

Representation of Ukrainian Territories on Austrian Ethnic Maps of the 19th Century

Neonila Padyuka

The escalation of national conflicts in the multinational Austrian monarchy of the mid-nineteenth century, growth of national liberation movements in Europe of this period prompted the government to pay special attention to studying the ethnic composition of the state and to defining the habitation area for each ethnic group, including the Ukrainian one. Along with anthropological and statistical studies of the Austrian monarchy, this period was the time when ethnic maps based on scientific data and official statistics appeared. In particular, these are the maps of Joseph Vincenz Häufler, Rudolph Alois Fröhlich, Franz Raffelsperger, Karl Freiherrn von Czoernig, Franz Ritter von Le Monnier, who clearly demonstrated the variegated ethnic composition of the state population.

Much research still needs to be done on Austrian ethnic maps. Publications of modern scholars and researchers Johannes Dörflinger¹, Ingrid Kretschmer², Morgane Labbé³ and Neonila Padyuka⁴ are devoted to studying some individual maps. However, there is no scientific work specially dedicated to these ethnic maps. A detailed bibliography of ethnic maps of this period is provided in the works of Polish modern scholars Franciszek Paweł Faluszczyk⁵ and Andrzej Gawryszewski⁶.

The purpose of the article is to determine the scientific importance of the Austrian ethnic maps of the 19th century by analyzing the representation of the Ukrainian ethnic territory. The ethnic maps of the Austrian monarchy of 19th century which have been selected for research are at the scale not less than 1:3 000 000.

One of the earliest maps is that of the Secretary of the Ministry of Statistics, Austrian surveyor, anthropologist and historian Joseph Vincenz Häufler (1810–1852) *Versuch einer Sprachenkarte der Österreichischen Monarchie (An Attempt to Compile a Language Map of the Austrian Monarchy)*⁷. That scientist later helped to collect and process the ethnographic and linguistic materials for the Hungarian part of Austria for the monograph of Karl Freiherrn von Czoernig *Ethnographie der Österreichischen Monarchie (Ethnography of the Austrian Monarchy)*⁸.

The map was published by the publishing house of Gustav Emich (1843–1911) in Vienna, format 37.5×48.5 cm, scale approx. 1:3 000 000. The colored print was made by Ágost Frigyes Walzel in Pest. Besides the main map there are other eight inserted maps that more precisely represent settlements of ethnic Germans in various regions of the Austrian

¹ J. Dörflinger, *Sprachen- und Völkerkarten des mitteleuropäischen Raumes vom 18. Jahrhundert bis in die zweite Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, in: 4. Kartographiehistorisches Colloquium Karlsruhe 1988, 17–19. März 1988. *Vorträge und Berichte*, Berlin 1990, pp. 183–195.

² I. Kretschmer, *Frühe ethnographische Karten Südosteuropas aus Wien*, (http://lazarus.elte.hu/hun/digkonyv/sc/sc13/32ingrid_kretschmer.pdf, access: 24 December 2013).

³ M. Labbé, *Die "Ethnographische Karte der Österreichischen Monarchie": ein Abbild der Monarchie*, in: *Images en capitale: Vienne, fin XVIIe-début XIXe siècles*, Hrsg. Ch. Lebeau, Bochum 2011, pp. 151–166 (Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert und Österreich, 25) (http://www.academia.edu/915826/Stadtraum_-_Buhnenraum_-_Wien_als_Kapitale_in_Josef_Richters_Bildergalerien, access: 25 December 2013); idem, *La carte ethnographique de l'empire Autrichien: la multinationalité dans*

«l'ordre des choses» (<http://www.lecf.fr/new/articles/180-article-6.pdf>, access: 27 December 2013).

⁴ Н. Падюка, *Україні на "Етнографічній карті Австрійської монархії" К. Черніга*, in: *Історична топографія і соціотопографія України. Збірник наукових праць*, ред. Я. Дашкевич et al., Львів 2006, pp. 299–315.

⁵ F.P. Faluszczyk, *Kartografia Galicji Wschodniej w latach 1772–1914*, Rzeszów 2011.

⁶ A. Gawryszewski, *Polskie mapy narodowościowe, wyznaniowe i językowe. Bibliografia (lata 1827–1967)*, Warszawa 1969 (Dokumentacja Geograficzna, 4).

⁷ J.V. Häufler, *Versuch einer Sprachenkarte der Österreichischen Monarchie*, [scale 1:1 970 000], Pest 1845.

⁸ K.F. von Czoernig, *Ethnographie der Österreichischen Monarchie*, Bd. 1, Abt. 1, Wien 1857, p. XII.

monarchy. With colored backgrounds, the areas and explanations of the map show the settlement of six ethnic groups (language groups): Germans, Hungarians, Armenians, Slavs, Romanians and Albanians. The Slavonic lands are presented in green, the settlement boundaries of some Slavonic ethnic groups are marked with dots and additional inscriptions.

The map has an added explanatory text and a table with statistics, ethnological and historical information on all ethnic groups that inhabited the Austrian monarchy⁹.

Joseph Vincenz Häufler believed that because ethnographic studies are based on real facts they have a paramount importance, and, therefore, the ethnic maps are the best way for a quick and true review of interethnic relations in the country. The map and the ethnographic survey composed by him can serve in teaching geography, statistics, the history of the Austrian Empire in self-education, schools and so on¹⁰.

To compose the map, Joseph Vincenz Häufler used a large number of sources: results of conscription of 1843, schematisms 1842–1843, ethnographic studies and maps for the Slavonic part the works and maps of Pavel Šafařík were used¹¹. The author defines Ukrainians as *Ruthenen*, *Klein-Russen*, *Russin* or *Rusniaken* who belonged to the northern Slavs and lived in the central and eastern Galicia, Bukovina and part of north-eastern Hungary. Joseph Vincenz Häufler divides Ruthenians into the following ethnic groups: Red Ruthenians (on the map they are *Rothbreussen*) from the plains, Pokuttians (on the map they are *Pokutier*) in the mountainous areas of Galicia, Lemkos (on the map they are *Lemaken*) in Sanok district and komitat of Uzhhorod, Lyshaks (on the map they are *Lissaken*) in Bereg and Maramureş komitats.

The map within the Ukrainian ethnic territory represents the areas that at present are beyond the political boundaries of Ukraine:

Nadsanie, North and South Lemkivshchyna. Regarding the settlement of ethnic minorities in the entire Ukrainian ethnic territory, the map marks only the areas densely populated by Germans in Galicia and Transcarpathia as well as Hungarians in Transcarpathia. The representation of the territories inhabited by all Slavonic peoples with one color did not allow the opportunity to outline areas densely populated by each Slavonic ethnic group, in particular for those not living on “their own” ethnic territory.

According to Stepan Rudnytsky, this map, to some extent, saved the situation that developed due to a lack of ethnographic studies and maps of the Ukrainian Galicia¹². As for the Ukrainian borders within the Hungarian Rus, according to Stepan Tomashivsky, the map of Joseph Vincenz Häufler was “not detailed and it was wrong”¹³ and based on the maps of Jan Čaplovič and Pavel Šafařík.

In Vienna in 1849 two maps by Rudolph Alois Fröhlich and Franz Raffelsperger were published which differed in their importance and function. *Neueste National und Sprachenkarte des Österreichischen Kaiserstaates und der angrenzenden Theile, mit genauer Angabe der einzelnen Sprachfamilien (Latest National and Linguistic Map of the Austrian Monarchy and Adjacent Territories)*¹⁴ by the scientist and linguist of Croatian origin Rudolf Alois Fröhlich (also known as Rudolf Veselić, 1819–1862) was published in the format 53×80 cm. The scale was presented in German (geographical) and Italian miles and leagues, approximately 1:1 970 000. Settlements of 10 levels were included, from capital towns to villages with an indication of presence or absence of places were post-houses (*Postwechsel*) were changed; with specification of locations of land or provincial administrations, corps headquarters, district administrations, baths, spas, and residences of an archbishop or bishop.

⁹ J.V. Häufler, *Sprachenkarte der Österreichischen Monarchie sammt erklärender Übersicht der Völker dieses Kaiserstaates, ihrer Sprachstämme und Mundarten, ihrer örtlichen und numerischen Verteilung*, Ofen 1845.

¹⁰ Ibidem, p. 3.

¹¹ Ibidem, p. 6.

¹² С. Рудницький, *Огляд національної території України*, Берлін 1923, p. 34.

¹³ С. Томашівський, *Етнографічна карта Угорської Русі*, С.-Петербур 1910, p. 9.

¹⁴ R.A. Fröhlich, *Neueste National und Sprachenkarte des Österreichischen Kaiserstaates und der angrenzenden Theile, mit genauer Angabe der einzelnen Sprachfamilien*, [scale 1:1 970 000], Wien 1849.

The territorial settlements of certain ethnic groups are marked with colored background, Slavs – green and blue, Ukrainians (on the map they are *Russinien*) – slightly darker shade, and an additional red color traced boundaries between ethnic Slavs. The Ukrainian ethnic territory includes a big part of Nadsanie (without Przemyśl Land), North and South Lemkivshchyna.

In the entire Ukrainian ethnic territory the map represents areas densely populated by Germans: Eastern Galicia (near Lviv, Sambir, Rozhniativ) in the Transcarpathian region (Uzhhorod, Khust, Ruska Mokra, Dubove); Poles in the Eastern Galicia (Rymanów, Jaśliska, Sambir, Khyriv, Saryi Sambir). In his explication of the map, Rudolph Alois Fröhlich pointed out that his map was based primarily on research and the aforementioned map of Joseph Vincenz Häufner, on the work of Peter Kosler, magazine articles etc.¹⁵

In 1849 in Vienna, an Austrian scientist and geographer Franz Raffelsperger (1793–1861) published his *Völker und Sprachenkarte der Österreichischen Staaten mit genauer Angabe der Provinz- und Kreis-Begrenzung, so wie der kleinen Sprachgebiete und der gemischten Kreis- und Ortsbevölkerung* (*Map of Peoples and Languages of the Austrian States with a Detailed Representation of Borders of Provinces and Districts, and Small Linguistic Areas and Mixed Population of Counties and Districts*)¹⁶, format 79×111.5 cm. The basis of this map was the *General Map of Post and Railway Connections of Austria* (*General-Post- und Eisenbahnkarte des Kaiserthumes Österreich*, Wien 1849). The scale was provided in German or Italian and in geographical miles, approx. 1:1 500 000. There were indicated national boundaries, boundaries of provinces and districts; towns: capitals, fairs, villages, individual houses; castles or fortifications; locations of military departments

and staff; basic communications: postal roads, railways, shipping routes. The map indicated the political and administrative division of the Austrian monarchy. The background color and inscriptions were used to outline settlement territories of seven ethnic groups of the Austrian monarchy, especially Slavs – with one color, depending on the edition, either green or yellow. The settlement of each Slavonic ethnic group was indicated with inscriptions, including the Ukrainian ethnic groups: Lemkos, Lyshaks, Pokuttians, Ruthenians, Red Ruthenians, Sotacs. According to the map, one can define only the Ukrainian ethnic boundaries with Hungarians and Romanians. However, these limits are shown schematically, as evidenced by white islands along them. In Eastern Galicia the map represents areas inhabited by Germans near Lviv, Stanislau and Kalush.

The second edition of the *Map of Peoples and Languages of the Austrian State...* by Franz Raffelsperger¹⁷ was also dated to 1849 with the same scale of 79×111.5 cm. The map represents the same ethnic boundaries, but the Ukrainian territory of Hungary is presented as “*Magiarisirte Volkstämme*” (Hungarized tribes). In addition, as it was noted on the map, the Civil Geographic Institute in Vienna made translations of the map to order and print them in each Slavonic language as well as Hungarian, Italian and Romanian.

However, the most detailed map of the ethnic composition of the Austrian Empire was published in 1855 by the Directorate of Administrative Statistics in Vienna. It was composed by the director of this institution, anthropologist Karl Freiherrn von Czoernig (1804–1889).

Ethnographische Karte der Österreichischen Monarchie (*Ethnographic Map of the Austrian Monarchy*) by Karl Freiherrn von Czoernig¹⁸ with a scale of 1:864 000 on four sheets and its

¹⁵ R.A. Fröhlich, *Historisch-ethnographisch-statistische Erläuterungen zur neuesten National- und Sprachenkarte des österreichischen Kaiserstaates, und der angränzenden Theile, mit genauer Angabe der einzelnen Sprachfamilien*, Wien 1849, p. [1].

¹⁶ F. Raffelsperger, *Völker und Sprachenkarte der Österreichischen Staaten mit genauer Angabe der Provinz- und Kreis-Begrenzung, so wie*

der kleinen Sprachgebiete und der gemischten Kreis- und Ortsbevölkerung, [scale 1:1 500 000], Wien 1849.

¹⁷ F. Raffelsperger, *Völker und Sprachenkarte*, Aufl. 2, [scale 1:1 500 000], Wien 1849.

¹⁸ K.F. von Czoernig, *Ethnographische Karte der Österreichischen Monarchie. In vier Blaettern*, scale 1:864 000, Wien 1855.

publication on a single sheet in 1856¹⁹ were widely known to scientists. The maps were used as a source for research and creation of other maps by Yakiv Holovatsky²⁰, Hryhoriy Velychko²¹, Stepan Tomashivsky²², Stepan Rudnytsky²³, Alexander Petrov²⁴, Fedir Maksymenko²⁵, Józef Buzek²⁶, Stanisław Pawłowski²⁷. These publications of Karl Freiherrn von Czoernig are mentioned in the articles of modern Ukrainian researchers of ethnic maps Ivan Rovenchak²⁸, Alla Symutina²⁹ and Rostyslav Sossa³⁰.

The history of creating the *Ethnographic Map of the Austrian Monarchy* is thoroughly described in the study published in 1857 by Karl Freiherrn von Czoernig *Ethnographie der Österreichischen Monarchie (Ethnography of the Austrian Monarchy)*³¹, which in fact is a detailed explication of the map. As it was claimed by Karl Freiherrn von Czoernig, creating an ethnographic map that could truly cover settlement of peoples in the Austrian monarchy was difficult because there was a lack of the practical material. Previous studies, except for the work of Pavel Šafařík *Slovanský národopis (Slavonic Ethnography)*³², were imperfect, so he decided not to use them. For the collection of materials for an ethnographic map of the Empire he involved the local authorities, who received specially designed questionnaires and

instructions. So it was the first ascertainment of the ethnic structure of each separate area³³.

The definition of ethnicity for the population of the Hungarian part of the monarchy was based on Catholic and Protestant (partly) schematisms. This could be explained by the fact that these local administrations were under the influence of the official view of the Hungarian authorities on ethnic problems³⁴.

The map was created in stages. At first the research results were traced with paint on detailed maps (with a total number of 306 sheets). Then all the conflicting data was repeatedly tested *in situ*. In 1848, all the material was transferred to a road map (on nine sheets)³⁵. After that an additional examination of all ethnographic islands and groups was carried out in the border areas³⁶.

The next phase was the tracing of the ethnographic map itself. As it turned out, none of the existing general maps at that time could serve as a basis for the *Ethnographic Map of the Austrian Monarchy* because they lacked many settlements³⁷. The corresponding map was composed by the famous Austrian military cartographer Joseph Scheda (1815–1888), who was then a major of the Imperial Royal Military Geographical Institute. The work was completed in 1855. That same year a copy of the map was presented at the industrial exhibition in Paris.

¹⁹ Idem, *Ethnographische Karte der Österreichischen Monarchie*, scale 1:1 584 000, Wien 1856.

²⁰ Я.Ф. Головацкий, *Народные песни Галицкой и Угорской Руси*, ч. 1: *Думы и думки*, Москва 1878, p. 672; idem, *Этнографическая карта русского народонаселения в Галичине, северовосточной Угрии и Буковине*, scale 1:1 600 000, Вена [1875].

²¹ Г. Величко, *Деякі замітки до етнографічної карти Русь-України*, "Діло", 52, 1893, pp. 1–2; idem, *Народописна карта українсько-руського народу*, scale 1:1 680 000, Львів [1896].

²² С. Томашівський, *Етнографічна карта Угорської Русь*, scale 1:300 000, С.-Петербург 1906; idem, *Етнографічна карта* (1910).

²³ С. Рудницький, *Огляд*, pp. 34–35.

²⁴ А. Петров, *Об этнографической границе русского народа в Австро-Угрии, о сомнительной "венгерской" нации и о неделимости Угрии (с двумя картами Галичины)*, Петроград 1915, pp. 28–30.

²⁵ Ф.П. Максименко, *Межі етнографічної території українського народу*, "Бібліотечний збірник. Бібліографія на Україні", 3, 1927, p. 68.

²⁶ J. Buzek, *Rozsiedlenie ludności Galicji według wyznania i języka*, "Wiadomości Statystyczne o Stosunkach Krajowych", 21 (2), 1909.

²⁷ S. Pawłowski, *Ludność rzymsko-katolicka w polsko-ruskiej części Galicji. Z dwoma mapami*, Lwów–Warszawa–Poznań 1919.

²⁸ І.І. Ровенчак, *Передумови видання Г. Величком "Народописної карти українсько-руського народу"*, „Вісник геодезії та картографії”, 1 (20), 2001, p. 50; idem, *Перші етнічні карти українських земель XIX століття (за матеріалами картографічного фонду ЛНБ ім. В. Стефаніка АН УРСР)*, in: *Бібліотека – науці. Збірник наукових статей*, Київ 1990, p. 70; idem, *Фактори та джерела видання Г. Величком "Народописної карти українсько-руського народу" в 1896 р.*, in: *Картографія та історія України. Збірник наукових праць*, Львів–Київ–Нью-Йорк 2000, p. 110.

²⁹ А.Л. Симутіна, *Перші українські етнічні карти*, "Записки Львівської наукової бібліотеки ім. В. Стефаніка", 2, 1993, p. 24.

³⁰ Р.І. Сосса, *Історія картографування території України. Від найдавніших часів до 1920 р. Короткий нарис*, Київ 2000, p. 51; idem, *Картографування території України. Історія, перспективи, наукові основи*, Київ 2005, p. 140.

³¹ K.F. von Czoernig, *Ethnographie*, Bd. 1, Abt. 1, Bd 2.

³² P.J. Šafařík, *Slovanský národopis*, Praha 1842.

³³ K.F. von Czoernig, *Ethnographie*, Bd. 1, Abt. 1, p. VI.

³⁴ Ibidem, p. VII.

³⁵ Ibidem.

³⁶ Ibidem, p. VIII.

³⁷ Ibidem, p. IX.

A quick additional examination concerning all elements of the geographical bases in the map revealed no errors. The first edition of the map in 1855 was published in four sheets. Subsequently, for a wider introduction of the ethnographic situation in the Austrian monarchy to its scientific and public circles, the map was reduced to a single sheet and published in color in the Military Geographic Institute in 1856³⁸.

The *Ethnographic Map of the Austrian Monarchy* by Karl Freiherrn von Czoernig was printed on four sheets with a scale of 1:864 000. With colored backgrounds, areas and inscriptions it represents the settlement of 15 ethnic groups. The settlement of Ukrainians is marked with the blue color. The map includes the localities with more than two thousand inhabitants, borders and boundaries (of state, crown lands, counties and komitats), hydrographic network, and communications (railways, roads, state roads). The map also provides tables of the population size based on the ethnic composition in each province of the Austrian monarchy and tables of its political and administrative division. The rich toponymy of the map (especially on ethnic borders) allows a sufficient and accurate description of the ethnic boundaries, including the Ukrainian ones. It should be noted that the *Ethnography of the Austrian Monarchy* determined the Ukrainian ethnic territory mainly by the extreme non-Ukrainian settlements.

Karl Freiherrn von Czoernig believed that the Ukrainian-Polish ethnic boundary generally ran along the San river, and the new administrative division of Galicia into the East and the West was of political significance³⁹. The Ukrainian-Polish ethnic border was marked by Przemyśl, Sanok, Jasło and Sącz districts (east and south of the modern Subcarpathian and south of the Lesser Poland Voivodeship in Poland), thus Nadsanie and North Lemkivshchyna became part of the continuous Ukrainian ethnic territory.

Let us note that a part of Eastern Galicia on the map was presented as a mixed Ukrain-

ian-Polish territory. It extends to the western part of the Zhovkva Kreis including almost all Lviv, Sambir and Sanok district. In addition, in Galicia there were highlighted other areas where Poles lived. The Ukrainian-Slovak ethnic border runs over Spiš, Šariš and Zemplén komitats (modern Prešov Region of Slovakia), thus covering the South Lemkivshchyna. According to the map, among the prevailing Slovak population the Ukrainians lived almost all over the Zemplén and Šariš komitats as well in the east of the Spiš komitat. In general, as it was noted in the explanatory notes to the map, the establishment of the Polish-Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Slovak ethnic boundaries was accompanied by many difficulties, especially through strips of transitional patoises⁴⁰.

The Ukrainian-Hungarian ethnic border is marked by the former Uzhan and Bereg-Ugocsan komitats (modern Transcarpathian region of Ukraine and Szabolcs-Szatmár region of Hungary). In addition, to the south of the Ukrainian-Hungarian ethnic boundary and the mixed Ukrainian-Slovak territory there were marked areas where the Ukrainian population was a minority. These areas are located in the former Abaúj-Torna, Borsod, Szabolcs, Szatmár and North Bihar komitats (modern regions of Borsod-Abaúj and Szabolcs-Szatmár in Hungary). In general, the Ukrainian settlements reach the towns of Edelény, Miskolc, Nyíregyháza, Nyírbátor, and Mátészalka.

The Ukrainian-Romanian ethnic boundary runs through the former Maramureş County and Bukovina (today Transcarpathian and Chernivtsi region of Ukraine, the modern counties of Satu Mare, Maramureş, Suceava in Romania). The settlement of the Ukrainian ethnic group in Southern Bukovina (along the river Siret and southeast of Câmpulung in Bukovina) is represented by islands and colonies, which is a major drawback of the map as the area above the river Seret was populated by Ukrainians in a solid mass, through the introduction of the Romanian ethnic territory as a narrow wedge.

³⁸ Ibidem, p. X.

³⁹ Ibidem, p. 49.

⁴⁰ Ibidem, p. VII.

On the Ukrainian ethnic territory there are also marked settlements of other ethnic groups: Poles (almost everywhere in Galicia), Germans (mostly in towns of Galicia and Bukovina), Armenians (in Lviv, Horodenets, Snyatyn, Chernivtsi, Kutu, Lysets).

A single sheet edition of the *Ethnographic Map of the Austrian Monarchy* of 1856 was composed in a scale of 1:1 584 000, format 57×79.5 cm. The settlement of ethnic groups is represented identically to that of the 1855 edition. The difference is that the smaller version of the map represents a somewhat smaller number of settlements. The *Ethnographic Map of the Austrian Monarchy* of 1855 and its single sheet republication in 1856 were highly praised by Ukrainian scientists. In particular, historian Stepan Tomashivsky⁴¹ and geographer Stepan Rudnytsky⁴² emphasized the reference value of the map and its relevance even after half a century after its publication, in spite of some of its shortcomings.

Moreover, Polish scholars including Józef Buzek⁴³ and Stanisław Pawłowski⁴⁴ made critical comments regarding the composition techniques of Karl Freiherrn von Czoernig's *Ethnographic Map of the Austrian Monarchy* of 1855 and its representation of the Polish population distribution within Eastern Galicia. A Ukrainian bibliographer Fedir Maksymenko supported the idea of the Russian scientist Alexander Petrov⁴⁵ that only the works of Czoernig can be used to trace the Ukrainian-Polish ethnic border⁴⁶.

However, the *Ethnographic Map of the Austrian Monarchy* got its highest recognition within the government circles of the West Ukrainian People's Republic and this map became the basis of the *Тимчасовий основний закон про державну самостійність українських земель бувшої австро-угорської монархії* (*Provisional*

Basic Law on State Independence of the Ukrainian Lands of the Former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy), which determined the political boundaries of the WUPR adopted at a meeting of the Ukrainian National Council on November 13, 1918. Its *Article II. Boundaries* proclaimed that the "Territory of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic is covered with the Ukrainian continuous ethnographic area within the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy, i.e. the Ukrainian part of the former Austrian crown lands of Galicia, Lodomeria and Bukovina with other Ukrainian parts of the former Hungarian capitals (counties): Spiš, Šariš, Zemplén, Ung, Bereg and Maramureş as it was represented on the ethnographic map of the Austrian monarchy of Karl Freiherrn von Czoernig, *Ethnographische Karte der Österreichischen Monarchie*, entworfen von Karl Freiherrn Czoernig, herausgegeben von der k. k. Direktion der administrativen Statistik. Wien, 1855. Maßstab 1:864 000"⁴⁷. It should be noted that sometimes in modern studies one can confuse the names of two different people – Baron Karl Czoernig (1804–1889) – the map author's own name, and Count Ottokar Czernin (1872–1932) – Foreign Minister of Austria-Hungary, who is sometimes regarded as being the author of this map⁴⁸.

In 1888 the Viennese publishing house of Eduard Hölzel (1817–1885) published *Sprachenkarte von Österreich-Ungarn (Linguistic Map of Austria-Hungary)*⁴⁹ which was composed by Franz Ritter von Le Monnier (1854–1925), vice-secretary of the minister and librarian of the Imperial Royal Geographical Society in Vienna. The map was compiled according to the Census of December 31, 1880 and on the topographic basis of the map issued by the publishing house Artaria & Comp. The said map of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was earlier composed by the Austrian Major Gen-

⁴¹ С. Томашівський, *Етнографічна карта* (1910), pp. 5, 9.

⁴² С. Рудницький, *Огляд*, pp. 34–35.

⁴³ J. Buzek, *Rozsiedlenie*, pp. 2–3.

⁴⁴ S. Pawłowski, *Ludność*, pp. 2–3.

⁴⁵ А. Петров, *Об этнографической границе*, pp. 28–30.

⁴⁶ Ф.П. Максименко, *Межі*, p. 68.

⁴⁷ М. Позинський, *Галичина в pp. 1918–1920*, Нью-Йорк 1970, p. 45.

⁴⁸ В. Боєчко, О. Ганжа, Б. Захарчук, *Кордони України: історична ретроспектива та сучасний стан*, Київ 1994, p. 113; С.А. Макарчук, *Українська Республіка галичан*, Львів 1997, p. 62.

⁴⁹ F. Ritter von Le Monnier, *Sprachenkarte von Österreich-Ungarn*, scale 1:1 000 000, Wien 1888.

eral, geographer and cartographer Joseph Ritter von Scheda (1815–1888)⁵⁰.

This map was based on government statistics taken completely at face value, and thus, ignoring any biases that may have existed. This is a classic example of an uncritical treatment of the official statistics by the author. In fact, the map is essentially a photograph of the Census of 1880 in Austria-Hungary, which certainly undermines its scientific value. This was indicated by Stepan Rudnytsky⁵¹ and Stepan Tomashivsky⁵².

The *Language Map of Austria-Hungary*, as noted by Franz Ritter von Le Monnier in his explication, was based on information on the spoken language in Austria and the native language in Hungary. The author believed that even though a spoken language is not similar to a native one, the difference between the two is not significant enough to affect the final results of the census⁵³. However, as shown by the ethnic boundaries traced on the map, especially the Ukrainian-Polish and Ukrainian-Slovak ones, understanding the difference between the spoken and native languages was essential.

When compiling this map the publisher pursued the following sequence. First, for all communities (27 528 in Austria, 4910 estates included and 16 374 in Hungary) the percentage of ethnic groups that created a community was calculated. Minorities of less than 10% were excluded to simplify the representation, minorities of 10–29% were represented by dots of a corresponding color while the minorities of 30–49% – with strokes of a corresponding color⁵⁴.

The calculation results were applied to 60 sheets of maps of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy issued by the Military Geographical Institute in Vienna with a scale of 1:300 000, and from there they were transferred to the active map of the Austro-Hungarian Reich of Joseph Ritter von Scheda with a scale of 1:1 000 000. As was noted by Franz Ritter von Le Mon-

nier, he tried to represent the habitation of all ethnic groups as closely as possible according to the census, so only a small number of Armenian and Albanian settlements were shown schematically⁵⁵.

The map intended to study the population of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy had to be of assistance in state institutions and schools. Thanks to its excellent color print it could be used as a wall map. The author believed that it could successfully replace the already used map of Karl Freiherrn von Czoernig⁵⁶, which was mentioned above. The *Language Map of Austria-Hungary* was composed in a scale of 1:1 000 000, with a format of 113×154 cm. The Slavonic territories were marked with different shades of the green range of colors. The Ukrainian ethnic territory was marked with a bright green color.

On the Polish continuous ethnic territory the Ukrainian islands and colonies are represented, the majority of which are located:

- on the right bank of the San and marked with localities of Kuryłówka, Żuków, Cieplice, Leżachów, Majdan, Pawłowa, Cewków, near Adamówka to the north – all of them are north of the river Lubaczówka; east of Jarosław (islands of Ukrainians between mapped settlements are marked);
- south from Jarosław (on the left bank of the San – marked between two localities);
- on both sides of the river San near Dynów;
- on a large Ukrainian island located on the right bank of the river Wisłok between the localities of Lutcza, Korczyzna, Wysoka;
- to the north and south of Rymanów.

On the continuous Slovak ethnic territory Ukrainian islands are represented on a big island south to Stará Ľubovňa which covers the areas of Jakubany, Majerka, Nižné Repaše, Blažov; and on a second one to the west of Stropkov. On the continuous Hungarian ethnic territory Ukrainian islands are depicted west to the Berehove, near the mouth of the Borzhava, south from Shalanky, on the left

⁵⁰ Ibidem, p. [1].

⁵¹ С. Рудницький, *Огляд*, p. 35.

⁵² С. Томашівський, *Етнографічна карта* (1910), p. 10.

⁵³ F. Ritter von Le Monnier, *Sprachenkarte*, p. [3].

⁵⁴ Ibidem, p. [3].

⁵⁵ Ibidem, pp. [3–4].

⁵⁶ Ibidem, p. [4].

bank of the Tisza near the localities of Tiszapéterfalva, Chepa, Nevetlenfalva, Gyula. On the continuous Romanian ethnic territory Ukrainian islands are depicted south from Vyshkovo near Tiachiv, Dovhopillia, Vișeu de Sus, Ostra on the river Sukha; Dragomirna, Hatna, Lypovany on the left bank of the river Suceava; south of the town of Suceava near the Rus Monastery.

In the continuous Ukrainian ethnic territory there are areas of settlement of other ethnic groups: Poles (throughout Galicia – it seems that they are at least 1/3 of the total population); Germans (in Galicia, Transcarpathia, Bukovina, South Lemkivshchyna); Hungarians (in Transcarpathia), Romanians (in Bukovina).

If we compare the Ukrainian ethnic boundaries traced by Franz Ritter von Le Monnier with those traced by Karl Freiherrn von Czoernig in 1855, we can see that the continuous Ukrainian ethnic territory was considerably reduced on the Ukrainian-Polish (Nadsanie North Lemkivshchyna) and the Ukrainian-Slovak (South Lemkivshchyna) limits, and somewhat reduced on the Ukrainian-Romanian part in the Transcarpathian region at intervals Vyshkovo – Tiachiv, Vișeu de Sus – Borșa – Cârlibaba. The Ukrainian-Hungarian border runs identically to that of Karl Freiherrn von Czoernig. The Ukrainian-Romanian ethnic border in Bukovina is traced well enough if you compare this piece with the *Ethnographic Map of Bukovina* by Arkadii Zhukovsky⁵⁷, based on the Census of 1910 and issued in 1954. Of course, we can assume that on the Ukrainian-Slovak and Ukrainian-Romanian ethnic boundaries from 1855 to 1880 the ethnographic situation changed and not in favor

of the Ukrainians. But the *Ethnographic Map of Hungarian Rus*⁵⁸ by Stepan Tomashivsky 1906 refutes this.

A significant reduction of the continuous Ukrainian ethnic territory was due to the vagueness of the concept of colloquial (“sociable”) language, as it was indicated by Volodymyr Barvinsky⁵⁹ in his study of the census results in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in 1880.

It should be noted that the publication of the large *Language Map of Austria-Hungary* by Joseph Ritter von Le Monnier was preceded by his single sheet *Karte der Verteilung der Bevölkerung Österreich-Ungarns nach der Umgangs-, beziehungsweise Muttersprache (Map of Distribution of the Population of Austria-Hungary by Spoken or Native Languages)*⁶⁰. It was placed at number 15 in the *Physikalisch-statistischer Handatlas von Österreich-Ungarn (Physical and Statistical Atlas of Austria-Hungary)*⁶¹, which was created according to the results of the Census of 1880. This map was also published in a separate edition with an option of ordering an explanatory text to it⁶². The map of Franz Ritter von Le Monnier was used as a source to create maps for dictionaries⁶³ and by other cartographers, including Myron Kymakovych and Liubomyr Rozhansky⁶⁴, Lubor Niederle⁶⁵, Timofey Florinskiy⁶⁶.

Conclusions

Thus, the ethnic maps of Austria-Hungary (Austrian monarchy) described by us were published during a 50-year period (1845–1888) throughout the 19th century. To represent the Ukrainian ethnic territory the authors used background colors (mostly green-blue colour shades), geographical ranges and super-

⁵⁷ А. Жуковський, *Етнографічна карта Буковини. Опрацьована на підставі перепису населення з 31 грудня 1910*, scale 1:300 000, Париж 1954.

⁵⁸ С. Томашівський, *Етнографічна карта* (1906).

⁵⁹ В. Барвінський, *Досліди з поля статистики*, Київ 1993.

⁶⁰ F. Ritter von Le Monnier, *Karte der Verteilung der Bevölkerung Österreich-Ungarns nach der Umgangs-, beziehungsweise Muttersprache auf Grund der Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. Dec. 1880*, [scale 1:2 500 000], Wien 1885, in: J. Chavanne, *Physikalisch-statistischer Handatlas von Österreich-Ungarn*, Wien 1887, Tafel 15.

⁶¹ J. Chavanne, *Physikalisch-statistischer Handatlas*, Tafel 15.

⁶² F. Ritter von Le Monnier, *Karte*.

⁶³ Idem, *Ethnographische Karte von Österreich-Ungarn*, scale 1:4 850 000, Leipzig 1909, in: *Meyers Konv.-Lexikon*, Aufl. 6, Bd. 15, zum Artikel Österreich.

⁶⁴ М. Кимакович, П. Рожанський, *Русь-Україна і Біла Русь. Карта етнографічна*, scale 1:3 700 000, Львів 1892.

⁶⁵ L. Niederle, *Národopisná mapa slovanstva*, scale 1:3 700 000, Praha 1912.

⁶⁶ Т.Д. Флоринский, *Етнографическая карта западного славянства и Западной Руси*, [scale 1:680 000], Киев 1911.

scriptions. The maps were based on the scales of survey maps.

The maps are compiled on a scientific basis. The authors used a variety of sources, including census results, information from schematisms, data from ethnographic researches, and earlier issued maps including the works of Pavel Šafařík. The authors' use of different sources and different approaches in compiling the maps were the reason for different ethnic boundaries on the maps.

The maps of Joseph Vincenz Häufler, Rudolph Alois Fröhlich and Franz Raffelsperger provided a general overview of interethnic relations in the Austrian monarchy. While comparing these maps we should see that the Ukrainian-Polish ethnic boundaries are fairly accurately represented on the map of Joseph Vincenz Häufler. On the map of Rudolph Alois Fröhlich this boundary is moved considerably to the east, which was contrary to the truth, but on the maps of Franz Raffelsperger it was not shown at all, and neither were the Ukrainian-Slovak ethnic boundaries. The representation of the Ukrainian-Slovak ethnic boundaries on the maps of Joseph Vincenz Häufler and Rudolph Alois Fröhlich and Ukrainian ethnic boundaries with Hungarians and Romanians on the maps of the three authors is over-simplified and based upon the maps of Pavel Šafařík (1842) and Jan Čaplovič (1829).

Scientifically, the most valuable is the *Ethnographic Map of the Austrian Monarchy* by Czoernig, which represents in the most accurate way the Ukrainian ethnic territory of

the Austrian monarchy in the mid-nineteenth century, especially the ethnic Ukrainian-Polish border. For the first time the author chose a particular blue colour for marking the Ukrainian ethnic territory and thus he represented Ukrainians as a separate people (on the maps of Joseph Vincenz Häufler, Rudolph Alois Fröhlich and Franz Raffelsperger the territories of Slavs are represented in one colour and the areas of some Slavonic peoples are marked with lines and superscriptions). Marking with a significant number of names, especially on ethnic boundaries, makes reading the map easier. The scientific value of the map is amplified by the work of Karl Freiherrn von Czoernig *Ethnography of the Austrian Monarchy*. As already mentioned, many cartographers used this map to create their own maps. The *Ethnographic Map...* of Karl Freiherrn von Czoernig has not lost its scientific value up to the present time. It is still a valuable document for mapping in Ukrainian studies. The *Linguistic Map of Austria-Hungary* by Franz Ritter von Le Monnier can be used only as an illustration of the results of the population census in Austria-Hungary in 1880.

The principal scientific value of the described ethnic maps of Austria-Hungary (Austrian monarchy) lies in the fact that Ukrainians (Ruthenians) are represented as a separate ethnic group that lived together in the north-eastern part of the state. The separate representation of Ukrainians-Ruthenians on the map contributed to the recognition of the fact that Ukrainians were a single nation and not a dialect part of any other. ■

Bibliography

Atlases and Maps

Величко Г., *Народописна карта українсько-руського народу*, scale 1:1 680 000, Львів [1896].

Головацкий Я.Ф., *Этнографическая карта русского народонаселения в Галичине, северовосточной Угрии и Буковине*, scale 1:1 600 000, Вена [1875].

Жуковський А., *Етнографічна карта Буковини. Опрацьована на підставі перепису населення з 31 грудня 1910*, scale 1:300 000, Париж 1954.

Кимакович М., Рожанський Л., *Русь-Україна і Біла Русь. Карта етнографічна*, scale 1:3 700 000, Львів 1892.

- Томашівський С., *Етнографічна карта Угорської Русі*, scale 1:300 000, С.-Петербург 1906.
- Флоринский Т.Д., *Этнографическая карта западного славянства и Западной Руси*, [scale 1:680 000], Киев 1911.
- Czoernig K.F. von, *Ethnographische Karte der Österreichischen Monarchie*, scale 1:1 584 000, Wien 1856.
- Czoernig K.F. von, *Ethnographische Karte der Österreichischen Monarchie. In vier Blättern*, scale 1:864 000, Wien 1855.
- Fröhlich R.A., *Neueste National und Sprachkarte des Österreichischen Kaiserstaates und der angrenzenden Theile, mit genauer Angabe der einzelnen Sprachfamilien*, [scale 1:1 970 000], Wien 1849.
- Häufler J.V., *Versuch einer Sprachkarte der Österreichischen Monarchie*, [scale 1:1 970 000], Pest 1845.
- Le Monnier F. Ritter von, *Ethnographische Karte von Österreich-Ungarn*, scale 1:4 850 000, Leipzig 1909, in: *Meyers Konv.-Lexikon*, Aufl. 6, Bd. 15, zum Artikel Österreich.
- Le Monnier F. Ritter von, *Karte der Verteilung der Bevölkerung Österreich-Ungarns nach der Umgangs-, beziehungsweise Muttersprache auf Grund der Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. Dec. 1880*, [scale 1:2 500 000], Wien 1885.
- Le Monnier F. Ritter von, *Sprachenkarte von Österreich-Ungarn*, scale 1:1 000 000, Wien 1888.
- Niederle L., *Národopisná mapa slovanstva*, scale 1:3 700 000, Praha 1912.
- Raffelsperger F., *Völker und Sprachkarte der Österreichischen Staaten mit genauer Angabe der Provinz- und Kreis-Begrenzung, so wie der kleinen Sprachgebiete und der gemischten Kreis- und Ortsbevölkerung*, [scale 1:1 500 000], Wien 1849.
- Raffelsperger F., *Völker und Sprachkarte der Österreichischen Staaten mit genauer Angabe der Provinz- und Kreis-Begrenzung, so wie der kleinen Sprachgebiete und der gemischten Kreis- und Ortsbevölkerung*, Aufl. 2, [scale 1:1 500 000], Wien 1849.

Books and Articles

- Барвінський В., *Досліди з поля статистики*, Київ 1993.
- Боечко В., Ганжа О., Захарчук Б., *Кордони України: історична ретроспектива та сучасний стан*, Київ 1994.
- Величко Г., *Деякі замітки до етнографічної карти Русі-України*, "Діло", 52, 1893, pp. 1–2.
- Головацкий Я.Ф., *Народные песни Галицкой и Угорской Руси*, ч. 1: *Думы и думки*, Москва 1878.
- Кабузан Н.В., *Украинское население Закарпатья (начало XIX–70-е годы XX в.)*, "Расы и народы", 16, 1986, pp. 104–117.
- Лозинський М., *Галичина в рр. 1918–1920*, Нью-Йорк 1970.
- Макаручук С.А., *Українська Республіка галичан*, Львів 1997.
- Максименко Ф.П., *Межі етнографічної території українського народу*, "Бібліотечний збірник. Бібліографія на Україні", 3, 1927, pp. 65–93.
- Падюка Н., *Українці на "Етнографічній карті Австрійської монархії" К. Черніла*, in: *Історична топографія і соціотопографія України. Збірник наукових праць*, ред. Я. Дашкевич et al., Львів 2006, pp. 299–315.
- Петров А., *Об этнографической границе русского народа в Австро-Угрии, о сомнительной "венгерской" нации и о неделимости Угрии (с двумя картами Галичины)*, Петроград 1915.
- Ровенчак І.І., *Передумови видання Г. Величком "Народписної карти українсько-руського народу"*, "Вісник геодезії та картографії", 1 (20), 2001, pp. 50–55.

- Ровенчак І.І., *Перші етнічні карти українських земель ХІХ століття (за матеріалами картографічного фонду АНБ ім. В. Стефаника АН УРСР)*, in: *Бібліотека – науці. Збірник наукових статей*, Київ 1990, pp. 69–77.
- Ровенчак І.І., *Фактори та джерела видання Г. Величком “Народописної карти українсько-руського народу” в 1896 р.*, in: *Картографія та історія України. Збірник наукових праць*, Львів–Київ–Нью-Йорк 2000, pp. 109–118.
- Рудницький С., *Огляд національної території України*, Берлін 1923.
- Симутіна А.А., *Перші українські етнічні карти*, “Записки Львівської наукової бібліотеки ім. В. Стефаника”, 2, 1993, pp. 23–34.
- Сосса Р.І., *Історія картографування території України. Від найдавніших часів до 1920 р. Короткий нарис*, Київ 2000.
- Сосса Р.І., *Картографування території України. Історія, перспективи, наукові основи*, Київ 2005.
- Томашівський С., *Етнографічна карта Угорської Руси*, С.-Петербург 1910.
- Buzek J., *Rozsiedlenie ludności Galicji według wyznania i języka*, “Wiadomości Statystyczne o Stosunkach Krajowych”, 21 (2), 1909.
- Czoernig K.F. von, *Ethnographie der Österreichischen Monarchie*, Bd. 1, Abt. 1, Bd 2, Wien 1857.
- Dörfflinger J., *Sprachen- und Völkerkarten des mitteleuropäischen Raumes vom 18. Jahrhundert bis in die zweite Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, in: *4. Kartographiehistorisches Colloquium Karlsruhe 1988, 17–19. März 1988. Vorträge und Berichte*, Berlin 1990, pp. 183–195.
- Faluszczak F.P., *Kartografia Galicji Wschodniej w latach 1772–1914*, Rzeszów 2011.
- Fröhlich R.A., *Historisch-ethnographisch-statistische Erläuterungen zur neuesten National- und Sprachenkarte des österreichischen Kaiserstaates, und der angränzenden Theile, mit genauer Angabe der einzelnen Sprachfamilien*, Wien 1849.
- Gawryszewski A., *Polskie mapy narodowościowe, wyznaniowe i językowe. Bibliografia (lata 1827–1967)*, Warszawa 1969 (Dokumentacja Geograficzna, 4).
- Häufler J.V., *Sprachenkarte der Österreichischen Monarchie sammt erklärender Übersicht der Völker dieses Kaiserstaates, ihrer Sprachstämme und Mundarten, ihrer örtlichen und numerischen Verteilung*, Ofen 1845.
- Kretschmer I., *Frühe ethnographische Karten Südosteuropas aus Wien*, (http://lazarus.elte.hu/hun/digkonyv/sc/sc13/32ingrid_kretschmer.pdf, access: 24 December 2013; http://www.yasni.info/ext.php?url=http%3A%2F%2Flazarus.elte.hu%2Fhun%2Fdigkonyv%2Fsc%2Fsc13%2F32ingrid_kretschmer.pdf&name=Ingrid+Kretschmer&showads=1&lc=en-us&lg=en&rg=de&rip=ua, access: 15 January 2014).
- Labbé M., *La carte ethnographique de l'empire Autrichien: la multinationalité dans «l'ordre des choses»*, (<http://www.lecf.fr/new/articles/180-article-6.pdf>, access: 27 December 2013).
- Labbé M., *Die “Ethnographische Karte der Österreichischen Monarchie”: ein Abbild der Monarchie*, in: *Images en capitale: Vienne, fin XVIIe–début XIXe siècles*, Hrsg. Ch. Lebeau, Bochum 2011, pp. 151–166, (Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert und Österreich, 25) (http://www.academia.edu/915826/Stadtraum_-_Buhnenraum._Wien_als_Kapitale_in_Josef_Richters_Bilder_galerien, access: 25 December 2013).
- Le Monnier F. Ritter von, *Sprachenkarte von Österreich-Ungarn*, Wien 1889.
- Pawłowski S., *Ludność rzymsko-katolicka w polsko-ruskiej części Galicji. Z dwoma mapami*, Lwów–Warszawa–Poznań 1919.
- Šafařík P.J., *Slovanský národopis*, Praha 1842. ■

Obraz ziem ukraińskich na austriackich mapach etnicznych z XIX w.

Streszczenie

Zaostrzenie konfliktów etnicznych w wielonarodowej monarchii austriackiej w poł. XIX w. i wzrost ruchów narodowowyzwoleńczych w Europie skłoniły rząd Austro-Węgier do poświęcenia szczególnej uwagi badaniom składu etnicznego państwa oraz zdefiniowaniu zasięgu występowania każdego z etnosów, w tym ukraińskiego. Wraz z badaniami etnograficznymi i statystycznymi w monarchii austriackiej zaczęły się pojawiać mapy etniczne, sporządzane na podstawie oficjalnych statystyk naukowych. Są to przede wszystkim dzieła Josepha Vincenza Häuflera, Rudolpha Aloisa Fröhlicha, Franza Raffelspergera, Karla Freiherrna von Czoerniga, Franza Rittersa von Le Monniera. Wszystkie wyraźnie pokazują różnorodność etniczną państwa.

Mapy zostały opracowane na podstawie badań naukowych. Ich autorzy czerpali informacje ze spisu ludności, schematyzmów, badań etnograficznych, starszych map, pracy Pavla Šafaříka. Korzystanie z wielu źródeł i odmienne

podejście autorów do sporządzania map spowodowały, że ukraińskie granice etniczne przedstawiane były różnie.

Mapy Häuflera, Fröhlicha i Raffelspergera dają ogólny przegląd stosunków między grupami etnicznymi w monarchii austriackiej. Z naukowego punktu widzenia najbardziej cenna jest *Mapa etnograficzna monarchii austriackiej Czoerniga*, która najwierniej przedstawia terytorium zajmowane przez etnos ukraiński w poł. XIX w., zwłaszcza ukraińsko-polską granicę etniczną. Jest to więc bardzo cenny dokument dla ukraińskiej nauki. Przydatność *Mapy językowej Austro-Węgier Le Monniera* ogranicza się do zilustrowania wyników spisu ludności Austro-Węgier z 1880 r.

Pod względem naukowym największą wartością opisanych map etnicznych Austro-Węgier jest przedstawienie Ukraińców (Rusinów) jako oddzielnego narodu żyjącego w północnej części kraju. Wyodrębnienie Ukraińców (Rusinów) na mapach sprzyjało uznaniu ich za odrębny naród, niebędący częścią żadnego innego. ■

Key words: mapping history, ethnic maps, Austrian monarchy, ethnic mapping of Ukrainians

Słowa kluczowe: historia kartografii, mapy etniczne, monarchia austriacka, etnokartografia Ukraińców

Neonila Padyuka – kierownik Gabinetu Kartografii Lwowskiej
Narodowej Naukowej Biblioteki Ukrainy im. Wasyla Stefanyka
(e-mail: neonilapadjuka@gmail.com)