

The Making of Modern Ukraine

12 - Habsburg Curiosity

Link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WO_SuY-4Sow

00:00 Okay, everybody, greetings.
Welcome. Happy Tuesday.
Our job today is to get through the Habsburgs.
I wanna start with making a few remarks about mistakes, my own and those of others.
Okay, so the funny thing about giving a class where there were two million views online is that I can hear from a large number of people about things that go on in this class.
So I just wanna say to those of you who are watching online, you are right.
Milorad Pavic, the author of "Dictionary of the Khazars" was a Serb and not a Croat.
I'm very sorry.
And on etymology of punch, obviously, I should have said that's a common Indo-European root that is shared in the Slavic and other languages.
Okay, as far as errors in the transcription, please do not email me about errors in the transcription.

01:01 Email the people who are doing the transcription, and that email address is right over there, and the cameraman is going to give you that email address there.
So if you find errors in the transcription, do not email me.
Thank you very much.
(class chuckling) (chuckling) Okay, so we have a really important and interesting job today, which is to get through the Habsburg family.
So families matter a lot in history.
Larger forces matter too.
Structural forces matter too.
Climate matters, geology matters, economics matter, but individuals and families matter very much as well.
This would be a very different war if someone besides Volodymyr Zelenskyy were president of Ukraine.
This would be a very different war if someone besides Joe Biden were president in the United States.
Individuals do matter, families do matter, and it's important to have them inside history as well.
It's an especially easy case to make for the Habsburgs because they were in power in some form or other for about 600 years, one place or another, and for sometimes they were in

power over much of the world.

02:02 So the historian A. J. P. Taylor wrote that for about half a millennium, it wasn't that the Habsburgs turned around the history of Europe, it was that the history of Europe turned around them, and for about a hundred years, you could even say as much about the history of the world.

So if you are going to be a history major or if you're going to be someone especially who's focusing on the history of Europe, and there's one family name that you should know, this is probably the family name that you should know.

So we are going to get around to why the Habsburgs are so important to the history of Ukraine, but we're gonna make sure first, and this is gonna be the bulk of the lecture, that we have a sense of who the Habsburgs are.

So if the Habsburgs were so important, why is it that no one talks that much about them, or, more interestingly, why is it that of all the peoples around the world, the people who remember the Habsburgs fondly tend to be in Western Ukraine? So the Habsburg touched, the Habsburgs touch all kinds of people, including the Aztecs, including the Inca, they touched all kinds of people, but they're remembered fondly in Western Ukraine.

03:08 By the end of the lecture, you should have a sense of why it is that they're remembered fondly in Western Ukraine.

In terms of the overall arguments and method that we've been using in this class, this is gonna be one more example of how friction or contact between larger powers, between empires, has to do with the creation of the nation.

The Habsburgs are going to turn out to be very important in the origins of Ukraine, and yet, and yet, and yet, when the Habsburgs, when Maria Theresia takes part in the First Partition of Poland in 1772 and brings in a tiny bit of territory where most people speak Ukrainian, she is thinking many things, but she is certainly not thinking about Ukraine or the history of Ukraine, or the future of Ukraine.

Nevertheless, this little encounter, one tiny part of where Ukrainian is spoken in the world and also one tiny part of the Habsburg monarchy, that overlap between one tiny part of the zone where Ukrainian is spoken and one tiny part of the Habsburg world, that little tiny overlap, which is called Galicia, is going to turn out to be very, very important for the history of the Ukrainian nation.

04:25 It's gonna be important for a certain kind of, a especially certain kind of moment.

I'm gonna say the 1880s to the 1980s, for about a century, Galicia is going to be the most important part of what's now Ukraine.

That period comes and that period goes.

It's already gone, so with all due respect to those of you who are from Halychyna, that period is now passed.

The center, the natural center, of European politics, sorry, of Ukrainian politics is actually the East.

It's the East now, and it's the East for most of the time that we're teaching in this class, but for a century or so, Galicia is extremely important, and you might even argue necessary, right? So you can imagine there might be an essay question, which would be something like, if Galicia had not been part of the Habsburg monarchy, what would've happened to Ukraine, right? That's how important this zone is.

05:23 So we're talking about a moment.

We're talking about a moment when some Ukrainian-speaking territory is part of the Habsburg monarchy.

That moment lasts from 1772 to 1918.

And then we're talking about a moment where that zone, we will be later talking about a moment where that zone is crucial to Ukraine as a whole, which is roughly the 1880s to the 1890s.

Okay, so, but my goal here is to make sure you know who the Habsburgs are because if you walked away from this class saying the Habsburgs, I mean, with all due respect to the history of Ukraine, if you walked away from this class thinking the Habsburgs are important because of this thing they did in Galicia for a few decades, that would be an unfortunately nationalistic interpretation of this family, so we're gonna make sure that we know who the Habsburgs are.

06:10 We have talked about a couple of kinds of empires so far.

We've talked about empires that break out into the Age of Discovery and empires that don't.

So when we think about the success of the Russian Empire in the 18th century, one of the broad factors behind that was that Russia managed to reach the Pacific and also that Russia, by way of English traders first, manages to trade West as well into the Atlantic.

Russia breaks out into the world, not just on land, but also by making contact with the oceans.

A couple of other empires or large states that don't do that are the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which comes to an end in the 18th century, and the Ottoman Empire, which is weakening.

The Ottoman Empire can't break out of the Mediterranean.

The Habsburgs are a very interesting kind of middle case because the Habsburgs do break out into the wider world.

Indeed, they break out into the wider world more effectively and more extravagantly and more spectacularly than any other family.

07:07 In the early 16th century, they are governing Spain.

By the late 18th century, sorry, 16th century, they're also governing Portugal.

They're governing the Netherlands for much of the 1500s and 1600s.

Why does that matter? Because the Spanish, the Portuguese, and the Dutch are the major exploring powers at the time.

If you cast a glance at the bottom part of the map that I handed out, which is entitled Habsburg Earth, that gives you an idea.

We think of these things as Spanish history, the Spanish Empire, Portuguese history, the Portuguese Empire.

We think of the Dutch traders, but the Habsburgs actually ruled these countries in the 1500s and in the 1600s.

So the Habsburgs ruled domains which break out into the world more powerfully, more spectacularly than any other single family, but then it's all broken in 1700, that the Spanish branch of the Habsburgs dies out, and the Habsburgs at that point are basically reduced to being a European power.

08:13 That year, 1700, one year after 1699, which, as you all know, is the time of the Treaty of Karlowitz, which marks when the Habsburgs break out into Southeastern Europe.

So 1699, 1700, you can remember as a kind of turning point when the Habsburgs are ceasing to be a world power, but at exactly the same moment becoming a Southeastern, East Central, or East European power.

The final thing I wanna say about the Habsburgs before I get into the chronology is that I would ask you if you have a vision of the Habsburgs in mind, maybe you don't, maybe this is all completely new, but if you have a vision of the Habsburgs in mind, and you come from a francophone or an anglophone background, the vision that you have in your mind is probably very much people who were mad, bad, and unfit to rule, that you probably have in mind the idea that this was some kind of antique, cantankerous, doomed monarchy which was anachronistic because it had lots of nations inside of it at the same time and fell apart during the First World War.

09:17 That's the stereotype, and that stereotype comes from American and British and French

propaganda during the First World War.

So if you come from, if you happen to come from those traditions, a French or a British or American tradition in education, probably insofar as the Habsburgs figure at all, it's as a prison of nations, yada, yada, yada.

I mean, I'm gonna puncture that just for a moment, just one moment.

When the Habsburgs were fighting the Americans at the end of the First World War, when Wilson gave his famous speech in which he was announcing the principle of self-determination, there were, okay, I'm gonna put this as a question 'cause you guys look awake.

There were how many African Americans in the American Congress listening to that speech? Come on, you can do it.

10:06 It's the safest possible guess.

Zero is correct, right? Zero is correct, whereas in the Habsburg Parliament at the same time, all the nationalities were represented, right? All the nationalities were represented.

So in many ways, the Habsburg monarchy was actually a more liberal country than the United States of America at the time when they were waging war.

That's just one little detail.

And when you think about the Habsburgs today, and you think about that stereotype, you could also think about it in these terms.

Were the Habsburgs behind the times or, insofar as these ways of thinking about things are acceptable, maybe they were ahead of their time? Because by the time you get to the 19th century, the late 19th century, early 20th century, the Habsburgs were a multinational, pluralistic liberal zone with very messy politics, but a growing economy and not entirely unlike the European Union of today, right? So is that model of being multinational and having cranky politics based on compromise among nationalities, is that a thing of the past, or is that maybe a thing of the present or the future? Okay, so, so much for the repair of the image of the Habsburgs.

11:17 Now we're gonna zoom back into the history of the Habsburgs, and you can make your own judgements.

So the Habsburgs go all the way back.

They really are an old family.

They're not as old as they say they are.

They don't actually go back to Remus and Romulus and the wolf, but they do go back to the year 1020.

They built a castle called the Habichtsburg, which is the first sign of their existence, and that's the year 1020.

So basically their existence is contemporaneous with the foundation of Kyivan Rus' as we know it, which is 988.

The Habsburgs have been around for a long time.

Most of this history isn't gonna seem to have much to do with Ukraine, but we need to know who they are before they get to Ukraine.

12:03 These people make their money by not from glamorous conquest, and this is sort of a theme.

They make their money at the beginning by tolls over bridges and by taxing travelers and things like that in what's now Austria, what's now Switzerland.

The one great or the greatest Austrian Habsburg warlord was Rudolf von Habsburg, who was born in 1218 and is elected Holy Roman Emperor in 1273.

He's the founder of this dynasty as a major European dynasty.

What's the Holy Roman Empire? The Holy Roman Empire is the, so the title of Holy Roman Emperor is given to the King of the Franks.

If you'll remember, the initial geopolitics of this class are the Franks in the West and the Byzantines in the South or in the East.

Charlemagne is the great King of the Franks.

The idea that there is an emperor is revived in the West with the Kingdom of the Franks, and then when that line dies out, it's restored again in the year 962, when Otto, who is king of Germany, is named Holy Roman Emperor, crowned Holy Roman Emperor in 962.

13:17 From that point forward, until Napoleon does away with it, there's going to be something called the Holy Roman Empire.

The Habsburgs are going to claim superiority over other families largely by being Holy Roman Emperors and by claiming that they always should be Holy Roman Emperors.

But many interesting things about the Holy Roman Empire, that one of them is that the emperor was elected, admittedly, by a very small group of electors, of a handful of electors, but nevertheless elected.

The way elections work though is that they're very closely associated with bouts of violence, which is, of course, something we in America don't know anything about.

When Rudolf of Habsburg was elected Holy Roman Emperor in 1273, and this was immediately contested by probably the most impressive king of the most impressive kingdom of the time, which was the wonderfully named Otakar Premysl II, right? The name Otakar Premysl was so good that there had to be at least two of them, right? So Otakar Premysl II, who was king of the Czechs, he really was the probably the most impressive ruler of Europe at the time.

14:26 The Czechs have just done this funny thing where they've claimed that they've hosted, did you see this? They've claimed that they've hosted a referendum in Kaliningrad? (student speaking faintly) Yeah, that goes - - [Student] Královec.

- Yeah, sorry, Královec.

This goes back to Otakar Premysl II and the great Czech kingdom of the Middle Ages.

So he immediately contest this, and there's a huge war in which Rudolf of Habsburg actually wins and Otakar Premysl II is killed, which is one of these turning points, right? I mean, this class is not about this, but by rights, you could say, the Czechs probably should have been the dominant power in Eastern Europe, and they just had some bad luck at a couple of moments, and this was one of them.

15:12 After Rudolf dies in 1291, his son is not elected, so his son then contests the election.

That seems like a strangely euphemistic way of putting it.

It makes it seem like I'm holding up a ballot or something and say, "You didn't count this one," but that's not what you mean by contest the election.

I mean that he killed the man who was elected on the battlefield with his own hands, spearing him through the face, and finishing him off with a much feared ballock knife, which is exactly what it sounds like, after which he was elected, right? After which he was elected.

So you can see the history of elections.

In the history of elections, there's a lot of disentanglement to do between the peaceful procedure and the violence that attends elections, and it's a lot of hard work.

The run of the Habsburgs ends in a meaningful way in 1346 when another great Czech king, the greatest Czech king, Charles, the one after whom the university and the bridge, if you've ever been there, is named.

16:11 King Charles is elected Holy Roman Emperor in 1346.

This is very important for the history the Czechs and history of Central Europe, but for our purposes, we just wanna note that the Luxembourgs, that's Charles' family, yes, the same as the country, the Luxembourgs now become Holy Roman Emperors for a while, and this is

a big problem for the Habsburgs, not least because the Luxembourgs do an extremely good job of it.

Charles promulgates something called the Golden Bull in 1346, which is a statute of imperial governance, which straightened things out, which includes electoral procedures.

I want say that it says no ballock knife, but it doesn't actually say that, that would be too good to be true, but it includes electoral procedures so the transitions could be a little bit easier in the future.

The Habsburgs respond to this in a way which is poetic and characteristic, in which I want you to mark because it is a feature of this family, as you'll know if you've read "The Red Prince." They respond to this with a beautiful kind of, a beautiful nostalgic attack.

17:12 They invent something called the Privilegium Maius.

They just make it up.

They just make it up, which is not an unknown theme in East European history, by the way, people just making up documents.

There's a lot of this later on, which is good fun for historians.

So they just make up something called the Privilegium Maius in 1359, and the idea is that the Habsburgs are the oldest family, and the Habsburgs have the right to rule Rome, et cetera, because they have land grants from Nero and land grants from Julius Caesar.

Okay, that is not true at all.

It's just completely made up, but it's a nice story, right? It's a nice story, and if you have a nice story and you have power, then sometimes you can make your nice story seem like it's true.

So the Luxembourgs are gonna be ruling these Holy Roman Emperors until 1437, at which point a crisis and a marriage are going to flip the Holy Roman Empire back to the Habsburgs.

18:09 The crisis, which we've run across before, is the Black Plague, which begins in 1347 in Europe, wipes out maybe 1/3 of the population.

This crisis, the pestilence, this crisis of disease, is associated with a spiritual crisis.

This is the time, if you ever had like a survey European class, you'll remember there was one pope, then there were two popes, and there were three popes, and the popes were in various places, and they were hostage to kings and so on.

This is that period.

In the 14th century, multiple popes.

As the Black Death had died down, a council was called in Constance for 1414 to 1415, and the purpose of the Council in Constance was to make order in the Christian Church to make order in what? In the Catholic Church.

And one of the ways that order was to be made were that these annoying heretics from Bohemia were going to be brought in, and the most annoying of these heretics from Bohemia was a fellow called Jan Hus.

19:09 So Jan Hus, J-A-N H-U-S, I think he's on the sheet, he was a sort of, I mean, this is anachronistic way of putting it, but he was a kind of pre-Protestant.

He had many ideas which would be familiar from radical Protestantism, like that you can preach in the language of the people, you can preach in the vernacular, you should preach facing the people.

He also had the idea that, this is a really radical idea, the church is not an institution.

As such, the church comes from the people, right? Therefore, all the property of the church is kind of up in question.

The church shouldn't be wealthy.

The wealth of the church should be returned to the people.

These kinds of ideas, that's just a sample, but you can see how that would be understood as a threat to the established church as it was.

So on the 6th of July, 1415, Jan Hus was burned at the stake at the Council of Constance after a trial, which he found unsatisfactory.

20:01 And it's for this reason if you go, again, if you go to Prague, which I urge you to do, there's a fine statue of Jan Hus with the slogan, (speaking in foreign language) the truth with triumph.

The truth will be victorious.

So this is relevant for us because this precipitates the situation in which the Habsburgs come back.

The Czech nobility in much of the Czech bourgeoisie, and many Czechs in general, including peasants, identify with Hus' version of Christianity.

By the way, what was Hus' job? He was basically the dean of a university.

Interesting, right? So Hus, oh, and when he lectured, just fun detail, he lectured in Czech a lot of the time, but his notes were in Latin.

Yeah, interesting, right? Okay, so anyway, so Hus is killed, but many Czechs believe in his version of Christianity, and they rebel against their own Luxembourg king, who by this time is called Sigismund, Sigismund Luxembourg from Luxembourg.

21:10 And he picks up the challenge.

He says the heretics will be washed away.

And so there's a kind of civil war in the Bohemian lands against the Luxembourgs, which was led by this fantastic guy who I wish I had more time for, Jan Zizka, who was a one-eyed military genius, who invented a whole bunch of military tactics which were later used by other people, like, well, stealing all the gold from the churches is not original, but he did that.

He did things like take, he would take wagons full of hay and make circles of them, right? So as kind of mobile fortresses, and then shoot out from the inside.

Clever things which people hadn't seen before.

He took good advantage of firearms.

So this war goes on for a long time, and now you see the opening.

This is the opening for the Habsburgs because the Habsburgs, good Catholics, volunteer to come in on the side of the Luxembourgs, and as the Habsburgs tend to do, they manage to get, they manage to connect it with marriage.

22:13 They always managed to, this is their secret.

There's a Hungarian king I'm gonna mention later called Matthias Corvinus who wrote, of course in Latin, "Let others fight wars.

Thou, happy Austria, marry." That slogan, which is sort of beautiful and concise, gives you a sense of how they got on for those 600 years of power.

So the Habsburgs come in on the side of the Luxembourgs in this war.

They don't actually help very much on the battlefield, but the leader of the Habsburg family, the Habsburg family at the time, who is Albert IV, gets himself the daughter of the Luxembourg ruler, whose name is Elizabeth, gets her promised as his bride.

And they marry in 1422, which means that Albert von Habsburg is gonna become the successor, which he does.

23:06 He becomes Holy Roman Emperor in 1437, and then the Habsburgs are going to be Holy Roman Emperors for the next three centuries after that, right? So Black Death, religious confusion, religious rebellion.

The Habsburgs sneak in at the last moment, marry the right person, and suddenly they're Holy Roman Emperors again for the next three centuries.

And as Holy Roman Emperors, what do they do? They promulgate this Privilegium Maius.

They just issue it.

They say, "This is true.

This is official. This is law.

We have a special right to rule." Okay, so I mentioned Corvinus.

He's the one, he mounts the next challenge to the Habsburgs.

He's the greatest of the Hungarian kings, Matthias Corvinus.

He actually drives the Habsburgs from their own Austrian lands for a while and does the sort of classic thing of taking up residence in Vienna.

So he lives in Vienna from 1484, but he dies in 1490, and he's succeeded by Wladyslaw Jagiello, who is, I hope, on your sheets, because he features four of this fantastic Polish letter, which Wladyslaw Jagiello, who is, of course, from that Lithuanian family which is now ruling Poland.

24:28 He becomes king of Hungary.

Now, so interestingly, Corvinus says, "Thou, happy Austria, marry," but it's the happiest marriages actually come after Corvinus dies.

There are two unbelievably fortunate marriages now for the Habsburgs which consolidate their place in Europe and in the world.

The first has to do with Wladyslaw Jagiello.

Wladyslaw Jagiello enters into a marriage pact with the head of the Habsburg family, who at that time is Maximilian I.

25:04 Then, unhappily for him but happily for the Habsburgs, he dies fighting the Ottomans in 1526 at the Battle of Mohacs in a stream under his horse.

That death triggers a marriage pact, which means that the Habsburgs then get to claim Hungary as well as the Czech lands, which they do.

They claim those lands.

The Ottomans actually rule most of Hungary for the next 150 years until 1699, but the Habsburgs then claim those lands, and they will eventually effectively rule them.

Then there's an even more extraordinary marriage pact, which is that Maximilian I's son marries a daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Ferdinand and Isabella, the ones who united Spain.

26:01 That Ferdinand and Isabella.

She's sixth in line to the throne of Spain, so there's no way this is gonna happen.

I'm sure many of you are married to people who are sixth in line to some throne or another, right? That's just casual, right? You probably didn't even mention that in your Yale interviews.

You're like, "Ah, no, I'm gonna talk about, I'm gonna talk about intramural rugby instead.

Don't wanna brag." So note to video, they all laughed, right? (class chuckling) You can't tell when they laugh at my jokes.

They all laughed, including the ones who are married to someone who's sixth in line.

So but what happens? All of the men who are ahead of her die.

They all die.

All five of them die, conveniently just in time for Maximilian's son to become king of Spain, thereby bringing the Spanish Empire and, shortly thereafter, the Portuguese Empire and the

Netherlands and all the lands controlled by the Netherlands under the Habsburgs.

So two unbelievably lucky marriages.

Okay, so that's who the Habsburgs are until we get to about the year 1700.

27:04

The year 1700, 1699, 1700, is when they're established as a European power, but not an American, not a world power anymore 'cause the Spanish Habsburgs die out in 1700.

1699, Treaty of Karlowitz, they control the Balkans as well as the Czech lands, as well as as Hungary.

They take on a distinct European shape, which they're more or less gonna have until 1918 with some additions of lands from Poland, which we're gonna talk about.

After 1700 and the extinction of the Spanish line, the male line of the Austrian Habsburgs is also extinguished.

In 1740, there are no more men.

There's no male Habsburg to take the throne.

What do they do? And again, this is another one of these moments where a particular person comes to power, and if it had been somebody else with maybe a little bit less intelligence and determination, things would've gone differently.

What the Habsburgs did was they came up with the aptly named pragmatic sanction, which meant that if there are no male Habsburgs, how about a female Habsburg? Very pragmatic, right? Pragmatic, I mean, pragmatic from their point of view because what's always happening to these families is that the male line dies out and then there's a war, and then somebody else's male line takes over.

28:16

Why not a woman? So Maria Theresia takes over as empress of the Habsburg lands in 1740.

She's immediately challenged in a way which we would now refer to as highly gendered by Frederick of Prussia, who says that, he says, this is how it's gendered.

He says, "Sure, you have the right to rule, that's all fine, but I think I need to decide for you which territories you get to rule." (chuckling) So the Prussians make war on the Habsburgs.

Who were the Prussians? If you can just remember from a couple lectures ago, Prussia on the Baltic Sea, successor state of Teutonic Knights, little tiny thing which the Poles allowed to survive, but then when the Poles get into trouble, the Prussians become a kingdom, they start to expand, and their ruling family, the Hohenzollerns, are just gonna keep expanding, keep expanding, keep expanding, until in 1871 they're gonna unify Germany.

29:09

So we're kind of in the middle of that story with Frederick.

So Frederick makes war on the Habsburg monarchy in 1740.

The Habsburg monarchy defends itself very well.

They lose one territory, which Maria Theresia will always want back and never get, which is called Silesia.

But meanwhile, and there's a lot of meanwhile for Maria Theresia when it comes to bearing children.

Meanwhile, she does bear a son in 1741, beginning a new house, Habsburg-Lorraine, which is gonna rule until 1918.

As the English wits then put it, the enemy has lost its chance for Austria now wears pants.

So when I tell you all the things that Maria Theresia has done, I want you to bear in mind that in the next 19 years, she's going to have 15 more children, right? So 16 children in 19 years, plus the things we're talking about, and, yes, she had childcare.

30:00

Okay, so 1756 to 1763 is the next major conflict between Prussia and the Habsburgs.

On the world scale, this is the Seven Years' War.

This is the British and the French fighting in North America.

This is the British gaining dominance over India.

The Seven Years' War, like, it's a world war.

It's a legitimately global conflict, but for our purposes, it's one more time when the Habsburgs fight the Prussians to withdraw under Maria Theresa and continue to survive.

Then politics turns in 1772 with the First Partition of Poland.

Now the slightly unfair thing about the partition of Poland, as I'm sure all of you Polonophile will have noticed, is that it's not that long before, it's 1683 when the Polish armies have come to Vienna and raised the Ottoman siege and protected Vienna, and then help the Austrians to begin this series of victories, which will end in 1699 with Karlowitz.

Less than 100 years later, 89 years later, 1772, the Habsburgs are going to take part, along with the Prussians and along with the Russian Empire under Catherine, they're gonna take part in the First Partition, the First Partition of Poland.

31:11 And it is in this partition that the Austrians take this territory which they call Galicia, which is a beautiful example of imperial naming and renaming.

If you are Ukrainian, you'll know that there's a town called Halych and that there's a region called Halychyna.

And from Halych, Halychyna, there's a Latin name, from which you can make in German, Galytsiya for which we call Galicia, right? And so they name the territories that they claim in 1772.

They named them Galicia and Lodomeria.

Lodomeria is even more wonderful.

So there's a historical, they're historical crown lands.

As you know in this class, of Galicia, we call them Galicia and Volhynia.

Volhynia has a town in it called Volodymyr.

From that town Volodymyr, you get the Latin name Lodomeria, which, let's admit, it sounds kind of cool.

32:04 And so the Habsburgs claim that they're ruling Galicia and Lodomeria.

Galicia and Lodomeria.

In fact, they don't actually rule Lodomeria, which is another part about imperial.

Always err on the side of claiming more than you actually...

The Habsburgs also were kings of Jerusalem.

You might not have known that, but they were kings of Jerusalem, right? There's always a long, no, I mean, this is how you rule.

There's always a long list of things, and somewhere in that middle of the list, like it kind of blurs from things that you might control to things that your uncle controlled, to things that you never really controlled, right? But there's always a long list of stuff that you ruled.

Okay, so, okay, where are we? So Maria Theresa, the partitions.

So it's the First Partition of Poland that brings Galicia into the Habsburg monarchy, 1772.

The last thing on her mind were all the Ukrainian speakers there, or, for that matter, all of the Yiddish speakers there.

This is not this class, but just FYI, adding Galicia to the Habsburg monarchy brings in all the families who then a couple of generations later are going to create German modernity in Vienna, right? So for example, the Freud family, right? All these families are going to start in Galicia, take a station stop in Moravia, end up in Vienna, and then they're going to create.

33:17 They're gonna create Art Nouveau.

They're gonna create German modernism, zivilisation basically, circa 1900.

So this partition also had that meaning, right? If the Austrians don't take this territory, and, let's say, the Russians do, then there are not gonna be, there are not gonna be German-speaking Jews in Vienna around the year 1900 to make Vienna the city that you're all gonna visit this summer, basically.

Right? Okay.

So there are three partitions of Poland: 1772, 1793, 1795, and by the time the dust settles, Russia has taken most of it.

Very roughly speaking, the Left Bank, that is the western part, is added to what Russia already gained a century before, which is the Right Bank or the eastern part.

34:04 Almost all of Ukraine is now under the Russian Empire.

The exception, the very, very important exception, is Galicia, which is now under the Habsburgs in this new zone.

And this Galicia in the Third Partition is extended to include what is now basically south-central Poland.

So Krakow.

Krakow, after a little while, is going to be inside this Galicia.

So this Galicia has Polish speakers, Yiddish speakers, Ukrainian speakers, and it's now a district in Austria.

So the very last thing we have to do is talk about what is special in Austria in the 19th century.

Skim over the first part.

The first part is the post-Napoleonic part when all the European dynasties are embarrassed, and then they tend to crack down afterwards, the Age of Metternich, the age when Austria invents the police state, the age of systematic censorship, the 1820s and the 1830s.

35:02 This comes to an end with the Revolution of 1848, which is a broad European conflagration from Belgium through France, through Austria.

It's the time when Karl Marx wrote this little thing called "The Communist Manifesto." That was also 1848.

At the end of 1848 in Austria, the most interesting thing that has happened is that a teenager, he's 18 at the time, I believe, Franz Joseph comes to power, and Franz Joseph is going to be the ruler of Austria from 1848 to 1916.

He's going to be setting the political tone during all that time.

From our point of view, an interesting thing that happens in the Revolutions of 1848 has to do with the Poles and the Ukrainians, and it reveals an Austrian tactic, which is very important to nation building.

So it's not the most heroic part of nation building, but it's a very important part of nation building.

In 1848, the Austrians have some reason to be concerned about the Poles.

36:03 Less the Ukrainians, more the Poles.

The Poles have had their own state until 1795.

The Poles have a nobility.

They have some wealth.

Some of the Poles have gotten into the Austrian bureaucracy.

And so what do they do in 1848 in Galicia? They encourage the Ukrainians, right? They encourage the Ukrainians.

They encourage the establishment of something called Ukrainian National Council, which then makes Ukrainian political demands.

So rather than directly suppressing or intimidating the Poles, they say, "Oh, look what we can do over here.

Oh, there's some Ukrainians who also live there.

I bet they would like some things." And so the Ukrainians issue political demands like dividing Austria in half, which is gonna be, I mean, not Austria, Galicia in half into a western, eastern part, which will be a Ukrainian idea all the way through, all the way through 1918.

And so this is, I mean, this is going to be, this kind of idea of compromise is gonna be crucial all the way to the end, and I just wanna set it up for you structurally.

The Ukrainians were not exactly a national minority in Austria.

37:03 A national minority would be more like in interwar Poland, which we're gonna talk about soon enough, where it really is a nation state for the Poles and the Ukrainians.

Five million, six million Ukrainian speakers are a minority.

But in the Habsburg monarchy, it's more like the Ukrainians are one group of people in Galicia and where they're contesting things with the Poles.

And when they contest things, they have somewhere to go besides violence or besides direct confrontation, which is Vienna.

They can go to Vienna.

The Habsburgs are at the top, and the Habsburgs are always gonna be capable down to the end of saying, "Okay, as a matter of fact, let's make another compromise.

Let's redo this. Let's redo that.

Let's redo this. Let's redo that," which isn't the most exciting form of politics, I admit, again, cross reference to European Union, but it might be a form of politics, of national politics, which is more durable than people thought in the 19th century or the 20th century.

So this form of politics comes alive after 1867.

38:03 So the other part of the famous saying of Corvinus, "Let others fight wars.

Thou, happy Austria, marry," the slightly unkind part would be the suggestion that maybe that the Austrians are going to lose a lot of wars, which is also true, right? They didn't exactly cover themselves with glory in the wars of the 19th and the early 20th century.

They got embarrassed in 1859, and which began the process of Italian unification.

They really got embarrassed in 1866 with the Germans, which is the beginning of the story of German unification.

After they lost a war to Germany, the Habsburgs had to make a compromise from position of weakness with the most important nationality within their borders, which is the Hungarians.

And this is the famous Ausgleich of 1867.

That's one of these words, like later on Anschluss.

They're five German words you have to know, and two of them are Ausgleich and Anschluss.

I don't have time for the jokes about the other three.

39:00 We're running out of time.

Hopefully it's some other lecture, but, anyway, ausgleich just means compromise, just means compromise, but in this context, it means the Compromise of 1867 in which the Hungarian nobility was basically given the right to become a state within a state of the Habsburg monarchy and to do as they please with the Slovaks, the Slovaks, the Croats, the Romanians.

The remainder of Austria, which is in a funny kind of sea shape around Hungary, from Galicia through Moravia, Bohemia, Austria itself, down the Adriatic Coast, what's now Slovenia, what's now Croatia, that Austria was governed after 1867 by a kind of constitutional law which promised things like freedom of speech, which promised equal rights for individuals and equal rights for nations.

Never quite defined what a nation was, but equal rights for individuals, equal rights for nations.

It's in this particular version of Austria, not the Hungarian part, the non-Hungarian part, that the story of Ukrainian nationality plays out.

40:05 And by now you will have noticed the timing, right? The timing, the timing, the timing.
After 1867, many things are possible.

After 1867, freedom of speech, individual freedom.

After 1867, Austria is gonna move until by 1907, there's gonna be full manhood suffrage, which is pretty advanced for the standards of the time.

The United States didn't have it, for example.

And that means that along with full manhood suffrage, the right of all males to vote, comes political parties, and with political parties come political campaigns and political demands, and with political campaigns and political demands come newspapers, right? Because there's freedom of speech.

And that includes, among many, many other things, Ukrainian newspapers, Ukrainian political parties, Ukrainian political demands, which even if they're not fulfilled, they're out there and they're aired.

And again, the timing, this is from 1867 to 1914.

41:02 The timing is the same moment when Ukrainian culture and any kind of politics becomes impossible in the Russian Empire.

That's so important to everything because after 1867, the leading thinkers and activists from the Russian Empire, when they are banned after 1863 and again in 1876, when they're banned by the Valuev Circular and the Ems Decree from using Ukrainian language, where do they go? They go to Galicia.

They go to the Habsburg monarchy, right? And the timing is that the timing is so important here.

Absolutely crucial.

The Habsburg monarchy is becoming a place where you can do Ukrainian politics at exactly the moment the Russian Empire is becoming a place where you can't do Ukrainian politics or, for that matter, Ukrainian culture.

And because the center of Ukrainian intellectual, political, and cultural life was actually the Russian Empire, this means that all these people are coming into Galicia who can do things like occupied share in East European history, right? There's a fellow called Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, the most important historian of Ukraine, who basically applies the methods of what we would call social history and writes a continuous history of Ukraine from the Middle Ages.

42:16 Hrushevs'kyi leaves the Russian Empire, comes to Galicia, and, lo and behold, he has a chair in Lviv.

He has a chair, and he's able to teach this version of history, which that's actually incredibly significant, right? The difference between nobody and one, and nobody having to share in Ukrainian history and the most important Ukrainian chair having to share in Ukrainian history and lecturing and publishing his books, very, very important.

But that's just pars pro toto.

That's just one example of many other things.

Very important thinkers, like Panteleimon Kulish, like Drahomanov, they all come from the East and they go to the West, and they bring radical political ideas.

43:01 They bring the idea, for example, a fundamental idea, which I'll just mention and then we'll move on, that politics belongs to the people as such.

So in the Russian Empire, the serfs were freed in 1861, which raises the basic question of,

okay, if they're free of bondage, who now owns them? Whom do they belong? Are they gonna be loyal to the czar? Are they gonna be loyal to something else? And the main radical political reaction, the end of serfdom, was something called, in the Russian Empire was called populism or going to the people.

The Ukrainian populists were the ones who went to the people and found out they were Ukrainian, essentially, which coincides in time with the emergence of a new discipline of science which we call anthropology, but at the time was called ethnography, which we think of as the method of anthropology.

At the time, they said ethnography for the science.

Going to the people, recording their songs, recording their stories, recording their history, recording everything you can, taking the people seriously as an object of science coincides with taking the people seriously as an object of politics.

44:11 And it leads to the notion that in addition to history and politics and power mattering for a nation, also the people and its culture and its durability matter.

So if there are songs, if there's a culture, if there's a language, then that means there's a nation.

This is the ethnographic idea of a nation, a very powerful idea, and that ethnographic idea of a nation is obviously very useful in Galicia, not against the Russians, Russians don't matter in Galicia, but against the Poles because in Galicia, I mean, this is so important, it's not that the Ukrainians are a national minority struggling against the center.

No, no, no, no.

The Ukrainians are struggling against the Poles and the Polish gentry.

After 1867, the Poles as a historical nation, as people said back then, as a gentry nation, they are also the beneficiaries of a compromise.

45:06 They get control over schools, very important.

They get a local parliament.

They get some control over local administration.

And what does that give for the Ukrainians? It gives the Ukrainians something to struggle for, right? And in some of that, they're gonna claw back and get control of, especially at the level of schooling.

They're gonna claw back and try to get control of that.

In the free politics, it was possible, the Habsburg monarchy.

But what are the intellectual or ideological weapons they're gonna use? The Polish argument is that we're a nation because we always were.

It's not that the Polish speaking peasants are the nation.

They didn't think that, right? The nation are the gentry.

The nation are the people who used to be able to vote in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the gentry, the historical nobility.

That's the nation, the historical nation, as people said.

But the Ukrainians now have a different kind of argument to make.

Their argument can be, well, maybe we don't have the gentry.

46:03 Maybe we weren't the political class a hundred years ago in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but at least in certain parts of the territories, we have the people, we have the majority, we have the culture, and that is the nation.

And that's a very powerful argument, right? That's a very powerful...

That version of the nation, by the way, is broadly victorious.

I mean, people can disagree about this and that, but you wouldn't generally say like, there

are very few countries now where you can say, "I belong to the nation because I belong to nobility." In general, if I say nation now, you're not gonna think of some elite.

You're gonna tend to think of everybody or at least some large group, right? So Ukrainians, with the help of the, Ukrainians and Galicia with the help of the Ukrainians coming for the Russian Empire can make this argument.

They can say, "We're the majority." And this argument also has, it also has political ramifications.

It means if you mobilize enough people to vote, you can send your representatives to parliament, as they do.

You can have debates in parliament You can make your camp.

They never win this argument, but they make it to the end, but we should divide Galicia into East and West, and have our own Eastern Galicia.

47:02 And so with the help of these people, with the help of, with the help of these arguments, but above all with the help of the very specific Habsburg political system, the period between 1867 and 1914 becomes the period when Ukrainian politics explodes.

Ukrainian politics becomes mass politics.

There are suddenly Ukrainian nationalists and Ukrainian socialists and Ukrainian liberals, and Ukrainian every possible thing, and Ukrainian newspapers, Ukrainian civil life.

Civic life, in other words.

That in turn is going to be incredibly important when we get to the moment when the empires begin to break up, which is the First World War, which is where we're gonna start again next time.

So thank you very much.