition held in Kolomyia in 1880, as a sizable portion of the photographs refer to the event and 64% of them 'duplicate' those in the imperial album.

The Album Pokucie is organized in the following sequence with landscapes one to a page and portraits four to a page: Kolomyia (five photographs of the town square); Kosiv district (27 photographs, beginning with views of the city, followed by ones of Usteriky, and a long series of landscapes of the Chornohora range of the Carpathian Mountains, depicting individual peaks and highland settlements); Sniatyn district (three photographs of different approaches to the city of Sniatyn); Horodenka district (seven photographs, with an emphasis on the ruins of Chernelytsia Castle (Polish: Zamek w Czernelicy) , the former residence of Jan III Sobieski during his campaigns against the Turks); and a series of 64 ethnographic (type) portraits. This order suggests how the imperial album may have been organized, beginning with Kolomyia as the point of departure for excursions into

the Carpathian Mountains, with a route to the tallest peaks passing through Kosiv, Usteriky, and Żabie, first marked by Leopold Wajgel for the Galicia Tatra Society. The album ends with the Pokuttian districts of Sniatyn and Horodenka, followed by a series of "types," mostly Hutsuls of the region.

The language throughout, from the album cover to the captioned landscapes and portraits, is Polish. Many of the panoramic views of mountains, cities, and ruins are captioned "Nakładem i staraniem Komitetu wystawy etnograficznej w Kolomyi—fotografował Juliusz Dutkiewicz" (Under the auspices of the Committee of the Ethnographic Exhibition in Kolomyia – photographed by Juliusz Dutkiewicz), with a statement that reproduction rights are reserved. The people are all anonymous except for a group portrait of the Drahiruk band of brigands and a single image of Jura Drahiruk's aunt, Anna Herediuk. Dutkiewicz created the album to reflect the eventual owner's personal interests in the lands and peoples of Pokuttia, which were not far removed from imperial interests, the discovery of the Carpathians and Hutsuls as a natural resource and a people to be categorized and controlled.

4.3 Broşteni Album (1883)

The "Broşteni" album, prepared by Juliusz Dutkiewicz for King Carol I of Romania in 1883, and held by the Romanian National Library, contains 22 leaves with 43 single prints mounted on each side. The prints are bound together in black tooled leather album, with gold embossments and a metal clasp. Each page includes the printed signature "J. Dutkiewicz, Fotograf," in Polish, either along the left side or below the image, which is framed with a golden border. They are described bilingually, with captions printed in Romanian and French. The luxury album was assembled during His Majesty's visit to his newly purchased estate in Broşteni. In early June 1883, King Carol I decided to make an inaugural visit to his estate after attending the unveiling of the equestrian statue of Stephen the Great in Iaşi. He went there to survey a logging complex he had developed there as well as the church and school erected for the local highland inhabitants.

The king's diary entries from 10 to 14 June 1883 briefly describe his visit to Broşteni and the nearby gorges, peaks, and valleys. He arrived at his estate on the evening of 10 June, greeted by his administrators, who gave him a tour of the new sawmill and village church. The following day, he rode horseback for several hours along the Neagra River until where it crosses the Negrişoara River and returned overnight to his estate. The next day Carol I journeyed again on horseback from Broşteni to Schitul Rarău along the banks of the Bistriţa, passing through the villages of Holdiţa, Holda, Lunca, Cojoci, and Chiril. On 13 June, the king made his way on foot to Chiril and descended the Bistriţa River on raft to where it meets the Bârnaru River. There, he visited the seven-kilometer-long logging channel, with a 400-meter bridge, before reboarding the raft for Broşteni. It is on 14 June that King Carol I mentioned the taking of various photographs of him, his administrators,

and court followers "on the raft, at the bridge, etc." Thus Dutkiewicz, unnamed, enters the picture.

The first four pages of the album are devoted to King Carol I of Romania and his entourage, showing them first on the heights near Broşteni and then on a raft and bridge on the Bistriţa River. The fifth image features members of the royal *Călăraşi* (cavalry), dorobants, and (infantry) regiments. The rest of the photographs depict either the royal holdings, such as the sawmill, logging operation, and associated village buildings, or the natural beauty of the Rarău Massif, located in the historical region of Bukovina and today's Suceava County in northern Romania. The Massif is part of the Eastern Romanian Carpathians and is rich in spruce forests, gorges, and limestone formations.

While many of the photographs are bilingually labeled simply as views of cascades, cliffs, gorges, and valleys, a closer look at each image included in the "Broşteni" album relates to the lumber extracting business controlled by King Carol I and the exploitation of the area's natural resources. The steep cliffscapes, below or adjacent to abundant spruce groves, are foregrounded by the forestry technologies of the era: channels or canals, wooden chutes, dams, and locks, and sawmills.[52] Evident everywhere are stockpiles of prepared timber on the shores of the Bistriţa waiting to be rafted from the southern Carpathian-mountain belt to centers of transportation and trade. Even the buildings are associated with forestry, whether the personal lodge of the *garde-forestier* (forest ranger) or even the church built for the highland peasants responsible for the labor of felling, preparing, and transporting the timber.[53] Dutkiewicz combined an eye for the natural beauty of the region, creating at first glance spectacular mountain landscapes, with attention to the reputation of his client-patron looking to modernize and profit from his forest.

4.4 Album okolic Karpat i typów (50th Jubilee Album) (1898)

Dutkiewicz prepared a second photograph album for Franz Josef I, the jubilee album, which he presented to the Emperor in 1898.[54] For this gift, the Emperor added another honor to the photographer and offered Dutkiewicz his highest appreciation for the album of the Carpathian area and its ethnic peoples.[55] This second memento comprises 131 leaves of photographs housed in a Hutsul-style carved wooden box, lined with light blue silk. The box is the handiwork of an unknown artisan. The simple carved ornamentation (without inlays), with geometric, Christian, and phytomorphic motifs, features *rozetky* (six-petalled roses) in circles and semi-circles, triangles, dots, Maltese crosses, and pine and willow branches. The choice of housing for the photographic set celebrates Hutsul folk art and serves as a reminder of the Hutsuls' close connection with the Carpathian wood industry.

Each image within the Hutsul carved box includes the signature "J. Dutkiewicz,

fotograf" (in Polish), at the lower left-hand corner, and with the location of his studio, Kolomyia, printed at the lower right-hand corner. They are captioned in German, unlike the earlier album from 1880, which were described in Polish. Again, as with the earlier presentation album to Franz Josef, the original order of how Dutkiewicz placed the photographs into the box is unknown and has probably been reshuffled. There is little to no duplication of photographs presented in 1880, and the overall emphasis is on rural scenes and the local population of Kosiv.

The "jubilee album" or "Hutsul album" comprises 45 leaves of landscapes, mounted onto yellow-colored mounting stock, with a passe-partout framed with interlocked tree branches, featuring the East Galician highland and lowland districts of Kolomyia, Pechenizhyn, Kosiv, Sniatyn, Nadvirna, Bohorodchany (Polish: Bohorodczany), Dolyna (Polish: Dolina), and, a bit further afield, Drohobych (Polish: Drohobycz), as well as the district of Vyzhnytsia in Bukovina, the city of Chernivtsi, and part of the former Moldavia Principality. These include views of rocky outcrops, rivers, rapids and bridges, panoramas of settlements and towns, city centers, individual churches, the railway tunnel in Iaremche (Polish: Jaremcze), and the timber and petroleum extraction industries.

The rest of the album includes 86 portraits of ethnographic types, with two mounted per page on 43 leaves, each with a simple geometric decorative frame. In all, the overall emphasis is on Hutsuls, in various arrangements, individuals or groups of men, women, or families, mostly seated or standing in a studio setting, with props and/or painted backdrops, but also a few photographed outdoors of Hutsuls mounted on horseback or seated in a rural setting. The next largest group represented in the "jubilee album" are Ruthenian farmers, all in fine embroidered dress photographed in studio-like settings. Jewish men of Galicia are represented, too—only one photograph depicts a woman present among a Jewish family of cobblers. They are dressed in traditional clothing, often wearing long black coats and *shtreimels* (round fur-trimmed hats).

Dutkiewicz, in the examples of the four photographic albums above, created objects reflecting the interests of their recipients highlighting the colonial hand of industrialization while at the same time emphasizing the natural beauty of the Eastern Carpathians—Chornohora and its environs. Whether capturing images of lumber or tourists floating down the regions' mountain rivers, or the oil fields of East Galicia, it is the natural features that dominate Dutkiewicz's images: the dense forests, steep cliffs, cascading waterfalls, and fast flowing streams. The physical albums are not just photographs but are lexical extensions of imperial and royal domains. The choice of enclosure—velvet with silver ornamentation, simple-tooled leather, or a Hutsul-carved box—and the lexical elements, the choice of album titles and image captions, were carefully decided upon by the photographer-binder to honor the recipient and to bring distinction to his own artisanship, craft, and trade.

These albums lay stored and forgotten until the 21st century in the collections

of the Austrian National Library in Vienna, the National Library of Romania in Bucharest, and the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library in Toronto. While this author has surfaced these collections and helped to encourage their digitization, the context of seeing them online cannot substitute for the experience to handle them in person, as for example, in the former Imperial Court Library in the Hofburg.

5 Conclusion

The photographs taken by Dutkiewicz between the 1860s and 1890s circulated in two forms.

First, the individual prints, whether portraits sold or distributed as cabinet cards, or later reformatted as postcards, served as ephemeral souvenirs of the Carpathians, East Galicia, and Bukovina. With the passing of time, over a century ago, they carry the same function as a flower, lock of hair, or tram ticket pressed into the pages of a book. We do not know what motivated an individual to value the memento and save it. Yet, the memento serves as an anchor to a narrative of the past. Its personal specificity is lost but its abstract presence points to the past and is imbued with an understanding of general nostalgia for a different era.

Second, Dutkiewicz compiled his printed images into albums which act as collections of moments arranged sequentially, geographically, or thematically to ground or situate a place and people within a larger colonial narrative. The group of photographs is compiled to reflect the recipients' idea of the Carpathian region and its peoples. The exotic locale or populace is made familiar by including visual (and lexical) indices to imperial lands and subjects and industrial complexes. However, the photographer in this case subverts the desired narrative and foregrounds the natural beauty of the Carpathians and the multiethnic character of the region, which cannot be tamed or subjugated (e.g., *opryshky*).

We can make sense of historical photographs by considering the distance from when they were taken and our present moment. We should ask ourselves what circumstances shaped this encounter? What visual economy prompted the sitting for the photograph or the commission of scenic views and how did a particular image or album end up reproduced in a book or periodical or wind up at a museum, library, auction house, or private collection? What is the "extramural life" of the images? Even though photography "enjoys a certain advantage in virtue of this transference of reality from the thing to its reproduction," the reproduction itself is also a real thing. It is the photograph's reproduction, the materiality of the paper or card stock on which it is printed, that makes the reality of the historical subject or object itself commutable. Photographic objects, whether in the form of cabinet cards, postcards, or albums, belong to a continuous process of production, exchange, usage, and meaning and they are enmeshed in, and active in social relations.

Dutkiewicz and his artistic and technological contributions were all but forgotten for over 100 years; yet he has left a vast photographic legacy that deserves renewed attention, research, and appreciation, within the framework of social and material history.

About the author

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Endnotes

1 Ruth Perry, "Embodied knowledge" in "Rare book and manuscript libraries in the twenty-first century, Session two: Rare book and manuscript libraries as centers for research and teaching." *Harvard Library Bulletin* 4.1 (Summer 1993): 58.

2 The photographs in the album "Erinnerungen an Kolomea [Memories of Kolomyia]" (Pk 106) presented by Juliusz Dutkiewicz to Franz Josef I in 1880 and held at the Austrian National Library were attributed to "Meletius Dutkiewicz" until June 2017 when the author contacted the staff and asked for a correction.

3 The author contacted the National Library of Romania with the supposition that Juliusz Dutkiewicz, having received the Romanian Order " Serviciu Credincios (Order for Faithful Service) in 1883, presented King Carol 1 of Romanian a photo album of him visiting his royal domain in Broşteni (Suceava County) by the Bistriţa River. One of the curators there, Dr. Adriana Dumitran, searched the library's inventory, not by photographer, but by subject – Broşteni, and was able to 'discover' Dutkiewicz's presentation album.

4 Iryna Vushko, *The Politics of Cultural Retreat: Imperial Bureaucracy in Austrian Galicia, 1772–1867* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 9.

5 A. Karoli, "Z lat ubiegłych: wspomnienie o ś. p. Meletiuszu Dutkiewiczu [From Previous Years: Memory of the Late Mr. Meletiusz Dutkiewicz]," Światło [Light] no. 10 (1899): 448–52; and Gražyna Plutecka Garztecka, "Meletius Dutkiewicz (1836–1897): Polish Photographer," *History of Photography* 2, no. 4 (October 1978): 283–90. Melecjusz (Meletius or Мелетій) studied chemistry and physics at the Vienna Polytechnic (1853–1857). He first worked at the Vienna studio of Ludwig Angerer, the court photographer for whom he reproduced art works in the imperial collections (Angerer's brother Viktor, also a photographer, served as a godfather to Melecjusz's first child, daughter Victorina, baptized at St. Barbara's Church in Vienna on 19 June 1864). Ludwig Angerer commissioned Melecjusz to take images of the Galician countryside, the Carpathians, the Tatras, and the Beskids. Later, from late 1862 to 1864, Melecjusz worked in the studio of Julius Leth, before moving to Warsaw in 1865 to work with Karol Beyer. There, in 1867, Dutkiewicz set up a studio of his own in partnership with Ferdynand Kloch, though he continued his cooperation with Beyer. For one joint project, Melecjusz traveled to Chernivtsi in 1870 to produce an autotype album of the city's architecture and street scenes (*Kurjer codzienny* [Daily Courier] nr. 256 (6 (18) November 1870): 2–3). On Beyer's and Dutkiewicz's cooperation in producing the album of reproductions *Monuments of Kraków* (1872), see, Anna Bednarek, "Historia jednego albumu. *Pomniki Krakowa: sztuka i starożytność = Monumenta Antiquae Artis Carcoviensia Karola Beyera i Melecjusza Dutkiewicza* [The Story of One Album. Monuments of Krakow: Art and Antiquity]*," Folia Historiae Artium, Seria Nowa* [New Series], t. 16 (2018): 81–105. Two of Melecjusz's sons were also photographers. The eldest, Karol, took photographs of the landscapes of the northwestern slopes of the Carpathian Mountains, particularly the Tatra range. Bolesław Orlewicz, "Karol Dutkiewicz—nie znany fotograf tatrzański [Karol Dutkiewicz—an Unknown Tatra Photographer]," *Wierchy* r. 40 (1971): 180–86. The other son, Peter Dutkewich, documented the lands and peoples of Asia-Pacific and Africa. See, for example, his, *In Wildest Africa* (Boston: L.C. Page, 1909).

6 The studio at plac Mariacki (known as Ferdinandsplatz from 1843 to 1871) was located near the Hotel European. See, *Skorowidz nowych i dawnych numerów realności, tudzież nazw ulic i placów król. stoł. miasta Lwowa według uchwał Rady miejskiej z r. 1871 z urzędowych źródeł zestawiony* [Index of New and Old Property Numbers, as Well as Names of Streets and Squares. Table of the City of Lviv according to the Resolutions of the City Council of 1871, Compiled from Official Sources] (L′viv, 1872), 180.

7 *Gazeta narodowa* [The National Newspaper] nr. 228 (8 October 1868): 6.

8 *Hasło* [Password] nr. 6 (21 January 1874): 4; nr. 10 (5 February 1874): 4

9 *Kalendarz powszechny świąteczny, domowy i gospodarski, obrządku łacińskiego i ruskiego ułożony stosownie do położenia jeograficznego miasta obwodowego Stanisławowa na rok ...* [Universal Holiday, Home and Farm Calendar of the Latin and Ruthenian Rites Arranged according to the Geographical Location of the Peripheral City of Stanisławów for the Year…] 34 (Stanisławów: Jan Dankiewicz, 1870).

10 *Omnibus pokucki* zesz. 2 (luty 1870): 20.

11 *Kalendarz powszechny świąteczny, domowy i gospodarski, obrządku łacińskiego i greckiego na rok* ...35 (Stanisławów: Jan Dankiewicz, 1871) and 37 (Stanisławów: Jan Dankiewicz, 1873).

12 The *Gazeta narodowa* nr. 228 (8 October 1868) advertises that Dutkiewicz's photographs of the great fire in Stanyslaviv can be purchased from him in Nadvirna; while *Russkaia rada* [Russian Council] 8 (15 April 1877) indicates that Dutkiewicz's portraits of Rev. Ivan Naumovych can be bought from the photographer in Skalat.

13 His last traces in Stanyslaviv include him signing a letter of support for the fledgling newspaper *Goniec Stanisławowski* [Stanisławiv Messenger] in 1873 (*Gazeta narodowa* nr. 279 (25 November 1873): 3; and a notice of significant debts owed by him to a local café owner named Adolf Klaar (*Gazeta Lwowska* [Lviv Newspaper] nr. 129 (9 June 1875): 7).

14 Some historians place Dutkiewicz in Kolomyia as early as 1871. The documentary evidence suggests he settled there in 1876–1877. The newspaper *Russkaia rada* announced the opening of his studio in its 1 September 1877 issue (p. 146); although he was already working there in winter 1876 (*Russkaia rada* 6, ch. 2 (15 January 1876): 15).

15 *Kurier Kołomyjski* [Kolomyia Courier] nr. 2 (23 October 1885): 8.

16 For more on the trial and Dutkiewicz's role, see the author's article, "Captured: On Oral History, Photography, and the Trial of Jura Drahiruk," in *Iuvileinyi zbirnyk na chest Profesora Pavla-Roberta Magochiia* [Jubilee Collection in Honor of Professor Pavlo-Robert Magocsi] (Uzhhorod: V. Padiak, 2015): 329–40.

17 Paul Robert Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine: The Land and Its People,* 2nd rev. ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 450.

18 Cited in Ivan Monolatii, ed., *Khrestomatiia z istorii Kolomyï* [History of Kolomyia] (Ivano-Frankivs′k: Lileia-NV, 2016), 65–66.

19 Iryna Kotlabulatova, "100 rokiv lvivskoï fotohrafiï [100 Years of Lviv Photography]," *Halytska brama* [Galician Gate] nr.1–3 (85–87) (Jan.–Mar. 2002): 13.

20 L. Wajgiel, *Przewodnik na Czarnohorę i w gory Pokuckie z mapą* [Guide to Chornohora and the Pokuttie Mountains with a Map] (L′viv, 1885).

21 Roman Horak, *Pryzabuti z Vovkova* [Forgotten from Vovkov] (L′viv: ZUKTS, 2010), 234.

22 Literary Archive of the Museum of Czech Literature, František Řehoř fonds, 1463, letters from Juliusz Dutkiewicz to František Řehoř, undated (circa September–October 1880).

23 According to Turkawski, *Wystawa etnograficzna Pokucia w Kołomyi* [Ethnographic Exhibition of Pokuttia in Kolomyia]*,* p. 31, the manuscript pages of Kolberg's unpublished ethnographic work on Pokuttia were on display at the exhibition, together with works in progress by Jan Gregorowicz, Leopold Wajgiel, and Bazyli Jurczenko. Przybysławski annotated his own album, *Pokucie typy 1880* [Pokuttia Types 1880]*,* which is today in the Lviv Museum of Ethnography and Art Crafts (no. 8724).

24 Koberg, *Dzieła wszystkie* [Collected Works] vol. 29 (Wrocław: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1962), [xv], 31, 55, 73; and vol. 31 (Wrocław: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1963), [xiii].

25 Dowie customarily eschewed photographs. She preferred remembering her trips through "new and

fresh impressions of [a] place" rather than vague memories "encouraged by an album at home." Ironically, several illustrations in her book were derived from Dutkiewicz's photographs. Her book was very successful and went through a few editions in its first year of publication in 1891: four in English: London: G. Philip & Son; New York: Cassell Publishing Co.; New York: W.D. Rowland; and Toronto: Bryce; and one in German: Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz. Other editions followed in 1892. In the preface to Dowie's fourth English edition, the author proudly claimed that the book had been positively reviewed four hundred times. Both *A Girl in the Karpathians* and its author were a sensation. Helen Small notes that news of Dowie and her career featured regularly in "the literary papers and society magazines of the day," and were followed "with interest" by the 1890s reading public (Small, "Introduction" to *Gallia* by Ménie Muriel Dowie (London: Everyman, 1995), xxix).

26 Conversely, the Polish Tatras, the westerly section of the Carpathians, and its highland village of Zakopane, were much better documented during the 1860s to 1880s by Dutkiewicz's peers, among others: Marcin Olszyński, Károly Divald, Hermann Wilhelm Vogel, Walery Rzewuski, Awit Szubert, Walery Eljasz-Radzikowski, Stanisław Bizański, and Lajos Petrik. For more on the pioneers of photography in the Tatras, see, Jarek Majcher, Śladami pierwszych turystów i fotografów Tatry w zdjęciach archiwalnych znamienitych autorów, a także ukazane fotografiami i tekstem [In the Footsteps of the First Tourists and Photographers of the Tatra Mountains in Archival Photos by Eminent Authors, as Well as Shown in Photographs and Text] (Opole: Wydawnictwo MS, 2014), 265–77; and Adam Czarnowski, *O tatrzańskich pocztówkach* [On Tatra Postcards] (Zakopane: Wydawnictwa Tatrzańskiego Parku Narodowego, 2017). Patrice Dabrowski provides a thorough overview of the 'discovery' of the Tatra Mountains and the transformation of Zakopane into the destination of choice for Poles in the last third of the nineteenth century in her article "Constructing a Polish Landscape: The Example of the Carpathian Frontier," *Austrian History Yearbook* 39 (2008): 45–65.

27 According to the *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich* [Geographical Dictionary of the Kingdom of Poland and Other Slavic Countries] vol. 4 (Warsaw: nakł. Władysława Walewskiego, 1883), 284, Kolomyia's population was 24,662, with its makeup 41% Jewish, 20% Ruthenian, 16% Polish, and the rest German, Armenian, and other ethnic groups.

28 Cited in Monolatii, ed., *Khrestomatiia z istorii Kolomyï*, 63.

29 Joanna Bartuszek, "Ikonografia etnograficzna na przykładzie materiałów związanych z Huculszczyzną w zbiorach Archiwum Naukowego Państwowego Muzeum Etnograficznego w Warszawie [Ethnographic Iconography of Materials Related to the Hutsul Region in the Collections of the Scientific Archive of the State Ethnographic Museum in Warsaw]," in *Archiwa wizualne dziedzictwa kulturowego: archeologia, etnografia, historia* sztuki [Visual Archives of Cultural Heritage: Archaeology, Ethnography, Art History], ed. Ewa Manikowska and Izabela Kopania (Warsaw: Instytut Sztuki PAN, 2014), 111–12; and Alicja Małeta, "Dawna Huculszczyzna w fotografiach [Old Hutsulshchyna in Photographs]," in *Rocznik Muzeum Etnograficznego im. Seweryna Udzieli w Krakowie* [Yearbook of the Seweryna Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Krakow], t.15 (2008): 273–75.

30 König opened his business on the Ringplatz in 1887, out of which he sold books, art, music scores, and paper. He was a member of the city's Chamber of Commerce, president of the Merchant's Board, vice president of the Bookkeepers Organization, and member of the City Council. He was awarded the Romanian orders of "Meritul commercial" and "Coroana Romaniei."

31 A Jewish entrepreneur, First founded the company in 1885. He was involved in other publishing activities, as well as trade and valuation of works of art.

32 Petr Kaleta, *Cesta do Haliče: František Řehoř a poznání života východní Haliče ve druhé polovině 19. století* [Journey to Galicia: František Řehoř and Learning about Life in Eastern Galicia in the Second Half of the 19th Century] (Olomouc: Votobia, 2004), 139–40; Nad'a Valášková, "František Řehoř a jeho fotografická sbírka z Haliče [František Řehoř and his photographic collection from

Galicia]," *Ukrajinský žurnal* [Ukrainian Journal] (2007): 32; and Milena Secká, "František Řehoř and His Collection of Photographs from Halič in the Náprstek Museum: On the 100th Anniversary of His Birth," *Annals of the Náprstek Museum* 20 (CD-ROM) (1999).

33 Quoted in Kaleta, *Cesta do Haliče* [Road to Galicia], 143.

34 *Rocznik zarządu Akademii umiejętności w Krakowie* r.1880 [Yearbook of the Board of the Academy of Skills in Krakow, 1880] (Kraków, 1881): 15; *Wiener Zeitung* [Vienna Newspaper] nr.287 (17 December 1887): 5; and *Mittheilungen des k.k. Oesterreich. Museums für Kunst un Industrie: Monatschrfit für Kunstgewerbe* [Communications from the Imperial and Royal Austrian Museum of Art and Industry: Monthly Magazine for Arts and Crafts] 1–2 (1887): 432.

35 *Gazeta Kołomyjska* nr. 32 (29 April 1893): 2.

36 Garztecka, "Meletius Dutkiewicz," 287–88.

37 On the Austrian law of copyright, see Walter Arthur Copinger, *The Law of Copyright: in Works of Literature and Art: including that of the drama, music, engraving, sculpture, painting, photography, and designs*, 4th ed., by J.M. Easton (London: Stevens and Haynes, 1904), 587–93.

38 *Die* österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild [The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in Words and Pictures], vol. 20, *Bukowina* (Vienna: k.k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, Alfred von Hölder, 1899), 237 and opposite 272; Jandaurek, *Das königreich Galizien und Lodomerien und das Herzogthum Bukowina* [The Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria and the Duchy of Bukovina] (Vienna: Karl Graeser, 1884), for example, see, 55, 73, 149, 150, 153, 155, 156, and 171.

39 Haberlandt, *Völkerkunde* [Ethnology] (Leipzig: G. J. Göschen, 1906), 194, 195; Schneider and Imendörffer, *Mein Österreich, mein Heimatland* [My Austria, My Homeland], vol. 2 (Vienna: Verlag für vaterländische Literatur, 1914), 399, 407, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 418; Buschan, ed., *Illustrierte Völkerkunde* [Illustrated Ethnology], vol.2, pt. 2, *Europa und seine Randgebiete* [Europe and Its Peripheral Regions] (Stuttgart: Strecker und Schröder, 1926), 300, 301.

40 Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Die Huzulen: Ihr Leben, ihre Sitten und ihre Volksüberlieferung* [The Hutsuls: Their Lives, Customs and Folk Traditions] (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1894), iv, 14, 17, 19, 50, 52, 53, and 54, and his, "Haus und Hof bei den Huzulen. Ein Beitrag zur Hausforschung in Oesterreich [House and Farm of the Hutsuls. A Contribution to House Research in Austria]," in *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* [Communications of the Anthropological Society in Vienna] 26 (1896): 176–180.

41 Kupchanko, *Halychyna i ie russky zhytely* [Galicia and Its Rus' Inhabitants] (Vienna, 1896), 83.

42 Adolf Inlender, ed., *Przewodnik ilustrowany po ces. król. austr. kolejach panstwowych na szlakach,* vol. 5 (Vienna, 1897).

43 Larry Wolff, *The Idea of Galicia: History and Fantasy in Habsburg Political Culture* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2010), 35, 288; see also pages 273 and 290 for other images derived from Dutkiewicz's photographs.

44 In 1885, Dutkiewicz presented to the Russian emperor and to the heir to the throne, each a richly bound album containing his views of Kolomyia and Pokuttia. For his gift, Alexander III, sent the photographer a ruby-encrusted ring worth 500 gulden. News of this gift reached Lviv and was reported in *Gazeta narodowa* nr. 127 (6 June 1885): 3. This album has not been located.

45 For the Kraszewski anniversary, Dutkiewicz prepared for the writer a special album of views of Kolomyia and its surrounding areas. See, *Gazeta narodowa* nr. 229 (25 October 1879): 2.

46 Dabrowski, "'Discovering' the Galician Borderlands," 388.

47 St. Tarnowski, "Z Kołomyi: do pana Władysława Przybysławskiego [From Kolomyia to Mr. Władysław Przybysławski]," *Przegląd polski* [Polish Review] 2 (1880): 184–85. Also cited in Ukrainian by Monolatii, ed., *Khrestomatiia z istorii Kolomyï*, 75.

48 For a contemporary account of the ethnographic exhibition, see Marceli Turkawski, *Wystawa etnograficzna Pokucia w Kołomyi* [Pokuttia Ethnographic Exhibit in Kolomyia] (Kraków: Czas, 1880).

49 Turkawski, *Wystawa etnograficzna Pokucia w Kołomyi,* 35.

50 Tarnowski, "Z Kołomyi [From Kolomyia]," 209, 211. The Galician malacologist Józef Bąkowski, who was affiliated with the Dzieduszycki Museum in Lviv, visited the Chornohora range to carry out research in 1881. He published his impressions and included a testimonial on Dutkiewicz's photographs of the area, see, "Notatki z wycieczki na Czarnohorę [Notes from a Trip to Chornohora]," *Wędrowiec* [The Wanderer]*,* seria 4, t.1, nr. 14 (6 April 1882): 214.

51 *Gazeta narodowa* nr.123 (31 May 1881): 3. Today, the album, "Erinnerungen an Kolomea," is held in the Photo Archive and Graphic Collection of the Austrian National Library, Pk 106.

52 For an overview of the history associated with the transport of Romania's timber, see, D. Turnock, "Transport for Romania's Carpathian Forests: Improved Accessibility through Technological Change," *GeoJournal* 22.4 (December 1990): 409-28.

53 Maintaining harmonious relations between the land-owning noble class and the highland peasants was important, as this class, following the abolition of serfdom and ensuing land reforms, saw woodlands as a common and collective good. George Andrei documents conflicting claims to Transylvanian forests in his article, "Whose Land Is It? Contesting Forest Regulation and Land Reform in Interwar Transylvania," *Balkonologie* [Online] 16.2 (2021), URL: http://journals.openedition.org/balkanologie/3289 ; DOI: https://doi.org/10.4000/ balkanologie.3289.

54 This album, with the attributed (made-up) title "Ansichten und Trachten aus Galizien: Konvolut [Views and Costumes from Galicia: A Collection]," is held in the Photo Archive and Graphic Collection of the Austrian National Library, Pk 1047.

55 *Gazeta Kołomyjska* nr. 97 (28 December 1898): 3. The album, "Ansichten und Trachten aus Galizien," is held in the Photo Archive and Graphic Collection of the Austrian National Library, Pk 1047.

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Habsburg Imperial Image-Space: Negotiating Belonging Through Photography[1]

by Martin Rohde and Herbert Justnik

This article examines the visualization of Hutsuls in German-Austrian, Ukrainian, Polish and Russophile ethnographic texts, asking how national and imperial imaginations of space were produced through such fluid cross-linking of texts and photographs. Considering the radical changes in image circulation since the late-19th century, we aim to reconsider the role of photography in image-making of the Habsburg Empire. This article shows how the same images were supposed to serve many purposes, when they were embedded in different settings. The construction of photographic objectivity, the circulation of images through imperial infrastructures and the exoticization of rural peoples were, however, common phenomena.

Keywords: Habsburg Monarchy, Photography, Imperial History, Ethnography, History of Science, Carpathians, Bukovyna, Galicia

1 Introduction

> *Nowadays, every science [Wissenschaft] moves the beautiful art of photography into her service. Not just natural sciences … require the depiction of their objects through photography, which nothing else can deliver with such sharpness and accuracy, with such rapidity and reliability. The young discipline [Wissenschaft] of Volkskunde (Folk Art) trustfully turns to the representatives and friends of this fine art. … The modern time is relentlessly and unstoppably getting rid of the primitive creations of folk traditions and arts. … Therefore, it is necessary to intervene at the 11th and 12th hour; it is necessary to preserve the things, and where it is not possible, at least their picture for the purpose of science. The tremendous material of Volkskunde is scattered in hundreds and hundreds of corners; it is necessary to collect it in one place for critical comparison.*[2]
> *Michael Haberlandt, 1896*

Michael Haberlandt (1860–1940) was a central organizer of Viennese *Volkskunde*[3], comprised of ethnographic studies on the population of Europe and especially the Habsburg Monarchy. Promoting the purposes of the new *Museum für* österreichische *Volkskunde* (Museum for Austrian *Volkskunde*), founded in 1895, he suggested that the collection of photographs would be an elemental task for this institution with an imperial mission. The networks and traditions of *Volkskunde* preceded the foundation of the museum, as they began to form two decades earlier in the setting of the Anthropological Society in Vienna.[4] The imperial purpose of the discipline came to the fore with the colossal undertaking of the *Kronprinzenwerk*

[Crown Prince's Work],[5] which was aimed at the cultural cohesion of the heterogenous peoples and regions of the Habsburg Empire. Similarly, Haberlandt emphasized the impetus of *Volkskunde* to study the "colorful ethnographic composition of Austria" with a focus on "the natural expression of the people, which exceed all national boundaries."[6] This paper attempts to review the visual culture of *Volkskunde* from the margins of the Habsburg Empire by focusing on participating actors from the crownlands Galicia and Bukovyna and photographic objects from the Carpathian Mountains in both regions. The image of the Carpathians was closely linked to ethnographic curiosity and fascination; they were, however, just an imagination for a large part of the urban middle-class who never visited the eastern half of the monarchy. The visual production of this imagination was closely linked to discourses about ethnographically "pure" spaces on the one hand and the related imperial narrative of "unity in diversity" on the other. This paper argues that the image of the Eastern Carpathians as a "wild" and "barely civilized" space with culturally oscillating inhabitants in affectionately arranged costumes was not just a myth, but an integral part of the Habsburg image-space, directly related to the development of photography and the use of photography as part of ethnographic practices in the field of *Volkskunde*. Photography is an enormously context-reliant medium, which allowed for different ways of appropriating images. The photographic infrastructure of the Habsburg Empire allowed for circulating images of so-called *Volkstypen* (folk type photographs) to pop up in very different framings. The idea of Hutsuls was co-produced by many actors, all of who shared the infrastructure of the image-space in the Habsburg Empire.[7]

Our approach contributes to the question of what epistemological relevance photographs gained through circulation and thus will be applicable to other transcultural regions of the Habsburg Empire or other political entities.[8] This shall be achieved through a re-reading of classic texts on Hutsul ethnography by taking nuances in the texts as well as the instrumentalization of pictures, apart from the understanding of a mere exchangeable illustration, seriously. Hutsuls were undeniably the most popular ethnographic group in the Habsburg Eastern Carpathians, therefore they present an ideal subject for a multilingual investigation. In our understanding, the urban practices of ethnographic fieldwork and the following publications essentially shaped the image of the Hutsul region. Local actors, photographers, publishers, collectors, and ethnographers took part in the process of producing, circulating, presenting and interpreting photographs in urban settings.

This case study focuses essentially on four actors, densely connected to the networks of *Volkskunde*. The first one is Juliusz (Julius) Dutkiewicz, a professional photographer working in Galicia and Bukovyna, who produced the first and most popular series of photographs depicting the Hutsul region and its inhabitants. They were considered to be of "excellent execution and special interest"[9] for *Volkskunde*.

The following three actors were practitioners of *Volkskunde* with diverse biographical, ideological, and geographical backgrounds. Raimund Friedrich Kaindl (1866-1930) was a historian at the University of Czernowitz. His books *Die Ruthenen in der Bukowina (1890, The Ruthenians in Bukovyna)* und *Die Huzulen* (1894, *The Hutsuls*) are the first ethnographic monographs on single ethnic groups in the Habsburg Monarchy.[10] With his handbook on *Volkskunde*, he demonstrated how innovative research practices could be established on the margins of the empire.[11] The Bukovynian ethnographer and journalist Grigoriy Kupchanko (1849-1902) had a background in Slavic Studies and cooperated with Habsburg as well as Russian scholars. He was of a Russophile political orientation and thus tried to support the idea that Hutsuls were a tribe of the Russian nation. Volodymyr Shukhevych (also Vladimir/Wladimir/Włodzimierz Szuchiewicz) (1849-1915) was a Galician middle school teacher of natural sciences who became an important collector of Hutsul items in cooperation with the Polish *Muzeum Przyrodnicze im. Dzieduszyckich* (Dzieduszycki Natural History Museum) in Lemberg/Lviv. His take on Hutsuls in his own writings was coined by his Ukrainophile, yet Habsburg-loyal political orientation. All these practitioners studied the Hutsul region and appropriated Dutkiewicz's images for their own purposes. The comparative take on their texts will allow us to study ideological approaches to *Volkskunde*, the instrumentalization of photographic images and the visual making of the Hutsul region.

Different takes on the Hutsul region outline its appropriation from the perspective of literary history, art history, or history of science. They have demonstrated the appropriation and mythologization of Hutsuls by different national movements through literary and scholarly texts, paintings, and a map.[12] Building on those works, our study demonstrates the new quality of "realistic" depiction of a people, which contemporary discourses saw in the medium of photography despite classifying it as art, like Haberlandt did. Furthermore, we will highlight the image-text-relation at the intersection of visual history and history of knowledge. Finally, by considering the circulation of images in the network of *Volkskunde*, we demonstrate how imperial infrastructures were used by different ideological projects, which attempted to appropriate Hutsuls.

2 Empire as an Image-Space

An image-space that is fed with countless circulating images contributes to ideas about the appearance of people that never become visible in their "real" living spaces and conditions. These images create a distant and at the same time close visibility and make spaces and their inhabitants imaginable even over great distances. Images never gain their meaning from themselves alone, but always through their use and interpretation. In relation to the context of this case study, we consider them territorializing images. These usually occur with local, regional,

ethnic, national, or even social or religious designations or contexts provided by texts such as captions on the image, on the image-carrier, captions in essays and books, or designations in inventory books. However, it is not only the captions, but also other forms defining the meaning of an image to claim representativity over a whole territory through the image-text (descriptions, captions, and related texts), image-image (combination of photographs with other visual material, especially with maps) or image-data relations (statistical data presented in tables).

Considering specific cultural and political conditions of the multilingual Central European Empire, we will speak of an imperial image-space, which was co-produced by many actors in seemingly distant provinces. An empire as such is, to a certain extent, produced at its margins.[13] The knowledge and images produced by *Volkskunde*, understood in the Foucauldian sense as an episteme, i.e., a deep societal structure and not only a scholarly discipline, were widely used in contemporary arts, regional exhibitions and the emerging psychoanalysis, in the fashion industry and in folk dances, performances, or costume festivals of the bourgeoisie. This diverse instrumentalization contributed to the popularization of *Volkskunde* itself and the knowledge of specific peoples among the educated Habsburg middle-class. This process contributed to the popularization of images from the Carpathians in general and Hutsuls in particular, far exceeding the circles of associations with specific interests in the mountains, such as alpine organizations.

Photography and the handling of images in empires is part of the overall discourses and practices of ordering and managing heterogeneity.[14] This becomes particularly obvious regarding the popular ethnographic type photographs. Today's photo collection of *Volkskundemuseum Wien* (Vienna Folklore Museum)[15] contains thousands of such images, mostly from Central and Eastern Europe, which the museum has collected since its foundation. Most of them were taken between the 1870s and the outbreak of World War I. The phenomenon of type depictions is related to the rise of national currents in 18th century Europe. Since then, various forms of types and costumes representations occurred, for example, by means of sketches and paintings, but photography and the idea of its "mechanical objectivity"[16] were responsible for a new boom. Moreover, in the last third of the 19th century, photographic reproduction techniques made such tremendous progress that it became possible to mass produce and circulate images.

The usage of these texts and the actors, which produced them as part of their photographic and ethnographic practices, lead us to the other side of the image-space: networks and infrastructures, which produced and circulated the images in question, as well as distributed the knowledge to decipher them. Institutions like the *Museum für* österreichische *Volkskunde* (Museum for Austrian Folklore) served as important knots for interconnected networks, encompassing the Austrian half of the Empire, but also transcending the state-borders. Like other museums and research facilities, it collected and ordered photographs, as well as used them for

illustrating its publications. Ethnographic publications, from professional journals and monographs to popular scientific projects with varying budgets and outreach, served as important vehicles for circulating images. However, for the context of *Volkskunde*, non-professional photographers, or ethnographic practitioners travelling with a camera, were equally important, as they took part in producing the flood of ethnographic photographs around 1900.

Figure 1: [Julius Dutkiewicz], no title, around 1880, autotype, 13.6 x 10.1 cm. From: Grigoriy Kupchanko, *Galichina i ei russky zhitely. Knizhechka dlya naroda s mnogimi obrazkami staroy Rusi i Pol'shi i tepereshnoy Galichiny* (Galicia and its Russian inhabitants. A folk book with many images of the old Rus, Poland, and today's Galicia) (Vienna: self-published, 1896), 65.
Figure 2: Julius Dutkiewicz, "Junges Ehepaar aus Żabie" ("Young Married Couple from Żabie"), around 1880, autotype, 14.3 × 9.6 cm. From: Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, "Haus und Hof bei den Huzulen. Ein Beitrag zur Hausforschung in Oesterreich," (House and Farm among the Hutsuls. A contribution to house research in Austria) *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 26 (1896), 147–185, 178.

The concept of empire as an image-space does not suggest an image exclusively designed by the metropolis. On the contrary, the empire provided an infrastructure, in which different actors participated and could shape image-spaces through their practices. An image-space is therefore never finished or completed, but a temporal expression of processes and practices of defining space, regions, and peoples through a certain set of technical possibilities. The image-space was co-produced by many actors, while a selected representation of that image-space only provided one perspective, which could be prominent or marginal for different audiences, depending on questions of place, accessibility, print quantity, and language of a publication. Questions of storage and reproduction of images are an integral part of these practices. The availability of images determined, to some extent, if they were included in the text. One image, in the interpretation of different media and authors, might have appeared in very different ways, as it might have been

reframed, relabeled, or retouched.

The relevance of retouching can be demonstrated with the example of a well-known image depicting a young married couple from the village Żabie/Zhabie (today Verkhovyna, Ivano-Frankivska Oblast, Verkhovynskyi raion). In the version by Kupchanko, the bride and groom are depicted in a landscape, opening the possibility to interpret the background in the photograph as their "natural" environment (see figure 1), which supports the author's argument that they should be considered as the "original" people of the ethnographic region he is describing. Pushing the context towards that kind of naturalizing environment is not only interpreting a posteriori, but it is an intentional setting created by the photographer. In several of his type photographs, Julius Dutkiewicz even placed specifically prepared small trees as a background behind the figures. Thus, it was not the necessities of a field trip which introduces nature as a surrounding, but the idea of producing a specific meaning through the context the types are placed in. In the example from Kaindl's text, this background was retouched (see figure 2): Only the ethnographic type is presented, which allows closer attention to the particularly highlighted costume. The retouching was part of the complicated processes of postproduction that shaped the appearance and meaning of the images. It was a kind of precise but simple craftsmanship, overpainting the photograph with white color. But only the printing process could hide the retouching and produce the final image. In the printed version, the background disappeared completely, and the type was floating in a kind of endless dislocated space, thus strengthening the important movements that manufacture the production of types, especially in photography–depersonalization, delocalization, de-temporalization, and the processes of othering; we will come back to this aspect.

The relabeling of photographs was a central practice to customize images for different settings. Thus, it was not only that the image was purposed for a special intention and context, but in a way, it was another image. A particularly famous photograph by Dutkiewicz can be found as "Female Hutsul [Huzulin] from Jawornik spinning", "A Girl with Hair Ornaments from Jawornik", "Girl from Jawornik (on the Black Cheremosh) with a Distaff" and "A Hutsul Girl" (figures 3-6). A young woman confronts the spectator, with her legs a little shifted. In her left arm she has a distaff, the right hand holds the mandrel, the left the thread. We see her presented on a meadowy underground with pieces of rock. Like in many other of Dutkiewicz's images, the background consists of trees. She is set up at the margins of a forest. This "wild" romantic environs fit into the aforementioned representations that produce the indigenous type.

14

Mädchen eigenen Haarschmuck.[1]) Zuweilen kommen aber 30—35jährige Burschen und wohl auch 25—30 Jahre zählende Mädchen zur Trauung. Andererseits werden aber schon vierzehnjährige Mädchen verheiratet, und man sieht im Huzulengebiete überhaupt erwachsene Mädchen sehr selten,

Fig. 1. Ein Mädchen im Haarschmuck aus Jawornik. (Nach einer Photographie von J. Dutkiewicz in Kolomea.)

hingegen jugendliche Weiber in grosser Zahl. Einen fast abschreckenden Anblick gewähren einzelne greise Mädchen, die im spärlichen Haarschmucke ohne Kopfbedeckung einhergehen.

[1]) Siehe die Abbildung 1.

Figure 3: Julius Dutkiewicz "Huzulin aus Jawornik beim Spinnen [Female Hutsul from Jawornik Spinning]", around 1880, albumen paper on cardboard, 13.6 × 10 cm, © Photographic Collections Volkskundemuseum Wien: pos14778.
Figure 4: Julius Dutkiewicz, "Ein Mädchen mit Haarschmuck aus Jawornik [A Girl with Hair Ornaments from Jawornik]", around 1880, autotype, 13.4 × 9.8 cm. In: Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Die Huzulen. Ihr Leben, ihre Sitten und ihre Volksüberlieferung* [The Hutsuls: Their Life, Their Customs and Their Folk Tradition] (Wien: Hölder, 1894), 14.

Jawornik (am schwarzen Czeremosz) mit einem Spinnrocken. Ausser dem lang gewebte Schürzen (*opynki*), die um den Leib mittelst eines ebensolchen Gür estickten Pelzchen ohne Aermel (*kyptor*). Als Schmuck dienen Halsschnüre a eflochtenen Messingknöpfe (*boutyce*). Nach einer Photographie von J. Dutkiew

Fig. 15. Ein huzulisches Mädchen.

Figure 5: Julius Dutkiewicz, "Mädchen aus Jawornik (am schwarzen Czeremosz) mit einem Spinnrocken [A Girl from Jawornik (on the Black Cheremosh) with a Distaff]", around 1880, autotype, 13.4 × 9.8 cm. In: Raimund Kaindl, "Haus und Hof bei den Huzulen. Ein Beitrag zur Hausforschung in Oesterreich [House and Farm of the Hutsuls: A Contribution to House Research in Austria]," *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* [Communications of the Anthropological Society in Vienna] 26 (1896), 147–185, 176.
Figure 6: Julius Dutkiewicz, "Ein huzulisches Mädchen [A Hutsul Girl]", 1880s, autotype, 13.4 × 9.7 cm. In: Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Kurze Landeskunde der Bukowina zur Selbstbelehrung, für Schulen und Reisende* [Brief Geography of Bukovyna for Self-Instruction, for Schools and Travelers] (Czernowitz: Pardini, 1895), 37.

Not only objects and activities, but also origin and ethnicity of the depicted girl are variously emphasized in this example. Thereby, the authors did not only direct the reader's attention to any details, but they also distinguished between photographic genres: the folkloric emphasis on an activity versus that of a folk type. In the stereotyping machinery of folk type representation, that girl goes from being the typified representative of a village to representing an ethnographically oscillating border space encompassing several administrative areas.

Moreover, an ethnic identity – Hutsul – is established in two examples, while it cannot axiomatically emerge from the place name Iavirnyk/Jawornik (today Iavirnyk, Ivano-Frankivska Oblast, Verkhovynskyi raion), especially since the region was ethnographically heterogeneous despite its cultural image. If we analyze the context of the images in detail, the meaning of this image would go through further processes of altering its meaning—from being a touristic image (Fig. 6) to "the" scientific representation of an ethnic group, per se. Thus, it shifts from a relatively open iconography (Fig. 3–the "original" by Dutkiewicz) to another status of the image by entering the scientific discourse (Fig. 4 and 5), marked by the cut-out of the retouch, elaborating the image for this purpose. We observe its transition into an object of knowledge.

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Photography can thus appear as a visual processing of data; the labeling of images represented a far-reaching act of definition through which the photograph could provide visual knowledge. The relabeling of circulating type photographs in different publication forms, media, and contexts, in turn correlates with the new technical possibilities of the period under study. Even though *Volkskunde* relied

on the idea of producing "one's own" instead of an Other, the related practices of making photographs and ethnographic knowledge in the field follow a colonial gaze and practice othering, closely related to imperial logics, as we will demonstrate in the following section.

3 Making a Scientific Object in the Field

Othering is the creation of an Other, here in its special variant of an internal exoticization. In both cases, processes of primitivizing and traditionalization can be discerned. Ethnographers saw the people they were studying outside of education and modernization, in a "primitive" state of mind and living in contexts of tradition, clearly different from the modern, "civilized" urban population. These were dominant models both within and outside of the scholarly realm, as they unfolded their efficacy socially and politically. Postcolonial approaches like this have been productively employed for historical studies on the Habsburg Monarchy since the 2000s.[17] Despite the new possibilities of this approach, the reference of "internal colonialism" is seen critically, especially in political terms. In the cultural studies succeeding historical *Volkskunde*, the concept of "internal exoticism" ("Binnenexotismus"[18]) exists, and postcolonial approaches are used for an examination of the history of Europe.[19] We are advocating the idea of a "colonial gaze," which is inherent in ethnographic practices of different color.

Johannes Fabian criticizes in his seminal book, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object*, that the people, about which anthropological texts speak, are objectified.[20] Unlike in direct contact, where a dialogical approach prevails, the texts make them into "others," through different methodological approaches. For these processes of othering, it is important to consider who deployed them and who decided about questions of visibility. That is similar to objects considered alien in the studies of material culture. Only those actors who have agency in the spaces of exhibiting can influence how things are seen; only these groups have a voice in the museum or the publication in question. In order to speak in such settings, certain conditions must be met: Education, access to media, means of production, and relevant networks are the minimum requirements. The people who were studied in the Eastern Carpathians usually did not meet these criteria.

How did these practices relate to the network of *Volkskunde*? The German-speaking historian and folklorist Raimund Friedrich Kaindl (1866-1930) researched and taught in Czernowitz/Chernivtsi for a long time, from 1901 as a university professor, and studied predominantly the population of Bukovyna. Kaindl published early and frequently in the *Zeitschrift* für österreichische *Volkskunde* [Journal of Austrian Folklore], wrote ethnographic monographs as well as a first very detailed and differentiated introduction to *Volkskunde*.[21] This constructed group of the Hutsuls settled in and along the Carpathian Mountains

in Galicia, Bukovyna, and northeastern Hungary, even though the latter group is often neglected, e.g., by Kaindl himself. Kaindl was part of a network of scholars interested and working in folklore in Vienna and Czernowitz/Chernivtsi. They went on excursions together, published in the *Kronprinzenwerk*, and were involved in the establishment of the Museum *für* Österreichische *Volkskunde* in Vienna.[22]

In Kaindl's text *Die Hochzeitsfeier bei den Ruthenen in Berhometh am Pruth (Bukowina)* [The Wedding Ceremony among the Ruthenians in Berhomet on the Prut (Bukovyna)], the studied people seem to be placed in a strangely alien distance in the text.[23] Although the name of the village is given, the text lacks specific localizations. This becomes even more obvious in his monograph *Die Huzulen* [The Hutsuls], where only a few localities are mentioned across the whole book.[24] The places mentioned are barely graspable; the time, when this stereotyped wedding took place, is missing. In addition, Kaindl's texts are written in the so-called ethnographic present tense. Thus, all events and descriptions covered by them are united on one temporal level. Therefore, we do not get an idea about the specific wedding which was witnessed by a researcher and took place at a specific time with specific actors and visitors, but about *the* generalized wedding. The collective singular refers (and the same is true for the protagonists) to all possible weddings in an undefined and therefore completely open period of time. Here, a *type* of ceremony is created.


des Bräutigams ohne diesen das Haus.

Abb. 7. **Cymbalmusikant.**

Figure 7: Julius Dutkiewicz: "Cembalmusikant" (A Harpsichordist), 8 × 5,5 cm. Aus: Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Die Hochzeitsfeier bei den Ruthenen in Berhometh am Pruth (Bukowina)*, in: Globus 85 (1914), no. 18, 285.

Just as type formation occurs in the realm of individual subjects and events, this continues at the level of larger groups. Early folkloristic texts deploy an all-encompassing ethnic term ("the Hutsuls"), thereby homogenizing the individuals and thus creating them as a group throughout the text. Internal differentiations are subsumed under this unifying conceptual bracket of type. The discursive

production of a Hutsul ethnicity captures a phenomenon that does not exist beyond this verbalization in this compact, closed, and simultaneously abstract form. Thus, a notion of Hutsuls is artificially manifested and stabilized. Even if there are common characteristics beyond individual villages, shared institutions, forms of community feeling, the structural unity as assumed by folklore is thus only present on the discursive level.

Through acts of othering – de-personalization, de-localization and de-temporalization – the early folklorists traditionalize and primitivize the groups they studied. Kaindl continues this approach on another level: The interests of the respondents were negated and declared naïve. The text does not discuss the political living conditions of the villagers, their historical reasons, and omits explanations for educational disadvantages or suspicions towards outside visitors in the village. This is another step which contributes to exoticization and mystification. These aspects become even more clear when focusing on the origin of the materials, which Kaindl used to compose his paper. They were provided by the Russophile ethnographer Grigoriy Kupchanko (1849-1902). Kupchanko was born in the very same village (Berehomet/Berhomet) himself, but a close view on his research practices allows us to consider his closeness to the people as merely constructed. Kaindl summarized them, based on Kupchanko's papers, as follows:

> *'My material,' Kupchanko notes, 'I collected mainly in the parental home; then I went from one farm to another in the village and had traditions and songs told to me. After I had explored our village in this way, I traveled to other neighboring villages. This was not only a laborious task, but also a costly one. I had to give the girls and boys, who gave me messages, brightly colored cloths, brass rings, earrings, small crosses and even money, while many older people did not want to come out with their news before I had given them plenty of brandy: 'We cannot sing and narrate so easily,' they told me. Others did not want to dictate their songs to me at any price, expressing the fear that I would send the songs to Vienna, and then the emperor might raise their taxes, because he would conclude from their merry songs that they were doing very well. I also experienced similar things during my research among the suspicious rural population. Kupchanko's remarks are also indicative of the peasants' naïve view of the constitutional form of government.'*[25]

Important aspects of Kupchanko's personality as a researcher can be deduced here. On the one hand, his people-oriented self-image hardly stands up to critical scrutiny; on the other hand, one can hardly avoid accusing Kupchanko of a certain double standard. As a popular enlightener, he participated in the ideological project of Ruthenian national activists to combat alcohol consumption with the goal to "lift up" the "common people." To achieve his goals as a researcher, however, the "brandy" obviously seemed to be a tried and tested means for him. What at first appears to be an anecdote, in fact illustrates that the son of a peasant from rural Berehomet/Berhomet had outgrown his social environment and, as an intellectual,

adapted civilizing discourses from imperial and national visions.

The implied information about the treatment of the researched again allows the case to be seen as a pars pro toto for ethnographic research practice in the Habsburg Monarchy. While Kaindl's monograph on *Volkskunde* addressed field research practices in a more careful way and stressed the role of local, educated intermediaries such as clerics,[26] Kupchanko dealt with these issues more bluntly in his brochure *Izuchaymo nash narod* (Let us study our people), which he published in 1891 in Vienna. Here, he directly addressed the "alphabetized, enlightened [pys'menny, prosveshchenny] Russian persons", which should help their own "poor people" not only through enlightening, but also by studying them.[27] He emphasized the direct nexus between paternalism and studying the people as a patriotic duty. However, if one reads the story the other way around, the researched or the informants also possessed agency. This is clearly demonstrated by the means that Kupchanko had to use to overcome resistance in the disclosure of data and folklore. Research became a trade, knowledge had to be bought or otherwise acquired. Since only a small number of the ethnographers we are concerned with allow us such deep insights in their research processes, it is not possible to provide a representative study of how ethnographic knowledge and photographs came into being. The episodes on Kaindl and Kupchanko, however, serve as an example for the deconstruction of the populist self-presentation of the ethnographers and provide an understanding of educational elites, who have outgrown the regional and social milieus in which they were born and raised. These facts cannot be overlooked, even if Kupchanko time and time again repeats where he was born. The same is true for Kaindl, who constructed his closeness to Hutsuls and his credibility as a researcher by emphasizing that his wife, Ludmilla Kaindl, "lived among Hutsuls for an important part of her youth."[28]

4 From Commissioned Survey to an Image-Space

After this sketch on ethnographic knowledge production in the field and the communication of this work, we will discuss how a specific set of images became part of the imperial image-space. This will be based on the example of Julius Dutkiewicz, a multilingual photographer, who was not only mobile between Galicia and Bukovyna, but also between national and linguistic milieus.[29] He is a prime example of the emerging group of professional photographers, but at the same time he is extraordinarily prominent in the Habsburg Empire for his photographs from the Eastern Carpathians.

Professional photographers were a newly emerging class of actors in Europe starting in the 1850s, serving the exponentially growing demand for the new medium. While studio photography was a central part of their economic practices, they also produced photography for scholarship, such as ethnographic type photographs. With the autotype reproduction technology, it became possible

to circulate these in different formats and great quantities. Besides scholarly publications, journals and newspapers, they circulated in the form of photographic editions and collectible photographic cards, e.g. in the specific photographic formats *carte de cabinet* (cabinet cards) and *cartede-visite* (visiting cards).[30] Dutkiewicz opened his first photographic studio in 1871. However, his supra-regional "breakthrough" in the Habsburg image-space is to be seen in the context of the 1880 ethnographic exhibition in Kolomyia. The numerous ethnographic exhibitions in the Habsburg Empire[31] were crucial not only for the circulation, but also to produce ethnographic visualizations. After the 1873 World's Fair in Vienna, where Hutsul clothing and other exhibits were first made available to a broad imperial and even global audience in the exhibition on the "Peasant Industry of Galicia,"[32] this regional exhibition was one of the pivotal moments for the communication of Galician ethnography in general and Hutsul ethnography in particular.

The ethnographic exhibition in 1880 was organized by the Kolomyia-based Chornohora branch of the Tatra Society, while the folklorist and ethnographer Oskar Kolberg (1814–1890) from the Academy of Sciences in Krakow was the scientific head of the project. He coordinated other scholars and aimed to finish his own ethnographic-folkloristic study on the historical region of Pokuttia for the occasion of the exhibition.[33] Only a few years earlier, the anthropological commission at the Kraków Academy of Sciences had begun to define and thereby appropriate the population of the crownland Galicia. The anthropologist Izydor Kopernicki (1825–1891) cooperated with Kolberg on this project. Together they compiled the album *Types et costumes de la Pologne* [Types and Costumes of Poland] for the Paris World's Fair in 1878. As Ewa Manikowska argues, this album composed "ethnic groups inhabiting the lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth" and thereby presented "Poland in the guise of a multi-ethnic empire."[34] This restorative imagination of past greatness can also be observed with regard to the regional exhibition.

The region Pokuttia presented itself on the map of Austria-Hungary as a Galician wedge between Bukovyna und northeastern Hungary. This particular image resulted from the region's history. The historical Pokuttia changed hands between Poland-Lithuania and Moldavia from the 14th to the 16th centuries several times. Since the 1860s, Romanian historians began emphasizing the belonging of Moldavia to Romania, thus also challenging the Polish hegemony in the region.[35] The Polish civilizing mission towards the Ruthenians, as it was articulated during the exhibition, thus included not only the message regarding Polish domination of Galicia, but also the ownership of a historically disputed sub-region of the crownland. This is the only plausible explanation for constructing Pokuttia as an ethnographic region, since the difference between Hutsuls in the mountains and Ruthenians in the flatlands was considered axiomatic since the late 18th century

travel report by Lemberg university professor Balthasar Hacquet.[36]

Dutkiewicz was hired to conduct a photographic survey on the region of Pokuttia by the organizers. His exact task was to provide "a complete collection of the [landscape, M. R.] views and [ethnographic, M.R.] types of Pokuttia."[37]

Figure 8: Julius Dutkiewicz: no title [main pavilion of the Ethnographic Exhibition of Pokuttia]; Kolomyia (today: Ukraine); 1880; albumen paper on cardboard, 19,3 x 27,8, Biblioteka Narodowa, Warszawa, sign. F.12722/IV, © Public domain, https://polona.pl/item-view/a373a1f2-d6c8-467b-8421-4b96494d6e78?page=0 (10.9.2023).[38]

This instruction already contains the idea that the types in question would be so limited, that this survey–which must have taken place in the summer of 1880, as the images where displayed already in September[39]–could be conducted in a relatively limited timeframe, with a limited budget and limited personnel.[40] To fulfill this task and probably to identify the range and varieties of "types," Dutkiewicz was accompanied by the Kolomyia-based hobby ethnographer Leopold Wajgiel (1842-1906), who was also a member of the Chornahora branch. This is reported by Wajgiel, who does not provide details on their research process,[41] but it is obvious that the two of them held all agency in the field, which resulted in the production of ethnographic and spatial knowledge. The resulting photographs were compiled in two albums, which were presented during the exhibition.[42] A third one, called "Erinnerungen an Kolomea [Memories of Kolomyia]," was given to the Emperor Francis-Joseph I during his visit to the exhibition. This volume was inventoried by the library of *k.k. Fideikomiss* in January 1881[43] and is now in possession of the *Bildarchiv* (Image Archive) of the Austrian National Library.[44] Extremely publicized, this symbolic handover of the volume to the emperor represented Polish epistemic dominance over the region. By contrast, a quickly set up exhibition by the Russophile Kachkovskiy Society at the other end of Kolomyia in response to the announcement of the emperor's visit had made a much worse impression on the emperor; he would have looked at it for only "a few minutes," as *Gazeta Narodowa* [The National Newspaper] reported disparagingly.[45]

The exhibition organizers staged Poland as a politically and scholarly potent nation in contrast to Ruthenians in general and Hutsuls in particular, whom they

conceptualized as part of the Polish sphere of influence and civilization. The promotion of "national house industry" as an economic program for poorer regions was indeed a prominent Cisleithanian program,[46] but in this particular case it was to be conducted under Polish auspices and served as a justification strategy for political dominance in Eastern Galicia.[47] For Dutkiewicz's photographs, this means that they were created under national auspices and were initially inscribed in such a narrative. Their usage in exhibitions was not limited to Kolomyia, as they were shown again at the Galician Land-Exhibition in Krakow (1887), in which Kolberg was involved as well.[48]

At the same time, Dutkiewicz can be thought of as an imperial actor. Not only did "Erinnerungen an Kolomea" become part of imperial collections in Vienna, Dutkiewicz himself made sure to spread his work in the metropolis by donating a part of his photographs to the k.k. Österreichisches *Museum für Kunst und Industrie* (k.k. Austrian Museum for Art and Industry). The collections of the *Volkskundemuseum* in Vienna illustrate the importance of larger networks, which were involved in the circulation of these images. Wilhelm Exner donated 37 of Dutkiewicz's photographs to the museum in the mid-1890s,[49] and in 1904 the museum bought another edition of Dutkiewicz's types[50]. One edition of photographs already had a longer institutional career before it arrived in the museum[51] and another one came in from a private donor.[52] Finally, in 2005, a collection of photographs arrived, which was previously used and owned by Kaindl.[53] Furthermore, a number of other institutions hold his photographs today[54] as well as they were printed in numerous publications and also exist as postcards.[55] Concludingly, his circulating photocards, many of which derived from the 1880 survey, clearly transcended Galicia and shaped the view of the region in all of the Habsburg Monarchy and abroad.

Dutkiewicz thereby illustrated different ideological projects, some intentional and others unintentional, as the following chapter will show. It is not possible, however, to define an ideological agenda of the photographer apart from his strategies to arrange the photos. Due to the multiple actors involved in the process of producing and exhibiting the photographs in 1880 and composing the resulting albums, it is not possible to determine whether Dutkiewicz and/or Wajgiel provided the initial labels for the photographs. The involved members of the Tatra Society, as well as Kolberg or other scholars from the Kraków Academy of Sciences, could have taken part in the process. The album *Pokucie Typy* [Pokuttia Types], prepared for the exhibition and now held by the Museum of Ethnography, Arts and Crafts in L'viv, contains more detailed, handwritten information on different photographs, but the author of these keywords is not clear.[56] There are, however, important details regarding certain photographs, which only Dutkiewicz and Wajgiel could have provided: The names of villages, which often were included in the captions and provided the basis for later derivations of ethnic belonging of the person(s) presented in the pictures.[57] In "Erinnerungen an Kolomea," the

captions of most of the type photographs named a type of person from a specific village. Clear ethnic labels spoke of "A Hutsul Woman [Huzulin] from Dolhopole" or "An Armenian from Kuty."[58] Different categories are to be observed in captions like "Girls from Zhabie," "Wife of Zhabie's mayor," or "Peasants in Festive Costumes from Mykulychyn,"[59] where a connection to the Hutsul region could only be made if the viewers knew the location of the mentioned villages. As this aspect illustrates, the agency to define the image was not limited to field research, but it was part of the post-production of the images until their inclusion in the albums, photocards, or other media.

5 Circulating Images

This section discusses the appropriation of Dutkiewicz's photographs in the framework of different works on the Hutsul region, which followed different ideological currents. All of them contributed to the making and re-making of the imperial image-space by distributing and labeling examples from the famous set of images. However, in all these cases, the territorializing images were part of ideological agendas regarding the territory which they were supposed to illustrate. We therefore argue that a specific characteristic of an imperial image-space is the plurality of strategies to appropriate space through images. Quite often, language-use and ideology correlate, as the following examples on the German ethnographer Kaindl, the Ukrainian ethnographer Volodymyr Shukhevych, and the Russophile journalist and ethnographer Kupchanko will demonstrate.[60]

5.1 Raimund Friedrich Kaindl: Die Huzulen (The Hutsuls)

Raimund Friedrich Kaindl was a state-loyal representative of Bukovynian multiculturalism, i.e., a regional version of the imperial idea of "unity in diversity," which considered the peacefulness with barely any national conflicts as secured by the central government and was particularly proud of colorful ethnographic plurality. Even though Kaindl conducted the research for his book *The Hutsuls* exclusively in Bukovyna, his illustrations provide quite a different impression: Out of his 31 figures the publication featured, nine were type photographs. Eight of these were produced by Dutkiewicz and originated predominantly from Galicia, while the ethnographic type by C. A. Galter from Radautz/Rădăuți was shot in Bukovyna and is comparatively lesser known.[61]

In the following years, Kaindl extended his Hutsul research to Galician and Hungarian parts of the Hutsul region. Especially for his house studies, he started to make photos of his own, and especially in Hungary he began to photograph people as well.[62] Even though his contribution on Hutsul house-building now actually contained material from Galicia, there is still an overbalance regarding Galician Hutsuls in the type photographs he integrated into his paper.[63] Furthermore, neither the people nor the village Kaindl studied match these in the picture; they

were separated by time as well as by space.

Photographs were not only used to stereotype a national or an ethnic group as such, but also to inscribe gender roles to members of the community in question. In his monograph *The Hutsuls*, Kaindl used the aforementioned image "A girl with hair ornaments from Jawornik"[64] (see fig. 3-6) to depict a woman of marriageable age, which would be recognizable by the hair ornaments. To all age groups of male and female Hutsuls, Kaindl ascribed specific features and characteristics. Among those, the occupation is a noteworthy aspect; spinning would be a typical activity for women, and he used the same image to illustrate that aspect in another publication. Furthermore, he argues, young girls would be shy and barely interact with their proud and distant male peers. However, he attributed a high level of promiscuity to Hutsuls once they hit puberty. According to an ominous "report" Kaindl mentioned, Hutsul women would consider it a sin "to deny themselves to a man."[65] This stereotype, which Kaindl underlined with the image in question, demonstrates an orientalizing idea of the Hutsul region in general and Hutsul women in particular.

To this stereotyping, it should be added that "the Hutsuls" were and are a thoroughly heterogeneous group, which could show considerable dialectal and cultural differences depending on the influence of the surrounding spatial circumstances. The most obvious difference of the Bukovyna Hutsuls from the Galician ones was increased cultural contact with Romanian mountain population in the corresponding contact areas, but there are broader cultural implications to consider. The Ukrainian writer and ethnographer Ivan Franko (1856-1916) critically scrutinized the works of Shukhevych and Kaindl. As Franko argued, Hutsuls differed not only clearly from the surrounding population of the plain, but precisely from each other, and not only when they belonged to different administrative regions, but also in the case of villages that were comparatively close to each other. This issue was not properly reflected in the two ethnographers' works, which present a homogenous image of the Hutsuls in Galicia and Bukovyna, respectively. According to Franko's critique, Kaindl would even mix up Hutsuls and non-Hutsuls.[66] However, Franko was also involved in the stereotypical construction of Hutsuls himself. It is also important to note that Kaindl's practices did not impair the generally very positive image he had among Ukrainian scholars from Galicia.[67]

5.2 Volodymyr Shukhevych: Hutsulshchyna/Huculszczyzna

Among the Ruthenian-Ukrainian ethnographers and ethno-photographers of Galicia, Volodymyr Shukhevych is to be considered the most prominent researcher and collector on Hutsul ethnography, but also other Ruthenian-Ukrainian groups of Galicia. He was born as the son of the Greek-Catholic clergyman Osyp Shukhevych in the Pokuttian village of Tyshkivtsi (now in Ivano-Frankivska Oblast, Horodenkivskyi povit), about 30 km northeast of Kolomyia/Kolomea. He received

his middle school education first there, then in Stanislaviv/Stanislawów/Stanislau (today Ivano-Frankivs'k) and finally in Czernowitz/Chernivtsi. After three years of military service in Budapest, Vienna, and Lviv, during which he also attended local universities, he graduated from the University of Lviv in 1877. He found a job as a substitute teacher until 1890, when he was appointed as a middle school ("Realschule") professor in Lemberg/Lwów/Lviv. His education and teaching subjects belonged primarily to the natural sciences. He appeared less as a scientist than as an educator, working as editor of the children's magazine *Dzvinok* (The Little Bell) and the teachers' magazine *Uchytel* (The Teacher), among others. His personal passion, however, was ethnography.

Shukhevych belonged to the quantitatively narrow Ruthenian-Ukrainian middle class of Lviv, which was predominantly loyal to the empire, conservatively Greek Catholic, and partially Ukrainophile. He advocated Polish-Ukrainian cooperation in Galicia and pursued it even in his ethnographic work. When Count Włodzimierz Dzieduszycki (1825-1899) opened his natural history museum in Lviv in 1873, Shukhevych immediately reported the event with enthusiasm in the Ruthenian press; he himself became a staff member and organized his own ethnographic and archaeological exhibition there in 1885. They included, for example, clothing and women's jewelry that his wife Hermina had collected in Pokuttia and the Hutsul region. Dzieduszycki then financed further research trips by Shukhevych, which would serve to assemble a systematic collection of Hutsul exhibits that would eventually be prominently displayed.[68] Continued cooperation allowed Shukhevych to gradually gain experience in the field of exhibiting, while at the same time he became a representative public figure with whom Ruthenian-Ukrainian ethnography was associated, although he did not produce a significant publication until 1899. Initially, however, he offered his labor and expertise to a restorative Polish project.

This tendency changed only during the 1890s, when he assumed at least representative functions for the Ruthenian-Ukrainian community of Galicia, the most important of which was the organization of the entire ethnographic section at the General Provincial Exhibition of Galicia in 1894 and the coordination of a Ruthenian pavilion.[69] Transnational cooperation enabled him to use imperial resources as he saw fit. The Ruthenian ethnographic exhibition consisted not only of folk costumes, but of a complete village set up in Lviv, including a specially carpentered wooden Greek Catholic church complete with bell tower, huts from many ethnographic subregions, including a Hutsul one with living inhabitants, and a complete mountain farm. Through the forced self-indigenization of the Ruthenians in Galicia and the deliberate prioritization of Ruthenian exhibits over Polish ones, Shukhevych appears in this setting as a clearly national actor, even if he made use of transnational structures in the process.

Shukhevych, however, can also be described as an imperial actor as well. In

1901, he was accepted as a member of the *Verein für* österreichische *Volkskunde* (Association for Austrian Folklore) and was immediately co-opted onto the committee to serve as a representative for Galicia.[70] In 1903, the *Volkskundemuseum* bought 106 of his photographs, which included many Hutsul photographs, but contrary to a notification in the *Zeitschrift* für österreichische *Volkskunde* (Journal of Austrian Folklore) not exclusively.[71]

Figure 9: [Julius Dutkiewicz]: "Wásyl Szkryblak przy tokarni (Vasyl Shkrybliak at the woodturning table)," around 1880, 10 × 8.5 cm, in: Włodzimierz Szuchiewicz, *Huculszczyzna*, tom pierwsuy (Lwów: Muzeum im. Dzieduszyckich, 1902), 359.
Figure 10: Julius Dutkiewcz: "Huzule. Berühmter Holzschnitzer und Drechsler. Einiges hat seine Majestät von ihm bezogen (Hutsul. Famous Woodcarver and Woodturner. His Majesty got Several Things from Him)," Jawornik Bez. Kossow, around 1880, albumin print on cardboard, 13.6 × 9.6 cm, Photographic Collection, Volkskundemuseum Vienna, sign. Pos/106/31.

In his four-volume monograph on the (Galician) Hutsul region, Shukhevych presented a homogenous ethnographic landscape and emphasized the formative influences of mountains and valleys on the living environments of the inhabitants. Still, Shukhevych's romantic depictions of Hutsuls appear to have their limitations, as becomes obvious in his coverage of criminal cases, alcohol abuse, and the frequency of diseases. He tried to justify these issues through the supposed indolence of Hutsuls, which was frequently exploited by others, as he highlights in some rare accounts on the contact between Hutsuls and surrounding Jews, Armenians, and unnamed administrative elites, as they influence the life of his heroes.[72] The fact that Shukhevych did not clearly present the administrative elites as "Polish" might have been a strategy to avoid conflict with his own Polish cooperation partners – and publishers of the Polish version of his book – at the Dzieduszycki Museum. Furthermore, Shukhevych's accounts on Hutsul-Jewish relations are particularly

problematic. He considered Hutsuls to be the original element of the population, fused with the landscape, while Jews appear as intruders and disruptive factors of the peaceful countryside, who would exploit the socio-economic problems of the supposedly naive Hutsuls. The antisemitic stereotype of Jewish exploiters is integral for Shukhevych's narrative on the Hutsul region, but at the same time Jews are absent from the otherwise rich illustrations of his work.

While most of the figures in the generously illustrated second volume have been provided by Shukhevych or his anonymous illustrator, he has been accused by Kaindl to have plagiarized his drawings of certain items.[73] Also, Shukhevych used photographs by Dutkiewicz without giving him the proper credit. However, the choice and usage of these specific photos from Dutkiewicz is particularly striking, as they add a dimension to the handling of images not to be found in the other texts. Shukhevych included three images showing representatives of the family Shkrybliak, a well-known Hutsul dynasty of carvers, alongside a wide-ranging compilation of photographs on their artistic products.[74] While Shukhevych discussed Hutsuls as well as their material culture in a stereotypical fashion for long parts of his book, this greatly illustrated part demonstrated individuality. Furthermore, the ethnographer even added historical details to the family history and their long-term work in the village Jaworów/Iavoriv since the early 19th century. These photographs are therefore not types representing a whole population, but specifically and positively highlighted individuals, adding a historical dimension to Shukhevych's narrative about Hutsuls as artists. Still, they serve merely as symbols or tokens. Even if the specific individual and idiosyncratic history is told, Shkrybliak is used as a kind of label, a sort of unique selling point for the region, and an advertisement for his own products: His name even stands in for the woodcarvings, and thus is only a kind of detailed stereotype. Thus, Shukhevych emphasizes the extraordinary with the pictures, instead of giving "ordinary" people a voice, apart from the folklore texts collected from them for the later volumes.

5.3 Grigoriy Kupchanko and the "Russians" of the Habsburg Empire

The Russophile ethnographer and activist Kupchanko was rather disconnected from the direct network of Habsburg *Volkskunde*, and only a certain connection to Kaindl catches the eye. The details of their cooperation are unknown, as it is only comprehensible based on the note in Kaindl's previously discussed text. Kupchanko published a series of brochures on the "Russian inhabitants" of Galicia, Bukovyna, and the Ruthenian regions of northeastern Hungary (to which he referred as "Hungarian Rus"), which he also re-issued in the form of a richly illustrated monograph called *Nasha rodina* (Our tribe).[75] Here, he used strategies to scientize "national characters,"[76] mixed up scholarly results with statements taken from folkloric texts and tried to create an image of the "Russian" (specifically not "Little Russian") people from the Habsburg Empire.

In his treatises on the population of Bukovyna, he unapologetically transferred the data on speakers of "Ruthenian" as a "colloquial language" from the Cisleithanian 1890 census into data on "nationality," as well as translating "Ruthenian" into "Russian." The imperial tool of the census, which listed all Hutsuls as "Ruthenian-speaking," made them, in Kupchanko's logic, members of the Russian nation.[77] Kupchanko constructed the category of "race" based on assigning people to language families. Regarding the "Russians in Bukovyna," he argued they would belong "to the Indo-European race," thereby establishing a distinction from "Turks, Tatars, ... Magyars, Finns, ... Hebrews or Jews"[78] and other peoples of the Russian Empire. Accordingly, he assigned the "Russian people" to the "Slavic tribe." Thereby, the studied philologist chose a larger scholarly concept, which allowed him to ignore the widespread contemporary discussions about a possible non-Slavic descent of Hutsuls and integrate them into his overall concept of one "Russian people" through the notions of "race" and "tribe" through a biologized understanding that equates language and ancestry.

When Kupchanko composed these volumes, he worked under miserable living conditions in Vienna.[79] While he had a set of pictures on Bukovyna at his disposal, which he compiled since the 1870s and reused on different occasions, he lacked such illustrations for the volume on Galicia, which he was nevertheless eager to include in his overall view.

Figure 11: [Julius Dutkiewicz]: no title, [District Horodenka, Galicia], around 1880, autotype, 13.4 × 9.7 cm, from: Grigoriy Kupchanko, *Galichina i ey russkiy zhiteli. Knizhechka dlya naroda s mnogimi obrazkami staroy Rusi i Pol'shi i tepereshnoy Galichiny* (Galicia and Its Russian Inhabitants: A Little Book for the People, with Many Images of Old Rus', Poland and Present-Day Galicia) (Vienna: self-published, 1896), 60.[80]

Kupchanko accompanied his folk types with a brief description of ethnic

subgroups, seeking to draw information about self-designations, folk character, etc. primarily from folklore, thus linking the image to oral traditions. This is particularly obvious when he derived self-descriptions from non-contextualized folklore texts: "The Russian inhabitants of the districts of Kolomyia, Kosiv, and adjacent Stanislaviv, who live in the mountains, call themselves Hutsuls or Horny, Hortsy, *Hors'kie liudy*, etc." [81] Folklore was therefore a crucial source for him to delineate the Podolians of the adjacent plain from the Hutsuls, both of which were considered subgroups of "Russians." The attribution of a so-called folk character functioned primarily via folklore as well, whereby it should be emphasized that Kupchanko refrained from naming place, time and reference person, in contrast to the professionalizing folkloristics[82] at that time.

From a purely substantive point of view, this is problematic, because it means that the not insignificant information is lost as to where Hutsuls would decidedly refer to themselves as such–here there was greater uncertainty among contemporary researchers. Moreover, this inconsistency is even more evident in his work on the Ruthenian areas of Hungary, where he finds fault with the fact that people mostly refer to themselves as "I am Rusnyak" or "I am Hutsul," but rarely as "I am Russian."[83] Overall, Kupchanko's publications thus create the impression of an area-wide identification with the specific ethnonyms, which other researchers have not been able to verify even during several years of extensive travel in the Hutsul region.[84]

By emphasizing similar clothing of the Hutsuls in all three administrative spaces,[85] Kupchanko wants to argue that the administrative boundaries of the ethnic groups were drawn completely arbitrarily. This shows a commonality with the Ukrainian national movement, which sought to prove the same with ethnological observations and anthropometric measurements. Both images and folklore are thus separated from their localization and the identity of those speaking or depicted and brought together in a stereotyping technique. His strategies of nation-building are thus simultaneously strategies of othering. This motive is particularly obvious when considering his strategies of integrating Dutkiewicz's photographs in his volume on Galicia: Kupchanko completely omits to give any captions to the images, which would provide information about their regional or temporal origin, let alone the photographer (see figure 10).

6 Conclusion

As we have demonstrated, photographs circulated vividly in the imperial image-space and were reused, relabeled and reframed several times. All the actors investigated in detail operated in urban settings, where they produced images and narratives about rural spaces. Most of them somehow emphasized their closeness to the region they studied. Even if they were born in a certain village close to the region they studied, such as Kupchanko and Shukhevych, they had outgrown their

social, cultural, or geographic origins and acted like urban intellectuals when they reproduced and redefined image-spaces.

The ethnographic practices of othering, such as depersonalization, delocalization and de-temporalization, are reflected in the outlined photographic practices. The images were centerpieces of argumentations, yet they were sometimes so interchangeable, that a *lirnyk* (a travelling musician, playing the lyre) could be transplanted from Galicia to Bukovyna without further notice, just like the girl from Iavirnyk/Jawornik in Kaindl's texts. This specific handling of ethnographically coded images led to the circumvention of local cultural distinctions and thereby allowed us to produce and visualize the ideas of homogenous ethnographic spaces. Due to the availability of such images, often well-known, the image-space could be appropriated by actors of very different ideologies, as we have demonstrated with the examples of Kaindl, Kupchanko, and Shukhevych.

Today, Dutkiewicz's photographs can be found in various institutions in different countries, primarily the *Muzeum Etnograficzne im. Seweryna Udziela* (Seweryn Udziel Museum of Ethnography) and the *Biblioteka Naukowa PAU i PAN* (Polish Academy of Sciences Scientific Library) in Krakow, the *Państwowe Muzeum Etnograficzne* (State Ethnographic Museum)[86] in Warsaw, the *Bildarchiv der* österreichischen *Nationalbibliothek* (Image Archive of the Austrian National Library), the Photographic Collections of the *Volkskundemuseum Wien* (Vienna Folklore Museum), the Austrian Museum of Applied Arts (all three in Vienna) and the Museum of Ethnography, Arts and Crafts in Lviv. Further reproductions are to be found in private archives and collections, such as the fonds of Raimund Friedrich Kaindl in the archive of the University of Graz.[87] These widespread collections do not only illustrate the range of historical image circulation, but also suggest possibilities to rediscover these images as documentations of imperial diversity. While the scholarly approaches from the perspective of photographic history are increasingly critical, national image archives are not always handled like this. This is suggested by reprints of Kupchanko's brochures on Russians in the Habsburg Empire, which have been issued in Moscow soon after the Euromaidan (in modernized Russian orthography on the title page).[88] Thereby, in the case of the reprint of his volume on Galicia, Dutkiewicz's photographs became, once again, territorializing images as part of political communication and appropriation strategies, which the photographer did not intend.

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assistant at the University of Innsbruck, where he defended his dissertation 'National Science' Between Two Empires. Shevchenko Scientific Society, 1892–1918 in 2020. His research interests include imperial history, history of science and knowledge, spatial perceptions, history of eugenics and racism with a focus on the Habsburg Empire, the Russian Empire, the Soviet Union, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Poland.

Herbert Justnik has been a curator at the Volkskundemuseum in Vienna since 2006 and is responsible for the exhibition program and head of the photographic collections. He works with an open concept of science and broad understanding of the curatorial with experimental approaches with performative/participative elements and/or installations. Previous exhibitions and projects (in collaboration) include: "Bibelstechen. Eine Ausstellung als Einblick und Kommentar" (Microphotographic Bibliomancy) (2012), interrogated boundary markings of scientific and museum regimes by means of a contingency machine. "Gestellt. Fotografie als Werkzeug in der Habsburgermonarchie" (Staged. Photography as a Tool in the Habsburg Monarchy) (2014), dealt with the construction of "folk types" and the epistemic and economic infrastructures behind them.

Endnotes

1 Herbert Justnik's part of this paper contains sections and thoughts from previous papers: Herbert Justnik, "Vorneweg,", Gestellt. Fotografie als Werkzeug in der Habsburgermonarchie, ed. by Herbert Justnik (Wien: Löcker Verlag, 2014), 15–22; id., "Kolonialismus in der Bauernstube. Oder: Wie sich die Volkskunde ihr Objekt machte," Das Museum im kolonialen Kontext, ed. by Pia Schölnberger (Wien: Czernin Verlag, 2021), 304–326. Martin Rohde's research was conducted during his time as a research assistant at the University of Halle-Wittenberg, funded by Volkskundemuseum in Vienna and the Institute for German Culture and History in Southeastern Europe, Munich. Our cooperation was part of the exhibition Ölrausch und Huzulenkult. Fotografische Streitobjekte aus Galizien und der Bukowina (Oil Rush and Hutsul Cult. Photographic Objects of Dispute from Galicia and Bukovina) at Volkskundemuseum Vienna (18.11.2022–26.3.2023).

2 Michael Haberlandt, "*Die Photographie im Dienste der Volkskunde* (Photography in the Service of Folklore)," *Zeitschrift* für Österreichische *Volkskunde* (Journal of Austrian Folklore) 2 (1896), 183−186, 183. First printed in *Wiener Photographische Blätter* (Viennese Photographic Papers) III (1896), no. 5, 97–100. For a detailed discussion of the text and its contexts, cf. Herbert Justnik, "Ein Text als Symptom. Michael Haberlandt's 'Die Photographie im Dienste der Volkskunde' (A Text as a Symptom: Michael Haberlandt's 'Photography in the Service of Folklore)," *Wie Bilder Dokumente wurden: Zur Genealogie dokumentarischer Darstellungspraktiken* (How Images became Documents: On the Genealogy of Documentary Representation Practices), ed. by Renate Wöhrer (Berlin: Kulturverl. Kadmos, 2015), 85–100.

3 Habsburg-style ethnography of one's own, based on the assumption that the population of the Habsburg Empire would be one people, classified in different tribes ("Volksstämme").

4 Similar developments occurred all over Europe during this period. Researchers working on folklore were still trained and situated in other disciplines. Both before and after the establishment of folkloristic institutions, folkloric texts appeared distributed across different disciplines and publications. The scholars involved published in the *Mittheilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Communications of the Anthropological Society in Vienna) as well as in the *Mittheilungen der K.K. Geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Communications of the Imperial and Royal Geographical Society in Vienna), but also in more popular publications.

5 This was a 24-volume regional encyclopedia on the Habsburg Monarchy, initiated by crown prince Rudolf and published from 1886 to 1902. Cf. *Ethnographie in Serie. Zu Produktion und Rezeption der „*österreichisch-ungarischen *Monarchie in Wort und Bild"* (Serialized Ethnography: On the Production and Reception of the "Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in Word and Image"), ed. by Jurij Fikfak, Reinhard Johler (Wien: Verlag des Instituts für Europäische Ethnologie, 2008).

6 Michael Haberlandt, „Zum Beginn! (To the Beginning!)" *Zeitschrift* für Österreichische *Volkskunde* 1 (1895), 1–3, 1.

7 The concept of the image-space was developed by Walter Benjamin and Tom Holert. Cf. Sigrid Weigel, *Body-and image-space. Re-reading Walter Benjamin* (London, New York: Routledge, 1996); Tom Holert, *Regieren im Bildraum* (Governing the Image-Space) (Berlin: b-books 2008). Herbert Justnik customized the approach with reference to the Habsburg Monarchy around 1900, Herbert Justnik, ed., *Gestellt. Fotografie als Werkzeug in der Habsburgermonarchie* (Posed: Photography as an Agent in the Habsburg Monarchy) (Vienna: Volkskundemuseum, 2014).

8 Cf. the range of methodological remarks in Justnik, ed., *Gestellt*. We discussed the applicability of these approaches in a number of European case studies during the conference *Reimagining One's Own. Ethnographic Photography in Nineteenth- and Early-Twentieth-Century Europe*, Volkskundemuseum Wien, December 1-3, 2021.

9 Franz Heger, "Die Ethnographie auf der Krakauer Landesausstellung 1887 (Ethnography at the

Kraków National Exhibition in 1887).“ *Mittheilung der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* XVIII (1888), 190–201, 196.

10 Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Die Huzulen: ihr Leben, ihre Sitten und ihre Volksüberlieferung* (The Hutsuls: Their Life, Customs, and Folk Traditions) (Wien: Hölder, 1894); Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Die Ruthenen in der Bukowina* (The Ruthenians in Bukovyna) (Czernowitz: Czopp, 1890).

11 Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Die Volkskunde. Ihre Bedeutung, ihre Ziele und ihre Methode; mit besonderer Berücksichtigung ihres Verhältnisses zu den historischen Wissenschaften; ein Leitfaden zur Einführung in die Volksforschung* (Folklore: Its Significance, Its Aims and Its Method; with Particular Reference to Its Relationship to the Historical Sciences; a Guide for Introducing Folklore Research) (Wien: Deuticke, 1903).

12 Agnieszka Jankowska-Marzec, *Między etnografią a sztuką. Mitologizacja Hucułów i Huculszczyzny w kulturze polskiej XIX i XX wieku* (Between Ethnography and Art: Mythologization of the Hutsuls and the Land of the Hutsul in Polish Culture of the 19th and 20th centuries) (Kraków: universitas, 2013); Renata Makarska, *Der Raum und seine Texte: Konzeptualisierungen der Hucul´ščyna in der mitteleuropäischen Literatur des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Space and its Texts: Conceptualizations of the Land of the Hutsuls in 20th-century Central European Literature) (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2010). On Polish-Ukrainian scholarly concurrence regarding the Eastern Carpathians, cf. Martin Rohde, “Eine wissensgeschichtliche Perspektive auf die ukrainisch-polnische Konkurrenz um die Ostkarpaten im späten 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert (A Historical Perspective on the Ukrainian-Polish Competition for the Eastern Carpathians in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries),” *Spiegelungen. Zeitschrift* für deutsche Kultur und *Geschichte Südosteuropas* (Reflections: Journal for German Culture and History of Southeast Europe) 16 (2021), no. 1: 35–45; id., “Ukrainian ‘National Science’ from a Spatial Perspective: How the Hutsul Lands Were Mapped.” *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 23, no. 4 (2022): 773-801. doi:10.1353/kri.2022.0056. On Polish approaches during the interwar period, cf. Jagoda Wierzejska, “A Domestic Space: The Central and Eastern Carpathians in the Polish Tourist and Local Lore Discourse, 1918–1939,” *Prace filologiczne: Literaturoznawstwo* (Philological works: Literary studies) no. 9 (12), pt. 1 (2019): 33–62. On early Polish photographs of the Hutsul region, cf. Ewa Manikowska, *Photography and Cultural Heritage in the Age of Nationalisms. Europe's Eastern Borderlands (1867–1945)* (London et al.: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2019).

13 William O’Reilly, “Fredrick Jackson Turner’s Frontier Thesis, Orientalism, and the Austrian Militärgrenze,” *Journal of Austrian-American History* 2, no. 1 (2018), 1–30. https://doi.org/10.5325/jaustamerhist.2.1.0001.

14 On the nexus of photography and politics in Habsburg and Russian Empire, cf. Dominik Gutmeyr, Manfred Pfaffenthaler, “Co-Optation and Autonomy of the Photographic Object. On Ethnographic Photography in the Russian and Habsburg Empires,” *From the Highlands to Hollywood. Multidisciplinary Perspectives on Southeastern Europe. Festschrift for Karl Kaser and SEEHA*, ed. by Siegfried Gruber et al. (Zürich: Lit Verlag, 2020), 181–198. On quite a different lacuna, Sönke Kunkel used the idea of an “Empire of Pictures” to describe the United States of America with reference to the global media in the Cold War. Sönke Kunkel, *Empire of Pictures. Global Media and the 1960s Remaking of American Foreign Policy* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016).

15 Museum of *Volkskunde* in Vienna, today’s name of the former *Museum für* österreichische *Volkskunde*.

16 Lorraine Daston, Peter Galison, “The Image of Objectivity,” *Representations* 40 (1992), 81–128, 82. https://doi.org/10.2307/2928741.

17 Johannes Feichtinger/Ursula Prutsch/Moritz Csáky (ed.), *Habsburg postcolonial. Machtstrukturen und kollektives Gedächtnis* (Power Structures and Collective Memory) (Innsbruck/Wien: Studienverlag, 2003); Anna Veronika Wendland, “Imperiale, koloniale und postkoloniale Blicke auf die Peripherien des Habsburgerreiches (Imperial, Colonial and Post-Colonial Views on the Peripheries of the Habsburg

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19 Sebastian Conrad/Shalini Randeria/Regina Römhild et al. (ed.), *Jenseits des Eurozentrismus. Postkoloniale Perspektiven in den Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften* (Beyond Eurocentrism. Postcolonial Perspectives in History and Cultural Studies), (Frankfurt am Main, New York: Campus, 2013); Jens Adam/Regina Römhild et al. (ed.), *Europa dezentrieren. Globale Verflechtungen neu denken* (Decentralising Europe: Rethinking Global Interdependencies) (Frankfurt am Main: 2019; Helmut Groschwitz, "Postkoloniale Volkskunde. Eine Annäherung über das Museum (Postcolonial Folklore. An Approach through the Museum)," *Dimensionen des Politischen. Ansprüche und Herausforderungen der Empirischen Kulturwissenschaft* (Dimensions of the Political: Demands and Challenges of Empirical Cultural Studies), ed. by Johanna Rolshoven, Ingo Schneider (Berlin: Neofelis Verlag, 2018), 263–277.

20 Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other. How Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014).

21 Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Die Volkskunde. Ihre Bedeutung, ihre Ziele und ihre Methode. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung ihres Verhältnisses zu den historischen Wissenschaften. Ein Leitfaden zur Einführung in die Volksforschung* (Leipzig, Wien: Franz Deuticke, 1903). On Kaindl, his work and reception cf. Serhiy Osachuk (ed.), *Rajmund Fridrich Kayndl'. Rozvidky z nahody 150-littya vid dnya narodzhennya* (Raimund Friedrich Kaindl: Evidence for the Occasion of the 150th Anniversary of His Birth) (Chernivtsi: Knyhy – XXI, 2016). See also an early and apologetic work with a helpful bibliography: Alexander Blase, *Raimund Friedrich Kaindl (1866–1930). Leben und Werk* (Raimund Kaindl (1866-1930): Life and Work) (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1962).

22 These included, for example, Josef Szombathy (1853-1943), prehistorian at the Natural History Museum in Vienna, and the architect and professor, later director of the State Trade School in Czernowitz, Karl A. Romstorfer (1854–1916).

23 Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, "Die Hochzeitsfeier bei den Ruthenen in Berhometh am Pruth (Bukowina) (The Wedding Celebration among the Ruthenians in Berhomet on the Prut (Bukovyna))," *Globus. Illustrierte Zeitschrift* für Länder- und *Völkerkunde* (Globus: Illustrated Magazine for Geography and Ethnology) 85 (1904), 281–288. For a profound analysis of this text, cf. Herbert Justnik, "Kolonialismus in der Bauernstube. Oder: Wie sich die Volkskunde ihr Objekt machte? (Colonialism in the Farmhouse. Or: How did Folklore Make Its Object?" in *Das Museum im kolonialen KontextAnnäherungen aus Österreich*, Pia Schölnberger, ed. (Vienna: Czernin Verlags GmbH, 2021), 304-326.

24 Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Die Huzulen. Ihr Leben, ihre Sitten und ihre Volksüberlieferung* (Wien: Alfred Hölder, 1894).

25 Kaindl, "Die Hochzeitsfeier," 281.

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33 Martin Rohde, "Wissenstopographien des Grenzraums. Die ruthenisch-ukrainisch bewohnten Ostkarpaten im Visier von ‚frontier'-Wissenschaften des langen 19. Jahrhunderts (Knowledge Topographies of the Border Region: The Ruthenian-Ukrainian Eastern Carpathians in View of Frontier Studies of the Long 19th Century)," *Raum- und Grenzkonzeptionen in der Erforschung europäischer Regionen* (Spatial and Border Concepts in the Study of European Regions), ed. by Lina Schröder/Markus Wegewitz/Christine Gundermann (Dresden: Institut für Sächsische Geschichte und Volkskunde, 2023), 231–255, 240–244; Marceli Turkawski, *Wystawa Etnograficzna Pokucia w Kołomyi* (Pokuttia Ethnographic Exhibit in Kolomyia) (Kraków: Czas, 1880); cf. also the catalogue of the exhibition, *Katalog przedmiotów wystawy etnograficznej oddziału Czarnohorskiego Tow. Tatrzańskiego obejmującej powiaty: kołomyjski, kossowski,* śniatyński*, horodeński, zaleszczycki i borszczowski połączonej z wystawą płodów górskich, która zaszczycona obecnością Najjaśniejszego Cesarza i Króla Franciszka Józefa I. otwartą została w dniu 15 września 1880 r. w Kołomyi* (Catalog of Items from the Ethnographic Exhibition of the Chornahora Branch of the Tatra Mountains Society, Covering the Following Counties: Kolomyia, Kossowski, Sniatyn, Horodenski, Zaleszczycki and Borszczowa, Combined with an Exhibition of Mountain Produce, which was Opened on September 15, 1880 in Kolomyia, Honored by the Presence of the Most Serene Emperor and King Franz Joseph I.) (Lwów: Drukarnia Ludowa, 1880).

34 Manikowska, *Photography*, 53.

35 Philippe Henri Blasen, "Pocuce, injuste prius detractum, recepit... Rumänische Ansprüche auf die südostgalizische Gegend Pokutien? (*Pocuce, injuste prius detractum, recepit*... Romanian Claims to the Southeast Galician region of Pokutia?) (1919)," *Analele Bucovinei* (Annals of Bukovyna) 1 (2014), 201–224.

36 Rohde, "Eine wissensgeschichtliche Perspektive," 38–39.

37 Turkawski, *Wystawa Etnograficzna*, 34. Cf. also *Pamiętnik Towarzystwa Tatrzańskiego* (Memoir of the Tatra Mountain Society) VI (1881), IX–X.

38 There are only a view copies of Dutkiewicz photographs in the National Library of Poland, this one being in its edition very similar to the pictures of the album in the Austrian National Library.

39 Andrzej Wielocha, "Juliusz Dutkiewicz – pierwszy fotograf Huculszczyzny (Juliusz Dutkiewicz: The First Photographer of the Land of the Hutsul)," *Almanach Karpacki. Półrocznik Towarzystwo Karpackiego* (Carpathian Almanac: Semi-Annual of the Carpathian Society) 58 (2019), 38–72, 48.

40 As Manikowska points out, Dutkiewicz already had a selection of types in stock. Manikowska, *Photography*, 77.

41 Leopold Wajgiel, "Pogląd na rzeźbe Czarnohory (A View of the Chornahora Sculpture)," *Pamiętnik Towarzystwa Tatrzańskiego* 10 (1885), 57–75, 74–75.

42 One of them can be found today in the Ethnographic Museum in L´viv, the other one in the Thomas Fisher Library of Rare Books at the University of Toronto.

43 Wiener Zeitung, Nr. 33, 11. Februar 1881, 1. We are grateful to Martin Keckeis for providing us with this reference.

44 Konvolut "Erinnerungen an Kolomea (Memories of Kolomyia)", Austrian National Library, Bildarchiv Austria, Sig. Pk106, online via: https://search.onb.ac.at/primo-explore/search?institution=ONB&vid=ONB&onCampus=false&query=lsr19,contains,Erinnerungen%20an%20Kolomea%20:%20Konvolut&search_scope=ONB_gideon (14.06.2023).

45 "Podróż cesarska," *Gazeta Narodowa* (National Newspaper) XIX (1880), no. 215, 18.09.1880, 1–2, 2.

46 Corinne Geering, "The Hinterland on Display. Establishing a Market for Rural Handicraft in Austria-Hungary," *Rural History Yearbook* 2020, 72–93. https://doi.org/10.25365/rhy-2020-5.

47 Patrice M. Dabrowski, "'Discovering' the Galician Borderlands: The Case of the Eastern Carpathians", *Slavic Review* 64 (2005), no. 2, 380–402, 391.

48 Heger, "Die Ethnographie (Ethnography)," 196.

49 Photographic Collections, *Volkskundemuseum Wien*: pos/106.

50 Photographic Collections, *Volkskundemuseum Wien*: pos/949-pos/976

51 In 1955, a big number of photographs came from *Museum für Völkerkunde* (the ethnological museum in Vienna) to the Österreichisches *Museum für Volkskunde* (today *Volkskundemuseum Wien*) and might have been in other possessions before that: pos/14703-pos/14787.

52 Photographic Collections, *Volkskundemuseum Wien*: pos/8722-pos/8753, with a "dedication by S.W. Kopper, Wien I.," came in 1936.

53 They only came into the photographic collections in 2005, but they have been clearly used by Kaindl. Ibid., part of: pos/63944-pos/63950, pos/63993-pos/64054.

54 See the conclusion of our article.

55 Apart from those publications discussed in the following section, many others are listed in Justnik (ed.), *Gestellt*.

56 *Typy Pokucie* (Pokuttia Types) 1880. Library of the Museum of Ethnography, Arts and Crafts, L'viv,

signature 10.8724.

57 See the example of figure 3–6.

58 Konvolut "Erinnerungen an Kolomea", 72b, 76a.

59 Ibid., 82a, 84b, 90b.

60 However, this is not always the case as there are also various publications by regional authors in German. Cf. Martin Rohde, "Huculska pieśń ludowa dla Austrii. Ukraińsko-austriacka współpraca naukowa u schyłku monarchii Habsburgów (Hutsul Folk Songs for Austria: Ukrainian-Austrian Scientific Cooperation at the End of the Habsburg Monarchy)," *Galicja. Niezakończony project* (Galicia: Unfinished Project), ed. by Jagoda Wierzejska, Danuta Sosnowska, Magdalena Baran-Szołtys (Kraków: Wydawnictwo LIBRON, 2022) on the participation of Ruthenian-Ukrainian scholars in the Kronprinzenwerk.

61 Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, 55.

62 Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, "Ethnographische Streifzüge in den Ostkarpathen. Beiträge zur Hausbauforschung in Oesterreich (Ethnographic Forays into the Eastern Carpathians: Contributions to House Construction Research in Austria)," *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* XXVIII (1898), 223–249.

63 Kaindl, "Haus und Hof."

64 Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, 14

65 Ibid., 8–14, quotation 9.

66 Ivan Franko, "Besprechung von: Prof. Volodymyr Šuchevič: Huculčšina. Mit 24 Textabbildungen und 6 Tafeln (Review of Prof. Volodymyr Shukhevych, *Hutsulshchyna*. With 24 text illustrations and 6 plates)", *Zeitschrift* für Österreichische *Volkskunde* (Journal of Austrian Folklore) 8 (1902), 199–211.

67 Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*; Oleksandr Masan, "Pryiatel ukrainskoho narodu (R. F. Kaindl ta ioho Hutsuly) (Friend of the Ukrainian People (R.F. Kaindl and His Hutsuls))" *Huculy: jich* žyttja*, zvyčaji ta narodni perekazy* (The Hutsuls: Their Lives, Customs and Folk Traditions) (Černivci: Molodyj bukovynec', 2000), 174–206.

68 Włodzimierz Dzieduszycki, *Przewodnik po Muzeum im. Dzieduszyckich we Lwowie* (Guide to the Dzieduszycki Museum in Lviv) (Lwów: Muzeum im. Dzieduszyckich, 1895), V; A. A. Karpenko, "Rol' Volodymyra Shukhevycha v orhanizatsiyi ukrayins'koho muzejnytstva v Halychyni (The Role of Volodymyr Shukhevych in the Organization of Museum Studies in Galicia)," *Zapysky istorychnoho fakul'tetu* (Notes of the History Department) 26 (2015), 85–97.

69 Rohde, "Huculska pieśń ludowa."

70 *Protokoll der Ausschuss-Sitzung des Vereins für* Österreichische *Volkskunde* (Minutes of the Committee Meeting of the Association for Austrian Folklore), 20. April 1901, 3, *Archiv, Volkskundemuseum Wien; Protokoll der Ausschuss-Sitzung des Vereins für* Österreichische *Volkskunde, 28. Juni 1901*, 4, ibid.

71 *Zeitschrift* für Österreichische *Volkskunde* IX (1903), 130. There were types labeled as *Boiko* or *Ruthenian*. Katalog I (1894–1917), *Photographien*, No. 1–2541, 33, and unpaginated supplement on Shukhevych's photographs. Photographic Collections, *Volkskundemuseum Wien*.

72 Volodymyr Shukhevych, *Hutsulshchyna*, tom 1 (L'viv: Naukove Tovarystvo im. Shevchenka, 1899), 36, 51–52.

73 Shukhevych reflected upon that in the Polish re-issue of the first volume, Włodzimierz Szuchiewicz, *Huculszczyzna. Tom pierwszy, z mapą, 5-ma chromolitograficznemi tablicami i 233 illustracyami* (Lwów: Muzeum im. Dzieduszyckich, 1902), V–VI.

74 Volodymyr Shukhevych, *Hutsulshchyna*, tom 1, druha chast' (L'viv: Naukove Tovarystvo im. Shevchenka, 1901), 301–318.

75 Grigoriy Kupchanko, *Nasha Rodina. Illyustrovannyy sbornik dlia prostonarodnogo chitan'ya* (Vienna: self-published, 1897).

76 On "national characters" in scholarship, cf. Maciej Górny, *Science embattled. Eastern European Intellectuals and the Great War* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2019), 18–20.

77 Grigoriy Kupchanko, *Bukovyna i ei russky zhitely. Knizhechka dlya naroda s kartoyu Bukoviny i mnogimi obrazkami* (Vienna: self-published, 1895), 15.

78 Ibid., 49.

79 Hryaban, "Grigorij Kupczanko," 9–10.

80 On the added information, cf. Photographic Collections, *Volkskundemuseum Wien*: pos/14.740.

81 Grigoriy Kupchanko, *Galichina i ei russky zhitely. Knizhechka dlya naroda s mnogimi obrazkami staroy Rusi i Pol'shi i tepereshnoy Galichiny* (Vienna: self-published, 1896), 51–52.

82 On Ukrainian folkloristics in L'viv around 1900, cf. Rohde, "Local Knowledge."

83 Grigoriy Kupchanko, *Ugorskaya Rus' i ei russkie zhiteli. Knizhechka dlya naroda s mnogimi obrazkami i kartoiu Ugrii i Ugorskoy, Galicheskoy i Bukovinskoy Rusi* (Hungarian Rus' and its Russian Residents: A Small Book for the People with Many Illustrations and a Map of Hungarian, Galician and Bukvynian Rus') (Vienna: self-published, 1897), 46.

84 Martin Rohde, Nationale Wissenschaft *zwischen zwei Imperien. Die* Ševčenko-*Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, 1892–1918* (*National Science* between Two Empires: The Shevchenko Scientific Society, 1892–1918) (Göttingen: Vienna University Press, 2022), 254–289.

85 Kupchanko, *Ugorskaya Rus'*, 56.

86 Joanna Bartuszek, "Wizerunek Hucułów i huculszczyzny w archiwaliach i fotografiach z XIX i XX wieku w zbiorach Działu Dokumentacji Archiwalnej, Fotograficznej i Filmowej Państwowego Muzeum Etnograficznego w Warszawie," *Dziedzictwo i Pamięć Kresów Wschodnich Rzeczypospolitej. II Muzealne Spotkania z Kresami* (The Image of the Hutsuls and Hutsul Culture in Archives and Photographs from the 19th and 20th Centuries in the Collections of the Archival, Photographic and Film Documentation Department of the State Ethnographic Museum in Warsaw: Heritage and Memory of the Eastern Borderlands of the Republic of Poland. 2nd Museum Meetings with the Borderlands). ed. by Tadeusz Skoczek, Warszawa 2017, 329–343; Grzegorz Graff, "Rusini Karpaccy na archiwalnej fotografii w zbiorach Muzeum Etnograficznego im. Seweryna Udzieli w Krakowie (Carpathian Ruthenians in an Archival Photograph in the Collection of the Seweryn Udziel Ethnographic Museum in Krakow),", ibid., 345–357.

87 *Universitätsarchiv Graz, Nachlass Kaindl* (University of Graz Archives, Kaindl Fond)*, Faszikel* 8.

88 Grigoriy Kupchanko, *Bukovyna i ee russkie zhiteli* (Moskva: Kniga po Trebovaniyu, 2014); id., *Galichina i ee russkie zhiteli* (Moskva: Kniga po Trebovaniyu, 2015).

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The Roads of Baal Shem Tov: Reimagining the Carpathians as a Jewish Space in the 20th Century

by Vladyslava Moskalets

This article examines the Jewish imagination of the Carpathians in 20th-century literature. Non-Jewish observers who discovered the Carpathians at this time typically saw the Jews as an alien symbol of urban civilization that disturbed the authenticity of mountain life. The article analyzes essays from various Jewish intellectuals, whose aim was to rediscover the Carpathians as a Jewish space through the figure of the Hasidic leader Baal Shem Tov, who lived in the area during the 18th century. By connecting his life with the mountain landscape, they created a Jewish figure embedded in nature and not alienated from it.

Keywords: Yiddish, Jewish history, Hasidism, literature, Galicia

1 Introduction

In 1933, the rabbi and writer Markus Ehrenpreis, who was born in Galicia and served as Chief Rabbi of Stockholm, visited the Carpathian Mountains in Poland. His companions and guides were the editor of the Jewish Polish newspaper *Chwila* [The Moment], Leon Weinstock, and the renowned Polish writer Stanislaw Vincenz. The trip was similar to the numerous trips that had been made before, as the Carpathians had become a famous tourist destination among the Polish intelligentsia as early as the 1870s, starting with the physician Tytus Chałubiński.[1] However, what made the Carpathians worth visiting that year was not only the beauty of nature or challenging mountain hikes, but also its connection to the personal history of Baal Shem Tov (c. 1698 - 1760), the founder of Hasidism, who spent part of his life in Tovste (Polish: Tłuste) and visited secluded places in the Carpathians for the purpose of meditation. The Jewish and non-Jewish folklore of the Carpathians contained many stories about the Baal Shem Tov, which may have attracted the visitors, such as the story of the secret passage to the Palestinian city of Safed, which the Baal Shem Tov used to communicate with the Kabbalists.

Rabbi Ehrenpreis and Vincenz's trip was one of many to the Carpathians in the 20th century, but its focus on the Hasidic leader Baal Shem Tov is unique. It helps to understand that besides the Polish and Ukrainian processes of rediscovery of the Carpathians, Jewish intellectuals also thought about a special connection of Jewish mysticism with the sublime power of nature. We can note a few such approaches represented by various Jewish intellectuals and leaders. In some cases, the Jewish

discovery of the mountains went along with Ukrainian and Polish romantic and national thought.[2] The practice of visiting the mountains to build physical strength for a boy scout is reminiscent of similar Polish and Ukrainian practices. However, Baal Shem Tov's motive is more deeply rooted in Jewish spiritual tradition. The modern intellectuals, who study Baal Shem Tov, were inspired by his closeness to nature and border personality. Following in the footsteps of Baal Shem Tov helped them overcome the challenges of finding a place for Jewish identity in interwar Poland.

In this article, I will explore how the motif of the Baal Shem Tov in the mountains reappears in texts written by various Jewish authors – an ethnographer, a Yiddish leftist reporter, a Polish novelist, and a Yiddish poet – after their visit to the Carpathians from the 1920s until the 1960s. The discovery of each author began with a journey, for ethnographic research, reportage, or inspiration. They came from different backgrounds and represented different modern ideologies, but they shared a fascination with the mountains as a metaphysical and tangible frontier. The experience of the Baal Shem Tov, who underwent his transformation in the Carpathians, inspired thoughts about the possibilities of Jewish transformation. The Baal Shem Tov's connection to nature and the non-Jewish world on the one hand placed him beyond traditional Jewish society, but on the other hand did not alienate him. I argue that the figure of the Baal Shem Tov embodied the hopes of Jewish intellectuals for the ability to come to terms with Polish and Ukrainian society. They believed that the mountains offered various possibilities for interaction between Jews and non-Jews. Using the motif of the Baal Shem Tov, who was deeply connected to nature, the authors reject the common nationalist claim that Jews represented a civilization that spoils the mountains.

As the literary scholar Jagoda Wierzejska shows in her article, the Carpathians became an important theme in Polish interwar discourse as a „domestic landscape." By including the Carpathians in the historical narrative, on the one hand, and by presenting them as an exotic tourist destination, on the other, the Polish discourse represented in the guidebooks successfully made the mountains part of the national imagery, next to the Tatras.[3] The travel guidebooks praised the development of commercial mass tourism. However, as we will see below, the Ukrainian and Jewish intelligentsia criticized touristification, seeing it as a danger for the „right" tourists. These representatives of the intelligentsia defined „real" tourists in different ways but tried to distinguish their practices from those inscribed by the Polish national media.

If the process of imagining the Carpathians has already appeared in literature, Jewish themes are rarely found there. In her monograph, *The Carpathians: Discovering the Highlands of Poland and Ukraine* (2021), and numerous articles, historian Patrice Dabrowski provides some of the most important insights into the history of the discovery of the Carpathians.[4] Dabrowski does not single out the

Jewish imagination of the mountains, although the processes she describes in the context of the Tatry, the Chornohora, and the Bieszczady show the ways in which the mountains were appropriated by intellectuals. Since she talks a lot about the nationalization of the mountains, the Jews usually appear as the object of national narratives. One of Dabrowski's articles, for example, is devoted to the Jewish figure as it was represented in non-Jewish literature in the 19th century. She points out that in the early 20th century the Jew undergoes a transition from a mediating figure to an intruder, dissonant with nature.[5] I will use this „intruder" motif as one of the starting points for my analysis of the Jewish narratives of the Carpathians, perceiving the texts of interwar Jewish intellectuals as a response to the assertion that Jews are aliens in the mountains.

In her article on ethnography in the nationalizing state, Anna Engelking analyzes the case of the Jewish ethnographer Chaim Chajes (1902-194?) who was researching the Baal Shem Tov legends in the Carpathians. She emphasizes the difference between his multilingual and multicultural upbringing in Eastern Galicia and the nationalizing approach of the Polish state in the interwar period. Mentioning Chajes's research on the exchange of cultural beliefs between peasants and Jews in the Carpathians, Engelking notes that his scholarly lenses are class rather than national.[6] Not only did he fill in the gaps in Jewish ethnography, but he saw Jewish culture and culture in general in a methodologically different way, as one interrelated.

The figure of the writer Stanislaw Vincenz and his interest in the Jewish presence in the mountains attracted scholarly attention. Polish scholar Dorota Burda-Fischer analyzed Vincenz's writings before and after the war and explained that the writer used Jewish and especially Hasidic themes to emphasize the multicultural coexistence of different ethnicities in the mountains. He portrayed it through his own experience of witnessing Jewish life in the Carpathians during his childhood, as well as through later encounters with Jews.[7] Burda-Fischer shows how he selectively portrays relations between Jews and non-Jews as idyllic, avoiding mention of the conflicts and economic tensions that existed in the area. In his postwar writings, Vincenz did not write explicitly about the Holocaust, only alluding to the extermination of the local population.[8] In my article, I place his views on the multiculturalist in the context of the writings of contemporary Jewish writers and show how Vincenz was in constant dialogue with Jewish thought, but also inspired interest in the Baal Shem Tov among Jewish intellectuals. His use of the Baal Shem Tov figure as an example of the possibility of peaceful coexistence is in keeping with Jewish intellectual literature of the interwar period.

The literary scholar Efrat Gal-Ed researched how Baal Shem appeared in the poetry of the Jewish poet from Bukovina, Itzik Manger. Itzik Manger was a native of the Carpathian Mountains and therefore very sensitive to the rootedness of the Baal Shem legend in the local landscape. She compared the writings of Itzik Manger

about Jesus Christ with those about Baal Shem, treating them as counterparts.[9] Her insights into Manger are very important for understanding the poetry of Yankev Shternberg, since both poets were colleagues. The meeting of Baal Shem and Jesus in Shternberg's poetry acquires an additional meaning of competition because of the post-Holocaust perspective.

2 The Unapparent Jews

Throughout the 20th century, the Carpathians lay on shifting borders, and thus Jewish life in different parts of the Carpathians looked different, and each part was embedded in different cultural contexts. The most obvious and significant division in the interwar period was between former Galicia, which became part of the Polish Republic, and Transcarpathia, which became part of Czechoslovakia. After World War II, both territories were incorporated into the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Despite these multiple affiliations, the population has much in common with the strong Hasidic presence in history. Therefore, it is worthwhile to look at sources from both parts of the region - travelogues, ethnographic research, and fiction. The languages of the sources are Polish, Ukrainian, and Yiddish. The chronological frame focuses on the interwar period, which was crucial for the Jewish myth of the Carpathians. However, I also mention sources from the 19th century and provide an overview of the post-Holocaust image of the Jewish Carpathians.

Although Jews have lived in the Polish part of the Carpathians since the early modern period, their presence in narrative sources increases in the 19th century due to the development of ethnography and visits to the mountains. Polish data on the Eastern Carpathians indicate a stable Jewish presence in the *poviats* (districts) of Kolomyia, Kosiv, Nadvirna and Pechenizhyn in the Stanislawow Voivodeship, ranging from 5-7% of the population. In 1921 the Kosiv *poviat* had 7,275 Jews out of a population of 77,221 (9.4%). The town of Kosiv itself had 2,166 Jews (51.2%) and Verkhnii Yaseniv, mentioned by Vincenz, had 34 Jews (1.5%). The majority of the population was Greek Catholic, but in some places, such as Kuty, most of the non-Jews were Roman Catholics.[10] Among the various types of Jews living in the mountains, most lived in small villages south of Ivano-Frankivsk (Polish, Stanisławów), while some were among the urban middle class in small towns like Kolomyia. A few were wealthy, such as the Groedels family, the timber magnates who lived in Skole (now in Lviv Oblast). Jews in the villages worked the land, but also owned small shops. Some were winemakers or orchard owners. During the interwar period, non-Jewish observers most often encountered the Jews as hotel owners or hosts when they visited the mountains for leisure.[11]

At the same time, a number of political movements began to engage Jewish youth. Trips to the Carpathians and contact with nature became a deliberate instrument of the attempt to educate young people and draw them away from

the old shtetl life. Zionist organizations set up colonies in the Carpathians, giving Jewish youth the opportunity to spend a few weeks in nature. Nature was supposed to prepare them for future work in kibbutzim in Palestine, where they would work hard. Historian Kamil Kijek argues that this kind of experience was a symbol of the spiritual transformation of youth after their politicization.[12]

The Holocaust destroyed the Jewish population of both parts of the Carpathians, leaving only a few survivors, most of whom did not return after the war.

3 Baal Shem Tov

Israel ben Eliezer, better known as the Baal Shem Tov (1698-1760), was a key figure in the Hasidic religious movement that emerged at the end of the 18th century. He came from the Ukrainian region of Podolia, where he worked at various jobs, from kosher butcher to mohel. From a young age, Israel ben Eliezer was interested in learning Kabbalah. He came to the Carpathian region because of his wife Hana, who was a sister of Rabbi Gershon of Kuty, a small town near the mountains. It is said that Israel ben Eliezer began to meditate and isolate himself in the mountains. Later, he became famous as a healer and began to use the name Baal Shem Tov, a title that indicates his healing skills and abilities. His activities and charisma made him famous, and Baal Shem Tov was invited to live in Medzhybizh (Yiddish, Mezhbizh, Polish, Międzybóż).[13] The earliest source that tells us about Baal Shem Tov is a collection of the stories titled "Shivhei ha-Besht [In Praise of Baal Shem Tov]," written by Dov ben Samuel Baer in 1780-1810s, first published in 1814 in Hebrew and translated into Yiddish in 1815.[14] These stories are one of the first examples of the myth of the Baal Shem Tov, containing the main elements used in the later mythologization, including the mountain episode. According to the book, Besht [a portmanteau for Baal Shem Tov] lived in Tovste, but traveled to the mountains for isolation. He often fasted for long periods as a *hefsek* (interruption of the daily routine). When he was hungry, he would dig a small dugout and fill it with flour and water and bake it in the heat of the sun. This was his only meal after fasting. All these days he was alone.[15] The stories of Baal Shem Tov depict him as a person who is in the constant contact with the local highlanders. However, he does not fall a victim of the *opryshky* (bandits), thanks to the magical ability and the authority, which overcomes the rule of violence.

In other versions of the story, Baal Shem Tov moved to the Carpathians together with his wife. He stayed in a place called Gebirg, and she visited him on a cart, took clay he gathered and sold it in the city. Another story claims Baal Shem Tov had a distillery producing alcohol. Sometimes he went up to the hills, where he had a hut and spent his days fasting and then returned home for Shabbat.[16]

„In Praise of the Baal Shem Tov" does not mention the name of the mountains, but from the proximity of Tovste it is evident that they were the Carpathians. The mountains and nature helped him to achieve his revelations. Seclusion in

the mountains was not a typical practice for Jewish scholars, nor was being away from the community. In the stories, Israel ben Eliezer seems to be the rebel who breaks the rules, for example, by refusing to kiss the mezuza. His friends and the Jews of the Kuty community usually do not understand his behavior and only later discover his reasoning.

We do not know whether the authors discussed in the following articles have read "In Praise of the Baal Shem Tov." However, among the literature on Hasidism known to Stanislaw Vincenz were Martin Buber's writings on Hasidim, supposedly „The Legend of Baal Shem" (1908)[17] and the "History of Hasidism" (1931) by the Jewish historian from Russian Empire Shimon Dubnov.[18] These authors treated the mountain landscape in the story differently. In Martin Buber's fictionalized story, it does not play an important role. Stanislaw Vincenz criticized Martin Buber for his inability to give a sense of geography to the stories about the Baal Shem Tov, contrasting it with the sense of landscape in other biographical texts, such as „Little Flowers of St. Francis" (14th century).[19] A similar criticism appears in the later writings of the poet Itzik Manger, who also came from the Carpathian region and believed that the legend of Baal Shem Tov was inseparable from the mountainous landscape.[20] However, historian Simon Dubnov, in his book *The History of Hasidism*, vividly described the Carpathian Mountains and how the landscape influenced the personality of the Baal Shem Tov: „In this beautiful corner of the world, which was certainly more pristine and grandiose a hundred and fifty years ago than it is today; in this beautiful region, amidst high mountains, deep valleys, and dense, primeval forests, Israel Besht lived a quiet, contemplative life." The historian Ilia Lurie noted that although Dubnov never visited the Carpathians, he borrowed the idea of the connection between landscape and personality from Ernest Renan's *Life of Jesus*.[21] Furthermore, the explanation of the connection between the mountain landscape and the personality of the Baal Shem Tov is reflected in Stanislav Vincenz's approach.

4 Jochaim (Chaim) Chajes and Jewish Ethnography

It is noticeable that Jews, although living in the Carpathians, rarely appear in the pages of Polish and Ukrainian ethnographers who visited the mountains. When they do appear, the authors approach them in a negative way, describing the Jews as harmful to the local population, using either nationalist or Marxist terminology. For example, the Polish writer Oskar Kolberg, describing the Eastern Carpathians in the 1880s, mentioned the village of Porohy near Kolomyia, where only 40 Jewish families lived, but who owned the majority of the *polonyny* (upland pasture).[22] The Ukrainian ethnographer Volodymyr Shukhevych noted the growth of the Jewish population in the mountains in the 1880s and 1890s, after which the *polonyny* were bought from impoverished Hutsuls.[23] Despite his critical stance, his

work lends credence to the idea of Jewish-Gentile coexistence and shows how Jews served as intermediaries in the mountain villages.

In the interwar period, however, the new scholars of Jewish culture began to use other methods, such as collecting ethnographic evidence. One of the ethnographers born near the Carpathians, Chaim Chajes (Jochaim Chajes in the Polish version), studied Carpathian Jewish culture by exploring the myth of the Baal Shem Tov among Jews and non-Jews. Unlike most Jews who studied in the Polish gymnasium, he graduated from the Ukrainian gymnasium in Kolomyia. He studied at the Teachers' Seminary in Wilno (Vilnius) and at the University of Wilno, and in 1925 he became the secretary of the Ethnographic Commission of the Yiddish Scientific Institute (YIVO) there.[24] Chaim Chajes was the representative of the relatively new field of Jewish ethnography. Because of his linguistic and scholarly skills, he was able and willing to study Jewish culture in a non-Jewish context.

An example of his research is the 1934 study „Baal Shem Tov among Christians." The study has a broader introduction in which he explains the principles of cultural borrowing. He speaks mostly about the peasants, challenging the view that their attitude toward the Jews was suspicious and hostile. The first part of the article is full of examples of what Chajes calls „pietism," the feeling of pious respect that the peasants have for the Hasidic leaders, Jewish cemeteries, and synagogues.[25] His research question was to determine the transformation that Hasidic legends, selected by Christian followers of Tzadikim (wise men), underwent and brought into the Christian environment.

The central case of the research focused on the „motherland of Baal Shem Tov," namely the town of Verkhnii Yaseniv (Polish, Jesieniów). Chajes visited the area to collect the legends about Baal Shem Tov, which resulted in the publication in the *Jewish Monthly*. He used the gathering in the local *korchma* (tavern) to listen to the stories told by the Jewish tavern keeper and the peasants who visited the tavern after the Sunday liturgy. Chajes combined data he collected from Hutsuls in Verkhnii Yaseniv, Jews from nearby towns, and stories from Shivhei Ha-Besht. He was told in an inn that Besht blessed the Jews of Verkhnii Yaseniv so that they would always be safe from any attacks. Both Jewish and Christian residents could show the river Baal Shem used as a *mikvah* (ritual bathing place) and the cave in the mountains where he sat over his books. In the 1930s, however, the locals filled the cave with earth. Another popular motif concerns a cave that led between Kosiv (Polish, Kosów, Yiddish, Kosev) and Kuty (Yiddish, Kitev) to the Palestinian city of the Kabbalists, Safed. Besht used this road to visit Safed and to communicate with local scholars.[26] Others did not know this road, but once the Jews released a cow with a note, it returned and brought an answer. A similar legend about the secret road to Palestine existed about the village of Zabie (now Verkhovyna).

Chajes's approach was to show how Jewish and non-Jewish culture was exchanged in the local tavern. Unlike Polish and Ukrainian ethnographers, who

demonized the Jews selling alcohol, as those responsible for a moral degradation of the peasants, Chajes was fascinated by its possibilities for the cultural exchange.[27] He explored the story about a childless woman and explained how it was a mutual exchange between Jews and non-Jews. In Hutsul folklore, it was a story about a childless woman who visited Besht, and he said to her in Ukrainian: "Daj meni patynky, budesh maty dvi dytynky [Give me your slipper and you bear two children]." The same story existed in the Hasidic version, as a legend about Besht's daughter Hodla, who was also childless. Once, when Hasidim danced in their house, one of them lost his slipper and yelled to Hodla in Ukrainian: "Hodlo, podawaj mnie patynku, to budesh maty dytynku [Hodla, give me your slipper and you will bear a child]." Besht gave her a slipper and lates she bore a child. Chajes hypothesized that Hutsuls created the legend, including a Ukrainian phrase and only later it became part of Hasidic folklore.[28]

Unlike the authors discussed below, who focused on the figure of Baal Shem Tov himself, Chajes analyzed how the myth and memory of Baal Shem Tov showed the connections within rural Carpathian communities. For Chajes, Jewish and non-Jewish cultures benefit from this interaction, becoming richer and more complicated. In contributing to the field of Jewish ethnography, Chajes expanded it by showing Jewish culture as part of local society. The peasants and Jews in his research are not antagonistic sides, but members of one community.

5 Stanislav Vincenz: The Transforming Landscape

Such a fascination with the proximity of cultures can be found in the writings of the influential interwar Polish writer Stanislaw Vincenz (1888-1951), who was interested in Jewish culture in general and its relationship to the Carpathians. The writer, who grew up in Sloboda Rungurska and spent part of his childhood in the Carpathian Mountains, often used the figure of the Baal Shem Tov in his writings as an example of a person closely connected to nature. Well educated, Vincenz read the books about the Baal Shem Tov, but also collected the local Jewish and non-Jewish folklore. Although Vincenz was not a professional ethnographer like Chaim Chajes, some of his discoveries brought similar thoughts about the mutual influence of Jewish and Hutsul cultures. In one of his postwar essays, „Encounter with Hasidim" (1961), he tried to analyze the influence of Hutsul mythology on the Baal Shem Tov he remembered from his childhood. Vincenz claimed that Hutsuls were not interested in Jewish culture, but valued local stories from people who remembered Besht. These memories came from the Fiedeczko family, whose ancestors lived in the village of Verkhnii Yaseniv near the Chorny Cheremosh River and hosted Baal Shem. The Hutsuls also remembered the locations of places where Baal Shem meditated in isolation, namely forest caves and springs for ritual ablutions.[29]

Stanislaw Vincenz was the person who brought rabbi Markus Ehrenrpeis and

editor Leon Weinstock to the Carpathian trip in the search of Baal Shem Tov, serving as the guide and the medium in their discovery of the mountains.[30] The visit of Ehrenpreis, Weinstock, and Vincenz resembled a pilgrimage to a holy place. There was no gravestone, no synagogue or any other location which would have become a typical site of a Hasidic pilgrimage. The only thing they could see was nature: mountains, forests, and springs. In Weinstock's article about the trip for the newspaper *Chwila*, the beauty of the mountains and the life of Baal Shem blended. Moreover, in their belief, nature was why Baal Shem was able to achieve his revelation:

> *It becomes clear that, in general, the system of views of Besht, narrated by the Master's students, reflects the environment in which he lived in the comfort of mountain nests. When he went down barefoot to the valleys and preached his science in Tovste and Medzybizh, he remained himself, radiating the resilient, dust-free and clean air of the mountain space. Does not its simplicity and humility contain the whole meaning of those mountains and their inhabitants? From the mountains, from nature, which never freezes, because it is always resurging – immortal thoughts emerged.*[31]

Jewish intellectuals went to the Carpathians in search of a sense of connection with their surroundings, which they might lack in the cities. In the interview with *Chwila*, Ehrenpreis mentioned that the goal of his trip was not Poland, but Kosiv itself. They should have read „In Praise of the Baal Shem Tov," which portrays the Besht as a kind of rebel who left the community to find peace in the mountains and become a transformed healer. Rabbi Markus Ehrenpreis and editor Leon Weinstock were not rebels, but they longed for the seeming simplicity of life in nature. For them, the places of Baal Shem Tov did not have a historical value, since there were no traces to be found, but rather embodied the feeling of liberation associated with Baal Shem Tov.

Lviv Yiddish writer Rachel Auerbach wrote an essay on Stanislaw Vincenz, emphasizing how both he and Rabbi Marcus Ehrenpreis focused on Baal Shem Tov's connection to the Carpathian landscape. Vincenz was very close to the Jewish intellectual circles of Lviv, and in a way he brought a secular interest in Baal Shem Tov to them. For Vincenz, the figure of the Baal Shem Tov meant not only connection with nature, but also coexistence with others. One of the points of the essay is the crucial role of the mountains in developing the thought of Baal Shem:

> *Baal Shem Tov, the lonely wanderer and ascetic, owes many of his spiritual discoveries to the forest and mountains. He intuited such an encounter, longed for it and finally gained it not without effort. A Jewish inhabitant of a small town - who accordingly to his condition walked unarmed - would never have exposed himself to such danger, terrified at the very thought of so many wild animals and bands of robbers.*[32]

Rachel Auerbach treated Stanislaw Vincenz in a similar way he treated Baal

Shem Tov. She remarks the incredible interest of Pole Vincenz in the Jewish culture and explained it by the power of the mountain landscape:

> *Living in his village in the sub-Carpathian region, in close spiritual contact with the intellectual spheres of foreign countries, while remote from the stinking fumes of hatred, stupefying various individuals, groups, parties, Mr. Vincenz can afford to completely ignore them.*[33]

The remoteness of the area and the proximity of nature seem to be the way to avoid the interethnic conflicts and Stanislaw Vincenz becomes a continuation of such an ability to overcome the hatred.

Vincenz was one the first to notice the entangled culture of Hasidic mysticism, which took inspiration in the music of their surroundings. One of the scenes Vincenz witnessed included the discussion of magic between peasants and Hutsuls, who shared the same idea of magic principles. Vincenz took inspiration for this idea from Buddhism. Unlike Polish and Ukrainian ethnographers of the past, Vincenz did not consider the Jewish presence in the Carpathian Mountains as harmful to the Hutsuls. Moreover, his vision of Jewish-Hutsul coexistence is rather idyllic.

6 Mastboym: The Threat of Civilization

Tourists who visited the mountains in the 19th and 20th centuries often encountered Jews. There is a travelogue by the Ukrainian mathematician Volodymyr Levytskyi (1872-1956), who traveled along the Carpathians by bicycle in 1925, where he encountered Jews as guests or owners of various hotels and boarding houses. He criticized the abundance of these hotels, along with dance halls and other forms of popular entertainment, in the small towns of the Carpathians, such as Yaremche and Vorokhta. For Levytskyi, Jews symbolized „European" culture, which he felt was detrimental to the authentic beauty of the Carpathians. He published an article in the Ukrainian newspaper *Dilo* (The Issue) about his first trip to Chornohora, the highest part of the range in Galicia. Levytskyi contrasts „real tourists" who go to the mountains to appreciate their natural beauty with Jewish seasonal tourists who bring and promote an urban type of culture. For him, Chornohora was the last refuge of such authenticity, unlike Dora and Yaremche, which became the first victims of civilization.[34] For Levytskyi, Jews are the alien element in the mountains, the one that causes urban turmoil and reminds of interethnic relations that tourists want to forget.

Jewish tourists in the Carpathians faced a similar problem but verbalized it in a different way. The Jewish reporter from Warsaw, Yoel Mastboym (1882-1957), visited Galicia in 1928 to write several articles for the Warsaw newspaper *Literarishe bleter* (Literary Pages), which were later collected in a book. He traveled throughout Galicia, from the large cities of Lviv, Krakow, and Stanisławów, to many small towns. He dedicated three of his articles to the Galician Carpathians

(generally speaking, the province of Stanisławów), describing different ways in which Jews encountered the mountains. His first essay, „The Place Where Rabbi Israel Baal Shem Tov Lived," was dedicated to Kuty, a small town already known to many Jews as the residence of the Hasidic founder. Mastboym expected to see the traces of Baal Shem Tov's legacy, or at least to observe Hasidim in Kuty - he also visited Hasidic courts in Belz and Chortkiv and tried to communicate with Hasidim there. However, in the place that was crucial to Baal Shem Tov's spiritual growth, there was no real Hasidic practice:

> *If there are still traces of Baal Shem in Vyzhnytsia and Hasidic niggunim (religious songs) can be heard around between Vyzhnytsia and Kuty, in Kuty, there is no longer any spark of Hasidic exaltation. People are Viennese-type, polite and German-speaking, without any sentiments, neither for Hasidim nor for a simple Yiddish word. Half or fully assimilated. I wanted to meet real Hasidim here, but I met only Viennese girls with canes in their hands, good Viennese schnitzel and Romanian wine, moreover: I was looking for the cemetery where such famous people as Gershon Kitover, and Moshe Kitover are buried. It is terribly abandoned and even without a proper fence.*[35]

Unlike the author himself, they had neither passion for Baal Shem Tov nor even spoke Yiddish. Ironically, the only local person he meets who cares about the town's Baal Shem Tov heritage is a Christian man named Yekl, who speaks Yiddish.[36]

Mastboym, being a Warsaw journalist, perceived Jewish Galicia with an orientalizing gaze, as a source of traditional Jewish wisdom. However, he was as disappointed as the real existing Carpathians since local Jews seemed too modernized, too civilized, and looked toward Vienna rather than Yiddishkeit. His disappointment in Kuty makes his article similar to non-Jewish narratives, which saw the interwar Carpathians as spoiled by civilization and, ironically, Jews.[37] Ukrainian observers perceived Jews mainly as owners of the hotels, and thus their presence was in contrast to the "true nature" of the local inhabitants and their environment. Mastboym shared this contempt for the spoiled material world. However, his admiration of nature was strongly connected with the admiration of Baal Shem. If he was not able to see the Hasidic culture, nature would substitute it for him. He visited the Kamenne gorge, where he described the beautiful sound of mountain springs: "He who has visited Kamenne solely for a minute, could believe that Baal Shem could have been here [too]."[38]

For Mastboym, the problem of forgetting the heritage of the Baal Shem Tov is related to the acculturation of Jews and their adherence to Austrian culture. For him, as for the activist of Yiddish culture, the Yiddish language was a way to preserve traditional Jewish thought. He visited the Carpathians in the hope that the birthplace of the Baal Shem Tov would bear the traces of Yiddishkeit. Similarly to Markus Ehrenpreis and Leon Weinstock, he was inspired by nature, which reminded him of the mysticism of Baal Shem Tov. It is no coincidence that his guide in the

mountains is a non-Jew, for the myth and influence of Baal Shem Tov transcends national boundaries. But Mastboym is also responding, perhaps unintentionally, to the common prejudice that Jews spoil the authenticity of the mountains. The Baal Shem Tov was a symbol of the Jew who was not alienated from nature, on the contrary, his teaching made him part of the springs and the mountains. Following in his footsteps allows Yoel Mastboym to go beyond the usual visitor experience in the mountains and not to be associated with either Jewish tourists from Vienna or commercially involved Jewish residents of Kosiv. Thus, his research trip also resembled a pilgrimage, as in the case of Markus Ehrenpreis, Stanislaw Vincenz, and Leon Weinstock. He did not seek the Baal Shem Tov as a Hasid, but rather as a secular person who wanted to escape the hostile world of civilization.

For Mastboym, the threat of civilization meant indifference to Jewish culture. We can compare his view with Rachel Auerbach's explanation of Vincenz's sensitivity to other cultures, which was possible because he lived in a small village. These two views show a similar attempt to see the mountains as a refuge from the dangers of acculturation or involvement in hostile ideologies. This refuge, however, does not presuppose national indifference, but rather mutual respect for other cultures.

7 Yankev Shternberg and the Carpathians after the Holocaust

The tragedy of the Holocaust influenced texts about Jews in the Carpathians, presenting their stories either explicitly or implicitly as a tragedy. After the Holocaust, the Carpathians continued to appear in literature - memoirs, essays, fiction - as an imagined Jewish space. The text „Jewish Themes," written by Stanislav Vincenz in 1961 and analyzed above, is a memoir of a lost world, but it does not have the flavor of tragedy.[39] The Holocaust and the destruction of the Jewish communities in the Carpathians challenge the trope of peaceful coexistence, undermining the image of the mountains as a space of peaceful coexistence.

I would like to follow the Baal Shem Tov trope and see its interpretation in post-Holocaust literature. In 1968, the Romanian author Yankev Shternberg (1890-1973), who wrote in Yiddish, dedicated his collection of poems *Songs and Ballads of the Carpathians* to the mountains. The book, published by the communist Yiddish publishing house „Oyfsnay" in Paris, consisted of two parts, the first of which was written in the early 1920s about the Transylvanian part of the mountains, then in Romania. The second appeared in 1963, when Yankev Shternberg visited the Carpathians in Soviet-controlled Western Ukraine.[40] Yankev Shternberg was a Yiddish poet and theater director born in Bessarabia. Before the war, he lived in Bucharest in Kishinev. Shternberg survived the war in the evacuation of Tashkent and moved to Moscow, but was imprisoned in 1949 as part of a campaign against Jewish writers. After his release in 1954, Shternberg moved to Moscow.[41] Many of the poems in *Songs and Ballads of the Carpathians* are dedicated to nature, and Shternberg criticizes the negative attitude of modern poets to the description of

nature and tries to justify his sensibility. However, one of the most exciting poems is not inspired by landscapes, but by the tragedy of the Holocaust. In the Soviet Union, any mention of the Holocaust was strictly limited by the state. Since the tragedy did not fit into the official memory of the war as the Great Patriotic War, the term „peaceful Soviet citizens" prevailed on monuments and in literature to describe the victims. However, 1961 saw the appearance of the famous poem „Babi Yar" by the Russian poet Yevheny Yevtushenko.

For this reason, or perhaps because the book was published in Paris and not in the Soviet Union, Shternberg was able to refer openly to the Holocaust in the Carpathians. In the introduction, he explains this as an attempt to add social themes to his lyrics about landscapes. „In these poems is included my *kaddish* (a prayer of sanctification, usually said when mourning the dead) for that part of the Galician Jews who were killed in the terrible years of the war in those places that form the background of my *Songs and Ballads*.[42] The use of the *kaddish* motif shows us that the poem was not intended for a secular Soviet audience. The Carpathian landscape is no longer a peaceful place for Shternberg. He cannot stop thinking about the destruction of the communities and of the poets, such as Moshe Leib and Moshe Nadir. And the other figure is Baal Shem Tov, „who is connected in our consciousness with those Carpathians."[43] However, at the end of the section on the Holocaust (the term was never used), Shternberg justifies that his use of the Baal Shem Tov motif is not for the sake of mysticism or symbolism. The description of the national tragedy (*folks-tragediye*) is meant to embody the reaction against fascism and the counterrevolution.

The title of the poem „Between Kosev and Kitev: A Carpathian Fantasy" refers to the Hasidic song „Between Kosev and Kitev," which describes the Carpathians as the place of the revelation of the Baal Shem Tov. The brick, the river, and the birds in the song become witnesses to Baal Shem's meditation and thus serve as holy places. In the published version, the poem consists of more than one hundred stanzas (with the notation that this is a shorter version), in which he mixes the stories of Baal Shem with the events of the Holocaust. The poem repeats a verse several times:

Oyf a barg shteyt a boym,

shteyt er ongeboygn,

zint gezen r`hot dem bal-shem

Mit farveynte oygn

There stands a tree,

Standing bent down,

Since it has seen Baal Shem

With eyes full of tears

This verse, which imitates a Yiddish folk song, contains the main element of Shternberg's imagination of the Jewish Carpathians - the connection with folk tradition and nature, which reacts to Baal Shem's mood and mourns with him for the dead Jews. The setting of the poem is fantastic, depicting Baal Shem in the Carpathians at the time of the Holocaust as a figure that transcends time. He is embedded in nature, speaking to the forest and the birds. His eyes are full of tears because he is a witness of the Holocaust. One of the stanzas describes the synagogues, empty of Jews, and only their bones should go to make *slikhes* (prayers of forgiveness).[44] Baal Shem tries to protect the Jews, but he has no magical power to do so. This motif of Baal Shem trying to protect the Jews appeared in Elie Wiesel's introduction to his book *The Gates of the Forest* (1964). As Wiesel says, if Baal Shem had seen the danger to the Jews, he would have prayed in the forest to perform a miracle and avert the tragedy.[45]

In the remainder of the poem, Baal Shem collaborates with the farmer Vasyl, who, like Baal Shem Tov himself, is believed to be the one who knew the Hebrew language and the language of plants. We may see this motif of a gentile who knows Hebrew and works with Baal Shem Tov recurring in the mythology of Baal Shem. The figure of Vasyl reminds us of a Yekl, the Christian man from Kosiv, fascinated by Baal Shem and described by Mastboym.[46] Such a person does not fit in the normatively prescribed relations between Jews and Christians and thus seems as someone, who transcend the natural order of the things, as well as Baal Shem by himself. However, there appears very different Jewish figure. When Baal Shem tries to rescue Jewish child in his cart, at one point bringing them to the monastery, the Jesus Christ himself steps from the altar. The Christ says that he is jealous for Baal Shem and attempt to kill him with a sword, in reply of which Baal Shem hits him with a shoe.[47] This scene and the involvement of Christ recalls the poetry of Itzik Manger, who was a colleague and great influence on Shternberg. Shternberg verbalizes the competition between Jesus and Baal Shem that was implicit in Manger's poetry. His depiction of Christ, however, is much darker than Manger's, full of anger and pain. Baal Shem says that the Christ has a "Nazi nose" linking him to the tragedy that is happening.

For Sternberg, the Jewish tradition and the metaphor of Baal Shem is the way to accept and speak openly about the tragedy of the Holocaust. In Shternberg's poem, Baal Shem, who spent most of his life not in the Carpathians but in Podolia, is connected to the land through his merging with nature. His approach to the

Carpathians remained deeply rooted in their Hasidic mythology and traditional character. However, Shternberg's poem presupposes the failure of the Carpathians as a safe and intercultural space.

8 Conclusions

During the interwar period of the 20th century, Jewish and non-Jewish intellectuals developed the Jewish mythology of the Carpathians, which differed from Polish and Ukrainian images of the mountains. In non-Jewish national discourses, Jews in the mountains were considered either irrelevant to the ethnography of the minority, or foreigners who disturbed nature by establishing commercial enterprises. Jewish mountain mythology, on the other hand, rediscovered the myth of the Hasidic leader Baal Shem Tov to address, perhaps unintentionally, the accusation of Jews as an unnatural part of the mountains. His imagery of the mountains challenges the idea of representing them as a national land and creates a view of the space of harmony and idyllic coexistence. The figure of the Baal Shem Tov, as someone who challenged traditional hierarchies and relationships, inspired this imaginative process.

The personality of the Baal Shem Tov was connected to the mountainous landscape, which, due to the mystical power of nature, stimulated the transformation of the Hasidic leader. The authors and researchers of his biography emphasized the influence of the landscape on the person, which appeared in the writings about other people. Thus, traveling to the mountains became a way to get closer to the mysticism of Hasidism and to understand and revive the story of the Baal Shem Tov. However, the intellectuals who made these trips were unique visitors to the Carpathians. They criticized the tourist approach to the mountains as a civilizational threat to the spirituality and authenticity of the mountains. Even the Jewish tourists treated the land of the Baal Shem Tov commercially, neglecting its Hasidic heritage. The intellectuals were not Hasidic pilgrims either. They never mentioned actual Hasidic pilgrimages in connection with the Carpathians. Even Rabbi Marcus Ehrenpreis, a Reform rabbi, sought inspiration for his book on the landscape. Nor were the visitors nationalists who wanted to claim the mountains as their own or to train in the mountains for future work in kibbutzim.

Yoel Mastboym, Stanislaw Vincenz, Chaim Chajes and Yankev Shternberg did not belong to a single group. What they shared, however, was an approach to the mountains as a symbolic refuge and frontier space. Far from the cities, the mountains bore no traces of the political ideologies that fought each other in harsh newspaper articles, political settings, and physical violence. However, this refuge did not presuppose a refusal to be associated with Jewish culture. The figure of the Baal Shem Tov, the subversive Hasidic philosopher who undermined traditional authority while developing Jewish thought, was the perfect metaphor for this rediscovery.

The rediscovery of the mountains was also actively practiced by the authors. All of them treated the mountainous landscape as an active force in the rebirth of the Baal Shem Tov, and wanted to understand it, or perhaps even relive it, by visiting the places of the Baal Shem Tov themselves, focusing mainly on Kosiv, Kuty, and Jaseniv. In some cases, the local Jews became a source of stories about the Baal Shem Tov, but the most important was a landscape that bore invisible traces of the Baal Shem presence. However, if for the pre-war writers this landscape was reminiscent of a supranational land that is not Polish, Ukrainian, or even Jewish, the land that helps to transcend all prejudices, for Yankev Shternberg the landscape, still the land of Baal Shem Tov, became a painful reminder of the destruction of the communities. In Yankev Shternberg's writings, Baal Shem remains an integral part of the landscape. However, he is now a figure of mourning, and the entire landscape is not a place of refuge, but a reminder of the unspeakable tragedy that took place there.

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The National Ecology of the Carpathians in Soviet Ukrainian Cinema: Between Hutsul Ethnography and the Magic of the Mountains[1]

by Joshua First

This article frames the Carpathian Mountains in Ukrainian cinema within a broader discourse of "mountains and meaning," both within Soviet Ukraine, and within global nationalisms during the first half of the 20th century. Within this discourse, mountains are simultaneously transcendent spaces imbibed with religious and national meaning, but also spaces of commerce and tourism. This article examines the intersections of those spaces in three different eras of Ukrainian cinema, during the Second World War; the post-war era; and the 1960s. I ground these films in global processes of mountain fetishism, within which the mountains move between containment and porousness.

Keywords: cinema, Ukraine, Osyka, Ivchenko, Levchuk, Riefenstahl, Carpathians, Hutsuls

As Alexander Kratochvil, Vladislava Moskalets, Ksenya Kiebuzinski, Martin Rohde and Herbert Justnik have noted in this issue, the Carpathians have long become a site of meaning production for a myriad of different groups, some understood as insiders and some as outsiders. Through the lens of photography and literature, we have seen how the Carpathians function alternately as a space of ethnographic fascination, as a transcendent space for communion with nature and the gods, and as a space of leisure and tourism.[2] Finally, many of the scholars in this issue, particularly Roman Lozynskyi, remind us, the Carpathians are also home, regardless of any deeper meaning others may place on this space. In this article, I wanted to explore the idea of "mountains and meaning" within the subaltern space of post-war Soviet Ukrainian cinema. Since the 1940s, when the Northeastern Carpathians (including Bukovyna, Pokuttia and Zakarpattia) were incorporated into the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, filmmakers in the republic attempted to channel 19th and early 20th-century Carpathophilia into the Marxist-Leninist framework of Soviet ideology.

At the same time, we can understand these and other attempts to impose meaning on the mountains as part of a global and trans-historical fascination with *terra incognita*, in order to construct a national or nationalist ecology, here defined as a form of environmental ownership, a sense that environmental protection derives from the logic of national traditions and the historical development of

the native people. And like all nationalist ecologies, they involve a politics of the gaze - a politics that involves certain people looking and a certain other (humans, animals, or ecosystems in their totality) being looked at. But what is the promise of looking? The promise is to find some sort of connection with the other in a process of identification and then recognition. Cinema is not unique in this task, nor is it even the most emblematic, but it simultaneously accentuates and devalues the authenticity of the object of its gaze, in line with Walter Benjamin's conception in "The Work of Art in the Era of Mechanical Reproduction" and Theodor Adorno's "The Jargon of Authenticity." Whereas earlier forms of cultural production (religious texts, the novel, as well as the travelogue) advanced an opaque and objective claim to the authenticity of its representation of the mountain, the cinema is built on self-conscious and subjective artifice even as it continues to mobilize and imitate earlier discourses of "mountains and meaning."

Ancient and early modern texts continually represented the mountain as a space of divine communion, from the Roman god Vulcan's forge on Mount Etna, to Moses's conversation with the burning bush on Mount Sinai and Muhammad's cavernous meeting with Allah in Mount Hira. Petrarch famously initiated the Italian Renaissance with his scaling of Mont Ventoux, as a man who undertook the feat only for the inspiration of the view itself (a view for the view's sake). More recently, the visual arts have been instrumental in providing humans with meaning about mountains, with German Romanticists at the forefront of this movement to represent mountains as mystical yet dangerous, a space of solitude and self-reflection for the civilized individual, yet inhabited by the so-called noble savage. Casper David Friedrich's "Wanderer above the Sea of Fog" (1818) is one of the most notable Romantic representations of mountains, with its blurred, quasi-heavenly landscape and intrepid but long-suffering adventurer who scaled the land above the sky. The genre matured with the work of mid-century German-American Albert Bierstadt who painted the landscapes of the American West now sacralized as *National* Parks. Also influenced by German Romanticism, the mid-19th-century Polish writer Józef Korzeniowski brought the mountain theme to the Slavic world with his play, "The Carpathian Highlanders," which, for one of the first times in modern Europe, merged landscape and people into a single frame and created what we might call an "ethnoscape." Ethnoscapes functioned in many literary and visual texts from the early 20th century, as other scholars here have pointed out. Key to understanding this work's relationship to the cinema is how they are essentially teaching us to be spectators, teaching us not only how to see, but also what is worth seeing. As the English historian Keith Thomas has argued, mountains were once ugly for Europeans to look at, and understood as simply uncivilized. After all, in Friedrich's "Wanderer," the subject is not the mountains, it's the gentleman spectator, which tells us that we too *should* look at these dangerous and ugly stone formations.

In the 20th century, mountains became democratized in their ability to convey meaning, opening this space to the urban masses for adventure, travel, tourism, but Western modernity also promoted the idea of untainted nature and new-age understandings of healing.[3] Capitalism, nationalism and deep ecology simultaneously produced a mountain that is an exceptional eco-space, a space that is at once emblematic of, but also distinct from, the nation more generally. But similar to both earlier and more modern notions of "mountains and meaning" is the idea of a space separate from "civilization," as mysterious and unknown. The mountain as a kind of "anti-civilization" can be read in two ways, often simultaneously: as both pure and authentic, on the one hand, but also UNcivilized and dangerous, on the other.

1 Leni Riefenstahl's Mountains and the Fascist Aesthetic

The German *Bergfilm* (Mountain Film), standing on the creative precipice of late-Weimar and early National Socialism, took its cue from the Romantic tradition too. Mountains become meaningful because they highlight the collision of an authentic *Gemeinschaft* with the mapping and defining powers of the rational individual employing the tools of modern technology. In essence, the *Bergfilm* was a genre of looking and being looked at. Leni Riefenstahl, who made *Triumph of the Will* (1935) and *Olympia* (1938) for the Nazi regime, got her start in the *Bergfilm* as an actress in Arnold Fanck's many examples of the genre, *The Holy Mountain* (1926), *Storm over Mount Blanc* (1930), and *The White Ecstasy* (1931). She then went on to direct her own *Bergfilm*, the emblematic *Blue Light* (1932), the best example of the late-Weimar nationalist ecology in that it "transforms exterior landscapes into emotional spaces," as Eric Rentschler argues,[4] something we have already seen in Friedrich's "Wanderer." Riefenstahl's directorial debut concerns a young woman, Junta (played by Riefenstahl herself), who has been cast out of her native village for being a witch. She resides in a mountain cave that emits a blue light during the full moon, which supposedly lures young men from the village to seek out its source, only to die in the climb to get there. One day, a landscape painter from the city comes to the village, where he hears of Junta. After meeting her, he falls in love with her natural beauty, even though they speak different languages (she Italian, he German). One full moon night, he follows her, in secret, to the source of the blue light, where he finds her among the crystals that produce the aura. The painter rushes to tell the villagers of the treasures that exist in their midst, and they proceed to steal them when Junta is away. After realizing what has happened, she falls to her death in grief. The painter, in this film, is a common tourist, bringing modernity to the isolated mountain village through his discovery of the crystals. Moreover, the film is mediated through the painter's views of the exotic space - he teaches us, the spectator, how to look and why we should look at the mountains. The imagery of the mountains is straight from 19th-century painting with its cliff

faces and mountain valleys shrouded in mist.

Figure 1. Leni Riefenstahl's The Blue Light (1932). Film still.

In her famous essay "Fascinating Fascism," American cultural critic Susan Sontag argued that Riefenstahl's mountain aesthetics were part and parcel with her more explicitly Nazi films like *Triumph of the Will*. Sontag's notion of the "fascist aesthetic" reads ideal political power as a "natural" phenomenon, unhindered by "civilization." As she defined it, "fascist aesthetics" involves "turning people into things; … the grouping of people and things around an all-powerful, hypnotic force…"[5] While Sontag understood the problem of "mountains and meaning" all too well, she nonetheless diagnosed common symptoms as a disease that was much too specific. In highlighting the *Bergfilm*, I do not mean to suggest a "guilt by association" for Soviet Ukrainian cinema, but to reveal how fluid ideas of national ecology are across time and space.

2 Oleksandr Dovzhenko's Mountains

Dovzhenko's teleological humanism, based equally on conviction and compromise, contrasted sharply with the nationalist ecology of German filmmakers working on mountain thematics in the late-1920s and early-1930s. The first iconic mountain in Ukrainian cinema is arguably Oleksandr Dovzhenko's *Zvenyhora* (1927), which presents a mountain that contains mysterious riches, the location of which a group of 18th-century rebels (*haidamaky*) attempt to discover from an old man. Zvenyhora stands in for Ukraine itself and the old man functions as the repository of knowledge about the land, while also being an isolated and gullible eccentric. The film is famously difficult to comprehend, not only in terms of the plot but also the contradictory message contained in the central symbol of the mountain - scheming *haidamaky* and amoral nationalists pursue the overdetermined treasure, while Tymish, the social hero, could care less about Zvenyhora. In this way, Dovzhenko's nationalist ecology confronts his teleological humanism, and Soviet authorities were unimpressed with the result.

Figure 2. Oleksandr Dovzhenko's Bukovyna, a Ukrainian Land (1939). Film still.

A decade later, Dovzhenko was one of the first Ukrainian filmmakers to travel to the newly-annexed Carpathian territories to make his documentary *Bukovyna, zemlia ukrainska* (*Bukovyna, a Ukrainian Land*, 1939). The film opens with a traditional establishing shot of mountain valleys before cutting to peasants sowing grain. A narrator discusses the joyful yet sorrowful nature of the Bukovynian peasants, the camera pausing on a young man: "Here is an illiterate and ignorant boy (*temnyi parubok*)." Yet, this is also a land that the "poets call paradise." More images of mountain vistas, sheep, and finally the sound of the *trembita*, the alpine horn of the Hutsuls, with the narrator returning us to the primitive ethnoscape of the mountain, a society whose foundation is related to honor and blood. In Dovzhenko's history lesson, the Carpathians become a site of brutal massacres of the Hutsuls at the hands of their conquerors - Mongols, Austrians, Poles, and most recently, the oppressive Romanians. This mountainous "paradise" had become the "hell [lit. underworld or *preispodnyaya*] of Europe." Throughout these early scenes, the diagonal landscape is associated with oppression. When the Red Army arrives, however, liberation occurs on a horizontal landscape. The peasants shed their highlander dress for generically Soviet peasant clothing. Without the landowners and capitalism, loggers now work efficiently to fell trees, which are then made into boards and plywood at a factory in Chernivtsi. Dovzhenko soon forgets about the mountain itself in favor of a cultural ethnography of the Bukovynian people, now freed from their oppression and able to perform their folk arts and crafts while being educated and lifted out of poverty. Dovzhenko had abandoned his nationalist ecology, largely to stay alive, a compromise that allowed him to make another film about Ukraine, albeit from his exile in Moscow. But it is worth dwelling on the transition that happens in this film. At the beginning of the film, the peasants of Bukovyna are oppressed by not only the Romanians but also by the landscape itself. Dovzhenko suggests that the landscape is to be looked at, not to be inhabited. By the end, however, they have overcome their ecological subjugation too, and he no longer commands us to look at them. Hutsuls now inhabit schools and factories

rather than the laborious valleys and dangerous mountain sides.

3 The Historic Carpathians: Viktor Ivanov's "Oleksa Dovbush"

The mountain theme receded from Soviet and Soviet Ukrainian cinema during the 1940s and 1950s,[6] and only returned with Viktor Ivanov's 1959 feature about 18th-century Hutsul rebel Oleksa Dovbush, a generically, stylistically, and narratively conventional picture, but here the mountains define the man and have clear agency. As a popular historical epic, the film located a primordial struggle between Ukrainians and Poles among the Carpathian Hutsuls. Dovbush, the legendary 18thcentury bandit-turned-rebel leader of the highlanders, defends the Hutsuls against the arbitrary will of the Polish *szlachta* (nobility). After taking a blood oath to an older rebel to avenge his comrades' deaths at the hand of Pan Jablonski, Dovbush leaves his life of petty crime to gather a group of Hutsul revolutionaries. Upon first meeting the lord, Dovbush easily subdues him in a sword fight, but spares his life after a promise to return the peasants' livestock. Jablonski initially follows through with his promise, but later kills Dovbush's parents in revenge. He eventually tracks down the pan, killing him, but in Dovbush's flight from the castle, his fiancé, Marichka, is captured. Dovbush's men, in turn, capture Jablonski's widow, and offer the Poles an exchange. After another series of double-crossings, Dovbush breaks into the tower to free his love, only to be stabbed in the back by his friend Shtefan. The latter had made a pact with a Polish priest, who promised to marry the latter to Marichka, his long-time crush. After leaving victorious, Marichka and Dovbush's men lead their dying leader to the mountains, where he disappears with Marichka over the horizon.

The original draft of the screenplay for *Oleksa Dovbush* made its nationalist ecology much clearer than the film released in Soviet theaters. In the screenplay, for example, the narrator associated highland and highlander together, as the credits roll in front of a montage of a forested mountain vista:

> *The Carpathian Mountains, like deep wrinkles in the ancient face of the land. From time immemorial, children of the one mother Ukraine lived here until the Polish, Austrian, Hungarian, and Wallachian lords seized this land, tore it to pieces, and divided it among themselves. How much suffering did our brother-heroes experience in captivity, but they did not give in, and were not annihilated. Anger was excavated from the hearts of the people, like those springs from mountain cliffs, and came down like a merciless sword on the heads of the oppressors. Two hundred years ago, this anger had a human name. They called him Oleksa Dovbush…*[7]

In 1959, only a Russian-language version screened in theaters, but the Oleksandr Dovzhenko National Film Center restored the original Ukrainian version in 2015 (with public screenings in Lviv and Kyiv) with this text at the beginning.[8] The Russian-language version, however, toned down the language of "one mother

Ukraine" in favor of a Russian imperial version of history, which emphasized the legacy of Kyivan Rus and the shared fates of Ukraine and Russia.

Nonetheless, the visual cues of the mountain's agency remained a dominant trend in the film. For example, when Oleksa is recruiting rebels to fight the Polish nobility, he challenges his recruits to walk across a mountain gulch on a felled tree between two peaks, as if to allow the mountains themselves to decide who is worthy to join. Moreover, the mountain also functions as a sacred space, and Dovbush's men carry his dying body into the mountains. Instead of a burial, the social hero disappears into the landscape, suggesting that the mountains' divine presence whisked him away in a whirlwind, much like the prophet Elijah's departure in the biblical account depicted 2 Kings chapter 2. Ivanov's *Dovbush* was a mainstream success in 1959, with over 23 million viewers, and it more properly functioned as Soviet spectators' introduction to the significance of the Ukrainian Carpathians.

Figure 3. Viktor Ivanov's Oleksa Dovbush (1959). Film still.

Also generically significant is *Oleksa Dovbush*'s dialogue with the conventions and iconography of the Western in its representation of a frontier society with tenuous connections to a political center. Like the Western, the physical and cultural space of the film is located in the borderlands of two states, in this case Poland and Russia. Yet both spaces have shifted in context. Instead of Enlightenment-era St. Petersburg and Warsaw, Left-Bank Ukraine stands in for Russia and Pan Jablonski's remote outpost of aristocratic decadence and violence stands in for Poland. This Western-like iconography of vigilante on horseback, high cliff faces, immoral gentlemen, and the damsel in distress would have been familiar to Soviet audiences in the 1950s. Thus, we might see Ivanov's film as an attempt to emulate the epic Hollywood Western of the 1950s, while sufficiently adapting it to the ethno-historical context of the Russian Imperial and Polish "frontier." In this Imperial Western, however, Ukraine as a nation largely disappears, even though this was not the intention of screenwriter Liubomyr Dmyterko. Dmyterko wrote the script already in 1940 and director Amvrosii Buchma intended *Oleksa Dovbush* to fit with

the celebration of Ukrainian Reunification that also brought us Dovzhenko's film about Bukovyna.

Ivanov's changes made the film more marketable to a Soviet mass audience, but critics contemned the film for the absence of a Carpathian ethnoscape. Russian critic Nina Ignat'eva wanted to see more "Hutsul color" in the film.[9] Here, despite the fairly democratic historical teleology (Eastern and Western Ukrainians uniting, without the help of the Russian state, to eliminate Polish aristocratic injustice) of a chapter leading toward Ukrainian unification, critics largely picked up on the film's ability (or lack thereof) to represent these human objects accurately and authentically. As Ignat'yeva suggests, it is the filmmaker's gaze that catalogs and defines such authenticities.

Sergei Parajanov also wrote about his Dovzhenko Studio colleague's earlier film a few years after his success with *Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors* (1964). In the article "Perpetual Motion," Parajanov's main published work of film theory, the director caustically wrote that Ivanov and his crew "came to the Carpathians cinematically educated. More importantly, they drew it with exotic and decorative motifs, but we did not recognize any Hutsuls in the film. We did not see their gait, did not hear their charming speech, and the movement of thought."[10] Parajanov counterposed his conception of ethnographic authenticity with filmmakers' specialized knowledge of cinematic technique and generic conventions. Parajanov wrote in his article that aesthetic "power is [located] in the authentic object," and here it seems he could alternately be speaking about the keptar or the Hutsul himself. Parajanov took particular offense to the "inauthentic" language of Oleksa Dovbush. Hutsuls should not speak either perfect Russian or Ukrainian, despite the problem of comprehension that dialect presented. Whereas *Oleksa Dovbush* employs the sounds of the *trembita* (alphorn), *floiar* (Carpathian flute), and *drymba* (Jew's harp)– the traditional instruments of the Hutsuls – it does so exclusively with the accompaniment of a symphonic score more characteristic of classical narrative cinema. While Ivanov's film occasionally uses dialectal terms and phrases, especially to characterize priests and older Hutsuls, the bulk of the dialogue in the originally screened version is spoken in flawless literary Russian.

With Parajanov's *Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors*, the idea of the Carpathians enters a different stylistic and narrative field, and Ukrainian cinema about the mountains leaves the mainstream and enters an artistic niche that we know of as Ukrainian Poetic Cinema. Leaving aside this most famous example of Carpathophilia (because the dialectic of "mountains and meaning" is self-evident in much of *Shadows*), I now want to situate this search for "mountains and meaning" within mainstream Soviet Ukrainian cinema at the end of the 1960s, but also contextualize it within a broader popular cultural fascination with mountain tourism in the USSR.

4 Western Recognition of the Historic Carpathians: Tymofii Levchuk's "Balzac's Mistake"

I chose two unexpected films to focus on here because I think they represent precisely that - the mainstreaming of fascination with the Carpathians in Soviet Ukraine during the 1960s. These films take us away from the national-aesthetic project of Ukrainian poetic cinema and toward the conventions of historic melodrama: First, we have Tymofii Levchuk's *Honoré de Balzac's Mistake* (1968) about the 19th-century French writer's visit to Western Ukraine to kindle his love affair with Polish noblewoman Ewelina Hanska. Second is Borys Ivchenko's *Annychka* (1969), a film set in the Carpathian region of Pokuttia during the German occupation of World War II, which imagines a love affair between an injured East Ukrainian partisan and the daughter of a collaborator. Both films were made by highly connected and powerful people in the Kyiv cultural establishment. Levchuk was the Secretary of the Ukrainian Cinematographers Union, and he made more films than any other director during this period, most of which commanded incredibly large budgets, but few actual movie-goers. And Ivchenko was the son of Viktor Ivchenko, one of the most popular mainstream Ukrainian directors in the 1950s and early 1960s, the founder of the Cinema Department at the Karpenko-Karyi Theatrical Institute in Kyiv (KITM), and the original organizer of the Molodist Film Festival. The elder Ivchenko is probably most remembered as the one who discovered Ivan Mykolaichuk. Ivchenko senior had originally developed *Annychka* as his own project, and co-authored the screenplay, but decided to offer the project to his son who had just graduated from the KITM film department.

Levchuk's initial foray into Carpathian imagery occurred very briefly in his best-remembered film, a biopic about Ivan Franko from 1956. While made at a time when most Ukrainian films were shot inside Kyiv Studio walls on Prospekt Peremohy, a short scene at the beginning of the film involves a brief interlude to float down the Cheremosh on a log raft, after which Franko dances with the Hutsuls and finally enjoys a brief moment of solitude in the mountains for poetic inspiration. More generally, however, Levchuk's *Ivan Franko* (1956) bears the aesthetics of late Stalinism in its slow pacing, lots of talking, and a generally artificial studio sound that contrasts with the ethnographic character of this single scene on location.

After spending most of the 1960s opposed to, or simply confused by, the representational politics of the Thaw, Levchuk fought hard for his "Balzac in Ukraine" project, a long-term dream to adapt Jewish-Ukrainian novelist Natan Rybak's 1940 story about the French writer's journey to the Russian Empire in the late-1840s. Originally, Levchuk intended the film to follow on the heels of *Ivan Franko*, done in the same traditional style for Soviet literary bio-pics, with the occasional local "color" thrown in. The project was abandoned in the late 1950s for reasons that remain unclear, but perhaps there was a dispute with the powerful Russian screenwriter, Mikhail Bleiman, who felt that Rybak had stolen his own

story about Balzac in St. Petersburg. In the intervening years, Levchuk continued to develop the screenplay with Rybak and Hryhorii Zeldovych, who drew out the novel's admittedly brief scene in Western Ukraine. Early drafts of the screenplay provoked complaints that such scenes were merely "decorative" and lacked narrative motivation or creative exploration. In other words, they did not seem to have a point. Levchuk attempted to assuage these criticisms by introducing a revised screenplay with the claim that the "film permits a spontaneous and … deep revelation of the image of life of our people …. In comparison to the novel, the screenplay has significantly expanded Balzac's acquaintance with the Ukrainian people, not only in Kyiv, but also in [the village of] Verkhivnia." Verkhivnia is not to be confused with Verkhovyna, the setting for several Carpathian-themed films in the 1960s, most notably *Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors*. Verkhivnia, instead, is the site of Hanska Castle on the border between Zhytomyr and Vinnytsia oblasti (provinces). As Levchuk implied in his explanation, however, the narrative motivation for the famous writer is but a weak device to establish the fictional connection between Balzac and Ukraine, at once a celebrity association written upon the entire nation and a view of that nation read through the eyes of a famous tourist.

The plot of *Balzac's Mistake* resembles a lot of second-rate Soviet cinematic adaptations about the 19th and early 20th centuries. I want to focus, however, on the border crossing between the Austrian and Russian Empires, which happens approximately ten minutes into the film. Balzac is in his carriage, passing through the Eastern Carpathians as he remembers his last encounter with Countess Hanska. The iconic scenes of sheep and distant mountains are shown through Balzac's carriage window, offering viewers a subjective and mediated view of the scene that is in stark contrast to the stuffy and traditional cinematography in most of this film. This combination of a point-of-view shot cross-cut with Balzac looking through the window - the window consistently serving as a visual metaphor for a movie screen - places spectators in the position of an outsider moving across a foreign border. Here, Levchuk represents the politically constructed border as a physical barrier between the familiar and the unfamiliar. Interestingly, this entire scene on the road is absent from the screenplay. As the Carpathians recede into the foothills and into the steppe, the writer passes through customs into the Russian Empire. Three men with Hutsul *keptari* (vests) greet the writer, one of them being the writer's French translator Leon, or Levko, played by iconic Ukrainian actor, Ivan Mykolaichuk.

Levchuk made some interesting decisions that diverted from the director's script. First of all, the screenplay identifies Radyvyliv as the border crossing, which is not the landscape that we see in this scene. And second, the scene of singing is completely absent in the script, as only Leon himself stands ready to serve his master. Finally, giving this role to Mykolaichuk sharply heightened the importance of this supporting character within the film as a whole, and implicitly referenced

the Carpathians despite their narrative and geographic absence on the Russian side of the border. In the screenplay, Rybak and Zeldovych imagined a "typical Ukrainian landscape," and there was a scene that they wrote where Balzac passes by a well as a crane lands next to a dangling wooden bucket. This is the visual cue that the screenwriters envisioned to signal "Ukraine" to audiences, which was supposed to be shot at Askania-Nova National Park near Kherson. But owing to the representational politics of the 1960s, this image of the Ukrainian landscape suddenly became a more diversified topography that was ethnographically coded as Hutsulshchyna (Land of the Hutsuls). Shortly after this scene, we cut to a wide-angle view of an empty valley with only the figure of Balzac in the frame, looking similar to Friedrich's "Wanderer" or Riefenstahl's star-crossed landscape painter. In voiceover, Balzac calls Ukraine "a mysterious and unknown land." Balzac gathers Ukrainian dirt into his hands, pressing it against his face with pleasure. In this way, the film constantly forces its hero to recognize the beauty of Ukraine's landscape, people and history, which remains unmotivated in the narrative, and furthermore absent in the screenplay, from which Levchuk adapted the film.

5 The Carpathians in the Great Patriotic War: Borys Ivchenko's "Annychka"

1968 also saw the release of another mainstream film set in the Carpathians, Borys Ivchenko's *Annychka*. Its location within the Ukrainian cinematic canon is more established today, first because Ivchenko went on to make the definitive classic, *The Lost Letter*, in 1972, and because *Annychka* is actually located in Pokuttia, with filming taking place in Verkhovyna and the use of many of the same sets as *Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors*. Finally, Mykolaichuk occupies a more central place in this film, playing a psychologically complex character who attempts to reconcile his love of Ukraine with collaboration with the German occupiers during the Second World War. Most significantly, this film presents one of the best efforts at Soviet reconciliation with Ukrainian nationalism, largely because it deflects these *political* problems into a melodramatic frame. At the same time, *Annychka* conformed to the accepted devices of socialist realism and the Great Patriotic War film. First and foremost, as a mainstream film, *Annychka* begins with the camera panning across a mountain vista with the sound of an intense storm. The image is dark, impenetrable, and romantically mysterious as befits the mountain theme. But, unlike the previous films, *Annychka*'s texture is clear, imparting the image with a quality of lived-in space, rather than a mythic space.

Set in the village of Zhabie (now Verkhovyna, in Ivano-Frankivska Oblast) in 1943, the film details a chance encounter between a Hutsul girl, the daughter of a German collaborator, and a wounded Red partisan named Andrii that she finds in the forest. After Annychka's lover is captured by Hutsuls working for the Nazis, having been double-crossed by Annychka's father, the heroine agrees to marry her long-time suitor, Roman, in hopes that the elaborate Hutsul wedding ceremony

would cause a diversion to allow her and her friends to free Andrii and escape to safety. While the plan is successful, as Annychka and Andrii ride off together on a carriage, her father shoots his gun after them in a fit of rage and kills his daughter. The final image is of the father, shocked at what he has done. While ostensibly about a young woman's rising consciousness of the bankrupt moral principles of Ukrainian nationalism during the Great Patriotic War, the film nonetheless functions at the level of melodrama for its foregrounding of the domestic realm as the site where "politics" is worked through.

Figure 4. Viktor Ivchenko's Annychka (1968). Film still.

But even beyond the realm of the family, the Carpathians remains a highly insular political and cultural space, with Andrii appearing just as foreign as the Nazi occupiers. The film ends with Annychka's attempted escape from the Carpathians, rather than sowing the seeds of dissent among her fellow Hutsuls. Further suggesting this insularity, the imagery presents the mountains as held captive, contained behind barbed wire and patrolled by roving bands of collaborators posing as patriots. As with *The Blue Light*, the presence of the outside love interest ultimately brings about the death of the female protagonist, as if to suggest that opening up this space to the outside (whether for good via the Soviets or evil via the Germans) inevitably dooms it.

Thus, the central *political* conflict of the film is not partisans vs. Nazis (with their Banderist toadies), but the uneasy alliance between two "enemy" ideologies: Ukrainian nationalism and the German occupation, an alliance fraught with cultural difference and misunderstanding that's grounded in this mysterious space of the mountains. Moreover, the figure of Roman, Annychka's fiancée, is by far the most compelling, both in terms of the acting and in terms of his allegorical value. Derzhkino, the Ukrainian film administration, reported to the authorities in Moscow, perhaps anticipating problems with the film's sympathetic treatment of this counterrevolutionary figure, that Roman is the truly tragic figure in the film for his honest belief that he was fighting for Ukraine's freedom. Roman supports the

nationalist cause during the Nazi occupation out of love for Ukraine, but refuses to look upon the atrocities that his co-ideologists propagate. Thus, Roman's nationalism is redeemed in the film, through disconnecting it from violence, and in foregrounding Mykolaichuk's convincing performance as a peasant who believes that siding with nationalism will help Ukraine.

6 Returning to a Deep History of the Carpathians: Leonid Osyka's "Zakhar Berkut"

In the final example of the mainstreaming of "mountains and meaning" for a Ukrainian national ecology, I offer Leonid Osyka's *Zakhar Berkut*, released (albeit limitedly) in 1972. Osyka's film represented a further attempt at melding the visual techniques and Ukrainian classic literary material of "poetic cinema" with an objectively determined set of criteria that would appeal to Soviet (and international) audiences. Based on Ivan Franko's novella published in 1883, Osyka's film was a big-budget national-historical epic about the Mongol-Tatar invasion of the Carpathians in 1241. *Zakhar Berkut* was to be a mainstream historical epic – an "Americanization of Franko," as contemporary Ukrainian film scholar Serhii Trymbach put it[11] – along the lines of *Oleksa Dovbush* in its genre-driven iconography, but which would employ the "new methods" of "Ukrainian poetic cinema" to explore the Carpathian ethnoscape. In fact, the historical epic, to which Osyka's film most strived to emulate was the work of Romanian director Sergiu Nicolaescu, whose elaborate film *Michael the Brave* (1970-71) offered comparable national origin myths emerging from the union of pre-national Carpathian tribes against invaders from the East (Tatars in Osyka's case and Ottoman Turks in Nicolaescu's film). Osyka, in fact, lifted several scenes from *Michael* because he liked the way that Nicolaescu shot his battle scenes in the Carpathians. As Vadym Skurativskyi wrote, however, the historical epic was common throughout socialist Eastern Europe in the 1960s and 1970s, with Poland and Bulgaria being notable examples of film industries highlighting the theme of national origin myths.[12]

Figure 5. Leonid Osyka's Zakhar Berkut (1972). Film still.

While Osyka planned to shoot the film in the Carpathians as he did with his 1967 Vasyl Stefanyk adaptation, *The Stone Cross*, bureaucratic hold-ups on access to horses forced him and his crew to travel to the Tian Shan mountain range in

Kyrgyzstan to shoot his "Carpathian" scenes, a problem that undermined the film's authenticity. In line with the mise en scène of *Shadows* and *Stone Cross*, *Zakhar Berkut* opens with a series of medium shot tableaus of long-haired medieval warriors standing against the rocky backdrop of mountainous nooks and crannies. Meant to demonstrate the ecological rootedness of the warriors in later contrast to the Tatar nomads, the effect is undermined by an early scene. In an initiation ritual, for example, the film cuts to a mountain vista, with the clear image of Lake Issyk-Kul in the foreground, a far cry from the wooded terrain of the Carpathians. Nonetheless, the forested Carpathians figure more centrally in the narrative scenes. The tribal *viche* (council) functions within a rocky outcropping, as boyars discuss the Tatars and sing about unchanging life in the mountains. The film cuts among a variety of different wintery medium shots of tribesmen on the mountains. The hero Maksym, played by Ivan Havryliuk, takes the boyar's daughter Myroslava to a pagan temple inside a mountain cave. By contrast, the Christian boyar, Tuhar Vovk, is seen as an authoritarian leader who promotes executions and order at all costs. There is a fairly risqué discussion of the relationship between the executioner and intelligence. He claims to be in the service of Grand Prince Danylo. There is a great shot of the judgment of the boyar as a traitor, where the camera circles the mountain-top village. The pre-Christian Carpathian *smerdy* (peasants) inhabit the mountains themselves, a village almost devoid of built structures, except for a few thatch-and-grass-roofed *khaty* (house), whereas the Boyar inhabits a wooden fortress. With only the implicit presence of the Tatars, the main contrast is between the mountain-dwelling Tukholian *smerdy*, ruled by its *Hromady* (community), and the forest-dwelling boyar. The boyar has connections beyond the Carpathians and is considered a traitor precisely for his authoritarian cosmopolitanism. The Tatars are then portrayed on an empty horizontal landscape, with fires and smoke everywhere. Tuhar discusses with the Tatar leader that Danylo is searching for help from the Hungarians, and that he himself knows the unguarded road through the Carpathians. Again, his evil cosmopolitanism is expressed in his promise to undermine the mountains themselves in order to access "civilization" on the other side, whereas the peasants defeat the Tatars and Tuhar using the mountain itself to encircle their more numerous enemy. The film ends with another mountain vista, at sunrise, after the Tukholians manage to drown the Tatars by flooding the river. *Zakhar Berkut* inverts the politics of the gaze. The outsider no longer possesses the power of looking. The mountains remain inherently dangerous to the Tatars, and, in an extreme high-angle shot, the Tukholian peasants look down upon their drowning bodies from high above a mountain cliff. Furthermore, the figure of Boyar Tuhar, as a man who sought power by reconciling the lowlands and highlands, becomes subject to the petty whims of the Tatars and begs for his life from the highlanders.

7 Conclusion: Transnational "Mountains and Meaning"

The discourse of "mountains and meaning" has always been a deeply personal and individualistic one, albeit written onto the natural world and generally supplied with national-historical and, thus, ideological meaning. As the Scottish poet and memoirist Nan Shepherd concluded her famous book *The Living Mountain*, "It is a journey into Being; for as I penetrate more deeply into the mountain's life, I penetrate also into my own."[13]

What unites these films is the dialectic between the mountains as a window into the self and the divine, and thus a space of accessibility, and the mountains as dangerous and impenetrable, especially to outsiders. Petrarch's archetypal view, the mountain vista also endemic to the German Romantic tradition and every single establishing shot in films about mountains, represents the latter with its emphasis on distance, a depth of field that allows the viewer an illusion of possession and power. Each of the films I examine here complicates this vision in some way by showing the mountain as a habitat for humans who value their own unique traditions and are skeptical of outsiders. And it's precisely this dichotomy between knowledge and power conveyed through the view, on the one hand, and the danger and impenetrability of the inhabited mountain, on the other, that establish what I am calling the "national ecology" of the Carpathians in Ukrainian cinema.

About the author

Joshua First is the Croft Associate Professor of History and International Studies at the University of Mississippi, in Oxford, MS. He specializes in the history of Russia and Ukraine during the 20th and 21st centuries. First received his Ph.D. in History from the University of Michigan. He has published articles on Ukrainian cinema, Soviet film sociology, and the politics of melodrama. His book, Ukrainian Cinema: Belonging and Identity during the Soviet Thaw (I.B. Taurus) appeared in December 2014 and a follow-up volume on the Ukrainian film, Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors (Sergei Paradjanov, 1964) was published in late 2016. First's current project examines literary, cinematic and administrative representations of technology, scientific management, and medicine under late socialism in the USSR.

Endnotes

1 Thanks to Professor Bohdan Shumylovych at the Center for Urban History in Lviv for inviting me to participate in the lecture series "To Mountains from a City: Imagining Carpathians in Arts and Culture" in June 2021, which in turn led to this article. Thanks also to the helpful comments and gentle criticism from my anonymous reviewer.

2 See, in particular, Patrice Dabrowski's *The Carpathians: Discovering the Highlands of Poland and Ukraine* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2021), which combines all of these elements of Carpathophilia.

3 See Andrew Denning, *Skiing into Modernity: A Cultural and Environmental History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014).

4 Eric Rentschler, "A Legend for Modern Times: *The Blue Light* (1932)," in *The Ministry of Illusion: Nazi Cinema and Its Afterlife* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 26-51.

5 Susan Sontag, "Fascinating Fascism," *The New York Review*, 6 Feb 1975: https://www.nybooks.com/articles/1975/02/06/fascinating-fascism/ (accessed 13 May 2022).

6 Ivan Kaveleridze attempted to make a film about Oleksa Dovbush in the Carpathians in 1941, which was canceled due to the beginning of World War II.

7 Tsentralnyi Derzhavnyi Arkhiv-Muzei Literatury i Mystetstva Ukrainy (TsDAMLMU), f. 670, op. 2, d. 1536.

8 Ihor Sadzhenytsia, "Ukrainske ozvuchennia filmu 'Oleksa Dovbush' stalo dostupne onlain [A Ukrainian Dub of the Film *Oleksa Dovbush* Has Become Available Online]," *Tvoye misto* [*Your City*], 30 Jan 2016: https://web.archive.org/web/20200616220352/http://tvoemisto.tv/news/ukrainske_ozvuchennya_filmu_oleksa_dovbush_stalo_dostupne_onlayn_75918.html (accessed 16 May 2022)

9 Nina Igant'eva, "V puti [On the Way]," *Iskusstvo kino* [*Cinema Art*], no. 1 (Jan 1961), 90-94.

10 Sergei Paradjanov, "Vechnoe dvizhenie [Eternal Motion]," *Iskusstvo kino* [*Cinema Art*], no. 12 (1966), pp. 60-66.

11 Serhii Trymbach, "Chomu zh ne nashym dniam sudylosia? [Why Didn't Things Go Well for Us?]" *Kino Teatr* [*Cinema and Theater*], no. 1 (1997), p. 30. In 2019, there was an actual Americanization of the Franko story with the release of John Wynn's *The Rising Hawk*.

12 Vadim Skuratovskiy, "Kievskaya literaturnaya sreda 60-kh-70-kh godov XX veka [The Kyiv Literary Scene in the 60s-70s of the 20th Century]," *Polit.ru*, 21 May 2010: https://m.polit.ru/articles/publichnye-lektsii/kievskaya-literaturnaya-sreda-60-kh-70-kh-godov-xx-veka-2010-05-21/ (accessed 11 Feb 2024).

13 Nan Shepherd, *The Living Mountain* [1977] (Canongate Books, 2019), p. 108.

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Vernacular Landscapes in the Carpathians: Materialized Imaginaries in Post-Soviet Ukraine

by Roman Lozynskyi

Diverse landscapes and eclectic architecture emerged in the Carpathians after the collapse of the Soviet Union. This paper examines what imaginaries materialized about urbanity/urbanness, modernity, and people's relationships to place and authenticity in vernacular landscapes and architecture in the Boikivshchyna region in Ukraine. Landscape visual/textual analysis shows from the perspective of semiotics that local residents now relate more closely to modernity and progress, but have cut their rustic roots by disregarding both place identity and building traditions. Conspicuous consumption with urban and social status symbols is evident in affluent residents' houses and utilitarianism in the homes of the less wealthy.

Key words: rural landscapes, vernacular residential architecture, semiotics, Carpathians, Ukraine

1 Introduction

The landscapes of Ukraine's cities and villages underwent significant changes after the collapse of the Soviet Union, especially in the 2000s – as evident by the years of economic growth and increased welfare. People's dreams of comfort, wealth, status, and security have since become embodied in the new landscapes and houses, their architectural styles, fences, and yards. The landscapes of the Carpathians have and are changing in a unique way. Here local residents' imaginaries about urbanity/urbanness and modernity[1] have intervened with pre-modern folk traditions[2], resulting in an emergence of diverse and eclectic vernacular landscapes and architecture.

The purpose of this study is to identify what meanings are conveyed through vernacular landscapes and residential architecture, and how those meanings represent and reproduce broader social, cultural, and political structures. I am particularly interested what imaginaries suggest about urbanity/urbanness and modernity and how people's relationships to place**,** traditionality, and authenticity are materialized in vernacular rural landscapes and residential architecture of local people in the Boikivshchyna region after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Vernacularity is understood as something that is "local/native" in the sense of being inherent in the "ordinary" people of a certain area. Used commonly, the term "vernacular" refers to the names, language, art, and architecture of the "ordinary" people of a particular area or region,[3] often in contrast to so-called high culture.

Vernacular landscapes are landscapes created without architectural intervention or with limited input from architects. [4] Vernacular landscapes and architecture represent the specific historical and geographical belongings of a people and imaginaries about urbanity/urbanness and modernity, views and attitudes about what is and should be considered as "traditional" or "authentic."

In Western societies, there are strict architectural and urban planning regulations and/or specific regimes of aesthetic governmentality set up by homeowners or local municipalities;[5] in contrast, in Ukraine and other post-socialist countries landscapes, including heritage sites, urban planning regulations are absent or minor, especially regarding architectural styles and where the influence of architects is limited for various reasons.[6] On the one hand, as a result, vernacular landscapes and architecture in Ukraine more closely reflect peoples' tastes, preferences, aspirations, dreams, idylls about comfort, safety, status, and/or prosperity,[7] showcasing a high degree of human agency. Landscapes and architecture are however shaped by social structures (system of relations) such as national, economic, social, and gendering that constitute the social world and our everyday life.

This study contributes to a wider debate about how imaginaries in art and culture are part of the social constitution in the forms of construction, maintenance, legitimization, and resistance of various social structures. Landscape and especially architecture is a visual medium that transmits meanings to the public, similar to other visual media. While the focus on imaginary of urban citizens in the Carpathians in visual culture represents a rather subordinate view on rural areas and its residents, this study shifts the focus to local rural peoples' imaginaries about urbanity/urbanness and modernity embodied in vernacular landscapes and architecture. The visual/textual analysis from the perspective of semiotics shows an emergence of new aesthetics of vernacular architecture. The size and architectural styles of new residential houses, built after 1991, together with the use of elaborately decorated yards, demonstrate the degree to which the society there has turned to conspicuous consumption; it also shows a desire by the owners to emphasize their social status, real or imagined, and their affiliation to modernity and progress, but also shows how they are cutting their ties to their rustic roots and traditions. At the same time the size of new houses, often with three stories, are built with the expectation of keeping the traditional pre-modern extended family of three generations together under "one roof." The specific architecture regulations set in Ukraine, specifically in the Carpathian Mountains, give local residents agency to shape the built environment and express themselves through architecture. This expression could be opposite to the romanticized views of mountains held by urban dwellers, who often have a colonized and subordinative attitude toward rural areas. These views are typically embodied in narratives of national and folk traditions and identity preservation, or in the presentation of

landscapes as pleasurable for outsider urban dwellers and tourists. In this paper, I show the conditionality of architectural traditions over time and the significance of pre-modern architectural traditions for the future of the environment.

2 Landscape as a Medium

At the end of the 20th century, generating an understanding of landscape in social sciences changed from being a materialistic study of cultural landscapes[8] to analyzing landscape as text and a system of signs. Landscapes as text contain and convey meanings to the public and take into account the complex social, cultural, and politic processes.[9] The concept of landscape emphasizes the visual aspects of the surrounding.[10] In 2000 the Council of Europe initiated and adopted the European Landscape Convention in Florence, Italy, that follows this understanding: "Landscape is an area perceived by people whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors."[11] In the broadest sense, a landscape is a part of the Earth visible to an observer from a certain position or location, and includes both physical but also social aspects such as gender, age, profession, social class, etc.[12]

Significant to this research, the most important landscape attribute is that it represents and reproduces broader social, cultural, and political structures. Landscape is a "created, lived, represented space, constructed as a result of struggle and compromises by competing and cooperating social actors with different identities, values and interests. It is both a thing and a social process."[13] Landscape is not only a "container of material forms," but it is actively involved in complex social processes. Landscapes are part of the construction of reality through their representation in architecture and other landscape elements that promote the interests of certain groups in society, giving their ideas and values tangible form.[14] Landscapes have both material and ideological aspects, and, in this sense, help to develop and reproduce social norms and relations.[15] James Duncan gives the following definition of landscape: it is "an ordered assemblage of objects visible from a particular location, which acts as a signifying system through which a social system is communicated, reproduced, experienced, or explored."[16] Landscape is primarily an instrument of cultural power and force, and landscape politics means that "landscapes carry symbolic or ideological meanings that reflect back and help produce social practices, lived relationships, and social identities, and also become sites of claiming or contesting authority over an area."[17]

Landscapes, and especially their architecture, are a visual medium that transmit certain meanings and senses to the public, similar to other visual media such as postcards, books, films or photos. Nancy Duncan and James Duncan argue: "Landscapes have an important inculcating effect as they tend to be taken for granted as tangible evidence of the naturalness of the social, political and economic practices and relations."[18] Referring to W. Mitchell, they note that in this approach,

the understanding of the landscape changes from what the landscape "is" or "means" to what it "does," and how it works as a cultural practice. Due to this quality, "landscapes play a central role in the practices and performance of place-based social identities, community values and social distinction."[19] In addition, Nancy Duncan and James Duncan with reference to Bondi explain that "ordinary dwellers of cities and suburbs regularly 'read' the landscape, unconsciously absorbing cultural messages about social relations."[20] Due to this, power structures support themselves and their interests "are made to seem natural and thus legitimized in the signifying environments that surround people."[21] In this approach, the aim is to understand how landscapes - material, represented and symbolic - are involved in the constitution (construction, maintenance, legitimization and resistance) of social structures (system of relations) such as national, economic or gendered.

3 Romanticization of the Carpathians' Rural Landscapes

With the beginning of the Industrial Revolution and the appearance of the first contaminated sites and environmental problems, the countryside and mountains began to be depicted as an idyllic place of harmony between man and nature with a slow rhythm of life without stress, as a kind of utopia or Arcadia. The mountains and their landscapes have been romanticized and idealized especially by urban elites and the bourgeoisie since the early 19th century.[22] In addition, in the late 18th century after the French Revolution, Romanticism and its appeal to folklore and folk art were disseminated into national projects. However, earlier mountains were considered by most people, especially in rural societies, as an inhospitable environment unsuitable or difficult for life. Hard work was required here to feed oneself and provide shelter and warmth.

In European architecture, folk motifs began to be actively used in the second half of the 19th century and into the early 20th century. This was preceded by the spread of the picturesque style, which combined the architectural heritage of the past, especially the Middle Ages, with the traditional folk motifs of different countries. At the end of the 19th century, construction of holiday villas was trending, especially in the Carpathian Mountains, as well as in areas with healing waters, such as Truskavets, Morshyn. Holiday villas and sanatoriums were first built using motifs adopted from Swiss wooden architectural designs. Later, Galician architects became interested in the wooden architecture of the Hutsul and Boikiv regions and began to use their motifs.[23] This style was called Zakopane, from the town of Zakopane, Poland, where most villas were built. Although the style is called Zakopane, it traces its rich artistic and architectural heritage to the Hutsul region. This style was especially popular in Galicia at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries.

Later, from 1900 to 1918, Ivan Levynskyi and the staff of his architectural bureau began to actively use folk motifs within the Art Nouveau style, primarily in the form of ceramic inserts and panels made by his factory. The architecture, created

by him in collaboration with Oleksandr Lushpynskyi, Tadeusz Obminskyi, Filemon Levytskyi, Alfred Zakharevych and Jozef Sosnovskyi, was called *Ukrainskyi Modern* (Ukrainian Art Nouveau).[24] In Soviet times, from the 1960s to the 1980s, the so-called Carpathian style emerged as a reaction to the monotony and the lack of style of the then dominant utilitarian modernist architecture. The buildings were complemented by roofs with triangular dormer windows. Folk traditional motifs were also used in the decoration of facades and interiors.

"Traditionalism" and a return to nature had also manifested themselves in new trends in urban planning, such as the Ebenezer Howard Garden City. The concept of the "garden city" had been spreading in Britain since 1898 and aimed to combine the best advantages of a village and a city into one settlement or neighborhood. For example, at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the suburb of Kastelivka in Lviv was designed by Yulian Zakharevych and Ivan Levynskyi under the influence of Howard's ideas.[25]

4 Boikyvshchyna Rural Landscapes and its Transformations

4.1 Folk cultural landscapes of the Boikyvshchyna region

Folk cultural landscapes of Boikyvshchyna are known for its sprawling villages, some of them twelve kilometers in length, above rivers with specific chain-like planning[26] and predominantly wooden houses in past and multi-tiered dome churches, with some even inscribed on the UNESCO heritage list.[27] People who inhabit this part of the Carpathians are known in academia and beyond as Boykos (*boiky* in Ukrainian*)*, that together with Lemkos and Hutsuls (*lemky* and *hutsuly* in Ukrainian), settled in neighboring areas, and are considered as the mountain communities of Ukraine, but the region also includes the borderland areas of Poland, Romania, and Slovakia. These three groups differ by dialects, ways of doing agriculture, and by their material and non-material cultures. The largest mountain urban settlements of Boikyvshchyna are Skole, Turka, Slavske, Nyzhni Vorota, Mizhhir'ia (formerly named Volove or Volove Pole) and Volovets. The cities located in the foothills of Boikyvshchyna include Stryi, Tricity of Drohobych, Truskavets, and Boryslav, and the neighboring town of Skhidnytsia. The following are found on the border of the Boikyvshchyna region: Stebnyk, Staryi Sambir, Ustriky Dolishni (in Poland), Kalush, Bolekhiv, Dolyna, Bohorodchany, Rozhniativ, Dobromyl, Sanok (in Poland), Ivano-Frankivsk, and Zhydachiv.[28]

As is typical of pre-modern landscapes, the shape of settlements, street networks, and chain system of buildings were caused by the environment and by the presence of river terraces and the configuration of the slopes (Figures 1-2). However, administrative regulations also had an impact on settlements and land use. The German law planned system of land use was applied in the 14th century in those places where arable land agriculture prevailed (over livestock farming) and the villages were state-owned, the so-called *korolivshchyna* (crown land). Here the

settlement chain system was characterized also by the existence of the same size agriculture fields for all the inhabitants of the settlement.[29] Parallel-wide strips or parcels were known as *lany* (the name comes from unit of measurement in medieval Europe). Estates were placed on these parcels one next to the other in a row. However, in Boikivshchyna, as in other parts of the Carpathians unsuitable for arable land agriculture, the Wallachian law system was widespread with a scattered planning system and a predominance for livestock farming, which is generally typical of mountainous areas.

Figures 1-2: Folk cultural landscapes of the Boikivshchyna region: the villages of Titkivci (left) and Uzhok (right) in Zakarpattia region. Photograph by Roman Lozynskyi.

Figure 3: Typical wooden house of the Boikyvshchyna region with a high thatched roof and gallery near the village of Ternavka near Skole town, 1933. Photograph by Henryk Poddebski.[30]

Distinctive wooden houses with high thatched roofs and galleries and columns on the main facades were built by peasants until the 1940s in Boikyvshchyna (Figure 3). Villas or summertime houses were built by affluent urban dwellers according to the so-called Zakopane style: a mix of *hutsul* traditional wooden architecture with modern Swiss mountain resort architectural elements.[31] From the 1960s to the late 1980s, simple single-story unified modern detached houses were built with four rooms without galleries but with mansards and small balconies (or without) over the central part. Houses built in the 1980s were also constructed with one

and half or two stories.

4.2 Rural landscapes during Soviet times and after 1991

In the Soviet Union spatial planning of villages was subordinated to the collective form of agriculture with the lack of support for the so-called "unpromising" villages. The construction in rural areas was carried out without the participation of architects, of whom there were very few in the district *raiony* (centers), and they were engaged in the usual so-called "fitting" of standard projects, such as schools, administrative buildings, and clinics. However, in the 1950s, well-developed practical recommendations were issued for constructing detached houses, taking into account regional and natural conditions, especially climatic conditions. The circulation of such publications was small and inaccessible even to most architects, teachers, and students. Thus, rural residents and even local architects did not have access to specialized literature in the field of architecture.

Architectural forms in rural areas have never been regulated, neither in the Austro-Hungarian empire nor in interwar Poland (Second Polish Republic) or in the USSR. Only utilitarian and technical regulations were present such as fire regulations and functional zoning laws, for example, the distance from neighboring buildings and engineering aspects such as basement depth or wall thickness.[32] The homogeneity of both the architectural style and the number of floors associated with the new detached houses in rural areas in Soviet times was due to economic reasons, usually under pressure from communist authorities that regulated the amount of construction materials bought by peasants or provided as state help for kolkhoz workers.[33] Theoretically, rural dwellers could even build a two-story estate in rural areas, but in practice there was not always enough money or building materials to build second floors. On the other hand, there was an unspoken rule amidst the cultural and social norms that conspicuous consumption was not welcomed;[34] yet, this social norm started to change in the 1980s. However, in Soviet times, emphasis was placed on the typification of buildings, and a few had the courage to oppose the system and build a house with some uncommon forms. As a result, from the 1960s to the late 1980s, four-room detached houses with a mansard over the central part were built despite there being distinctive and unique local traditions in architecture (see the house on the right side in the left photo (Figures 5-6). However, in rural areas the houses' facades were still decorated in different ways and in some cases, in remote areas determined by climate condition or scarcity of modern building materials, the local traditions in housing constructions were kept.[35]

Since the late 1980s and especially after the collapse of the socialist system, changes in landscapes, their urban planning, architecture, and agriculture were influenced by several important conditions and phenomena, most of which are relevant today. There was the economic crisis of the 1990s, the weakening of any

regulations and/or control over them with corruption and nepotism, land policy changes - land distribution, privatization, and introduction of land market for housing and personal farming use (up to 2 hectares) in the 2000s, emergence of a new class of affluent people, increased access to new materials and information, tourism development, and labor emigration to European Union countries.

Distribution and privatization of land for housing (up to 25 acres) contributed to the intensive construction of detached houses and commercial buildings by the wealthier class, as well as for the less affluent. In addition, it has been legally possible to change the functional purpose of land use from private small-scale farmland (up to 2 hectares) to being able to build on the land. Due to the commodification of land, its chaotic and speculative distribution and privatization took place. In the 1990s and the early 2000s, such a distribution often preceded the development of spatial plans for settlements. At the same time, master plans and regulations have not performed as intended due to the many ways to circumvent them, the most common of which has been to make changes to the detailed plans of the area. At the same time, adverse economic conditions in the 1990s and later decades resulted in a significant number of houses being built without the involvement of architects.[36]

In post-socialist conditions, where architectural and urban planning regulations are absent or insignificant, and the influence of architects is limited for various reasons, an important characteristic of landscapes and their architecture is that the level of their vernacularity is significant. Such unregulated landscapes reflect the daily lives of people who change the landscape according to their needs, preferences and values reflected through architectural styles of residential houses and their elements (windows, balconies, and terraces), as well as fences and gates, yard decorations, and the use of garden plots. Houses built after 1991 are larger than those from the Soviet time with two stories and free architectural styles and balconies of various styles, towers, terraces, and decorative elements like weathervanes or wrought iron decorations. The number of both solid and less transparent fences as well as decorated gates grew. Land plots started to become used more for gardens or as a lawn with a swing, gazebo, and decorations – statuette, figurine, often also with religious motives. In some cases, it is difficult to see the use of yards behind high fences. Residents' land plots of older houses are used more for small-scale family farming, however recreational elements such as swings are also evident.

5 The New Aesthetics of Vernacular Landscapes, its Semiotics and Materialized Imaginaries

5.1 Visual/textual landscape analysis

The application of structuralist semiotics is key to this study focused on the meanings conveyed through vernacular landscapes and its residential architecture. Semiotics – the study of signs and sign systems with a focus on the communication

of meanings and how messages are encoded and decoded – is important in this research.[37] From the perspective of semiotics, all landscape elements perform a symbolic function and are signs; in our case, markers of belonging to a social class, a certain lifestyle, views on traditionality and authenticity. The goal of a landscape researcher is to identify individual signs, codes, and meanings among neutral physical/material elements[38] and to find "spatial clues, site-specific interrelationships, and insights."[39] Paul Groth stresses, although within cultural landscape studies visual approach is central, that good landscape observation in a field is a process not only of seeing, but also of thinking, and he warns against 'superficial fieldwork.'[40] Two extremes can be found in fieldwork – too detailed of an accumulative focus on site or too broad of a theorized focus on wide scale sites. It is important to find balance between the two in research.[41] A researcher should have good "seeing" skills as well as analytical skills and be prepared in order to "know where to look and how to interpret what is seen."[42] P. Lewis emphasizes that "messages" transmitted by the landscape are not transmitted in obvious ways.[43] For example, we should focus on answering the question not only "What does something look like?", But also "How does it work, who made it, why, when, and what does it tell us about how our neighborhood works?"[44] Thus, it is important to observe more than the artifacts found in the landscape; the key is to go further to elucidate the processes, relationships, and social structures in the landscape. Structuralist semiotics is predominant among the semiotic approaches used by researchers and originates from the works of Ferdinand de Saussure.[45] In the structuralist approach, landscapes as texts are considered as having elements organized in a certain order that can be translated into language, read, and interpreted.[46]

Figure 4: Skhidnytsia town panorama. Photo from open sources.

The town of Skhidnytsia (Figure 4), categorized as a semiurban settlement in Ukraine by the administrative division, is located near the cities of Drohobych, Truskavets, and Boryslav. Before World War II Truskavets was known as fashionable

resort in the Austro-Hungary empire and interwar Poland and later as one of the most prestigious in the USSR for its healing mineral water. Boryslav was known as "Galician California" for its rich oil deposits discovered at the beginning of the 20th century and for its adverse living conditions for the working class, and Drohobych: a trade and manufacturing city with a significant Jewish community. Skhidnytsia, a village until the middle of 20th century, started attracting people with its healing mineral waters. Thereby transforming it into a small town in Soviet times. However, Skhidnytsia is now still considered as more of a countryside-oriented resort, while Truskavets is urban.

In the study of vernacular landscapes and residential architecture of Carpathians in Boikivchyna region in Ukraine after 1991 and how they reflect peoples' imagination of tradition and authenticity, the structuralist semiotics of the landscape was applied. Landscape visual analysis of Skhidnytsia was conducted in summer 2021 with focus on residential architecture built in three different periods - before 1940s, 1940s – 1980s and after 1991. The aim of visual landscape analysis was to trace changes in the dominant elements of the vernacular landscape - the architectural styles of detached houses since the beginning of XX century, as well as gates and fences since the late 1980s and to identify current use and look of yards. Attention was paid to the visual dominants of the landscape - architectural as well as fences, gates and yard styles and their elements (color and size of houses, windows, balconies, terraces, decorations etc.). For instance, the architectural styles of detached houses, their fences and gates, namely such elements as rounded windows, terraces, weather vanes and the presence of lawns, places for rest and decoration (statues, swings) from a semiotic perspective perform a symbolic function and are signs - markers of belonging to a social class and a certain lifestyle. The research shows similarities with architecture studies of Vintila Mihailescu[47] and Sonia Hirt[48] in Romania and Bulgaria respectively, as those countries were under the same socialist conditions as Ukraine. However, I emphasize that local residence agency and actions expressed through current vernacular architecture do not diverge, but are similar to folk vernacular architecture.

5.2 Conspicuous consumption and elsewhereness landscapes

In the Soviet Union there were economic, political, cultural, and social limitations of owners' self-expression through architecture.[49] After the collapse of the Soviet Union, residential architecture of detached houses became a tangible expression of people's values and tastes, indicating belongings to a particular class and way of life. There is a demonstrative emphasis on individualism and status through architecture, namely size and styles of houses, expensive fences and gates, various decorations, and even private chapels. Such elements of the yard as the presence of lawn, places for rest (gazebo and swings) and decoration (statues and garden figurines) from the perspective of semiotics also perform a symbolic function and

are markers of higher social class and lifestyle. Often the "traditional" aspect of the architecture manifests itself in houses with a hint of "feudalism" as evident in the style of towers, weathervanes, rounded windows, and entrances with Greek and Roman imperial architectural elements. Anthropologist Vintila Mihailescu, in his house owners' interview study, argues that the architectural style and size of the new detached houses also reflect the success of the hard work of male and female workers abroad and calls them "houses of the proud."[50] Tourism has also influenced the size of houses, with some being built as guesthouses to accommodate visitors. Additionally, the availability of cheap heating in the 1990s and 2000s contributed to the construction of larger homes.

New architectural styles and yards however, show disregard for traditional folk houses and place identity, and the spread of the phenomenon of elsewhereness in architecture and landscape. Elsewhereness characterizes places that have no connection with the local cultural context, since architectural styles are simply copied from other countries and/or times with even fictional styles possible, ultimately destroying the sense of the place.[51] Sonia Hirt recognizes similar processes in Bulgaria and calls them "Las-Vegas-ization" - an architectural approach using a mixture of different styles borrowed from different periods and cultures and the creation of something like "time-space compression."[52]

The emergence of the phenomenon „elsewhereness" in post-socialist countries was influenced by several conditions – the formation of a new wealthy class of people, the absence of stylistic architectural regulations, and the availability of information and new building materials. However, the phenomenon of „elsewhereness" has a global dimension. Imports of Western and especially American values in housing preferences and consumption and the reduction of local diversity of landscapes is common in many "less developed" countries.[53] Marc Anthrop argues that new cultural landscapes are usually imposed rather than integrated into local natural and cultural contexts.[54] Frequent changes of states and their political formations with shifts in the systems of values and private property rights and the deportation and extermination of peoples,[55] negatively affected the relation of people with the landscapes and led to the emergence of detachment and alienation,[56] which is reflected materially and symbolically in landscapes. Another possible reason for the spread of the elsewhereness phenomenon is that Ukrainian vernacular pre-modern architecture is associated with rusticality and poverty. Ukraine's historically rural population, even the wealthy, has been less affluent in the European context, and traditional rural architecture does not offer comfortable solutions to new needs. In addition, in some areas pre-modern traditional landscapes are difficult to recognize and find in the field or they are dilapidated.

5.3 Imaginaries materialized – the connection of local people to modernity and progress

The described above residential architecture and yards most broadly shows that local people want to relate to modernity and progress and cut their ties to their rustic roots and traditions. Urban and higher social status symbols such as well-maintained lawns, swings, yards, and gates adorned with lion statues or paintings on natural stones of older wooden houses in bright colors is common and are a must for local people. At the same time the size of new houses, often with three stories, is built with the expectation of keeping the traditional pre-modern extended family with three generations together under "one roof" – where married couples live with both their children and parents (Figures 5-6). Thus, behind the modern exterior of the new house hides the pre-modern desire about extended family. However, the large size of some houses is also due to the influence of tourism, as they were built as guesthouses to accommodate tourists. In addition, in the 1990s and 2000s the construction of houses of considerable size was also influenced by the cheapness of the heating.

Figures 5-6: New vernacular landscapes in the Boikyvshchyna region. (Left photo) Architecture from three periods, village of Synevyrska Poliana. Photo by Liubomyr Parkhuts. (Right photo) "Proud" houses in the town of Turka. Photo by Roman Lozynskyi

5.4 Conditionality of traditions and constant relationality between pre-modern folk and current vernacular residential architecture.

The pre-modern folk vernacular cultural landscape which often is called "traditional" is first and foremost an expression of utilitarianism - creating comfort with reduced time and resources. Such landscapes reflect the most practical and effective, in terms of effort and resources, methods of building construction, and agriculture and farming. The concept of "tradition" is conditional. Traditional is something that has proven to be practical and effective over time, so it has been widely used and repeated through time. However, over time new materials and technologies have been emerging that made it easier to achieve the goal - creating comfort with reduced time and resources; they became widespread and themselves

became new traditions - again until something newer and more practical had been invented. For these reasons, we no longer see roofs covered with straw, reeds, or shingles. They have been replaced by more practical, durable, and safe materials. Tastes and habits in construction were also present in pre-modern landscapes, mainly in the form of decoration, but the defining feature of vernacular landscapes was utilitarianism and efficiency in the condition of available technologies and building materials.

For most people in Ukraine, with their modest wealth, the determining factors are practicality, functionality, and price, as it was a century ago. People are improving houses by adding external house insulation, replacing wooden windows with plastic ones, using metal sheets to build fences - that is, they use materials that are easy to install and provide better protection, require less care, are more durable and relatively cheap. The correlation between "price-quality-protection" and "time for installation-care" is decisive. Thus, the current vernacular architecture is not discordant with the pre-modern vernacular architecture as the goal and meaning is the same as it was centuries ago, although the form does differ. The current vernacular landscapes are also adequate/rational for the needs of our time, and they are new folk landscapes, because they are widespread. However, as it was already described, nowadays the tastes and conspicuous consumption of peasants, which were also in the 19th century to a lesser extent, are present to a greater extent.

Thus, techniques and forms of construction are constantly evolving. More practical and efficient are displacing the old, and therefore what is now called traditional folk, two centuries ago it was not, but on the contrary - was considered as new. For these reasons to call on local residents to protect or to build "traditional" houses, arguing that it preserves national, "ethnic" traditions and identity, is a naive and simplistic view. Questions arise about the traditionality of specific periods, the stages of the landscape, and the architectural developments. In addition, wooden houses from the past no longer meet the conditions and needs of our time. They need to be modernized, especially internal planning regarding current living and leisure needs. Proper timber harvesting for construction, fire safety together with water, gas, and electricity supply for such houses are more expensive than for modern ones. In the 21st century, pre-modern folk landscapes and architecture are a valuable source of knowledge about the harmonious relationship between humans and the environment, about energy efficiency, aesthetics, health, and the formation of a stronger connection between people and the environment.

6 Conclusion

Vernacular landscapes and the new residential architecture of the Boikivshchyna region in the Carpathians are visual mediums that convey specific meanings that help us understand local imaginaries about urbanity/urbanness and modernity,

and also the people's relationship to place**,** traditionality, and authenticity. The Carpathians are contact zones, where local cultures, imaginaries about urbanity/urbanness and modernity, cultures brought from labor emigration and tourism' impact are intertwined and reflected in eclectic landscapes and architecture.

The visual/textual analysis of residential architecture and yards from the perspective of semiotics shows local residents' conspicuous consumption, desire to emphasize social status, and their affiliation to modernity and progress. New architecture shows disregard for the traditions of folk houses construction and place identity, and the spread phenomenon of elsewhereness in architecture and landscape. Such elements of the yard as the presence of lawn, places for rest (gazebo, swings) and decoration (statues, garden figurines) from the perspective of semiotics perform a symbolic function and are markers of higher social class and lifestyle. The size of new houses, often with three stories, shows desire of keeping traditional pre-modern extended family with three generations in one house. Thus, behind the modern exterior of the new house hides the pre-modern desire about extended family. The architectural style and size of new detached houses for locals also express success of hard work of male and female workers abroad and could be considered as "houses of proud." Tourism and cheap heating in the 1990s and 2000s led to the construction of larger homes, including guesthouses for tourists.

New residential architecture, especially homes built by the less affluent, also shows utilitarianism – the desire of creating comfort by reducing time and money for construction and care. From this point of view, current vernacular and pre-modern folk architecture have the same goal and meaning and are similar, though the forms differ. Referring to the new materialism, which brings the agency of non-human actors in constitution of social world, in our case building materials, a clear correlation between pre-modern folk vernacular architecture and current vernacularity is evident. The utilitarianism of pre-modern vernacular architecture and its efficiency – the ratio of availability, durability, comfort, and ease of care, were decisive in the formation of folk landscapes and remain so now in new vernacular architecture of the less wealthy residents. Thus, the contradiction between premodern folk and present-day vernacular architecture is exaggerated as their logic is the same, and with the current growing conspicuous consumption also present in the 19th century in peasant architecture as well, but to a less extent. Creating architectural regulations for local communities with the aim of fully preserving pre-modern architecture is a colonial and subaltern view to the countryside: it is a forced involvement of romanticized and simplified national narratives and determined by the capitalist economy through landscape consumption by urban dwellers who are outsiders. Taking into account the present ecological crisis, the interpretation of pre-modern landscapes with the aim of protecting the environment as natural and upholding cultural values is far more relevant.

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Endnotes

1 While the concept of 'modernity' is controversial and debatable, this term is used to denote a distinctive period with special characteristics that started in early of the Italian Renaissance and lasted till the end of Industrial revolution. This period is characterized by the desire to rationally understand the world, finding order within and achieving mastery over nature. From this point of view, 'modernity' is synonymous to progress, that affects most areas of life, for instance "from the medicalization of bodies and environments to the rationalization of urban life through the discourse of planning". Science and the pursuit of knowledge was central and manifested itself most strongly in the European enlightenment. John Wylie, "Modernity" in The Dictionary of Human Geography, 5th. ed. (Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 471-474.

2 Pre-modern folk traditions are traditions that formed in pre-modern times and predominantly characterize rural societies that have not been influenced by urbanization and industrialization and are heavily dependent on the natural environment, the cyclical changes of the seasons, and agriculture.

3 "Vernacular," Cambridge Dictionary, Accessed April 20, 2023, https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/vernacular.

4 Opposite to vernacular are formal and/or regulated landscapes and architecture. The division is conditional and vague as when architects are involved, a degree of vernacularity is also present – architects embody the wishes of the clients.

5 Ben Gerlofs, "Edge city or bust: dismantling a regime of aesthetic governmentality in Oak Brook, Illinois," *Urban Geography* (38:6, 2017), 813-833, https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2016.1168976; James Duncan and Nancy Duncan, *Landscapes of Privilege: The Politics of the Aesthetic in an American Suburb (1st ed.)* (New York: Routledge, 2004), https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203505755.

6 However, Ukrainian historical sites are protected by law and architecture regulations exist though their implementation is not always performed on an appropriate level.

7 Based on the works of Peirce Lewis, "Axioms for Reading the Landscape" in *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays,* ed. Donald W. Meinig (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 11–32; James Duncan and Nancy Duncan., *Landscapes of Privilege: The Politics of the Aesthetic in an American Suburb (1st ed.)* (New York: Routledge, 2004), https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203505755; Donald W. Meinig, "Symbolic Landscapes. Some idealizations of American communities" in *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays,* ed. Donald W. Meinig (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 164-192.

8 Since the beginning of the 20th century prior to the cultural turn in the 1980s, the study of landscapes in geography was influenced by Carl Sauer (USA) and the ideas of Paul Vidal de la Blache (France). Attention was paid mainly to traditional or folk landscapes of rural, pre-industrial, pre-modern societies and their centuries-old knowledge, customs and traditions in architecture, land use, agriculture, and farming. This area of study in human geography became known as the Berkeley Landscape School.

9 James Duncan and Nancy Duncan, "Doing Landscape Interpretation" in *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Geography,* ed. DeLyser Dydia et al. (London, UK: SAGE, 2010), 225-247; Ken Foote and Maoz Azaryahu, "Semiotics" in *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2009), 89-94; Steve Hoelscher, "Cultural Landscape" in *Encyclopedia of Human Geography* (Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: SAGE Publications, 2009), 75-78; John Wylie, "Landscape" in *The Dictionary of Human Geography, 5th. ed.* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 409-411.

10 Paul Groth, "Frameworks for Cultural Landscape Study" in *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes,* eds. Paul Groth, Todd W. Bressi (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 1-21; Steve Hoelscher, "Landscape Iconography" in *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography* (Amsterdam: Elsevier,

2009), 132-139; Karen M. Morin, "Landscape Perception" in *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2009), 140-145; John Wylie, "Landscape" in *The Dictionary of Human Geography, 5th. ed.* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 409-411.

11 European Landscape Convention. 2000, accessed April 20, 2023, https://rm.coe.int/1680080621.

12 Karen M. Morin, "Landscape Perception" in *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2009), 140-145.

13 Donald Mitchell, *Cultural Geography: A Critical Introduction* (Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell Publishers, 2000)

14 James Duncan and Nancy Duncan, "Doing Landscape Interpretation" in *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Geography,* ed. DeLyser Dydia et al. (London, UK: SAGE, 2010), 225-247

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid., 238.

19 Ibid., 238.

20 Ibid. p. 231.

21 Ibid. p. 231.

22 This view was simplistic and characteristic of a new class of urban bourgeoisie who had the time and money to enjoy the countryside, but had no real experience of living in it. Urban residents did not know all the worries of the peasants, for example, regarding the harvest, weather changes or the state of health of their own and domestic animals.

23 Roman Lozynskyi, *Cultural Landscapes of Galicia (Ukraine): The Ethics of Human-Nature Relation* (Lviv: Ladex, 2020), https://archive.org/details/20201213_20201213_0758/mode/2up.

24 The architectural style of Ukrainian Art Nouveau was also widespread in the same and later years in other parts of Ukraine. In particular, it was used by Opanas Slastion in designing schools of the Lokhvytsia Zemstvo in the Poltava region.

25 Roman Lozynskyi, *Cultural Landscapes of Galicia (Ukraine): The Ethics of Human-Nature Relation* (Lviv: Ladex, 2020), https://archive.org/details/20201213_20201213_0758/mode/2up.

26 The overall form of the settlement has an elongated linear character, but the development system of the settlements, i.e., the arrangement of buildings, is irregular.

27 Roman Lozynskyi, *Cultural Landscapes of Galicia (Ukraine)*.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid.

30 National Digital Archive in Poland. Distributed under CC0 1.0 Universal / public domain license. Accessed October 15, 2020, https://www.szukajwarchiwach.gov.pl/en/jednostka/-/jednostka/22929082/obiekty/789274.

31 Ibid.

32 Roman Lozynskyi, *Cultural Landscapes of Galicia (Ukraine): The Ethics of Human-Nature Relation* (Lviv: Ladex, 2020), https://archive.org/details/20201213_20201213_0758/mode/2up.

33 Ibid.

34 Conspicuous consumption was present in Soviet Union, however to a less extent than in Western countries, and it was determined by communist regimes and was different through time.

35 Roman Lozynskyi, *Cultural Landscapes of Galicia (Ukraine): The Ethics of Human-Nature Relation*

(Lviv: Ladex, 2020), https://archive.org/details/20201213_20201213_0758/mode/2up.

36 Ibid.

37 Ken Foote and Maoz Azaryahu, "Semiotics" in *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2009), 89-94

38 Kati Lindström, Kull, Kalevi and Palang, Hannes, "Semiotic study of landscapes: An overview from semiology to ecosemiotics," *Sign Systems Studies*, no. 39 (2011):12-36.

39 Paul Groth, "Frameworks for Cultural Landscape Study" in *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes,* eds. Paul Groth, Todd W. Bressi (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 1-21.

40 Ibid. p. 15

41 Ibid.

42 Ibid. p. 18

43 P. Lewis, "Axioms for Reading the Landscape," in D. Meinig, ed., *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 11-32.

44 Ibid. p. 26

45 Ibid.

46 Karen M. Morin, "Landscape Perception" in *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2009), 140-145.

47 Vintila Mihailescu, "Reading a House. Migration, Households and Modernity in Post-communist Rural Romania" in *Brave New World – Romanian Migrants' Dream Houses,* eds. Raluca Betea, Beate Wild (Bucharest: Romanian Cultural Institute, 2016), 48-57.

48 Sonia Hirt, *Iron Curtains Gates, Suburbs, and Privatization of Space in the Post-Socialist City* (Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley & Sons., 2012).

49 Although in Ukraine and other socialist countries the level of regulations was significant, the rural areas had more freedom of detached houses' architecture style construction as people could negotiate on the spot, and x these practices and networks were inherited after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

50 Vintila Mihailescu, "Reading a House. Migration, Households and Modernity" in *Brave New World – Romanian Migrants' Dream Houses,* eds. Raluca Betea and Beate Wild (Bucharest: Romanian Cultural Institute, 2016), 48-57.

51 William Norton, *Cultural Geography: environments, landscapes, identities, inequalities* (Oxford University Press, 2006).

52 Sonia Hirt, *Iron Curtains Gates, Suburbs, and Privatization of Space in the Post-Socialist City* (Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley & Sons., 2012).

53 Robin M. Leichenko and William D. Solecki, "Exporting the American Dream: The Globalization of Suburban Consumption Landscapes," *Regional Studies* 39, no. 2 (April 2005), 241–253.

54 Marc Antrop, "Why Landscapes of the Past are Important for the Future," *Landscape and Urban Planning* 70 (2005), 21–34, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landurbplan.2003.10.002.

55 Ukrainian society only in the 20th century has experienced a few changes of states and its political administrations with different socio-economic formations with different ideologies: the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires; nation-states with the development of capitalist economic - Poland in the western part of present-day Ukraine, Romania in the present-day Bukovyna region, and Czechoslovakia in the Transcarpathian region; the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with socialist economic; and a return to market economy in a specific post-socialist form. The rights, responsibilities, property, and land regulations of citizens, including the peasant class, were different under different administrations. They, in turn, formed relations - citizen-administration, periphery-

center, dweller-property, and overall, with land, place and landscape. Through the form of ownership and the level of self-governance and rights of people and communities, their connection and specific practices with the land and landscape were formed. The established practices, values, and understandings are stable and spread for many generations to come, as evidenced by the examples of East and West Germany or former borders of the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires in Poland and Ukraine.

56 Hannes Palang, Anu Printsmann, Eva K. Gyuro, Mimi Urbanc, Ewa Skowronek and Witold Woloshyn, "The Forgotten Rural Landscapes of Central and Eastern Europe," *Landscape Ecology* 21 (2006), 347–357, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10980-004-4313-x.

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