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## **«ЗМАГАННЯ ДИСКУРСІВ»: ДО ПИТАННЯ ПРО ПОЗИТИВНИЙ ОБРАЗ ЄВРЕЙСЬКОГО НАСЕЛЕННЯ У ПУБЛІКАЦІЯХ «ОДЕССКОГО ВЕСТНИКА» (ПЕРША ПОЛОВИНА 1880-Х РР.)**

### ***Анотація***

*У статті висвітлюється питання щодо створення у публікаціях в локальній пресі в Україні у другій половині XIX ст. (на прикладі газети «Одесский вестник») позитивного образу єврейського населення, який в історіографії, на тлі уваги до антисемітської пропаганди, здебільшого маргіналізується, й тому потребує додаткового вивчення. Проведене дослідження дозволило реконструювати окремі складові позитивного дискурсу щодо єврейського населення у публікаціях «Одесского вестника» першої половини 1880-х рр., з'ясувати факт існування і особливості одного з варіантів виразної ідеологічної опозиції публічному антисемітизму.*

**Ключові слова:** *історія євреїв в Російській імперії; історія євреїв в Наддніпрянській Україні; історія єврейського населення Одеси в XIX ст.; образи євреїв у місцевій пресі в Україні у XIX ст.; опозиція антисемітизму; «Одесский вестник».*

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**«COMPETITION OF DISCOURSES»:  
THE JEW'S POSITIVE IMAGE IN  
PUBLICATIONS OF «ODESSKIJ VESTNIK»  
(THE FIRST HALF OF 1880-IES)**

***Summary***

*One of the results of the social modernization in the second half of the nineteenth century in the Russian Empire was the growing of attention towards so called «Jewish question», This process was followed by emergence and dissemination of different discourses towards Jewish component of population, often divided into anti-Semitic and so called liberal, which were engaged in latent or open contest for public opinion. The researchers traditionally paid more attention to anti-Semitic discourses and thus marginalized the questions on attempts to create a positive (relatively) ones and on existing of public opposition towards anti-Semitism in local (for example, urban) societies. The main idea of the article is that a part of local newspapers in Ukraine in the second half of XIX c. such as «Odesskij Vestnik» played the important role in forming and disseminating the relatively positive image of Jewish population and in maintaining public opposition towards anti-Semitism.*

*The subject of this research is the peculiarities of image of the Jewish population that formed on the pages of the newspaper «Odesskij Vestnik» in the first half of the 1880-ies.*

*The study of historiography has showed that the chosen problem needs the further investigation due the traditional marginalization of issue of forming positive discourse by local press.*

*During the investigation we determined the following discourses as a part of positive image of Jews: 1. Jews – the part of Odesa population, which has its specificity that distinguishes them as a separate ethnic-(religious) community. 2. Jews – such citizens as the rest of the population of the city and Empire.*

3. The part of the Jewish population is loyal to «Russian» cultural assimilation. 4. Jews – an integral part of the economic life of Odesa and Right-Bank (Pravoberezhna) Ukraine. 5. Jewish pogroms are the part of a common city and regional (in Southern Ukraine) historical memory and negative social experience. It was revealed that acknowledged liberalism of «Odesskij Vestnik» in dealing with «Jewish question» was that of assimilation type.

To make conclusion, we assert that publications of «Odesskij Vestnik» in the first half of 1880-ies played the important role in forming and disseminating the relatively positive image of Jewish population and in maintaining public opposition towards anti-Semitism. The information of different articles in this newspaper in chosen period – the first half of 1880s – gave the possibility to determine a few discourses concerning Jewish population which had positive character comparing with anti-Semitic discourse in some of Odesa newspapers that we revealed in one of our previous study. In spite of the fact that this positive or liberal image towards Jews in non-Jewish press had some specific and represented «external national identity» its revealed features show that it had the big potential to be an important tool in the struggle against anti-Semitism in local public opinion. So the thesis of the article is proved.

**Key words:** history of Jews in Russian empire; history of Jews in Naddniprianska (Dnieper region) Ukraine; history of Jewish population in Odesa in XIX c.; images of Jews in local press in Ukraine in XIX c.; opposition to anti-Semitism; «Odesskij Vestnik».

The so-called «Jewish question» in the second half of the XIX century was popular as in Russian Empire (which included Dnieper Region Ukraine) as in Europe due to the processes of social modernization and the formation of modern nations. The main content of the «Jewish question» in the state and public discourse in the Russian Empire, in our view, was the problem of the integration of the Jewish population to the society (as it was traditionally imagined). In turn, the questions of integration or isolation as the policy or processes, towards or inside the Jewish community respectively,

have raised the need to determine its inherent traits as a group (social structured or total) in the whole population (D. M., 1976: 3). This task has called the emergence of different discourses, and their latent or open competition for public opinion. The researchers traditionally paid more attention to anti-Semitic discourses and thus marginalized the questions on attempts to create a positive (relatively) ones and on existing of public opposition towards anti-Semitism in local (for example, urban) societies.

The aim of this study is to clarify the features of the image of the Jewish population, which was formed on the pages of the liberal Odesa newspaper «Odesskij Vestnik» in the first half of the 1880-ies, between pogroms in 1881 and 1886 (Evrei Odessa, 2002: 145) and to reveal the peculiarities of one of the variants of positive discourses towards Jewish population possible for public dissemination in Russian empire.

Methodology of the study defined by concept of polyethnic history of Ukraine and used the territorial approach. Also quite useful for our research is the methodology of public discourse, justified in the context of the perception of Jewish population in the Russian Empire by M. Gaukhman (Gaukhman, 2012). For coverage of a complex nature published in the newspaper «Odesskij Vestnik» characteristics of the Jewish population it is suggested to use the term «external national identity» (as related to the concept of «the Other»), that

lets in this case to trace, in what way the «Others» in the era of modern national movements integrated, by transforming in «Their», the Jewish community as a national phenomenon.

Modern historiography on national stereotypes and images of the Jewish population in the public discourse in Ukraine in the period of modernization includes the investigations made by I. Hrytsak (discussed the question for Galychyna (Galicia) region), P.-R. Magochy and J. Petrovskiy-Shtern (revealed the issue of Ukrainian-Jewish stereotypes), M. T. Andriychuk (explored mutual Jewish and Ukrainian perceptions in periodicals), M. Gaukhman (has investigated the negative discourse towards Jewish population for the early XX c. in the Russian Empire, in the study of certain discourses («Jewish exploitation») appealed to the prehistory of their functioning due to the work of a few Russian writers in the second half of the XIX c.), O. Bezarov (although the scientist investigated the issue of identity in relation to Jews in the Russian Empire in the period before reforms of Alexander II, but this research concerns the phenomenon we propose to characterize as «external national identity», or perception ethnic group by others; the author also considers the influence of public modernization on the interpretation of the «Jewish question») and others (Hrytsak, 2005: 79–105; Magochy, Petrovskiy-Shtern, 2016: 2–3; Andriychuk, 2013; Andriychuk, 2011; Gaukhman, 2012: 113–118;

Bezarov, 2014; Bezarov, 2017; Dvorkin, 2015). Certain aspects of peculiarities of the Jewish population's images formed by the materials of the regional press in the second half of the XIX century in Dnieper (Naddnipyanska) Ukraine, were examined in our publications (Novikova, 2017; Novikova, 2018). Despite existing researches, the issue of the existence of the continuity of certain discourses in the second half of XIX and at the beginning of XX c. is not studied enough. It concerns also the problem of newspaper publications influence on the formation of regional mass public opinion towards the Jewish component of the population. The researches, which reveals features of positive discourse on Jews as tool of opposition to anti-Semitic, and role in this process local periodical in Ukrainian regions in the second half of XIX c. practically are absent.

As the sources for our study were used the articles published in the newspaper «Odesskij Vestnik» in the first half of the 1880-ies. The newspaper in the face of its editors understood the importance of the press as a certain regulator of the social life. This is especially concern the period since the end of 1884 when a candidate of law S. Yu. Lomnitskij became the editor of «Odesskij Vestnik» (Ob'iavleniie o podpiske, 1885).

Referring to the characteristics of the Jewish population's image, which was formed by «Odesskij Vestnik» publications in the 1880s, it should be noted that in the newspaper «Jewish question» mostly is not separated

but integrated into the issue of polyethnic nature of the Odesa population. At the same time in the materials of the «Odesskij Vestnik» only Jews have got different characteristics, that indicates a certain «image» formed in the publications of the newspaper. Exploring the «Odesskij Vestnik» materials makes possible to select the following Jewish population's features, which, from the authors' of publications point of view, belong to its «inner» and «external» national identities.

1. Jews – the part of Odesa population, which has its specificity that distinguishes them as a separate ethnic-(religious) community. The series of articles published in the newspaper reflected the perception of Jews as a community that as a core of its identity had primarily the Judaism faith. In this connection it is necessary to mention the information about the plans of holding public lectures by Ya. M. Priluker, the aim of which was to detect the proximity of the moral foundations of the different religions, the altruistic principles in ethical systems of Judaism and Christianity, etc. It is noteworthy that the program of the first lecture published in the newspaper, included the questions on «The difficulty of the status of objective researcher in the area of the Jewish question. A retrospective look at the various historical periods of mutual Christianity and Judaism relations. The attitude of the present to the Jewish question. Theory of economists and its injustice. Scientific-philosophical analysis of the inner

essence of the Jewish question and its ideological raison d'etre...» (Publichnyie liekcii, 1885). Such content of lectures apparently was connected with the need to reduce the tension in the area of interfaith and inter-ethnic relations in Odesa which was still urgent after the pogroms of the early of 1880's. Publication in the newspaper of some official directives, information about special tax also contributed to the perception of the Jews as the Jewish community and to its separation from the Christians (Dlia preduprezhdeniia, 1885; Novyj kontrakt, 1881).

Among the other features inherent to the Jewish population of Odesa, on the pages of «Odesskij Vestnik» there were mentioned the peculiarities of the Jews' mode of life, the conservative character of certain elements of their economical life, the saving of some legal traditions (Yescho k prodazhe, 1881; Isk po knige, 1885).

The conducting of statistical research and publication of their results in the newspaper also revealed the specific traits of Jewish family life and demographics (Chislennost' odesskogo, 1884; K statistiki naseleniia, 1885).

The materials published in the newspaper show the public activity of the Jewish population in Odesa, representatives of which took an active part in the activities of Jewish organizations like the Society of master's assistant (prikaschik)-Jews, and engaged in charity work.



A number of materials in «Odesskij Vestnik» shows the conditions and peculiarities of the development of traditional Jewish education and corresponding government policy (Obschee sobranie, 1885; Iz otchota, 1885; Otchot po korobochnomu sboru, 1885; [Without title], 1885: February 10).

Such attention was probably connected with the fact that the Jewish traditional school was regarded as the centre of unwanted agitation (also as directed against the Jews' studying in the camerae (government) schools). It was considered as the center of the spreading of religious fanaticism (Alekseev, 1868; Komissiia, 1885). Gradually in the newspaper more and more appeared the articles, covering the process of the closure of the Jewish schools under the different pretexts that hid the real policy of elimination of the system of traditional education (Tajnaia shkola, 1885; Zakrytie dvukh khederov, 1885).

Taking into the consideration the importance of the linguistic component of identity, those publications should be remembered in which was saying on using of Yiddish (jargon) in Odesa, including its usage as a literary language. For example, in one of the issue of the «Odesskij Vestnik» under the heading «Feuilleton» mentioned «about «Nathan the Wise» by Lessing who did not even dream that his best work will be honored in Odesa with alteration (peredielka) [highlighted in the text. – L. N.] in the jargon» (i.e. Yiddish). In another

er article we can find the information about the publication of «the local Jewish writer Linecki»'s calendar «on the Jewish jargon» (Vsiakaia vsiachina, 1885; Evrejskij kalendar', 1884). Like other national groups of the Odesa population, the Jews had the opportunity to attend performances of the Jewish theater (Evrejskij teatr, 1881).

The part of materials of the newspaper draws attention to the special status of the Jewish population, which was a consequence of the state isolation policy. In connection with the last is the information on gaining by Jews who served at the South-West Railway the official permission to live in Kiev. A number of articles reveals the so called «desire of the Jews to migrate» from the Russian Empire to America and Palestine (which, as stated in the newspaper, «appeared» as a result of new restrictions of their rights to live and to acquire property in rural areas in 1883), etc. (Pereselenie evreev, 1884; K prozhyvatelstvu evreev, 1884).

2. Jews – such citizens as the rest of the population of the city and Empire. One of the important information directions, which supported by the «Odesskij Vestnik» in the first half of 1885, was an appeal to an idea of giving the equal rights with other citizens of the Russian Empire to Jews with the aim of solving the «Jewish question». This question, in particular, was argued in the summary of the famous historian and professor of the St. Petersburg University A. D. Gradovskij's pub-

lic lecture, which was reprinted in a newspaper from magazine «Voskhod». Among other things, the scientist drew attention to the legal differentiation within the Jewish community itself as the result of the system of law in the Russian Empire. A. D. Gradovskij's conclusion was specific enough, with some influence of stable stereotypes. He believed that there are two ways to solve the «Jewish question» in the Russian Empire – on the one hand, to leave the Jews in their secluded position, on the other hand, gradually smooth out all the differences in the position of the Jews, which contributed to their merging with so called «native Russian population» ([O leksii prof. A. D. Gradovskogo], 1885).

The part of articles published in the newspaper was evidence in favor of the aspiration of «Odesskij Vestnik» to point out the cases of upholding the principle of equality of the Jewish population in Odesa in the judicial sphere (Evrei i politsejskij, 1881; O prave mirovykh sudej, 1885).

Besides that, «Odesskij Vestnik» printed the articles, which displayed a positive attitude of local authorities to the Jewish population. For example, it could be read about the temporary Governor General, Adjutant-General A. M. Dondukov-Korsakov's (1881) high estimation the situation in a Jewish Hospital visited by him (Poseschenie general-gubernatorom, 1881).

3. The part of the Jewish population is loyal to «Russian» cultural assimilation. As another way to liberal

solutions of the «Jewish question» in the Russian Empire was the so-called Jews' «rapprochement» with the rest of the population, mostly in the form of Jewish-Russian «rapprochement». From the point of view of official policy, such an approach can be described as cultural and state Russification, assimilation of the Jews with the dominating culture and accepting the citizenship of the Russian State by them.

This idea in what was then the society was shared not only among the part of the non-Jewish population, which we can call the representatives of liberal direction, but also within that part of the Jewish population, which was closely in economic sense associated himself with Ukrainian lands in the Russian empire and believed it possible to carry out cultural rapprochement. The last could be a kind of acception of the idea of Has-kalah (D. M., 1976: 6).

It should be noted that the newspaper was paid to attention both the idea of Russian-Jewish rapprochement that had social and secular content and the idea of religious assimilation of the part of Jews (Brods-kij, 1884; O sekte, 1885; [Khronika], 1885).

Among those tools that were used in the newspaper «Odesskij Vestnik» to promote the ideas of Russian-Jewish rapprochement and of the integration of Jews into local society, it was the intentions of the authors of the articles, mainly starting from the time when S. Yu. Lomnitskij has become the editor of the newspaper, avoid the use of the term «Jew» («Yevrej»).

Instead that, authors of articles in the newspaper describing the various events along with Jewish surnames did not use epithets or used the terms like «Odesa bourgeois» «Odesa citizen» («Odesit») (Prodazha galichanok, 1885; Kontsert Kofman, 1881; Vtoroj kontsert, 1885).

In the best way the idea of cultural assimilation is developing in the newspaper in the chosen for the study period by the physician and writer I. I. Pantiukhov. In his article named «The population of Odessa (an average type of modern inhabitant of Odesa)» he has set a goal to find out the specific features of Odesa population, to whom was inherent so-called «mixed character». I. I. Pantiukhov gives a list of traits of the «average person» of Odesa, which, in his opinion, are inherent to the Jewish population of the city too. In particular, it concerns to «enough pure spoken Russian language» (it should be taken into account that the author does not use the expression «Great-Russian (Velikorusskij) language», this approach extends the meaning of the term).

In another his article this author uses slightly different approaches when distinguishes the main population groups, choosing the religion as a central feature of national identity. In particular, I. I. Pantiukhov points out that the surnames can mislead when someone determines the nationality of their bearers, because they could be changed under the influence of assimilation, including

voluntary one. He concluded that there are «two the most sharply defined groups of Odesa population – Christians and Jews» (by religion), distinguishing simultaneously so-called «transitional Christian-Jewish types» (Pantiukhov, 1885: March 16).

The author divided Jews into the «indigenous Odesa citizens (Odesits)» and those who are temporarily living, as well as it can be understood from the context, into the wealthy and educated and the poor ones. In accordance with belonging to these different social groups their members have different attitude to the language (and to the issue of language assimilation). According to I. I. Pantiukhov, many of the Jews-indigenous inhabitants of Odesa in their home life are using Russian language and or don't know jargon (Yiddish) or use it if necessary. Poor Jews and those of Jews who are temporarily living in Odesa more or less know Russian language, but speak with jargon (Pantiukhov, 1885: January 10).

I. I. Pantiukhov was considering the fact of cultural (linguistic) Russian (mostly not as East Slavs in the whole, but in more narrow ethnic meaning of the term) assimilation of the part of the Odesa Jewish community as a real one. Accordingly, this author in his another article was trying to deny the image of Odesa as the city where lived only religious traditional Jews, concentrated exclusively on their faith and culture. Such image of Odesa was shared by anti-Semitic newspapers in

empire as negative in connection with their approaches to Jewish population. I. I. Pantiukhov stressed on the Russian cultural assimilation of educated Jews in Odesa and therefore showed one more sign of the specifics of the liberalism of «Odesskij Vestnik», which had limited character. For a number of newspaper authors the one of the main feature of «alien» character of population group was his social «isolationism» (Pantiukhov, 1885: February 2).

It should be noted that «Odesskij Vestnik» focused attention at Ukrainian-Jewish aspect of problem of cultural «rapprochement» too. For example, there were published materials with severe blame the anty-semitic critic towards Jews in the newspaper «Kievlyanin» for their participation in activities in honour of famous Ukrainian poet T. G. Shevchenko (Korrespondentsiia, 1881).

4. Jews – an integral part of the economic life of Odesa and Right-Bank (Pravoberezhna) Ukraine. A number of materials in «Odesskij Vestnik» covering issues related to the positive influence of the Jewish population on the economic development of the city and the Right-Bank (Pravoberezhna) Ukraine as well, which meant recognition of the high degree of its socio-economic integration to the local society.

As to Odesa, on the pages of the newspaper you can find repeatedly the information on the establishment or cessation of the activities of certain enterprises that be-

longed to Jewish owners (Ob'yavleniia, 1885). Some specialities of Jews in Odesa in mass consciousness were accepted as almost indissolubly linked with them as typical, for example, it was mentioned in one article «...type of Odesa brokers» (Bibliographiia, 1885).

Taking into consideration the close relationship between South and Right-Bank Ukraine, in «Odesskij Vestnik» published the materials related to the South-Western region of Russian empire (or Right-Bank Ukraine). Moreover, these materials often discussed with supporters of the idea of the so-called economic exploitation of the Christians by the Jews, which had often adopters on different levels of administration in Russian Empire (though there were exceptions), and among the different strata of the society.

Contrary to this statement, the authors of materials of the «Odesskij Vestnik» in 1885 r. maintained the thesis of benefit from the economic activity of Jewish population representatives for mentioned region ([Without title], 1885: January 25; [Without title], 1885: February 9).

5. Jewish pogroms are the part of a common city and regional (in Southern Ukraine) historical memory and negative social experience. Pogroms of the early 1880 years caused the appearance on the pages of «Odesskij Vestnik» publications, which indicated that the history of the earlier pogroms remained in the memory of local residents. In particular, in the newspaper there was



published an announcement about writer P. L. Grosul-Tolstoy's (who was also the author of «Opisanie besporyadkov 1871 g. in Odessa» («Depicting of violences of 1871 in Odesa»)) new book – the novel «Tajny Odessy. Raznye dorogi» («The Mysteries of Odesa. The different ways»). Authors of advertizing pointed out that despite the fact that this novel resembled the French novels, «Odesits (Odesa citizens) would read it with interest, because the plot was taken from the Odesa life and touched the times and events, which many people had experienced and felt» (Bibliographiia, 1885). Moreover, the author of information about the developing of the pogrom in Yelizavetgrad in 1881 noted that long before Easter in this city among common people there were circulating rumors «that at this holiday the Jews would be attacked, just as this happened once in Odesa» (15-e i 16-e apreliia, 1881). About the existence of the memory of the previous pogroms in the city Odesa Vice-Governor has mentioned in 1881 (Evrei Odessy, 2002: 139).

The articles which were printed in the newspaper at the time, were intended both for the non-Jewish and the Jewish population, simultaneously they stressed the importance of prevention the conflicts both by the non-Jews and the Jewish population. On the special attention those publications deserve, which emphasize the role of authorities and the law (the judiciary system) in overcoming of the conflicts (the so-called «disorders»)

(Ofitsialnye ob'yavleniia, 1881; Dela o besporiadkakh, 1881).

It should be noted that the chronicle of pogroms against the Jewish population published in the newspaper was creating the very heavy impression. There were not given the clear answers on the causes of the pogroms (violences) that destroyed the so-called Jewish-Russian «rapprochement», involving the parties of the conflicts in the abyss of emotions (Evrei Odessy, 2002: 139).

Thus, the articles and other materials published in newspaper «Odesskij Vestnik» presented their own version of «external national identity» of the Jewish population of Dnieper region Ukraine and Odesa, in particular. The publication of the newspaper in the first half of 1880-ies represented the Jews, on the one hand, as a separate community with its own inherent characteristics, primarily religious, on the other, as one of the population groups closely integrated in the life of the city, Southern and Right-Bank Ukraine.

The way of solving of the «Jewish question» proposed in the newspaper was the so-called «rapprochement» of Jews with the rest of society, and this rapprochement from the side of the state had to acquire the appearance of equalization the Jews and others in rights, and from the side of Jewish community it fore-saw the cultural (language) Russian assimilation. Concluding, we should recognize that liberalism of «Odess-

kij Vestnik» had a specific, it was liberalism of assimilation type. However, a positive moment was the fact that «Odesskij Vestnik» took part in the competition of different discourses concerning Jewish population and published materials which had potential to form a relatively positive discours towards Jews as opposite to anti-Semitic one disseminating simultaneously by a part of newspapers.

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