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Benevolence "Regardless of Sex, Rank, or Nature": Society and State in the Travelogues of Ivan Galagan

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Abstract
This article explores Galagan's social and political visions through a comparative analysis of his travelogues, set against three cultural contexts: the local Cossack officers' milieu, the Russian imperial framework, and Enlightenment ideals. By comparing Galagan's writings with the narratives of other Cossack officers such as Kozelskyi, Poletyka, and Vynskyi, this study reveals that Galagan's social and political identities reflect a broader, shared collective identity shaped by Enlightenment ideals, which evolved into a distinct regional interpretation. Galagan aligns with core values such as love of humanity, justice, and common well-being. His notion of equality focuses on the benevolent treatment of members of society rather than on social status, and reason is seen as a means to achieve well-being rather than an end in itself. By the time of his travels these concepts were already internalized within his identity, reflecting a blend of regional and Enlightenment influences, which contrasted with Russian imperial discourse. Galagan's case exemplifies the synthesis of regional identity with Enlightenment ideals, contributing to a humanistic and occasionally republican worldview. The study supports the argument that the Enlightenment provided a nurturing environment for the evolution of Cossack officers' core values into republican or anti-absolutist ideas.

Key Words: Enlightenment, Ukrainian Enlightenment, travel literature, travelogues, ego-documents, history of emotions, eighteenth century, Ukraine in the Russian empire, Cossack officers.

In the summer of 1786 in Paris, the former Pryluky colonel and district judge Ivan Galagan attended an *opéra comique* in the *Théâtre des Beaujolais*, which, it seems, he enjoyed. It was not solely the performance that captivated him, but also the inclusive gathering of visitors "of both sexes, regardless of wealth or rank, but altogether in the same place and on the same level" that was important to him and which he "greatly appreciated" (*vesma poliubilos)*.[1] In his travelogues, similarly listing such social statuses, Galagan describes his experience of travelling through Western Europe, focusing on social customs, people's liberties, and "decent" state governing, and

1 The two unpublished Ivan Galagan's travel diaries were used in this research: Ivan Galagan, "Zapiski povsednevnii" ["Daily Notes"], [1781–86], no. 1043, fond I: Literaturni materialy [Literary materials], Manuscript Institute of the V. I. Vernadskyi National Library, Kyiv; Ivan Galagan, "Zhurnal dorozhnii 1786 goda" ["Travel Journal of 1786"], no. 3421, fond I: Literaturni materialy [Literary materials], Manuscript Institute of the V. I. Vernadskyi National Library, Kyiv.

accompanying this with an emphasis on reason. Frequently, he is emotionally involved, expressing joy at human well-being or sympathy and compassion for social inequalities. These emotional experiences ultimately influence his further actions and reflections on values and human nature. The importance of these values to Galagan is also visible in the draft of his Testament.[2] At first glance, his thinking fits well within the ideological framework of the Enlightenment. Were these reflections influenced by close interaction with the Western Enlightenment world, or were they already ingrained in Galagan's identity? Were his visions of social matters and corresponding beliefs derived from Enlightenment thought or from his native Cossack officers' milieu? How can his travelogues be used to delve into these questions? In this article, I seek to present Galagan's visions of a 'proper' society and state and examine what might have influenced the meanings he conveyed in his writings.

Ego documents, by their very title, suggest that they are about the people who write them, their subjective experiences of reality, i. e. the manifestation of their selves and identities.[3] These narratives provide insights into how authors process and internalize the events they witness, as well as how these experiences shape their responses and perceptions. While it may be difficult to fully uncover the authors' inner selves, it is still possible, albeit complex, to discern aspects of their identities. To explore the insights that ego documents can offer, it is crucial to consider how human information processing operates.

The ways people feel, perceive, and respond to things, as well as how they explain and describe them, are shaped by the norms, values and meanings of the social and cultural frameworks they inhabit and reflect. Since ego-documents are produced within distinct historical and cultural contexts, and often crafted with particular objectives and audiences in mind, once-lived experiences may also be described differently in retrospect as time passes and cultural frameworks evolve. Comparing ego-documents from different periods can thus offer glimpses into "previous tropes and patterns, residues of earlier versions of selfhood, or earlier patterns of interpretation."[4] In this way, individual expressions provide valuable insights into the nuances of social and cultural spaces, as well as the dynamics underlying them.

Ego documents also offer deeper insights into the authors' social and cultural identities, which can be seen as sets of rules governing how the self is expressed. The "selection" of these rules occurs within the self, which functions as an activity that

2 The draft was written after the travels, as the author himself indicates: [Ivan Galagan], "Zaveshchanie synu moemu Grigoriiu Ivan[ovichu] Galaganu i kto po nem naslednik" ["A Testament to my Son Grigory Ivan. Galagan and Who Succeeded Him"], no. 26065, f. II: Istorychni materialy [Historical materials], Manuscript Institute of the V. I. Vernadskyi National Library, Kyiv.

3 The literature on ego-documents is quite extensive, and this article provides an excellent overview on the methodologies of the topic: Mary Fulbrook, Ulinka Rublack, "In Relation: The 'Social Self' and Ego-Documents," *German History* 28, no. 3 (2010): 263–72.

4 Ibid., 263–7.

organises and manages experience either consciously or unconsciously. This organisation creates cohesion and continuity of experience, which we refer to as identity. Through both external bodily interactions and internal experiences of emotions and thoughts, which are cognitive processes, the self generates a sense of being.[5] Feelings, emotions, and any affective expressions are shaped by the sociocultural specifics of a given space and are therefore considered as a culturally conditioned cognitive experience. Affective experiences themselves are culturally rooted processes of explaining and giving meaning to what happens, and these explanations derive from cultural frameworks. These frameworks shape the forms of experiencing affective states – including forms of practising emotions and bodily/physical sensations. Therefore, emotions are valuable analytical tools for identifying the value systems embedded within these cultural frameworks.[6]

These internal responses are contextually relative and do not strictly follow culturally determined patterns. Human reactions emerge in response to something, reflecting how individuals feel about something with which they interact.[7] In social interactions, individuals experience and define themselves in relation to various social factors such as their age, abilities, ethnicity, beliefs, and status, as well as in relation to the social groups or cultural spaces they interact with, along with their customs, values, and norms. They tend to behave in ways that help them figure out whom they want to connect with, rather than whom they want to distance themselves from. However, this does not mean that people are merely products of a collective culture with no individuality. The sense of self, or subjectivity, arises from connections with others rather than from being isolated. It is shaped by how people respond to the question "Who are you?". In answering this question, they tell a story about themselves, even though they might not fully understand their own identity. Thus, the sense of self is shaped in relation to something, and the ways in which people present themselves are influenced by both social rules and the situations in which they interact.[8]

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5 Lynn Hunt, "The Experience of Revolution," *French Historical Studies* 32 (2009): 673.

6 An overview of the field's main approaches is provided in my article: Oleksandr Khodakivskyi, "Omanlyva ochevydnist: suchasni pidkhody do vyvchennia istorii emotsii" ["Deceptive Obviousness: Modern Approaches to the Study of the History of Emotions"], *Naukovi zapysky NaUKMA. Istorychni nauky* 5 (2022): 70–9. For more information on the field, see: Jan Plamper, *The History of Emotions. An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Rob Boddice, *The History of Emotions* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018); Thomas Dixon, *From Passions to Emotions: The Creation of a Secular Psychological Category* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Ute Frevert et al., eds. *Emotional Lexicons: Continuity and Change in the Vocabulary of Feeling 1700–2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Monique Scheer, "Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and Is That What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuian Approach to Understanding Emotion," *History and Theory* 51, no. 2 (2012): 193–220.

7 Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (Routledge, 2014), 6–8; Boddice, Emotions, 132.

8 Fulbrook, Rublack, "In Relation," 269.

Authors' attitudes, feelings, reactions, responses, and overall behaviour may differ from the "targets of address" and the situations they are in, or the context. While responses are generally shaped by the cultural framework, specific situations may still alter the response. As a result, narratives often contain inconsistencies and contradictions, as authors may depict similar situations differently due to varying contextual influences. This makes it difficult to consider the author's narrative as entirely controlled or a product of conscious self-fashioning, focusing instead on how the shaping of their identity occurs through ongoing dialogue with various influences such as social groups, institutional expectations, conflicting demands, challenging situations, bodily experiences and emotions. Thus, ego-documents reveal a "relational personhood," which intertwines the personal and collective aspects of a composite identity.[9]

Ego-documents written during travel, such as travel narratives, reflect the same principles of human information processing. When travelling through the space of the "other," individuals must navigate and adapt to new cultural norms, which can result in a heightened awareness of both the foreign culture and their own identity. Adaptability is deeply embedded in human nature, being closely linked to exploratory activity and curiosity, and together with consequential learning and knowledge acquisition, these elements form a continuous cycle.[10] Travelling and taking travel notes can be interpreted as a process of collecting and organising important observed phenomena, during which the self arranges the acquired knowledge and chooses appropriate responses, which are shaped by both the cultural framework and situational context.[11] By choosing important aspects during such intercultural contacts, travelogues reflect only a filtered version of the witnessed world. The content of travelogues becomes a translation of "travel experience" mediated through the traveller's perception and the act of writing.[12] By comparing encountered aspects with familiar ones, travelogues serve as a means through which writers can reflect, intentionally or not, on personal experience and on local social or political customs within their own cultural framework, and these "translations" can also lead writers to question their own authority, beliefs, and assumptions.[13] Ultimately, travellers also explore themselves, and their stories about foreign lands may reveal more about their own attitudes towards their homelands.[14]

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9 Ibid., 270–1.

10 The author also shows how curiosity was institutionalised as an educational practice: Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel, 1550–1800* (London: Routledge, 1995), 2.

11 Ibid., 7.

12 Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing. The New Critical Idiom* (London – New York: Routledge, 2011), 62.

13 Alasdair Pettinger and Tim Youngs, "Introduction," in *The Routledge Research Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. by Alasdair Pettinger and Tim Youngs (London – New York: Routledge, 2021), 3.

14 Stagl, *A History of Curiosity*, 12.

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The second half of the 18th century was marked by dynamic cultural processes and interactions, reflections on values, and the redesigning of social practices. Ukrainian social elites—Cossack officers—considered themselves to be the main political force and defenders of the Hetmanate – their own state, a separate and autonomous part within the wider Russian state.[15] Meanwhile, Russian authorities, armed with enlightened absolutistic ideas, were busy building a unified, centralised empire, eradicating regional specificities, and forging a common "civic" Russian imperial identity.[16] During the same time, the ideals of the Enlightenment were circulating across Europe, producing various regional variations of Enlightenment thought and affecting the worldview of those who were able to interact with them.[17]

Ukrainian Enlightenment thought was formed through interaction with Russian imperial Enlightenment, fuelling opposing visions of the imperial political system and the place of the Hetmanate and Sloboda Ukraine within it. While the imperial absolutist centre aimed to abolish Ukrainian autonomies and integrate them into a common political and cultural space with the Russian Empire,[18] the Cossack officers (*starshyna*) were concerned with preserving their "rights and liberties," which were among the few cornerstones of their identity.[19] By the middle of the 18th century, some representatives

15 Zenon E. Kohut, "The Development of a Little Russian Identity: A Stage in Ukrainian Nationbuilding," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3–4 (1986): 567–8.

16 Serhii Plokhy, *Ukraine and Russia: Representations of the Past* (Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 20; Zenon E. Kohut, *Russian Centralism and Ukrainian Autonomy. Imperial Absorption of the Hetmanate 1760s–1830s* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1988).

17 On multiple Enlightenments, see: John G. A. Pocock, "Historiography and Enlightenment: A View of Their History," *Modern Intellectual History* 5, no. 1 (2008): 83–96.

18 On Russian Enlightenment, see: Isabel de Madariaga, *Russia in the Age of Catherine the Great* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982); W. Gareth Jones, "Russia's Eighteenth-Centuries Enlightenment," in *A History of Russian Thought*, ed. William Letherbarrow and Derek Offord (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 73–95; Marc Raeff, "The Enlightenment in Russia and Russian Thought in the Enlightenment," in *The Eighteenth Century in Russia*, ed. John G. Garrard (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), 25–47.

19 Kohut, "The Development of a Little Russian Identity"; Serhii Plokhy, *The Origins of the Slavic Nations: Premodern Identities in Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). On the influence of Cossack chronicles on the conceptualisation of the fatherland and on shaping the collective identities in the Hetmanate: Frank E. Sysyn, "Fatherland in Early Eighteenth-Century Ukrainian Political Culture," in *Eighteenth-Century Ukraine. New Perspectives on Social, Cultural, and Intellectual History*, eds. Zenon E. Kohut, Volodymyr Sklokin and Frank E. Sysyn (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2023), 528–41; Andrii Bovgyria, "Cossack Historiography: A Vision of the Past and the Construction of Identities in the Hetmanate in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Eighteenth-Century Ukraine*, 598–628.

of the Cossack starshyna attempted to use Enlightenment concepts to advocate for their traditional gentry rights, deriving them directly from the rights of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth nobility.[20] In some cases, traditional Cossack social and political values, when combined with Enlightened ones affected the revisioning of established beliefs and may indeed have nurtured anti-absolutist views or a form of republican identity.[21]

Such cultural interaction undoubtedly influenced Galagan's identity. It seems that he consciously or unconsciously absorbed certain conflicting components, which could be manifested depending on the context. This may indicate either the development of a new identity or the coexistence of several social or political identities, i.e. a kind of composite identity, which can be traced in his texts.[22] Galagan's travelogues thus appear to have been influenced by three cultural frameworks, and, respectively, different systems of values – namely, the local Cossack officers' socio-cultural framework, the Russian imperial framework, and Enlightenment ideals.

The local socio-cultural framework is rooted in the Cossacks' historical legacy and reinforced by the political efforts of the *starshyna* to secure their privileges and autonomy of the Hetmanate.[23] This framework aligns with a regional identity that is grounded in loyalty to the Hetmanate homeland and the political nation of the Cossack estate. This identity is also tied to the concept of "rights and liberties," supposedly guaranteed through an agreement between "free people" and the monarch.[24]

The second potential source of influence is the Russian imperial framework, which is embodied in policies designed to foster a sense of loyalty to the Russian Empire, praise and admiration for various manifestations of Russian culture, and

20 This refers to the case of Hryhorii Poletyka. Text of his speech can be found in Serhii Bilokin, "Promova Hryhoriia Polityky v Zahalnykh zborakh ukrainskoho shliakhetstva u Hlukhovi pro prava, perevahy y potreby Ukrainy (1763 rik)" [Hryhorii Polityka's Speech during the General Gathering of the Ukrainian Nobility in Hlukhiv about the Rights, Advantages, and Needs of Ukraine (1763)], *Ukrainskyi arkheohrafichnyi shchorichnyk* 15, no. 18 (2010): 414–33; Volodymyr Sklokin, *Rosiiska imperiia i Slobidska Ukraina u druhii polovyni XVIII st.: prosvichenyi absoliutyzm, imperska intehratsiia, lokalne suspilstvo* [*The Russian Empire and Sloboda Ukraine in the Second Half of the 18th Century: Enlightened Absolutism, Imperial Integration, Local Society*] (Lviv: UCU Press, 2019), 237. On the connection between the Commonwealth's nobility and Cossack identity, see the previous reference.

21 Sklokin, *Rosiiska imperiia*, 196–223; Serhii Plokhy, *The Cossack Myth. History and Nationhood in the Age of Empires* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 15–27; Tatyana Litvinova and Oleg Zhurba, "Getmanshchina v predstavleniiakh ukrainskoi intellektual'noi elity vtoroi poloviny XVIII–XIX v. Chast 1" ["Hetmanate in the Views of the Ukrainian Intellectual Elite the Second Half of the XVIII – the Middle of the XIX Century. Part 1"], *Dialog so vremenem* 73 (2020): 112–26.

22 Sklokin, *Rosiiska imperiia*, 221.

23 Sysyn, "Fatherland"; Bovgyria, "Cossack Historiography."

24 Kohut, "The Development of a Little Russian Identity."

scepticism and resentment towards foreigners and Western influences.[25] This source embodies the "civic" or Russian imperial identity, characterised by loyalty to imperial political institutions and self-identification with the Russian political entity and nation.[26] These features are also reflected in the literary tradition during Catherinian II's reign.[27]

The last source of influence may be defined as general Enlightenment ideals, which include humanistic values, belief in human progress and creativity over nature, the common good, praise of liberty and equality, compassion, and overall emotional engagement with the world. Additionally, it incorporates German cameralistic views on a well-ordered police state with values of "proper" order, public decency, and general welfare. It is important to note that this set of ideas also shaped the Russian Enlightenment and its corresponding literary tradition.[28]

Given the sporadic inconsistencies in his diaries, the case of Galagan rather confirms this tendency to reflect on and reevaluate settled beliefs during travel. The manifestations of Enlightenment ideals in various social practices likely stimulated and shaped Galagan's experience, considerations, and expressions in his travelogues. Throughout his travels, he occasionally revised his opinions, sometimes contradicting himself, while frequently sharing his feelings regarding the observations he made.

Comparing Galagan's travelogues with the works of other Cossack officers who transmitted Enlightenment ideals can help determine whether his views on a 'proper' society and state were unique or widely shared. The reception of Enlightenment ideas among the Ukrainian social elites of the Hetmanate is notably reflected in the works of Yakiv Kozelskyi, Hryhorii Poletyka, and Hryhorii Vynskyi, who were influenced by thinkers such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Voltaire, Claude Adrien Helvétius, and Gabriel Bonnot de Mably, among others.

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25 Although contempt for the West was less present in the official discourse, it did not completely disappear either, see: Hans Rogger, *National Consciousness in Eighteenth-Century Russia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960); Anthony Cross, "'Them': Russians on Foreigners," in *National Identity in Russian Culture: An Introduction*, eds. Simon Franklin and Emma Widdis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 74–92.

26 Plokhy, *Ukraine and Russia*, 20; Sklokin, *Rosiiska imperiia*, 221.

27 On the "Catherinian" literary tradition and other travel literary traditions, see: Yuri Slezkine, "Naturalists Versus Nations: Eighteenth-Century Russian Scholars Confront Ethnic Diversity," *Representations* 47 (1994): 170–95; Sara Dickinson, *Breaking Ground: Travel and National Culture in Russia from Peter I to the Era of Pushkin* (Amsterdam and New York: Editions Rodopi BV., 2006); Sara Dickinson, "The Russian Tour of Europe Before Fonvizin: Travel Writing as Literary Endeavor in Eighteenth-Century Russia," *The Slavic and East European Journal* 45, no. 1 (2001): 1–29; Michael Confino, "On Intellectuals and Intellectual Traditions in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Russia," *Daedalus* 101, no. 2 (1972): 117–49.

28 Jones, "Russia's Eighteenth-Centuries Enlightenment."

Kozelskyi, a philosopher, translator, jurist, and mathematician, wrote his *Philosophical Proposals*[29] in 1768 while serving in the Governing Senate. The idea for the book likely arose in connection with the convening of the Legislative Commission in 1767 and may have been indirectly intended for the Ukrainian delegation, which may explain the dedication of the work to Prosecutor General Alexander Vyazemsky.[30] Drawing on the works of Enlightenment philosophers and incorporating his own experience, thoughts, and interpretations, Kozelskyi outlines moral principles aimed at achieving well-being.

Poletyka, an activist, writer, historian, translator, and one of the possible authors of the *History of Ruthenians or Little Russia*, was elected as a deputy from the gentry (*szlachta*) of the Lubny Regiment to the same Legislative Commission. During his time in the Commission, he opposed the proposed legislative changes and defended the old rights of the gentry, as can be seen in his *Objection of Deputy H. Poletyka to the Instruction of the Little Russian Collegium to Lord Deputy Dmitry Natalin*.[31]

Vynskyi, a translator and memoirist, wrote his memoirs after 1815, reflecting on his experiences in the Hetmanate and St. Petersburg between 1752 and 1794. In these writings, drawing on the works of Western philosophers, Vynskyi discussed the proper forms of upbringing and education, compared the customs of Ukrainians and Russians, and criticised the laws of the Russian Empire and the autocracy of Catherine II.[32]

Accordingly, when compared to Galagan's travelogues, Kozelskyi's work presents an idealized vision of how society ought to be, Poletyka's notes articulate "how we

29 Jakov Kozelskij, "Filosoficheskie predlozhenija … 1768 goda" ["Philosophical Propositions … 1768"], in *Izbrannye proizvedenija russkih myslitelej vtoroj poloviny XVIII veka* [*Selected Works of Russian Thinkers of the Second Half of the 18th Century*], edited by I. Shchipanov (Gospolitizdat, 1952), 1: 411–554.

30 Mechyslav Zaremskyi, "'Filosofichni propozytsii' Ya. P. Kozelskoho yak vydatna pamiatka epokhy Prosvitnytstva" ["Yakiv Kozelskyi's 'Philosophical Offers' as an Outstanding Monument of the Enlightenment"], *Sivershchyna v istorii Ukrainy* 6 (2013): 286–92; Mechyslav Zaremskyi, "Pohliady Ya. P. Kozelskoho na predmet filosofii, yii strukturu ta sotsialno-kulturne pryznachennia" ["Yakiv Kozelsky's Views on the Subject of Philosophy, it's Structure and Social and Cultural Mission"], *Naukovi zapysky* [*Natsionalnoho universytetu Ostrozka akademiia*]. *Filosofiia* 14 (2013): 55–9.

31 Grigorii Politika, "Vozrazhenie deputata Grigoriia Politiki na nastavlenie Malorossiiskoi kollegii gospodinu zhe deputatu, Dmitrii Natalinu," *Chteniia v imperatorskom Obshchestve istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom universitete* III (1858): 71–102; Tetiana Lytvynova, *"Pomishchytska pravda." Dvorianstvo Livoberezhnoi Ukrainy ta selianske pytannia naprykintsi XVIII – u pershii polovyni XIX stolittia (ideolohichnyi aspekt)* [*"Landlord's Truth." The Nobility of Left-Bank Ukraine and the Peasant Question in the Late 18th – First Half of the 19th Century (Ideological Aspect)*] (Dnipropetrovsk: LIRA, 2011); Kohut, *Russian Centralism*, 179–83.

32 [Grigorii Vinskii], "Zapiski Vinskogo. S predisloviem A. I. Turgeneva" ["Vinsky's Notes. With a Preface by A. I. Turgenev"], *Russkii Arkhiv* 1–2 (1877): 76–123, 150–97; Svitlana Kandiuk-Lebid, "'Moe vremia' Hryhoriia Vynskoho v otsintsi suchasnykiv" ["'My time' by Hryhorii Vynskyi in the Views of Contemporaries"], *Naukovyi visnyk Mizhnarodnoho humanitarnoho universytetu. Seriia: Filolohiia* 39 (2019): 26–9.

aspire for it to be in practice," and Vynskyi's memoirs retrospectively convey "the emotional experience of how it was.

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In 1781, Ivan Galagan went on his "voyage," initially to escort his son Hryhorii to Leipzig for studies and later, in 1785–1786, to undertake a Grand Tour with him through German cities, France and Austria.[33] The original plans included visiting Italy, but due to Ivan's health, they were forced to stay for treatment in Leipzig, Aachen, Paris and Vienna.[34] Despite the significant expenses, the journey was still affordable for the Galagans, owing to the family's wealth, favourable standing, and connections within the Hetmanate, including affiliations with Russian imperial representatives, some of whom Ivan spent time with during their travels.[35]

Galagan's diaries are filled with descriptions of the inhabitants of various states and cities, whom he compares with one another or with the population of his homeland.

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33 It appears that initially Galagan considered sending his son to study in Königsberg: IR NBUV, spr. 1043, 2. For the educational strategies of Cossack officers, see: Taras Lysenko, "Matrykuly nimetskykh universytetiv yak dzherelo dlia vyvchennia osvitnikh studii ukrainskykh studentiv v nimetskykh universytetakh" ["Matriculs of German Universities as a Source for Studying the Educational Studies of Ukrainian Students in German Universities"], *Visnyk Kyivskoho natsionalnoho universytetu imeni Tarasa Shevchenka. Seriia «Istoriia»* 115, no. 2 (2013): 32–35. More on the educational practices of *starshyna*: Volodymyr Masliichuk, *Zdobutky ta iliuzii. Osvitni initsiatyvy na Livobzerezhnii ta Slobidskii Ukraini druhoi polovyny XVIII – pochatku XIX st.* [*Achievements and Illusions: Educational Initiatives in Left-Bank and Sloboda Ukraine in the Second Half of the 18th and early 19th Centuries*] (Kharkiv: Kharkivska derzhavna akademiia kultury, 2018), 68–92.

34 Galagan, "Zhurnal," 61.

35 More about the Galagan family, see: [Grygorii Galagan], "Rod Galaganov" ["Galagan Family"], in *25-letye Kollegii Pavla Galagana v Kijeve* [*25th Anniversary of the Pavlo Galagan College in Kyiv*], edited by A. Stepovich (Kyiv, 1896), 1–23; Vadim Modzalevskyi, *Malorossiiskii rodoslovnik* [*Little Russian Genealogy*], vol. 1, "A–D" (Kyiv, 1908), 221–5; Maryna Budzar, "Kulturni priorytety 'novoi elity' v ukrainskomu sotsiumi XVIII st.: rodyna Halaganiv" ["New Elite" Cultural Priorities in Ukrainian Society in the 18th Century: the Galagan Family], *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne* 143, no. 2 (2016): 353–9; Maryna Budzar, "Dvorianska spilnota Livoberezhnoi Ukrainy 1-yi polovyny XIX st. v ego-dokumentakh z arkhivu Galaganiv" ["The Noble Community of Left-Bank Ukraine in the 1st Half of the 19th Century in Ego-documents from the Galagan Archive"], in *Istorychni dzherela v ukrainskomu informatsiinomu y osvitnomu prostori: veryfikatsiia ta interpretatsiia* [*Historical Sources in the Ukrainian Informational and Educational Space: Verification and Interpretation*], ed. Oksana Salata (Vinnytsia: Tvory, 2018), 128–58; Maryna Budzar, "Simeini opovidi na tli 'velykoi istorii': 30-ti roky XIX st. v epistoliarii rodyny Galaganiv" ["Family Stories Against the Background of 'Big History': the 1830s in the Epistolary Writings of the Galagan Family"], *Istoriohrafichni doslidzhennia v Ukraini* 26 (2016): 142–60.

He frequently discusses the "mores" and "customs" of different societies. As he embarked on his journey, he likely held preconceived ideas about the world he would see, along with certain expectations and stereotypes regarding these societies.

Passing through several French customs houses on the road to Valenciennes, Galagan was unpleasantly surprised by the meticulousness of the customs officials, who scrutinized them "like devils at the ordeal." Eventually, they "fell into the hands of the elder Satan at the main ordeal in the city of Valenciennes." Saddened by this confusion, Galagan marvels at their unexpected arrogance and rudeness, which he eventually transfers to all the French, who, for him, were reputed to be renowned for their politeness and courtesy.[36]

In Paris, where the Galagans spent several months and had the opportunity to explore the city in more detail, Galagan's critical observations intensified. He was taken aback by the city's dirtiness and the townspeople's poor hygienic habits both on the street and in churches. Even the "houses and inns," although "very rich and covered with silk," were also full of dirt.[37] Looking out from the window of his apartment, he expresses amazement

> at the filthiness of the streets in this famous capital city and the French piggishness, who … everywhere in the streets … urinate without any respect to passers-by, and throw all kinds of filth from windows into the street without any caution to avoid hitting someone's head, and rinse their mouths and spit into the street.[38]

Eventually, Galagan found cleanliness in Paris in the famous *Hôtel des Invalides*, although he was especially comforted by the clean stables.[39]

Nevertheless, while walking through Paris, "suffocating from the stench and dirt,"[40] travellers' leisure time was quite rich. Paris is portrayed as a kind of upside-down world, where people rest on weekdays and work on weekends, "and a night is a day, and a day is a night."[41] Further, asserting that his words are dispassionate and honest, and based on his own experience, he continues to claim that the city is suitable for frivolous individuals and those who waste their money on endless entertainment, continuing:

> In the behaviour of these people, who prefer their own way of life and natural language to everything in the world, despising everything foreign, I find nothing else but arrogance and self-

36 Galagan, "Zapiski," 74–75a.
37 Ibid., 84.
38 Ibid., 83a–84.
39 Galagan, "Zhurnal," 9.
40 Ibid., 2.
41 Ibid., 3.

> love, and that is all that can be said about them and this is true. Blue are the hills that are far from us (*Slavny bubny za horami*)."[42]

However, later, he writes that although he did not expect to see such things in the "city that teaches fashions and order the whole of Europe, it must be acknowledged that the city is full of learned people," and "a reasonable man can spend his time pleasantly with scholars and big houses."[43]

Challenging the settled opinion about the "civilised France," Galagan states, "I prefer the Germans 1,000 times more, and the Dutch even more so, both for their incomparable cleanliness, decent behaviour, and firmness,"[44] although later noting the bad German roads, German avarice, drunkenness, and much more.

Galagan's emphasis on cleanliness is a recurring theme in his diaries, intertwining with his observations about the relationship between human agency and the natural world. Before reaching Paris, he admired the cleanliness of rural houses in Bavaria and even noted a church where he "did not see anything special, except cleanliness." This emphasis on cleanliness suggests that Galagan viewed it as a symbol of the regulated order imposed on nature. For instance, while describing the gardens near Versailles, he remarked how "nature did not create anything good in this place, but the human hand, guided by reason, made an extraordinary miracle out of the impossible."[45] A similar sentiment is echoed in his description of industrial machines: "Who gave this power? The human hand, driven by reason, which achieved this through the labours of science!"[46] While travelling along the Danube on his way to Vienna, he was stunned by the beauty of the landscape "on both banks of which nature has adorned mountains, forests, fields, and meadows. The hand of man, however, has planted cities and towns, castles old and new, monasteries and churches, villages and hamlets, and all sorts of things."[47] This reflection reveals his appreciation for the harmony between nature and human creativity.

In his descriptions of Bavarian villages and buildings, cleanliness is also linked to customs:

> The villages and hamlets here are mostly all wooden, which is something I have seen for the first time in foreign lands, and the houses are exactly built like in Russian or Lithuanian or Masurian villages, but inside they are a hundred times cleaner than those of the three nations.[48]

42 Galagan, "Zapiski," 84–6.
43 Ibid.
44 Ibid., 85a.
45 Galagan, "Zhurnal," 19.
46 Ibid., 36.
47 Ibid., 60–60a.
48 Ibid., 58a.

Galagan's perception of cleanliness as an 'intelligent regulation of nature' perhaps implies that societies lacking cleanliness may also lack this source of intelligent ordering in the customs of an entire nation. In this regard, he seems to place responsibility not on nature, accepting its beauty, but on people.

Fortunately, not only dirt captured the attention of Galagan, but also the dressing customs of peasants, burghers, and nobility alike. His interest is mainly revealed through his attention to women and their attire. In Dresden, for instance, Galagan lamented that the people are almost "all pale-faced, crippled, crooked-legged, and hunchbacked" and criticized women and their "bad custom to strain their laces unusually mercilessly."[49] Although he found that in general people looked fine, he noted that "the clothes of the poor are ridiculous and ugly, but the nobility and bourgeoisie are well dressed in the French way."[50] While in Paris, Galagan kindly called French fashion "apish,"[51] noting that there is no unified French style in clothing, while admiring that most people dressed according to their own tastes and preferences. Yet, he condemned compatriots for their pursuit of the imaginary French fashion, blaming merchants for spreading this belief.[52]

Despite the infrequent negative comments about other social strata, Galagan appears to be quite accepting and often compassionate towards them. Another illustrative excerpt comes from Vienna, where he unexpectedly reencountered a Polish nobleman he had met a year earlier at the inn, and a Jewish coachman who had driven Galagan to Leipzig:

> I cannot imagine how stunned they were upon seeing me. They were so sincerely happy that they did not realize how they behaved. Such unexpected zeal of theirs touched me so much that tears flowed from my eyes involuntarily, because this pure-heartedness is very rare among our compatriots.[53]

In this moment, Galagan places both the nobleman and the coachman on equal footing in terms of expressing genuine, intimate emotions. This suggests that, despite his social status, Galagan recognized and appreciated the humanity and sincerity of individuals from all walks of life.

Galagan's diaries reveal an emotional engagement that often revolves around issues of decency, justice, and welfare. His compassion is expressed vividly, especially in moments when he witnesses suffering or injustice. In Vienna, travellers visited the *Hetztheater*, a place where animal fights were held, and where "poor animals are kept to be tortured … for the tyrannical amusement of the audience of stupid people." This "gloomy spectacle" and "tyranny" were unbearable for him to watch, and it made him

49 Galagan, "Zapiski," 11.
50 Ibid.
51 Ibid., 76.
52 Ibid., 85.
53 Ibid., 80.

feel "pity and disgust." He describes his impressions of this spectacle in great detail on three pages, occasionally using diminutives for the "innocent animals," such as "little calf" (*tilionok*) or "poor little bear" (*bidnyi vedmedyk*) among others, conveying his compassion for the animals.[54]

Through the use of diminutives, Galagan seems to enhance his expression of sympathy for the innocent and vulnerable, rejoicing when innocents are well-cared for. This emotional sensitivity extends to humans as well. He shows sympathy for a woman unjustly arrested despite her "tearful pleas," calling her a "poor thing" (*bidnen'ka*).[55] He was particularly happy to see well-fed people in the asylum,[56] as well as the cleanliness and satisfied faces of people in *Hôtel des Invalides*, for which the author praises Louis XIV and others responsible for taking good care of people in need.[57]

Galagan's compassion towards the innocent and miserable can also be seen in the unpublished drafts of his last will. There, Galagan instructs money to be distributed on various occasions to aid those in need, particularly the poor and those unjustly deprived. However, he is careful to specify that aid should not go to those who had become impoverished through drunkenness or extravagance.[58] Furthermore, he requests to release his two personal servants from servitude, find them worthy men to marry and support them financially.[59] Galagan implies that people's agency influences their environment, and he seems to be driven by a moral imperative, believing that these actions should shape a person's future.

It appears that Galagan traced decency, politeness, and social welfare to fair and effective regulation by the authorities. His observations often linked justice and social order with the actions of the state. Witnessing a convicted thief in Vienna, Galagan agreed with the just punishment imposed by the emperor for significant misdemeanours, emphasizing that it applied to everyone, "regardless of sex, rank, dignity, or nature."[60] As previously mentioned, similar phrases highlighting justice, order, and equality are recurrent in his writings, where he associates these virtues with a proper social order. In the case of Vienna, he associates this order with the Empire. Crossing the Austrian border, Galagan expressed admiration for the proper inspection procedures and marvelled at large orchards unprotected by fences, noting that no one steals or dares to steal anything.[61] Furthermore, he approvingly writes that order in Vienna is ensured by "policemen, foot-soldiers, and lancers on horses," and, compared with Parisian commotion, they efficiently regulate the movement of carriages on crowded days.[62]

54 Ibid., 74a–75a.
55 Galagan, "Zhurnal," 2a.
56 Ibid., 30–30a.
57 Ibid., 9.
58 [Galagan], "Zaveshchanie," 17.
59 Ibid., 18a.
60 Galagan, "Zhurnal," 73.
61 Ibid., 51a–52.
62 Ibid., 71a–72.

Back in Paris, Galagan positively characterized the police, who could arrest anyone for violations in the Palais-Royal.[63]

For Galagan, the police are an instrument of a state in maintaining intelligent order, ensuring equality and civility. The opposite of this is the traffic jam in Paris. He compares this Parisian commotion to the commoners of his homeland, who create crowds in churches, implying a chaotic contrast to the ordered state.[64] However, such negative depictions of common people are rather exceptional, and Galagan nevertheless expresses concern about social inequalities. On the way home, Galagan ponders: "A confusing matter, but the true one is that the German lands are full of fleas, and the French are filled with bugs and dirt. And even more confusing are the two opposing things – the great wealth of the lands and extreme poverty among the people." Additionally, he sees inequality in a village "with the poorest church and huge houses of the priests near this church."[65] As a keen observer of cultural hierarchies between strata, Galagan examines how customs influence the living conditions of different strata and seems to express some dissatisfaction with this unjust situation.

Another noteworthy example of his attitude towards the less privileged appears in the draft of his last will. As revealed, Galagan had three illegitimate children with other women from his estate. In the will, he reflects: "They are born from me because of human weakness, as I was abandoned by my wife in my blooming years. Passion still rules us, hence these babies do not deserve any misfortune."[66] Then he bequeaths to his legitimate son Hryhorii the responsibility of taking care of, raising, and educating those children. Their mothers should be freed from servitude. Moreover, his illegitimate son Vasyl should be given half of the coat of arms and family name, "*id est Lagan*."[67] Through these actions and reflections, Galagan demonstrated a nuanced view of social order, justice, and care for the vulnerable, which aligned with his Enlightenment-influenced ideals of morality and fairness.

From these examples, it is evident that Galagan acknowledges passions and emotions as inherent aspects that guide every human being. Although human beings are internally controlled by passions, he emphasizes personal responsibility in regulating and ordering these impulses. Rather than condemning people for their "natural weakness," Galagan's approach is rooted in compassion and a commitment to equality, suggesting that while emotions drive us, it is the duty of each person to manage the consequences. This mindset underpins his sympathy for others and his belief in the importance of a fair and intelligent order within society.

Likewise, Galagan acknowledges and admires people's freedoms, but he believes that there must be an intelligent organizer who ensures these manifestations of human nature and ordered by law, maintaining harmony and preventing excesses. An

63 Ibid., 2a.
64 Ibid., 71a–72.
65 Galagan, "Zapiski," 43a.
66 Galagan, "Zaveshchanie," 21a–22.
67 Ibid.

illustrative example of this balance between discipline and human liberties is his experience in Aachen, where Galagan was amazed by "a great freedom for everyone to do what they want and no one is afraid of anyone,"[68] as he witnessed the political demonstrations of the two parties and their fights. While these demonstrations turned into riots and fights, particularly because of the undisciplined local garrison recruited from the local inhabitants, Galagan refrained from harsh criticism. Instead, Galagan admires that the reasons behind these demonstrations are the "liberties and privileges" given and ensured by the emperors which "naturally raises the human spirit and emboldens hearts, instilling courage in them."[69] Despite dangerous situations, Galagan both deliberately and consciously interacted with various camps. Consequently, he singles out the third party – "the party of reasonable people who stay neutral,"[70] whose position he seems to share.

While in Paris, Galagan still remained intrigued by these demonstrations, receiving letters from friends and narrating the events described in his travelogues. He appears to appreciate human behaviour, linking it to natural states. He admires that these freedoms are ensured by the authorities as liberties and privileges, although supporting neither of the rival parties and remaining neutral. Perhaps he perceived riots and violence as excesses of nature that are uncontrolled and not intelligently ordered by the bearers themselves. Therefore, for him, natural freedom in society without discipline, order, and reason is not inherently positive. Every person should bear responsibility for their actions and regulate the passions by which they are driven. This natural aspect, on the one hand, must be ensured by authorities and, on the other, should also be ordered by some reasonable and just rules––the laws––and this intelligent order emanate from the state and often from an emperor himself, who give proper forms to human nature or control the excesses of freedom inside communities. Moreover, the authority should not be tyrannical, but perhaps more transparent, as reflected in his notes made about the Paris Parliament. There, Galagan focuses on the equality of people in a common space and before the law, where "trials are held in public, and everyone is permitted to sit and listen to them,"[71] signaling his approval of the public nature of trials and an inclusive legal process. However, the precise extent of social inclusiveness implied by the term "everyone" remains ambiguous, leaving some uncertainty about the full extent of Galagan's egalitarian ideals. Nonetheless, considering the sentiments conveyed in this and earlier passages, Galagan's worldview seems to embody a cosmopolitan perspective.

Overall, Galagan's reflections highlight his belief that while human nature is driven by passions, these impulses must be regulated by both personal responsibility and an intelligent state order, ensuring that freedom and justice coexist harmoniously.

68 Galagan, "Zapiski," 52a.
69 Ibid., 52a–53.
70 Ibid., 60.
71 Galagan, "Zhurnal," 6a.

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The approximate picture that emerges from the ideas conveyed in Galagan's travelogues may be summarised as follows: people are free by nature, endowed with passions, and driven by them; yet in society, they should take responsibility for the extent of their passions and natural freedoms. Recognizing that people can also be vulnerable and weak, individuals should be compassionate and supportive of the weaker whenever possible. The state, in turn, is designed to order society with intelligent laws, ensuring people's liberties and well-being, curbing the excesses of those driven by their passions, and securing everyone's equality, regardless of sex, rank or nature. Both a decent society and a decent state are possible only when citizens and rulers alike are guided by reason.

Given the evident influence of Enlightenment ideals on Galagan's thought, it is valuable to compare his views with those of Kozelskyi, Vynskyi, and Poletyka to identify similarities and differences in identities among representatives of Ukrainian social elites.

With an emphasis on the advantages of moral education over intellectual education, Kozelskyi aims to provide guidance on finding, practising, and cultivating moral qualities that contribute to social welfare and justice. Citing Rousseau, Kozelskyi argues that humankind has lost its natural state and well-being, gaining knowledge of good and evil, right and wrong, as well as justice and morality, and duty instead of natural need, following reason instead of blind inclination. Since people have become dependent on each other in society, for their own and the common good, they must be responsible to one another, strive for the common welfare by good deeds, and, by will and reason, develop virtues in themselves. This is a social duty for the benefit of the individual and the common good, forming a social contract between people. Philosophy teaches what these good qualities are, how to search for them, understand them, and implement them for oneself and society simultaneously. Kozelskyi divides philosophy into two parts: the theoretical, which guides the mind in the pursuit of truths that enable one to understand virtue, and the practical, or moral, which he considers the most necessary as it provides the rules by which a person should conduct themselves in society to seek well-being ("constant enjoyment")[72] through justice (understood as equality in good for oneself and others),[73] benevolence (an inclination towards good and righteousness),[74] and love of humanity (a desire for and joy in another person's welfare).[75]

According to Kozelskyi, the human inclination toward goodness is primarily rooted in the natural state of fulfilling one's own needs, as governed by natural law. This natural inclination also coincides with divine law, which Kozelskyi only briefly mentions in his work, noting that divine law is beyond the full comprehension of

72 Kozelskij, "Filosoficheskie predlozhenija," 504.

73 Ibid., 464.

74 Kozelskyi emphasises specifically on the *search*. Ibid., 470, 412–428, 463.

75 Ibid., 423.

human reason; however, it is sufficient for people to understand and accept that sacred scripture advocates for a righteous will – an inclination towards benevolence, justice, and the rejection of wrongdoing.[76] The natural human will, defined as the capacity to desire good and turn away from evil, is immutable.[77] Passions, understood as unrestrained desires or aversions, are inherent in human nature and are further shaped in society. While passions can sometimes lead individuals astray, Kozelskyi suggests that yielding to certain passions can be beneficial if they contribute to pleasure, well-being, or the pursuit of science or the arts. He advocates for temperance, suggesting that balancing passions and tempering sensibility, rather than eradicating them, is the key to moral growth.

Sensibility, in this context, is an integral part of the cognitive process and human essence, and any attempt to eradicate it is a futile effort to "liken oneself to divinity."[78] The cognition of truth is achieved through the experience of the senses (*chuvstvovanie*) and reasoning, which are interconnected within the body and cannot function independently of one another. From sensation arises the ability to imagine things. Higher forms of cognition available to humans include attention, reason (*razum*), and intellect (*um*) – the ability to interpret, organize, and make sense of the information provided by the senses. By reflecting on sensory experiences and employing reason to analyse them, individuals can distinguish between mere appearances and genuine truths in their understanding of themselves and others. This reflective process enables people to correct errors in perception and to form coherent, rational beliefs.[79] Foremost, for Kozelskyi, the ultimate goal is not to elevate reason above all else but to revere virtue. To achieve virtue, he argues, one requires intellect, which must be used in service of moral growth.[80] Although customs and concepts of virtue vary depending on society, it is precisely for this reason that it is important to develop more universal moral rules based on justice, which will serve as a "direct embodiment of virtue," providing a foundation for the pursuit of the common good and the well-being of society.[81]

Societies and their norms are based on customs, which, like habits, arise from frequent desires and repetition, and can be either virtuous or corrupt.[82] Excessive and immoderate indulgence in certain habits and customs contradict the principles of well-being, as they harm health, hinder knowledge and thinking, and cultivate immoral qualities in individuals, harming both personal well-being and the moral fabric of society. Such corrupt customs contradict the duty of individuals to seek to promote the good and diminish evil for themselves, as well as to enhance the virtue of the entire

76 Ibid., 417.
77 Ibid., 455.
78 Ibid., 502.
79 Ibid., 505.
80 Ibid., 481.
81 Ibid., 512–13.
82 Ibid., 454, 470.

society.[83] Since habits and customs change slowly, it is preferable to prevent people from engaging in corrupt practices before they become entrenched, as punishment alone does not correct vices. Kozelskyi argues that it is habits and customs, rather than laws, that motivate people to act in various ways, suggesting that the social environment, rather than nature, is the decisive source of shaping human behaviour.[84]

Vynsky also sees this dynamic between the environment, customs, and the moral state of people, repeatedly emphasising the determinative role of the surrounding environment in his retrospective cautionary tale. Throughout his text, Vynskyi details the reasons behind his own low moral standards. In Saint Petersburg, he interacted with more affluent compatriots, whose lifestyle taught the young Vynskyi to indulge, develop a taste for wines, and, most importantly, to "overlook expenses." Thus, having taken his first promissory note and "stepped onto the path of extravagance, I could no longer step off it." Ultimately, spending days and nights in taverns, far from "respectable society," he experienced poverty, "the unchanging companion of extravagance," and eventually ended up in prison. Vynskyi partially attributes responsibility for his downfall to the widespread practice of offering financial guarantees, a custom prevalent across various strata, including those found even in "taverns and almshouses," as well as to his own deficient upbringing.[85]

Describing the customs of his native Hetmanate, Vynskyi begins by acknowledging that while vices existed, they were generally kept in check by moderation. On the contrary, he defines certain virtues as those which were "not observed anywhere else, and the opposition to which… was extremely surprising, even intolerable": "Hospitality and the welcoming of guests… were performed with true diligence and pleasure. The state of marriage was impeccable and reliable… wives had full authority over domestic affairs and their conduct. Openness and friendliness were common to the entire people… cleanliness and tidiness of homes were persistent."[86]

Thus, these customs, along with the "love of learning instilled by the Kyiv Academy… kept me from complete ruin."[87] Nonetheless, "customs and traditions are different in every land,"[88] and while studying at the engineering school of the Izmailovsky Life Guards Regiment in Saint Petersburg, Vynskyi vividly realized this after speaking Ukrainian:

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83 Ibid., 427, 467, 473, 502, 506.

84 Ibid., 470–1.

85 "Zapiski Vinskogo," 94–5. He saw bad upbringing in the specificity of upbringing by priests, which is common mention from other representatives of cossack starshyna: Volodymyr Masliichuk, "Hramotnist ta riven osvity na Livoberezhnii Ukraini XVII-XVIII st.: tvorennia istoriohrafichnoho stereotypu" ["Literacy and Educational Level at Left-Bank Ukraine in the 17th–18th Centuries: the Creation of a Historical Stereotype"], *Kyivska Akademiia* 7 (2009): 82.

86 "Zapiski Vinskogo," 90–1.

87 Ibid., 98.

88 Ibid., 88.

> Imagine a Little Russian among Muscovites, a Kyiv student among schoolboys… the first [schoolboy] who heard my speech immediately called me a "khokhol!" Others, listening, immediately began to call me "brainless"! Having been encountered so unfavourably by the teacher and so maliciously by my peers, I suddenly, as any fellow countryman in my place would, turned into a beast (*skotina*).[89]

Vynskyi attributes such unexpected treatment and the pretended superiority of the "Russian nobility" to the fact that two-thirds of the nobility are poor and limited in their education, despite having been raised by foreigners. He sees the root of the problem in the "ancient, inherent hatred of all things foreign and the ignorant disdain for everything non-native among all Russians. This deficiency among Muscovites is unlikely to ever be eradicated. I, having lived among them for over 40 years… can say that this foolish self-conceit is still very common among the entire people." According to Vynskyi, negative characterisations of foreign things can be heard from all strata, including the nobility, the military, and scholars – "all of whom present themselves as mere peasants."[90]

In his reflections during his banishment in Orenburg, Astrakhan, and Ufa, Vynskyi provides a vivid critique of the moral degradation he observed among the Russian nobility and broader society. Working as a teacher in the homes of various nobles, he observed vices in attitudes towards education, where nobles "consider ignorance their right,"[91] which reflects a broader cultural neglect of intellectual and moral development. In their households and "*verteps*" of domestic life, Russian masters wield their power arbitrarily and tyrannically over their serfs, frequently resorting to violence, which, in turn, breeds resentment and incites the serfs to engage in theft and other forms of defiance. It seems that Vynskyi sees these cycles of cruelty and rebellion as the failure of a system in which power is exercised arbitrarily without the balance of justice or benevolence. Vynskyi, acknowledging his own moral corruption, notes that "the behaviour and all the manners of Russians forced me to endure many troubles. One who has not lived with Russians will be blinded by their initial attentions and affections; but within two weeks… the attentiveness is replaced by the most stubborn neglect, and affection turns into sullen hostility, with compliance met by refusals."[92] Vynskyi attributes these Russian customs to laws under which the common people have no voice against their masters.[93] Thus, although Vynskyi "strived to instil benevolence, justice, selflessness, and other virtues necessary for Russian morality,"[94]

89 Ibid., 92–3.
90 Ibid., 93.
91 Politika, "Vozrazhennia," 189.
92 Ibid., 181–2.
93 Ibid., 181.
94 Ibid., 188.

the opposition he faced could be attributed to bad customs or laws, as "in a corrupt society, vices do not so much attract hatred and persecution as virtues do."[95]

Kozelskyi also notes that people can be virtuous or corrupt based on the quality of their laws and customs.[96] Just laws exist when they arise from rights, such as natural freedoms, civic justice, and the love of humanity, particularly customs that are manifestations of this social contract and which, due to their deep-rootedness, seem like a new human nature.[97] Both society and the exercise of power within it are based on a contract that must be sacredly upheld. The duties of authority are to lovingly and justly promote the well-being of society, which in turn fosters a love for that authority.[98] He supports his argument with the example of a sick person and a doctor, highlighting that "although both see the illness, the sick person understands its severity and effects much better," and further supports this with the example of a Chinese ruler who, by heeding the thoughts and advice of his citizens, "elevated himself above all mortals."[99] The well-being of society lies in its virtues and diligence, while customs support laws, and laws support good customs.[100]

Vynskyi shares a similar perspective, noting that the moral education of society and good customs can arise and be established when authority cares for the well-being and morality of the people through appropriate laws. Without adhering to this duty, authority will have no influence over the hearts of citizens.[101] In this context, he criticizes Catherine II's autocratic policies and the state apparatus, as well as the 1785 Charters of the Nobility and the Cities, which, in other countries, would have led to significant reforms. According to Vynskyi, Catherine was well aware that Russians "would not only fail to make use of the granted freedom to arrange their own happiness but would not understand either the content or the strength of her favour. She, without daring to diminish her autocracy with this bold act, would merely pull the wool over the eyes of Europe and bewilder posterity."[102] Thus, continuing to describe the abuse of power, Vynskyi states that "in the spirit of serfdom and ignorance of the nobility, rulers twisted and turned it like a pliable willow, in every sense." Eventually, Catherine, noticing the nobility's "compliance and lack of resistance, began to enjoy everything without much regard." Her favourites – Orlov, Potemkin, and Viazemsky – with Catherine's support, also began to abuse power in a similarly autocratic manner.[103]

Kozelskyi writes rather cautiously about autocracy and monarchy. Referring to other philosophers, he lists four forms of government: democratic or republican, aristocratic, monarchical, and despotic, noting that Rousseau favours the aristocratic

95 Kozelskij, "Filosoficheskie predlozhenija," 517.
96 Ibid., 521.
97 Ibid., 466, 468, 525.
98 Ibid., 500, 523.
99 Ibid., 523–4.
100 Ibid., 526, 528.
101 "Zapiski Vinskogo," 88.
102 Ibid., 102.
103 Ibid., 102–3.

form led by a senate's authority.[104] Citing Montesquieu, Kozelskyi points out that the foundation of a republican form of government is a virtue, of a monarchical form is honour, and of a despotic form is fear. Among the beneficial laws of the republican form are popular voting, the election of officials, and the establishment of laws, while in the monarchical form, there is the differentiation of strata according to merit and the monarch's role in implementing and repealing laws. Agreeing that the monarchical form is preferable for large states and that all people are capable of electing worthy officials, he further notes that achieving justice through stratum differentiation is challenging. It would be better if laws supported every citizen in distress by fostering a sense of communal benefit: "No people can be made virtuous except through the union of each individual's particular benefit with the common benefit of all; and to lay out the true rules leading directly to moral goodness, one must have a passion for the common good and act without selfishness."[105]

Returning to the importance of balance and moderation in laws as a guarantee of well-being, he continues that those laws inclined towards grandeur "lead to excessive indulgence for one part of the people and oppression for another." Instead, he suggests that it would be excellent if different peoples under one authority were united not by force but by the goodness and utility of laws, with laws equalising the rights and advantages of those peoples.[106] Kozelskyi concludes with a subtle reaction to Montesquieu's words, which state that in autocratic governments, it is difficult or impossible for people to be virtuous: "I believe that it is better to contemplate this matter in one's mind rather than to speak of it for general knowledge," advising the people to strive to avoid vices and to hope that, in time, they will eventually disappear.[107]

For Kozelskyi, the progress of society is closely tied to the recognition and protection of individual rights, viewing the protection of these rights as essential for human dignity and moral progress. By ensuring that laws are derived from rights and customs, society can promote justice, fairness, and the well-being of all individuals. The emphasis on safeguarding the rights of each individual, the importance of the customs of peoples, and the preference for equalizing the rights of different strata suggest that Kozelskyi favors a republican or aristocratic form of government over a monarchical one.

A similar argument in defence of the rights, freedoms, and privileges of the *szlachta*, Cossacks, clergy, and burghers of the Hetmanate is made by Poletyka. He sees the primary flaws in the proposed legislative changes in the fact that the legislators do not fully understand or consider the conditions and rights with which the Hetmanate was integrated into the Russian state. He argues that it would be better to confirm the existing rights, as the proposed innovations contradict these rights and freedoms and

104 Kozelskij, "Filosoficheskie predlozhenija," 526–7.
105 Ibid., 528–30.
106 Ibid., 530–1.
107 Ibid., 532.

harm the well-being of society.[108] The nature of the innovations is also not entirely clear, given that the Hetmanate had been governed according to its own customs and rights for 130 years. Otherwise, "wise rulers" would have made changes sooner that were better suited to autocracy. However, since there are no flawless rights,[109] perfection must be achieved in accordance with the circumstances of the people's customs, and laws are good and durable when they align with the people's rights.[110]

Therefore, Poletyka insists, new laws can be introduced, but not arbitrarily "according to the prescriptions and opinions of a small number of people, but according to the general will of the people," as society knows its own deficiencies and needs better than the ruler.[111] The arbitrary actions actions of the Hetmanate's rulers in the past, "supported by their military power," and their subordination of judges from different strata to their authority led to shortcomings in customs.[112] Thus, listening to the voice of the people aligns with the will and intent of the autocrat "to provide the well-being of loyal subjects" and will not violate the sanctity of the contract.[113] In conclusion, Poletyka states that the changes proposed by the Little Russian Collegium are "all compulsory, all oppressive, all burdensome, and all inconsistent with the condition of our people, their upbringing, and their customs. Our laws are deemed unnecessary, although more aligned with the love of humanity than many others."[114]

Overall, Poletyka, using Enlightenment concepts, defends aristocracy and the preservation of the current state of social strata, as well as the maintenance and development of traditional customs, since these stem from understanding.[115] This perspective aligns with Galagan's critique of the blind adherence to French customs, which, along with fashion, brings "fickleness, impudence… and deception, which are all deemed necessary for people living *à la mode*."[116] Vynskyi similarly observes the shortcomings of such blind adherence to fashion in the education of children by Russian nobles: "And how was he raised? What did he learn? Oh!! This matter was entirely extrinsic to him [the Frenchman]. In this house, a Frenchman was needed for the children, he was French, and that was all."[117] Aware of the unpopularity of his views, Kozelskyi also considers it a weak policy to model and adopt the customs of other peoples, as such changes do not arise from the nature of one's own society, which creates risks of further problems and unpredictability.[118] Thus, Kozelskyi, like Galagan,

108 Politika, "Vozrazhennia," 73.
109 Ibid., 78.
110 Ibid., 85.
111 Ibid., 78.
112 Ibid., 74.
113 Ibid., 78.
114 Ibid., 101.
115 On Poletyka's acceptance of other strata, including joint work with peasants during harvests, see: Lytvynova, "Pomishchytska pravda."
116 Galagan, "Zapiski," 85; Galagan, "Zhurnal," 66.
117 "Zapiski Vinskogo," 176.
118 Kozelskij, "Filosoficheskie predlozhenija," 539, 550.

believes that one should approach one's own customs in a manner similar to "the honeybee of Holland, which, not enticed by the dazzling fashions of luxurious societies, remains in its simplicity and moderation, and is esteemed by itself and by all others as the most fortunate people in all of Europe."[119] Perhaps, guided by the preservation of their own customs and through seeing or constructing such an association and similarity with the Dutch Republic, Ukrainian social elites emphasise cleanliness and notice its absence in their naratives.

For the pursuit of well-being, one must understand both one's own qualities and those of others, grasp direct virtues and reason, and base one's interactions on that understanding.[120] Reason is valuable not when it is merely a reproduction of theoretical knowledge, but when it is used to discover and reveal truths, to identify what is good, and to direct one's will towards benevolence and justice, with striving for well-being and virtue honored above reason.[121] This perspective may be interpreted as an implicit critique of autocracy and absolutism, as a sole ruler may rely solely on theoretical knowledge and cannot fully account for the nuances of different societal customs.

A comprehension of what is good and what is bad is crucial for the true love of humanity. Since love consists of rejoicing in the well-being of others and sorrow over their misfortune, that is, compassion, not all well-being of others is just in relation to others.[122] As per civic law, the well-being of many is more important than the well-being of a single transgressor, but it is necessary to consider the context and motivation behind a person's harm to others.[123] Forgiving and showing love towards someone who knowingly harms others and breaks rules is equally bad, as it contradicts morality and societal well-being.[124] It seems that Galagan follows similar reasoning, showing compassion for those unjustly punished and the downtrodden, delighting in sincere friendly acts, praising the privileges of townsfolk, but condemning the unnatural behaviour of people who mistreat animals, fail to donate money to the poor who became impoverished due to drunkenness, and endorsing just punishment for abuses. His attention and concern for the poor and oppressed seem to align with Kozelskyi's assertion that more intelligent, affluent, and privileged individuals bear greater responsibility for their crimes and have a greater duty to society to promote well-being.[125] Thus, this inclines him towards greater openness to other societal strata.

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A comparative analysis of the writings of Ukrainian social elites reveals that Galagan's social and political identities embody a broader shared collective identity,

119 Ibid., 540.
120 Ibid., 505.
121 Ibid., 426, 463, 481.
122 Ibid., 423.
123 Ibid., 469, 488.
124 Ibid., 494.
125 Ibid., 478.

which was shaped by Enlightenment ideals and evolved into a distinct regional version. Through this lens, certain aspects of Galagan's visions become more apparent. Galagan appears to align with core values such as love of humanity, justice, and the common well-being. His emphasis on human responsibility, particularly in restraining natural freedoms and passions, as well as in showing care and compassion, appears more as a duty of everyone in society. This duty extends to those in positions of authority, who must ensure rights and liberties to safeguard societal well-being. For Galagan, equality does not pertain to social standing but rather to the cultivation of benevolent treatment of others, which serves as the pathway to common well-being. It seems, however, that equal social standing also manifests itself in a certain form of well-being. In this context, reason functions as a tool for achieving well-being rather than as an end in itself. Furthermore, Galagan's focus on virtue and morality rather than on reason, along with his keen interest in customs, suggests that his travel was not merely an exploration of the external world, but also a conscious "pursuit of truths" for himself and his readers.

By the time of his travels, it appears that Galagan was well-acquainted with the Enlightenment concepts, and the values of liberties and privileges, characteristic of both regional and Enlightenment frameworks, had already overlapped and become internalized within his identity. It may further be assumed that Galagan was not familiar with the customs of Western European countries, and that direct contact with the Enlightened triggered his sense of regional identity, providing him with concepts to explain the observed world.

Praising the imperial welfare and orderly initiatives in Western countries, he seems to remain loyal to the state as an entity while potentially wanting more "proper' governance, the nature of which he describes in his travelogues. Therefore, the sense of loyalty to the state––the "civic" imperial identity feature––is based on the idea of the sanctity of the social contract, rather than being derived from the Russian imperial framework.

Features such as 'proper' ordering, social decency, morality and well-being also correlate with the ideals of a well-ordered police state, which may equally derive from the influence of both European and Russian imperial Enlightenments. Although Galagan displays what appears to be more liberal attitudes, his views on equality and liberties somewhat contradict the Russian imperial reception of these ideas. Overall, the content of Galagan's travelogues contrasts with the key features of the official Russian imperial discourse––namely, expressions of Russian imperial patriotism or a preference for Russian culture over foreign. Galagan's criticism of French manners and their way of life, while resembling the Russian caution toward Western influences, is primarily directed at his compatriots who uncritically adopt foreign fashion and customs without genuinely understanding them. Moreover, his praise for the customs of other countries, particularly the Dutch Republic, indicates that his criticism of French manners is not linked to the Russian imperial discourse. Given the similar passages in Kozelskyi's and Vynskyi's writings, which condemn French arrogance and

rudeness, contempt for foreigners, excessive self-love, and the lack of 'intelligent order', Galagan could indirectly be criticizing corresponding values inherent in the customs of Russian nobility and Russian imperial central policy. In this context, the descriptions of the Western world may serve as a secure tool for this critique.

Finally, Galagan's emotional engagement with issues of equality, vulnerability, compassion, and an overall love of humanity was likely shaped by Enlightenment ideals, which also raises the question of the role of the Enlightenment in shaping Galagan's emotional experiences and forms of emotional practice. It is likely true that he experienced and learned these emotions before his travels, through prior moral education focused on the love of humanity or, possibly, through practising emotional projections in reading or writing.[126] However, it is intriguing to explore whether Enlightenment ideas, apart from fostering republican or anti/absolutist ideas, also played a role in shaping the emotions of the Cossack *starshyna*. Furthermore, knowing that the descendants of Galagan in the 19th century treated their subjects quite liberally, one can wonder if there was a connection between the analysed diaries and the descendants' upbringing. This leads to another question: were these travelogues mere diaries, or did they function as educational and instructional texts, shaping the values and emotions of their readers? Nevertheless, to answer these questions, it is first necessary to examine the emotional communities of the Cossack officers.[127]

Since identities are fluid and shaped through the organization of experience, it is possible that over the course of Galagan's writings, we observe the formation of Galagan's social or political identity, and some of the values that emerged were learned during his travel. In sum, Galagan's case exemplifies the synthesis of regional identity with Enlightenment ideals, fostering a humanistic, and occasionally republican, worldview, and corroborates the statement that the Enlightenment provided a nurturing environment for the Cossack's "rights and liberties" to turn into republican or anti-absolutist ideas.[128]

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126 On the learnt experience of equality, see: Lynn Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights: A History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2007).

127 On the emotional communities, see: Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaka, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 2006).

128 Plokhy, *The Cossack Myth*, 15–27.

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