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“A Sanguine Bunch”

Regional Identification in Habsburg Bukovina,
1774-1919

H.F. van Drunen

“A Sanguine Bunch”

In the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the small and easternmost crownland of Bukovina was exceptional in many ways. It was a new addition to the Imperial territory and very much a Habsburg creation: never before had the area been a separate entity. Colonisation efforts added a large number of immigrants to the uneducated peasant population. During the final decades of the Empire's existence, Bukovina was consciously deployed as a pars pro toto for a utopian Austria in which interethnic harmony and tolerance prevailed: both in- and outside the crownland, the commonplace of 'Little Austria' with its Viennese orientation and its vibrant cultural life gained ground.

During and after the Habsburg era, numerous studies have appeared on the ethnical composition of Bukovina, the dominance of nationalist theory has led to separate analyses of Habsburg Bukovina's 'nationalities'. Ironically, the binding element, the 'Bukovinianness' of the crownland and its inhabitants is thus ignored. This particular study focuses on the different identification processes at work and on the question what 'Bukovinianness' really encompassed.

“A Sanguine Bunch”



H.F. van Drunen



Regional Identification in Habsburg Bukovina,
1774-1919

«A Sanguine Bunch» Regional Identification in Habsburg Bukovina, 1774-1919

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor

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op gezag van de Rector Magnificus

prof. dr. D.C. van den Boom

ten overstaan van een door het college voor promoties ingestelde commissie

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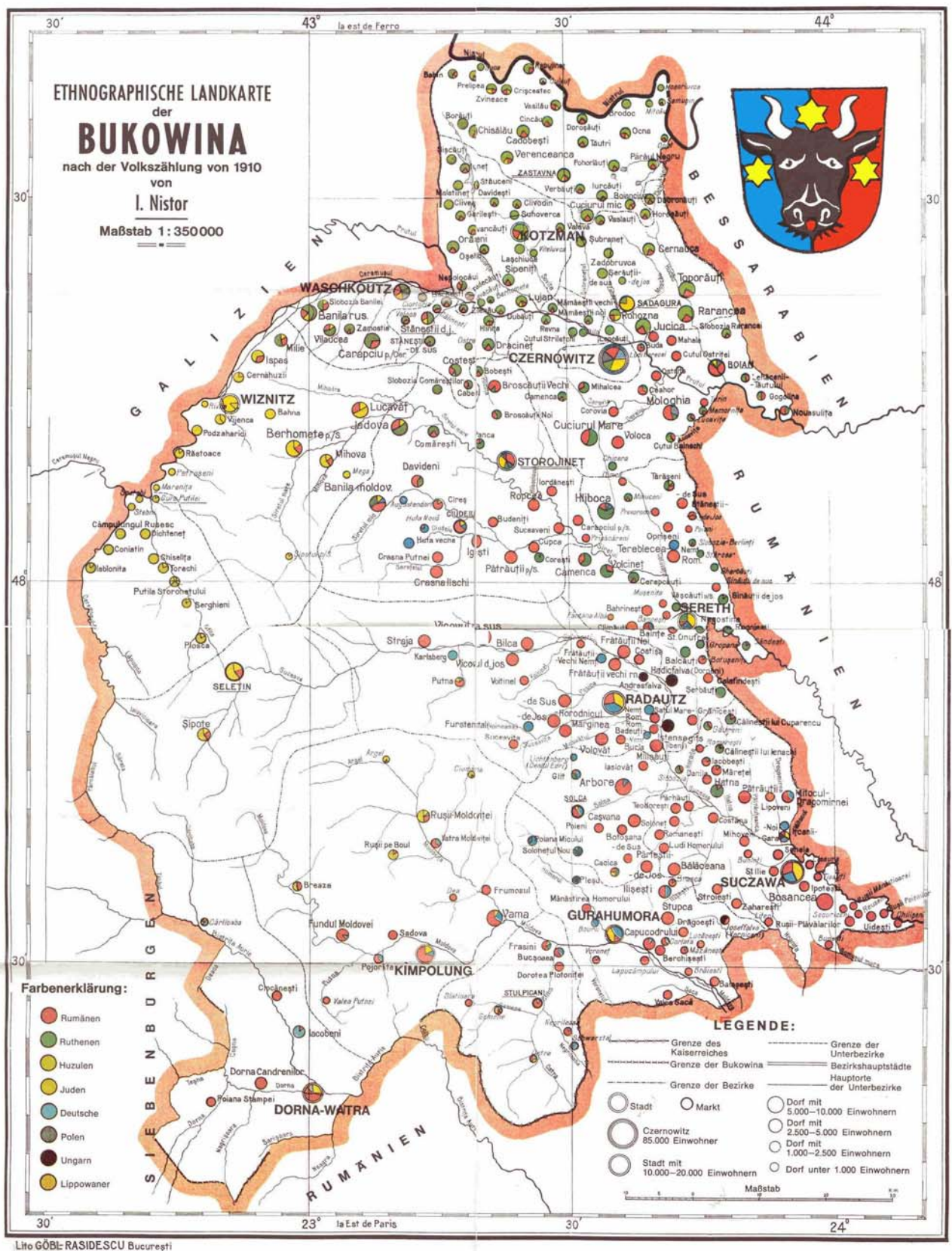
Faculteit der Geesteswetenschappen



Bukovina's location in the Austro-Hungarian empire.



Present-day division of former Bukovina between Romania and Ukraine.



Ion Nistor's ethnographic map of Bukovina, based on the 1910 census results.

*I dedicate this work to the memory of my father Jan van Drunen (1934-2011),
whose wish to see its completion was not fulfilled.*

Acknowledgments

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Research and writing accountability

Research for this study was conducted mainly between August 2007 and November 2009. Particularly useful were the collections of the university libraries of Amsterdam (UvA), Budapest (both CEU and ELTE), Bucharest, Chernivtsi, Iași and Suceava; the Austrian National Library (Vienna), the Library of the Romanian Academy (Bucharest) and the National Széchényi Library (Budapest).

The turbulent history the Austro-Hungarian Empire and its successor states accounts for the geographical dispersion of archive materials which has been meticulously described by Kurt Scharr in his *Die Landschaft Bukowina* (2010). For this particular project, the starting point was the Austrian State Archive. Particularly useful there was the Viennese War Archive (General Staff, Joint Central Verification Office) with its collection of censorship analyses from the years 1914-1918. However, most of its resources regarding Habsburg Bukovina, originally belonging to the Austrian Ministry of Internal Affairs, were transferred to Bucharest between 1921 and 1926 after Bukovina had become part of Romania. At the time of my research, many of these documents were still being catalogued by the Romanian National Archives and were therefore accessible only up to a point and only after specific permission had been granted. Apart from a rather modest collection at the regional branch of the Romanian National Archives in Suceava (the lion's share of its collection refers to post-Habsburg Bukovina), the principle repository of documents from the Habsburg era can be found in the Chernivtsi District branch of the Ukrainian State Archive.

Newspaper collections proved to be best accessed according to (national) language: all German-language Bukovinian newspapers are available in the Austrian National Library, those in Romanian in the Library of the Romanian Academy and those in Ukrainian/Ruthenian in the library of Chernivtsi's Yuriy Fedkovych University. However, this last collection is marred by gaps and the condition of the available issues sometimes in such bad state that they are no longer available to the public. Only in the case of one periodical (*Буковина*/ *Буковина*), the originals had been digitalised at the time of my research, but then only partly: as such, a number of issues remained behind closed doors.

The multi-ethnic character of the region would require all toponyms in this study to appear in several languages. For the sake of clarity, I decided to use the official names as they were known during the Habsburg days, i.e. in German. A list of the relevant toponyms with their equivalents in different languages is offered as an appendix. I applied the same method to the names of individuals: only when they specifically identified themselves as Romanians or Ruthenians, the relevant spelling/transliteration is observed (Tomasciuc instead of Tomaszczuk, Vasylo instead of Wassilko). Transliterations from Cyrillic are mine, unless otherwise indicated. The same applies to the translations into English from the various source languages.

The title quote ("Wir sind ein sanguinisches Völklein") originates from an article in *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*: 'Eingeschlafen', p. 1, 11 April 1912.

PREFACE

Bukovina is in every sense a paradox. Everything is upside down here. It almost seems as if this topsy-turvy element had to belong to the nature of this land, as if its character was to consist of this. Everyone feels that Bukovina is something special, not to be put on a level with the other crownlands and that its cultural ties also have a certain nuance of their own, something different from the ordinary. Yet, they only feel. What this character is, however, very few have so far attempted to fathom.¹

Max Rosenberg, 1914

In the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the small and easternmost crownland of Bukovina was exceptional in many ways. It was a relatively new addition to the Imperial territory and very much its proper creation: never before had the area with its Habsburg borders been a separate entity before. Subsequently, the large waves of emigrants the authorities encouraged to settle in there would change its character profoundly. As national activism in other Austrian crownlands intensified and gradually intoxicated political and social relations, Bukovina with its many languages and religious denominations was increasingly perceived as a role model of tolerance and diversity. During the final decades of the Empire's existence, Bukovina was consciously deployed as a *pars pro toto* for a utopian Austria in which the manifold national identifications were to enhance the State rather than to undermine it. As the Habsburg Empire, struggling to perform the balancing act between Viennese central power and increasing nationalist demands from all over its territory, tried to position itself with all its diversity as 'a model for Europe', inside its borders something similar occurred: both in- and outside the crownland, the commonplace of 'Little Austria' with its Viennese orientation and its vibrant cultural life gained ground.

The image continued to rumble on long after the Habsburg Empire with its crownlands had vanished, only enhanced by the cultural restrictions the Romanian centralist government had imposed once it had acquired the territory after the First World War - and far more radically after the destruction, devastation, deportations of the Second World War. Finally, the post-war division of the former crownland between the Soviet Union and Romania ended Bukovina's territorial integrity. Mainly through the works of Bukovinian-born authors such as Paul Celan, Rose Ausländer and Gregor von Rezzori and the nostalgia which dominated the post-Habsburg cultural production, Bukovina transformed from a political reality into a 'subjunctive space': a hypothetical timespace of 'as if' and 'what if'.² Dreams and expectations were now projected into the past, opposite to the way a Habsburg Austrian in

¹ Rosenberg, Max, *Heimatkunde - Bukowiner Bauernkunst*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 22.03.1914, p. 7.

² cf. Reynolds, Bryan, *Transversal Enterprises in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries: Fugitive Explorations*, Palgrave Macmillan, London 2006, pp. 16-17.

1907 had envisaged of how Austrian Bukovina might have looked in the year 2000: Hermann Mittelman had dreamt of express trains between the Bukovinian cities, of monuments and statues honouring prominent Bukovinians of his era. Just like those of nostalgics of the later twentieth century, Mittelman's fantasies were little more than an idealised continuum of tolerance and multi-culturality under the benevolent guidance of the Habsburgs with the tangible proximity of Vienna.³ With the demise of the socialist regimes in Europe and the renewed accessibility of former Eastern bloc countries after 1989, renewed interest for Bukovina also renewed the idea of that historical region as a 'model for united Europe'.

Such visions were founded on more than mere daydreams. Especially during the last decades of its existence, Habsburg Bukovina boasted a remarkable political and cultural vibrancy. For the backwater in the east which it obviously was, the number of periodicals it produced in the numerous languages of its population was astonishing. In contrast to rural illiteracy, the Bukovinian capital Czernowitz, often depicted as a small version of Vienna, had a wide circle of intellectuals, a dynamic university and a lively local political scene. Nationalist agitation reached Bukovinian society relatively late, which further enhanced its peaceful image. Unlike in neighbouring regions, Jews enjoyed full freedoms in Bukovina. They were therefore prominently present and contributed significantly to the crownland's cultural production.

Although nationalism dominated the identification discourse both during the Habsburg era and thereafter, it is still mildly ironic that a region which has entered into the public memory as quintessentially multi-cultural has only been described along nationalist lines. 'The Jews of Bukovina', 'The History of the Romanians in Bukovina' and many similar volumes have seen the light of day, but only a modest number of publications deal with the identity of the crownland in its entirety. When they do, they obediently maintain the segregationist work method of the nationalists and devote separate sections to 'the different ethnic groups of Austrian Bukovina'. Bukovina is always neatly divided in ethnics categories with all of its respective members sharing an equal fervour for their specific national cause. This way, some aspects of crownland identification might come to the fore, but they never amount to an analysis of just what exactly made the grand total of that powerful point of reference: Bukovina and its 'Bukovinianness'.

'Regional identification' has so far been neglected in the case of Habsburg Bukovina. Nationalists often dismiss it as a conscious attack on 'the national destiny of the people' and Habsburg nostalgics usually reduce it to a local branch of Austrianism. Now that the idea of multiple identifications is almost universally accepted and thus different identifications are not expected to exclude one another, regional identification in different degrees - also when there is not a hint of separatism in sight - regularly appears in today's Europe. While a common European identity is openly contested and national identification still claims the leading part, national politicians often find it hard to assess the intensity of feelings of regional adherence. Two recent examples, one from the Netherlands and one from France, may illustrate this point: Politicians in the Netherlands recently considered merging three of

³ Mittelman, Hermann, *Ein Spaziergang durch Czernowitz im Jahre 2000*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 25.12.1907, pp. 8-9.

the country's provinces into one. Experts did not expect large-scale resistance from these provinces, which are located in the western, urbanised part of the country; contrary to southern and northern Dutch provinces, the three were said to 'lack provincial identity', largely caused by the stiff competition of the large, influential cities they host. The province of North Holland is regarded as a random bundle of regions, the small Utrecht province is defined by its capital with the same name and the fairly recently reclaimed Flevoland 'if at all, derives its identity from the fact that it has none'. Those from Amsterdam consider themselves 'from Amsterdam first of all, from Amsterdam tenth of all and only from North-Holland eleventh of all'. In comparison, other Dutch provinces are expected 'to send war ships to the capital' were they to be merged or dissolved.⁴

In 2010, the French government met resistance when it decided to bring in new number plates: under the new system, new plates would no longer display département numbers. Those départements, first created after the 1789 revolution, proved to provoke much greater emotional attachment than the Parisian bureaucrats had foreseen. A campaign named 'Never Without My Département' was joined by over 220 parliamentary deputies and senators and inspired by the sentiment that 'it is a matter of roots, of attachment to a land'. In the end, the government revoked its decision and département numbers remained compulsory.⁵

Coming back to Habsburg Bukovina, the central question remains to which extent a regional identification was experienced and debated during the crownland's existence. This means that the so far dominant images created by nationalists of ethnically divided, united and nationally-conscious should first of all be critically evaluated. Next, crucial elements and institutions of regional self-identification will be studied in order to analyse the intensity, the shapes and the actors responsible for the resounding concept of 'Bukovinianness'.

⁴ Vriesema, Ingmar, *Het onzichtbare leven van de provinciebestuurder*, NRC Handelsblad, 2 February 2011, p. 6, and "Ach, die provinciale identiteit bestaat helemaal niet", NRC Handelsblad, 19 October 2011, pp. 4-5.

⁵ *Choose your département - French Number plates*, The Economist, 24 April 2010, p. 26; *Le député Henri Nayrou: jamais sans mon 09!* in: *Jamais sans mon département*, 28 April 2009, <http://www.jamaissansmondepartement.fr> (visited 28 April 2010).

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PART I - INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1 Historical Overview

Pre-Austrian Days

These days, Bukovina as such can no longer be found on a map. It is a historical region, divided between Ukraine where roughly speaking what was once northern Bukovina is referred to as the Chernivtsi District (Чернівецька область), and Romania, where former southern Bukovina is known as Suceava County (Județul Suceava). However, numerous administrative alterations at both sides of the border distort a one-on-one overlap with the initial Habsburg borders. Geographically, the area is dominated by the Podolian, the Chotyn and the Moldavian Heights and the Dniestr and Prut rivers.

Excavations show that starting with the second millennium BC, it was inhabited by Dacian and Celto-Germanic tribes while there was an influence of the nearby Roman areas from 106 AD. Between the third and sixth century, Goth, Hun and Avar tribes ransacked the region. In the 14th century the Moldavian Principality emerged and centred around the fortress of Suczawa. Starting with the reign of Stephen the Great, the Moldavian lords initiated the construction of the territory's famous painted monasteries. Romanian nationalists see themselves as the direct successors of the Moldavians and to this day clash with their Ukrainian opponents on the issue of 'historical rights'.¹ From the beginning of the 16th century, the Moldavian Principality came under the overlordship of the Ottoman Empire.

Habsburg Take-Over and Military Rule

In 1774, Ottoman hegemony of the territory shifted to Austria under still debated conditions. The Habsburg Empire benefited from the weakened position of Constantinople. Russia had wiped Poland off the map and was at war with the Ottoman Empire and was thus perceived as a threat by the Habsburgs. Vienna mediated in a peace treaty which was signed in Küçük-Kaynarca on 21 July 1774 and which assured Russia a southward power expansion. Turkish Moldavia was divided in Russian Bessarabia and Austrian Bukovina.²

¹ See for instance Zota, Iancu, *Die Slavisierung der Bukowina im 19. Jh. als Ausgangspunkt grosspolnischer Zukunftspolitik. Ethnographische und politische Betrachtungen*, Gerolds, Wien 1900, pp. 4-5, Kozak, Cornel and Fischer, Eduard, *Heimatskunde der Bukowina zum Gebrauche für Schulen und zum Selbstunterricht*. Pardini, Czernowitz 1900), pp. 44-46 pp. 20-25, Kohut, Leon, *Die Ukrainer in Rumänien*, in: Csaki, Richard (ed.), *Die Nationalitätenfrage Rumäniens - Festschrift herausgegeben aus Anlaß des 10. Deutschen Ferienhochschulkurses in Hermannstadt vom Deutschen Kulturamt in Rumänien*, Deutsches Kulturamt in Rumänien, Sibiu 1929, p. 52, Șafran 1939, Purici, Ștefan, *Trecutul Bucovinei în viziunea istoriografiei ucrainene contemporane (1991-2002)*, in: *Codrul Cosminului*, 2004, 8-9 (18-19), 43-52.

² Hofbauer, Hannes. *Bukowina 1774 bis 1919: Österreichs Osterweiterung*, in: Cordon, Cécile and Kusdat, Helmut, *An der Zeiten Ränder: Czernowitz und die Bukowina: Geschichte, Literatur, Verfolgung, Exil*. Theodor

How exactly Austria conceived the idea of incorporating a part of Turkish Moldavia is unclear. Some claim that in 1773 during a journey through Transylvania Emperor Joseph II developed this strategy,³ and that the aim was to create a strategic corridor from Transylvania to recently acquired Galicia.⁴ In any case, the way the matter was handled was dubious. Empress Maria Theresa allegedly lamented how Austria had been ‘completely unfair’ and declared to be saddened by the way the Empire undoubtedly had to resort to ‘dishonest ways’ to find a solution to the issue. Although some sources mention that at the time, the move was considered ‘a masterpiece of Austrian diplomacy’⁵ and others call it a ‘skilful political operation’, with which the territory was ‘extorted from Turkey as price of Austrian mediation’,⁶ most analysts are convinced that some foul play was involved. Even a staunch defender of Austria’s ‘mission in the East’ like Karl Emil Franzos acknowledged that ‘it happens in times of peace that befriended sovereigns bestow horses or precious stones on each other, but that one gives the other one hundred and eighty square miles without any apparent reason is a bit strange’.⁷ Romanian nationalist sources, who regard the former Moldavian territories as historical Romanian lands and therefore - anachronistically, retroactively - see the trade-off between the Austrians and the Ottomans as interference in Moldavian/Romanian affairs, claim that ‘Vienna extracted a significant part of Moldavia by bribing the Turks with large sums of money’.⁸

As a justification, the Habsburgs had come up with a historical explanation of sorts: although interpretations vary, the main reasoning was that parts of Northern Moldavia had at one point been part of Galicia-Lodomeria which in turn had belonged to the Habsburg Empire, but it is clear, as it was at the time, that this argumentation was feeble.⁹ The Ottomans with their weak power positions obviously had little choice in the matter, though they were also deemed naïve for believing the Austrian historical explanation, or even ‘relieved’ to get rid of the area it was

Kramer Gesellschaft, Vienna 2002, 13-22, pp.13-14; Maner, Hans-Christian, *Galizien: eine Grenzregion im Kalkül der Donaumonarchie im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, IGKS Verlag, Munich 2007, pp. 45-46.

³ Safran 1939, p. 29.

⁴ Loghin, Constantin, *Istoria Literaturii Române din Bucovina 1775-1918 în legătură cu evoluția culturală și politică*, Editura Alexandru cel Bun, Cernăuți 1926/1996, p. 23; Dima, Nicholas, *Bucovina, Romania and the Ukraine*, in: Manoliu-Manea, Maria (ed.), *The Tragic Plight of a Border Area: Bessarabia and Bucovina*, American Romanian Academy of Arts and Sciences, Los Angeles 1983, 19-24, p. 19; Hofbauer, Hannes and Roman, Viorel, *Bukowina, Bessarabien, Moldawien: vergessenes Land zwischen Westeuropa, Russland und der Türkei*, Promedia, Vienna 1997, p. 27; Viorel 2002, p. 12, Corbea-Hoisie, Andrei, *La Bucovine - Éléments d'histoire politique et culturelle.*, Institut d'Études Slaves, Paris 2004, p. 13.

⁵ Maner 2007, p. 46.

⁶ Kann, Robert A., *A History of the Habsburg Empire, 1526-1918*, University of California Press Berkeley 1980, pp. 70 and 164.

⁷ Franzos, Karl Emil, *Aus Halb-Asien. Kulturbilder aus Galizien, der Bukowina, Südrussland und Rumänien*, Concordia, Berlin 1901, p. 214.

⁸ Dima 1983, p. 19; Roman, Viorel, *Bucovina și Basarabia: omagiu istoricului la 60 de ani*, Editura Artemis, Bucharest 2002, p. 12.

⁹ Kapri, Emanuel, *Buchenland. Ein österreichisches Kronland verschiedener Völkergruppen*, Eigenverlag Landsmannschaft der Buchenlanddeutschen e.V., Munich/Stuttgart 1974, p. 10; Dima 1983, p. 19; Hofbauer and Roman 1997, p. 27; Viorel 2002, p. 12, Corbea-Hoisie, Andrei, *La Bucovine - Éléments d'histoire politique et culturelle.*, Institut d'Études Slaves, Paris 2004, p. 13.

not able to defend in exchange for Austrian neutrality in the Russian-Ottoman war.¹⁰ More recent studies on Bukovina mostly limit themselves to the neutral conclusion that the transfer of the area from the Ottoman to the Habsburg Empire was the result of ‘successful negotiations’.¹¹

The Austrian authorities did not waste any time: before the cession of the Ottoman territory was legalised by the Convention of 7 May 1775, Austrian commander Baron Splény had already established his headquarters at Czernowitz/ Cernăuți the August before.¹² Shortly before that, Russian occupying forces had left. The transfer of power had not been without any form of resistance, however. With the negotiations between Habsburgs and Ottomans were still ongoing, the caretaker of the Ottoman Empire in Turkish Moldavia, local nobleman Grigore Ghica III, interfered by means of a letter to the his superiors at the Porte: Ghica insisted that the Austrian troops in the region were limited in number and could easily be chased. He even suggested the population might look for protection of another power if the Ottomans would not prevent an Austrian takeover.¹³ Constantinople was obviously not pleased with Ghica’s resistance and sent an execution squad to Ghica which beheaded him in September 1777. In Romanian nationalist historiography, Ghica became the symbol of Romanian resistance against ‘foreign occupation’. Ghica commemorations in Romania in 1875, not accidentally coinciding with the centennial celebrations of the Austrian acquisition of Bukovina, were at the core of Habsburg Bukovina’s biggest ‘treason trial’, the ‘Arboroasa case’.¹⁴ Ghica’s ethnic identity, his motives and his role in Bukovina’s transfer to Austria are still debated today.¹⁵

The name ‘Bukovina’, introduced by the Austrian rulers in November 1775, had no historical legitimacy and can quite prosaically be traced back to the Slavic- some sources claim more specifically Polish or Polish-Ukrainian - word ‘buk’, meaning ‘beech tree’ and as such related to one of the area’s natural features. Consecutively, ‘Bukovina’ signifies as much as ‘little

¹⁰ Chélard, Raoul, *L’Autriche contemporaine*, Leon Chailly, Paris 1894, p. 38; László, János, *A Bukovinában élő (élt) magyarság és kirajzásainak története 1762-től 1914-ig, az első világháború kitöréséig*, Kriterion Koložsvár (Cluj) 2005, Kriterion, p. 50.

¹¹ Wagner, Rudolf, *Vom Halbmond zum Doppeladler - Ausgewählte Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bukowina und der Czernowitzer Universität ‘Francisco-Josephina’*, Verlag ‘Der Südostdeutsche’, Augsburg 1996, p. 13; Hausleitner, Mariana, *Eine wechselvolle Geschichte - Die Bukowina und die Stadt Czernowitz vom 18. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, in: Braun, Helmut (ed.), *Czernowitz - die Geschichte einer untergegangene Kulturmetropole*, Berlin 2006, Christoph Links Verlag: 31-81, p. 32.

¹² Seton-Watson, Robert William, *History of the Roumanians - from Roman Times to Completion of Unity*, University Press, Cambridge 1934, p. 555.

¹³ Polek, Johann, *Die Erwerbung der Bukowina durch Oesterreich*, Pardini, Czernowitz 1889, p. 31.

¹⁴ For more on the Arboroasa case, see Part III, paragraph 3.3: Cracks in the Layer of Loyalty.

¹⁵ For Romanian sources defending Ghica’s role as ‘defender of the nation’, see for example (Kogălniceanu, Mihail), *Răpirea Bucovinei*, Minerva, Bucharest 1907, p. 36; Nistor, Ion, *Istoria Bucovinei*, Humanitas, Bucharest 1991, p. 220; Mihăescu, Dan, *Bucovina și Basarabia (pornind de la numele lor)*, Technopress, Iași 2000, p. 37; Roman 2002, p. 14. For examples of the opposite: Franzos 1901, pp. 208-209; Wagner, Rudolf, *Die Bukowina und ihre Deutschen*, Österreichische Landsmannschaft, Vienna 1979, p. 9; Corbea-Hoisie 2004, p. 72.

beech land'.¹⁶ The name never sat well with Romanian nationalists, who dislike the lack of reference to ancient Moldavia as well as its Slavic roots and maintain that it took Romanian speakers a long time to start using 'Bukovina' instead of 'Austrian Moldavia' or 'cordon' (referring to the military buffer zone the area was designated to be during the first period of Austrian rule).¹⁷ They declare the name as artificial as the Habsburg crownland's right to exist,¹⁸ but their attempts both in Habsburg days as in post-Austrian times to introduce a Romanian translation of the name (*Țara Fagilor*) or a name referring to Moldavia's former unity (*Țara de Sus*, meaning 'Upper Land')¹⁹ never caught on: the fact that Romanian national poet Mihai Eminescu - at that time still a teenage schoolboy in the Bukovinian capital - named his 1866 ode to the land 'In Bukovina' (*La Bucovina*) aptly illustrates this. Equal endeavours by German nationalists and civil servants to introduce the German translation *Buchenland* remained equally unsuccessful,²⁰ it only appeared regularly as stylistic alternative in German-language texts and later on in the exile community in Germany.

The first years of Habsburg Bukovina were marked by uncertainty and chaos: it was still undecided what kind of administrative status the newly acquired territory would obtain and meanwhile, border surveillance as well as inner security were challenged by smuggle, banditry, emigration back and forth and epidemics.²¹ Since it was not considered of anything but military use there were hardly discussions about a separate status for the land. Options of incorporating it in Galicia or dividing it between Galicia and Transylvania were considered. The Emperor's first commanders in Bukovina, Splény and after him Enzenberg, focused on improving and modernising the conditions the Ottomans had left behind without making those chances seem too radical: the main goals were to keep the population satisfied (and thus quiet) and to bring in civilisation and education.²² The local boyars, soothed by the Austrian consideration for the local Orthodox tradition - they had been granted to take the loyalty oath on the Emperor in front of Commander Splény and Bishop Dosoftei²³ - had initially believed Habsburg rule would be a continuation of the Ottoman swap of 'autonomy in exchange for tribute', but rapidly encountered the spirit of Josephinist Enlightenment.²⁴ Enzenberg convinced Emperor Joseph II that something had to be done about the power position of the Orthodox clergy, which owned a large number of monasteries and estates and which, partly

¹⁶ Simiginowicz-Staufe, Ludwig Adolf, *Die Völkergruppen der Bukowina*, Czopp, Czernowitz 1884, p. 5; Csopor, Tibor, *Mikor Csíkból elindultam - a bukovinai székeleyek élettörténete*, Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, Budapest 1987, p. 71; Maner 2007, p. 46.

¹⁷ Iacobescu, Mihai, *Din istoria Bucovinei - (1774-1862). De la administrația militară la autonomia provincială*, Editura Academiei Române, Bucharest 1993, p. 110; Purici, Ștefan, *Daco-românism și regionalism la românii din Bucovina (1848-1849)*, in: *Codrul Cosminului*, 1998, 3-4 (13-14): 115-123, p. 116.

¹⁸ Mihăescu 2000, pp. 44-45.

¹⁹ Scharr, Kurt, *Die Bukowina: Erkundungen einer Kulturlandschaft: ein Reiseführer*, Böhlau, Vienna 2007, p. 33.

²⁰ Pollack, Martin, *Nach Galizien: von Chassiden, Huzulen, Polen und Ruthenen: eine imaginäre Reise durch die verschwundene Welt Ostgaliziens und der Bukowina*, Christian Brandstätter, Vienna/Munich 1984, p. 119.

²¹ Scharr, Kurt, *Die Landschaft Bukowina - Das Werden einer Region an der Peripherie 1774-1918*, Böhlau, Vienna/Cologne/Weimar 2010, pp. 128-131.

²² Maner 2007, pp. 47-48.

²³ Corbea-Hoisie 2004, p. 15.

²⁴ Hofbauer and Roman 1997, p. 30.

because of their own inadequate schooling, offered only the most basic education.²⁵ In 1784 it was decided that all estates owned by the Church were to be administered by the state and all revenues would be transferred to a fund that in turn was to finance clerical expenses. The number of monasteries was to be reduced to three.²⁶ The regulation entered into force and basically turned the Orthodox Church into a state church. The Bukovinian Church Fund remained a dominant force in the crownland and would even survive it: the Romanian state only dismantled it in 1921.²⁷

A Galician District

In 1786, Emperor Joseph II also ended the period of direct military rule from Vienna when on 6 August 1786, he signed the decree which made Bukovina a district of Galicia-Lodomeria. Three provincial courts were allocated to the new district, in the capital Czernowitz, in Suczawa and Sereth which were subordinated to the court in the Galician capital Lemberg. Although the most plausible reason for this decision is the Emperor's striving after a simpler and more horizontal administration, it met with criticism both in Vienna and Bukovina and its practical implementation proved to be tiresome.²⁸ Notwithstanding local resistance to the new order, there was dynamism in the development of societal activity and in 1842, a 'casino for reading and distraction' was established in Czernowitz.²⁹ This trend was to continue: between 1851 and 1872, 19 societies were founded while between 1840 and 1857, the population expanded from 334,088 to 456,920.³⁰ The percentage of Jewish Bukovinians grew from 3.82% in 1850 to 11.79% in 1880.³¹ On the whole, however, the decades under Lemberg meant a period of stagnation of reforms: the (at least on paper) existing compulsory education was once again abolished and the fact that the Catholic Consistory in Lemberg managed and used the Orthodox Church Fund resources caused unrest in Bukovina's leading circles.³²

Autonomous Crownland Status

In general the revolutionary year 1848 did not cause major turmoil in Bukovina, but it sparked a united and unique joint lobby by moderate liberals, conservative aristocrats and clerics,

²⁵ Bidermann, Hermann Ignaz, *Die Bukowina unter österreichischer Verwaltung 1775-1875*, author's edition, Vienna 1875, p. 23; Ceașu, Mihai-Ștefan, *Politica iosefinistă de reformare a Bisericii Ortodoxe din Bucovina*, in: *Anuarul institutului de istorie 'A.D. Xenopol'*, 1996, XXXIII: 147-158, p. 156.

²⁶ Nistor 1991, pp. 36-37.

²⁷ Irimescu, G., *Prefața la inventarul fondului 'Administrația Fondului Bisericesc ort.rom. din Bucovina'*, DJAN Suceava, year unknown.

²⁸ Schar 2010, pp. 161-167.

²⁹ Gerbel, Leon, *Album. Czernowitz*, in: *Der Humorist*, Vienna, 08.10.1842, p. 812.

³⁰ Turczynski, Emanuel, *Geschichte der Bukowina in der Neuzeit: Zur Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte einer mitteleuropäisch geprägten Landschaft*, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 1993, p. 128.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p.160.

³² Hausleitner, Mariana, *Die Rumänisierung der Bukowina - Die Durchsetzung des nationalstaatlichen Anspruchs Grossrumäniens 1918-1944*, Verlag R.Oldenbourg, Munich 2001, p. 36.

headed by Orthodox Bishop Hacman, for crownland autonomy, constitutional reform and equal rights for all confessions.³³ The so-called *Landespetition* also contained some specific Romanian-nationalist demands regarding the use of the Romanian language. Although the initiative was successful and autonomy was granted, the regional constitution drafted in 1850 never entered into force, since absolute monarchy was reintroduced in 1851. As such, Bukovina was still granted the much-desired administrative independence as well as the title of Duchy, but was denied its proper regional Diet (*Landtag*). In 1860, much to local indignation, Bukovina was once more subordinated to Galicia. A joint Bukovinian protest petition with 250 signatures finally resulted in autonomy, in a proper coat of arms clearly referring to the Moldavian past of the region and in the establishment of a Bukovinian regional diet. The judiciary however remained subordinate to Lemberg.³⁴

With the installation of a regional political body, nationalist voices influenced by nationalist movements from beyond the crownland borders became louder. The Orthodox Church in Transylvania sought independence from Karlowitz, which was the See of the Orthodox Church in the Habsburg Empire. Transylvania's bishop Andrei Șaguna hoped to form a joint bishopric with the Bukovinian Orthodox Church, which would give Romanian speakers a clear majority in the new body. Although such plans were opposed by the Bukovinian bishop who had a considerable number of Ruthenian speakers among his clergy and flock,³⁵ they ultimately fell through in 1867, when the Compromise (*Ausgleich*) resulted in the establishment of the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy: Roughly speaking, the area north of the river Leitha (Cisleithania) was to be administered by Vienna, the area south of the river (Transleithania) by Budapest. Through this settlement, Bukovina now belonged to Austria and Transylvania to Hungary. The founding of a united Orthodox Church which would find itself partly in Austria and partly in Hungary was politically so undesirable that the campaign in its favour immediately stopped. The Compromise also meant that there was no longer a united parliament for the entire Empire. In Vienna, Romanian nationalists from Bukovina thus found themselves cut off from their Transylvanian allies.

Nationalism on the Rise

In Bukovina proper, the political balance tilted at the end of the 1870s. Since the regional diet was established, it had been dominated by a stable majority of Habsburg-loyal aristocrats and clerics who identified (increasingly) with Romanian nationalism. The so far largely German-Jewish middle class now gained influence as well as the emerging Ruthenian nationalist movements. As a result, the political agenda was less and less dictated by social issues and more and more by nationalist demands, which meant that confrontations between Viennese administrators and local clerics and politicians intensified.³⁶ Between 1786 and 1860 the

³³ Turczynski 1993, p. 100.

³⁴ Schar 2010, pp. 168-175.

³⁵ Nistor 1991, pp. 117-119.

³⁶ Corbea-Hoisie, Andrei, Czernowitz 1892. *Die 'nationale' Wende in der Bukowiner Innenpolitik aus Wiener Sicht*, in: Maner, Hans-Christian, *Grenzregionen der Habsburgermonarchie im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert: ihre*

influx of Galician immigrants had been strong, partly because of the exemption from military service, cheaper costs of living and lower taxes in Bukovina. After the abolishment of serfdom, many Ruthenian speakers preferred to live among their Orthodox fellow believers than amidst Catholics. The changes within the population turned into the main bone of contention between the Ruthenian and Romanian national movements. Central issue in the debate were the outcomes of Austrian censuses and their defective criterion of 'language of conversation' introduced in 1880: multilingualism was as such not taken into account and the presumption that someone's 'language of conversation' implied a national adherence was taken for a fact. Furthermore, the central authorities refused to recognise Yiddish as a language and Jewish as a nationality.³⁷

Remnants of Feudalism and Other Economic Misery

The Bukovinian economy remained dominated by agriculture. Until the 20th century, land cultivation and farming were mainly in the hands of settlers, but the advanced techniques they had brought with them were hardly copied by the local peasantry. Most peasants had not owned land until 1848 and technical innovations were generally met with mistrust. Only after the catastrophic harvests of 1866 to 1868, crop rotation was widely introduced. The changes in relations between landlords and subject resulting from the 1848 events caused problems for the local landowners who found the peasants - now liberated from compulsory labour - unwilling to work even for higher wages. Jewish property steadily increased once the 1867 Constitution had eliminated the last possession restrictions for Jews. Many peasants lost their only recently acquired land to (often Jewish) usurers when they were unable to repay their loans in the difficult years 1866-68. Until the savings bank (*Sparkasse*) was founded, only private money lending was possible and mainly provided by usurers which in turn provoked outbursts of anti-Semitism. The Orthodox Church Fund continued to be the biggest landowner throughout the years and while it had the opportunity to improve the situation by leasing land to small farmers, it chose to lease land and forests to (again, mostly Jewish) entrepreneurs who were financially able to engage in long-term contracts. Only a very small segment of the rural population, which still made up 70.4% in 1918 consisted of big landowners and leaseholders who made a profit by exporting to the western industrial regions of the Monarchy.

Next to livestock breeding and land cultivation, forestry was its most important pillar and the completion of the railroad Lemberg-Czernowitz-Jassy in 1865 strengthened its prominent position even more. That same railroad proved to have downsides as well, since it facilitated cheap imports from the more industrialised parts of the Empire and thus hampered the development of a proper Bukovinian industrial sector. Although Bukovinian parliamentary deputies continuously demanded financial compensation for the damage these developments

Bedeutung und Funktion aus der Perspektive Wiens (Mainzer Beiträge zur Geschichte Osteuropas), Lit, Münster 2005, 89-101, pp. 91-94.

³⁷ Hausleitner 2001, pp. 35-40. For more on the lobby for 'Jewish' as a nationality and an official status for the Yiddish language, see Part II, paragraph 3.6: Jewish Nationalism in Bukovina.

caused, the issue remained unresolved. Protectionist customs duties imposed by Romania in 1886 were another stumbling block for Bukovinian economic growth. Even after Romania had lifted these in 1891, the crownland only recovered slowly. Ore processing had proved toilsome because Bukovina lacked the necessary charcoal and had to be discontinued already in 1832 for lack of profit. Apart from the Putna glass factory, all glassworks were closed over the years. Some boyars established distilleries, but as a whole entrepreneurial initiatives were limited: the settlers' descendants mostly supplied the internal market which was modest because of the widespread local poverty. The overwhelming majority of peasants were unable to provide for their own households and were often heavily indebted. In spite of the fact that the region received much more from Vienna than it paid in taxes, it failed to catch up with the more developed crownlands.³⁸ By the end of the century, social misery often resulted in emigration to the Americas and in rampant alcoholism. Anti-alcohol campaigns initiated by both clerics and civilians were hardly effective.³⁹ An additional health problem was the population's unbalanced diet of corn porridge (*mamaligă*) causing the vitamin deficiency disease pellagra.⁴⁰

University, Freethinking Alliance and Bukovinian Compromise

A profound cultural upswing for Bukovina was the establishment of the Franz Joseph University in Czernowitz at the occasion of the centenary of Austrian rule in 1875. It enabled Bukovinians to get an academic education without having to leave their homeland and offered a number of chairs unique for Austria: Orthodox theology and Ruthenian linguistics were only on offer in Czernowitz.⁴¹ As in other circles in Bukovina, nationalist overtones became more dominant at the university. A similar phenomenon occurred in the Bukovinian Orthodox Church, where the continuous rows between Romanian and Young-Ruthenian nationalists made a church split along national lines almost inevitable during the final years of the Dual Monarchy's existence.⁴²

In the early 1900s, all political (nationalist) parties in Bukovina experienced a split between the conservatives, who generally represented a classical, centralist and as such 'Austrian' direction and a 'Young' current, dominated by Young-Ruthenians and Young-Romanians who stood for social and electoral reforms. In order to undermine the traditional conservative power base, the leaders of the different movements, Aurel Onciul for the Young-Romanians, Mykola Vasylo for the Young-Ruthenians, Benno Straucher for the Jewish and Arthur Skedl for the German nationalists, decided to join forces. They participated in Diet elections in 1904 as the 'Freethinking Alliance' (*Freisinniger Verband*) in 1904 and managed to win a majority

³⁸ Ibid, pp. 40-49.

³⁹ Nistor, pp. 303-304.

⁴⁰ Regner von Bleyleben, Oktavian, *Meine Zeit als Landespräsident der Bukowina*, in Kusdat, Helmut and Cordon, Cécile, *An der Zeiten Ränder: Czernowitz und die Bukowina: Geschichte, Literatur, Verfolgung, Exil*, Theodor Kramer Gesellschaft, Vienna 2002, 23-34, p. 30.

⁴¹ Turczynski 1993, pp. 156-157.

⁴² Ibid., p. 174.

(17 out of the 31 available seats), thus ending the monopoly of the ‘aristocrats’ casino’. At the same time, political debates in Vienna as well as in the different crownlands were dominated by discussion on general, equal, direct and secret elections. The leading men of the Freethinking Alliance aspired to introduce those changes not only at the state level, but also at the level of local politics, but their time in office proved too short to achieve results: the Alliance collapsed in May 1905 under the pressure of the intensifying battle between Romanian and Ruthenian nationalists about the balance of power within the Bukovinian Orthodox Church. Onciul’s Young-Romanians and the Romanian conservatives united once more while Vasylo’s Young-Ruthenians and Straucher’s Jewish nationalists strengthened their cooperation.⁴³ However, the spirit of the short-lived Alliance persisted: the election reforms they had proposed had become common good in the local political discourse and their endeavours to ‘fence in’ national interests in order not to let the different nationalist agendas interfere with the way Bukovina was to be administered had already led to the national segregation of institutions, mainly in the field of education.⁴⁴ Meanwhile, in Moravia the clashes between nationalist Czechs and Germans had led to the ‘Moravian Compromise’ in 1905: voters were registered according to nationality and as such could only support candidates from their own register. In spite of the fact that the new system caused predictable problems - voters were forced to confess to one nationality and the different nationalist factions left no stone unturned to enlarge their respective electoral groups – it aroused a keen interest with the leaders of the now defunct Freethinking Alliance: it sat well with the idea of separate and ‘protected’ national development the Alliance had advocated. A similar Compromise was designed for Bukovina with obvious complications, since, unlike Moravia, Bukovina had more than just two nationalist factions to reckon with. The Bukovinian Compromise was to comprise separate registers for Romanians, Ruthenians, Germans, Jews and Poles. For simplicity’s sake, the small Lippovan (Russian Old-Believer) colonies were included in the Ruthenian, the voters from the five Magyar settlements in the Romanian register. The Jewish register remained a problem since Vienna continued to refuse a Jewish nationality. A solution was found in keeping the Jewish electorate in the German register with a distribution of voter districts which guaranteed a certain number of Jewish deputies. There was little time for the new system to prove its merits: in Bukovina, it was applied only once during the 1911 Diet elections, while the Viennese parliament never got around to implement the register system before the outbreak of the First World War.⁴⁵

⁴³ Leslie, John, *Der Ausgleich in der Bukowina von 1910: Zur österreichischen Nationalitätenpolitik vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg*, in : Brix, Emil et al. (ed.), *Geschichte zwischen Freiheit und Ordnung - Gerald Stourzh zum 60. Geburtstag*, Styria, Graz, Vienna, Cologne 1991, pp. 119-122.

⁴⁴ Menczel, Philipp, *Trägerische Lösungen. Erlebnisse u. Betrachtungen eines Österreichers*, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, Stuttgart 1932, pp. 67-68; Onciul, Aurel Constantin, *Aurel Ritter von Onciul und der nationale Ausgleich in der österreichischen Bukowina: eine wissenschaftliche Dokumentation*, author’s edition, Nuremberg 1999, pp. 29-47.

⁴⁵ Stourzh, Gerald, *Der nationale Ausgleich in der Bukowina*, in: Slawinski, Ilona and Strelka, Joseph P. (ed.), *Die Bukowina - Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Peter Lange, Bern 1995, pp. 35-52; Turczynski 1993, pp. 198-201.

First World War and the End of the Habsburg Empire

Bukovina's geographical position, only 30 kilometres from the Russian border, put the crownland right in the middle of the battlefields of the First World War from 1914 onwards. Between 1914 and 1917, the territory was occupied and again surrendered by Russian troops. The many changes of ruling authorities meant that the local population not only suffered from wartime shortages and hardship but also faced the constant risk of being charged with 'treason', alternately by the Austrian and the Russian military commanders, with executions, internment and deportation as a result. Since voluntary battalions of Bukovinians had helped to make the Russians retreat the first time in October 1914, repercussions were severe after the return of the Russian troops a few months later. Cultural institutions were forbidden and especially the Greek-Catholic (Uniate) Church was heavily persecuted. In July 1916, Romania decided to switch from the Austrian-Hungarian-German-Italian Triple Alliance to the British-French-Russian Entente. In return, it expected to receive Transylvania, Banat and the southern part of Bukovina - the northern part had already been claimed by Russia. The meagre results of Romania's battle participation soon inspired Russia to claim the whole of Bukovina, but the Russian February Revolution and the following unrest in the Russian army forced Russia to abandon southern Bukovina and, in August 1917, northern Bukovina as well. From September 1917, Bukovina found itself once more in Austrian hands. The future of the crownland remained highly uncertain: while Austria's Emperor Karl I planned to reshape the Monarchy into a federal state, Ruthenian (now commonly referred to as Ukrainian) attempts to form a proper state from parts of former Czarist Russia and parts of Austria-Hungary failed. Still, they created unrest among Bukovinian Romanian nationalists who saw the plans of the Emperor as an encouragement to unite Bukovina with Transylvania and Banat. In November 1918, a compromise was reached between Romanian and Ukrainian nationalists in Bukovina on how the region was to be divided. The position formerly held by the Austrian governor was now jointly filled by Aurel Onciul for the Romanian and by Omelyan Popovych for the Ukrainian side. That same month however, it became known that a Romanian faction had called for the interference of the Romanian army, which provoked a 'Ukrainian Legion' to march on Czernowitz just a few days before Emperor Karl abdicated. Romanian troops occupied Czernowitz on 11 November 1918.

Part of Greater-Romania

In December 1918, a royal decree confirmed Bukovina's status as part of the Romanian Kingdom. Although a part of Greater-Romania now, tensions in Bukovina remained because the borders of the enlarged Kingdom were not recognised before the end of 1920. Especially in the regions initially designated to become part of a Ukrainian entity, revolts were met by harsh repression, mostly justified with the argumentation that the rebels were bolsheviks. The Romanian government had clear centralist ideas about the future of the country and had little time for minority issues and language questions. During the first ten years under Romanian rule, the liberal party (PNL) dominated and although it claimed to build a modern state in general, its endeavours mostly focused on the protection of domestic industry which

encouraged protectionism and corruption. Modernisations in society lagged behind while government initiatives mostly meant the destruction of existing structures by means of random expropriations, exceptional laws and censorship. Bukovina had been backward according to Habsburg standards, but compared to the state of institutional development of the state it had joined it was clearly advanced. By the 1930s the ruling National Peasants' Party (PNT) aimed for decentralisation and was willing to accommodate national minorities, but because of the global financial crisis, the means for implementation lacked. With the return of the liberals in 1933, forced assimilation again put pressure on national minorities. While Jewish and German organisations still received financial support from abroad, it was mainly the Ukrainian societies which saw their existence threatened by a lack of means. Ukrainian activity went underground. In Bukovinian-German circles, the indifference of the Romanian government and the influence from Nazi Germany sparked a radicalisation.⁴⁶ National minorities often saw their associations restricted to sports clubs.⁴⁷ In 1938, the 'royal dictatorship' of King Carol II of Romania ended the free existence of societies and associations altogether.⁴⁸

Second World War: Deportation and Genocide

In June 1940, in conformity with the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, Moscow sent an ultimatum to Bucharest demanding the restitution of Bessarabia and the evacuation of northern Bukovina. The Romanian government had no choice but to accept. Numerous Bukovinians, mainly Jews and Ruthenian speakers, welcomed the Soviets as liberators. The university was reopened and, after having been German and after that Romanian, now became Russian. Newspapers were replaced by Soviet propaganda. Meanwhile, Hitler's regime had prepared the relocation of 'ethnic Germans' (*Volkdeutsche*) to Germany from both northern and southern Bukovina.⁴⁹ Because of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, the Germans to be relocated (basically the entire German 'ethnic group' from northern Bukovina, about 43,000 persons, left the territory) enjoyed a protected status. For the other inhabitants of northern Bukovina, the Soviet occupation meant the risk of refugee status,

⁴⁶ Hausleitner 2001, pp. 84-112, 215-217 and 344-346.

⁴⁷ Turczynski 1993, p. 229.

⁴⁸ On daily life in Bukovina during the interwar years, numerous - mostly Jewish - memoirs have appeared over the years. I mention a number of them here: Katzenbeisser, Adolf, *Geboren in der Bukowina. Geschichte eines Lebens. Geschichte einer Zeit*, author's edition, Vienna 1993; Coldewey, Gaby et. al., "*Czernowitz is gewesen an alte, jidische Shtot...*" *Jüdische überlebende berichten*, Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung, Berlin 1999; Kehlmann, Heinz, *So weit nach Westen - von Czernowitz nach New York*, Rimbaud, Aachen 2004; Sommerfeld, Edith Elefant (with Phyllis Cooper), *Too Small To Matter*, Trafford Publishing, Victoria 2004; Yavetz, Zvi, *Erinnerungen an Czernowitz - Wo Menschen und Bücher lebten*, Verlag C.H. Beck, Munich 2007; Rosenkranz, Moses, *Childhood: An Autobiographical Fragment*, Syracuse University Press, Syracuse 2007; Hirsch, Marianne and Spitzer, Leo, *Ghosts of Home: The Afterlife of Czernowitz in Jewish Memory*, University of California Press, Berkeley 2009.

⁴⁹ For an impression of how the Nazi regime presented this propaganda program, see Richter, Hans, *Heimkehrer - Bildberichte von der Umsiedlung der Volksdeutschen aus Bessarabien, Rumänien, aus der Süd-Bukowina und aus Litauen*, Zentralverlag der NSDAP. Franz Eher Nachf. GmbH, Berlin 1941. For more on the relocation to Germany: Kosiul, Willi, *Die Bukowina und ihre Buchenlanddeutschen*, Vol. 2, Reimo Verlag, Oberding 2012.

deportations and persecution. In southern Bukovina, the transport of Germans to the *Heimat* was a result of a German-Romanian treaty from October 1940. More than 50,000 people departed. The fate of the Romanian Jews was grimmer. Under the pro-German Antonescu regime, Jews were often portrayed as ‘communist enemies’, which was the pretext for a large-scale pogrom in the city of Iași in June 1941. In Bukovina, Antonescu had ordered Jews to leave their homes already in June 1940. A year later, Jews were shipped to detention camps. Many perished during the chaotic transfers. In July 1941, Romanian troops started the reconquest of northern Bukovina. From that time deportations of Bukovinian Jews and Roma started to Transnistria (Bessarabia) Around 100, 000 people perished in death camps.⁵⁰

Aftermath: Split and the End of Communism

In 1944, Bukovina was once again divided into a northern Soviet and a southern Romanian side. The once multi-faceted society with its many languages and religions had basically ceased to exist: Hitler’s ‘Heim ins Reich’ program had emptied the region of its ‘ethnic Germans’ while the Holocaust had all but annihilated the Bukovinian Jewish population. In the Soviet part of Bukovina, Stalin’s regime reallocated large numbers of citizens from other parts of the Soviet Union to Bukovina, thus altering the demographic composition of what was now called the Chernivtsi District even further. Southern Bukovina remained part of Romania, which became a socialist satellite state soon after. In both parts of the former crownland, the respective socialist regimes applied the habitual methods of centralisation of power structures and nationalisation of production units. Under Nicolae Ceaușescu’s national-communist rule, Bukovina’s famous monasteries played an important role in the nationalist discourse and were well-maintained for this reason. Romanian Bukovina largely escaped Ceaușescu’s infamous rural ‘systemisation’ campaign which ruined many villages across the country, but many larger communities like Suceava (formerly Suczawa) lost their historic centres to communist-style modernisation. Both in the Soviet and Romanian halves, the population remained largely rural, although to a lesser extent so in Soviet Bukovina because of the expanding city of Chernovtsy (the former crownland capital Czernowitz). The impenetrable border regimes severed the ties between the two parts of what used to be Bukovina. This situation only changed after the communist systems had vanished - in Romania in 1989, in the Soviet Union in 1991. The radical changes in the way the population has shifted since the days of Habsburg Bukovina, the lack of contact between the two halves during the communist years, the continuing travel restrictions (only a few small border crossings plus a visa regime between Ukraine and EU member Romania) have eroded the coherence of what used to be one for most of the era between 1775 and 1940.⁵¹

⁵⁰ On war atrocities and the Holocaust in Bukovina see Levin, Dov, *The Lesser of Two Evils: Eastern European Jewry Under Soviet Rule, 1939-1941*, Jewish Publication Society, Philadelphia 1995, pp. 37-38; Hausleitner 2001, pp. 382-425; Heymann, Florence, *Le crépuscule des lieux - Identités juives de Czernowitz*, Stock, Paris 2003, 269-386.

⁵¹ Scharr, Kurt, *Die Bukowina: Erkundungen einer Kulturlandschaft: ein Reiseführer*, Böhlau, Vienna 2007, pp. 64-66.

2 Theoretical framework

The subtitle of this work 'Regional Identification in Habsburg Bukovina' requires some explanation, not so much the notion of 'Habsburg Bukovina', which has already been addressed, but primarily the concept of 'regional identification'. Why 'identification' instead of the more common 'identity'? Then the 'regional': what is understood by 'regional' here and how has 'regionalism' been approached in scholarly work?

'Identification' instead of 'Identity'

The concept of 'identity' has been under attack, mainly because of over-satiation. Social scientists Roger Brubaker and Frederick Cooper argue that 'identity' tends to mean too much (when understood in a strong sense), too little (when understood in a weak sense), or nothing at all (because of its sheer ambiguity). If identity is everywhere, they conclude, it is nowhere. Furthermore, they object to the use of the term 'identity' - just like 'race', 'nation', 'ethnicity', 'citizenship', 'democracy', 'class', 'community' and 'tradition' - as experience-distant categories used by social analysts, since these are already in use as 'categories of practice': categories of everyday social experience, developed and deployed by ordinary social actors. It should be avoided to unintentionally reproduce or reinforce such reification by uncritically adopting categories of practice as categories of analysis.⁵² In other words, by using the terminology of the actors, their perceptions may be legitimised. In the view of scholars like Brubaker and German historian Lutz Niethammer - who just like Brubaker suggests to eliminate the term 'identity' altogether⁵³ - (ethnic) identity is not primordial, something that was there all along, but a construct of the individual itself. Along this line of thinking, the presence of a fixed 'identity' should not be simply assumed; rather, it should be analysed how these feelings come into being and when they occur. When the phenomenon as such is thus regarded dynamic instead of static, the term 'identification' comes closer to what is under consideration in this work than 'identity'.

The Study of Nationalism: Modernists, Primordialists and the Middle Way

When discussing regional identification, there is no way around nationalism. Nationalism was the undisputed dominant factor in identity debates in the nineteenth century and occupied the same position in later scholarly work. In the words of American historian Celia Applegate: "the issue is not so much that nations have been bigger and stronger [than regions] but that the whole process by which the writing of history established itself as a profession in the modern

⁵² Brubaker, Rogers and Cooper, Frederick, *Beyond 'identity'*, in: *Theory and Society*, Vol. 29/1, 2000, 1- 47, pp. 1-5.

⁵³ Hroch, Miroslav, *Das Europa der Nationen - Die moderne Nationsbildung im europäischen Vergleich*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 2005, p. 35; Niethammer, Lutz (with Dossmann, Axel), *Kollektive Identität. Heimliche Quellen einer unheimlichen Konjunktur*, Rowohlt Verlag, Reinbek bei Hamburg 2000.

era has been closely interwoven with the making and legitimating of nation-states. (...) Historians across Europe wrote about the founding of their nations, the past of their nations, the coherence and unity of their nations”.⁵⁴ American medieval historian Patrick J. Geary even maintains that modern history was born in the nineteenth century, conceived as an instrument of European nationalism and that the history of Europe’s nations was a great success as a tool of nationalist ideology, but immediately adds that it ‘has turned our understanding of the past into a toxic waste dump, filled with the poison of ethnic nationalism, and [that] the poison has seeped deep into popular consciousness’.⁵⁵ It therefore merits focusing first of all on what the study of nationalism has produced mainly in the last decades. The idea that nationalism is a political ideology instead of a natural destiny is relatively new. Intellectual historians such as Isaiah Berlin and Hans Kohn first suggested this approach, later the study of nationalism was given a more political and social orientation in the 1960s and 1970s. Elie Kedourie was the first scholar to contest the ‘naturalness’ view of nationalism in 1960. As Ernest Gellner argued: “Nationalism does indeed see itself as a universal, perennial and inherently - self-evidently - valid principle. It is, on this view, simply ‘natural’ that people should wish to live with their own kind, that they should be adverse to living with people of a different culture and, above all, that they should resent being governed by them”.⁵⁶

The debate entered a new phase with the works of Ernest Gellner, Eric Hobsbawm, Benedict Anderson and Anthony Smith in the 1980s. With the exemption of Smith, these scholars attempted to arrive at a model of nationalism as an ideology⁵⁷ and each of them provided insights crucial to the ongoing debate on the nature of the phenomenon. To Gellner, nationalism was largely a top-down affair, a fabrication of nineteenth-century intellectuals. He defined nationalism as the attempt to achieve congruence between the cultural and the political unit, i.e. to map political frontiers onto cultural borders.⁵⁸ Modernisation and industrialisation in nineteenth-century Europe provided the indispensable conditions for the success story of nationalist doctrines: the developments in education, production scales, the distribution of print materials and increased mobility provided the kind of egalitarianism necessary for nationalism to flourish. In a pre-modern agrarian society, Gellner maintained, the main function of culture is to reinforce, underwrite, and render visible and authoritative, the hierarchical status system of that social order. He stressed that in the agrarian world, cultural similarity is not a political bond, and political bonds do not require cultural similarity.⁵⁹ Furthermore, Gellner noted the rapid upsurge of nationalism as the leading ideology in Europe:

⁵⁴ Applegate, Celia, *A Europe of Regions: Reflections on the Historiography of Sub-National Places in Modern Times*, in: *American Historical Review*, 1999, 104/4, 1157-1182, p. 1159.

⁵⁵ Geary, Patrick J., *The Medieval Origins of Europe*, Princeton University Press, Princeton/Oxford 2002, p. 15.

⁵⁶ Gellner, Ernest, *Nationalism*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London 1997, p. 7.

⁵⁷ Leerssen, Joep, *National Thought in Europe - a Cultural History*, Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam 2006.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

⁵⁹ Gellner 1997, pp. 20-26.

*Ignored even more than openly spurned in 1815, by 1914 no one ignored it, and most took it for granted. The illusion of the fundamental, natural, self-evident role of nationality in politics was very well established. (...) The moral victory of the principle was almost complete: very few dared raise their voices against it.*⁶⁰

In order to explain the different ways the nation-states of Europe developed, Gellner divided the continent into three zones. Zone One consists of the historically strong dynastic states based on Lisbon, Madrid, Paris and London ‘which corresponded more or less to cultural-linguistic zones anyway, even before the logic of the situation, or nationalist theory, decreed that such a correlation should obtain’. The only major change on the map here created by the introduction of the nation-state is the Republic of Ireland. ‘These cultures’, Gellner maintained, ‘did not need to strive for the creation of their political carapace, they already had it’. Zone Two was roughly defined by what used to be the Holy Roman Empire, where although high, *staatsfähig* culture was available among both German and Italian speakers, there was political fragmentation: there was a well-developed culture, but no state-protector and as such, Zone Two was the mirror image of Zone One. The most problematic zone according to Gellner was Zone Three, Central and Eastern Europe, where ‘the horror was not optional, but predestined’. While he considered Polish culture an exception, Gellner characterised the situation as follows:

*There was a patchwork of cultures and languages, the folk-languages were ill-defined and, for instance, in the case of Slavonic languages, it was exceedingly hard, or impossible, to say where one dialect ended and another one began. (...) There were neither national states nor national cultures. The states which existed were only loosely connected with their own ethnic dominant group.*⁶¹

Interesting as Gellner’s zone system may be, when one tries to discover the root system of something (nationalist thinking in this case), the claim that there are actually four different roots does not build a particularly strong argumentation. According to American anthropologist Benedict Anderson, Gellner went too far in his anxiousness to show that nationalism masquerades under false pretences and thus assimilated ‘invention’ to ‘fabrication’ and ‘falsity’, rather than to ‘imagining’ and ‘creation’. He also criticised Gellner and his thesis of modernisation and industrialisation as the engine of nationalism for failing to give an explanation for the rise of nationalism in non-industrialised Eastern Europe. According to Anderson, the nation is ‘an imagined political community - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign’. Anderson considered this community ‘imagined’ because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members but will nevertheless uphold the image of their communion.⁶² The underlying force

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 42

⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 50-57. Gellner reserved a fourth zone for the region that once was Czarist Russia and later the Soviet Union, taking into account the fact that there was quite a difference in territorial space between the two and is different for another reason: the demise of the Czarist regime did not lead to the formation of nation-states, but instead it was replaced by a non-national regime.

⁶² Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities - Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso, London 1983, pp. 13-15.

of nationalism, Anderson argued, is 'print-capitalism': the advent of printing, with additional support from the Reformation and its translation of religious texts in vernacular languages, provided the means for geographically dispersed individuals to understand themselves as part of a national culture. He concluded that 'the convergence of capitalism and print technology on the fatal diversity of human language created the possibility of a new form of imagined community, which in its basic morphology set the stage for the modern nation'.⁶³ According to Anderson, 'new' nationalisms which developed between 1820 and 1920 distinguished themselves from their predecessors on two accounts: first, 'national print-languages' were of central ideological and of political importance and second, all were able to work from visible models provided by their predecessors.⁶⁴

Together with Terence Ranger, British Marxist historian Eric Hobsbawm published his analysis 'The Invention of Tradition' in 1983, the same year that Gellner's work on nationalism appeared. Hobsbawm tried to trace the nature of nationalism and nations back to national traditions, which he claimed are 'invented'. These 'invented traditions' he defines as 'a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past'.⁶⁵ According to Hobsbawm, the nation with its associated phenomena like nationalism, the nation-state, national symbols and so on 'rests on exercises in social engineering which are often deliberate and always innovative'. He warns for the risk of being misled by the paradox of modern nations claiming to be the opposite of novel - namely rooted in the deepest antiquity - and the opposite of constructed, namely so 'natural' that self-assertion is the only definition it needs.⁶⁶ Hobsbawm criticised Gellner for explaining nationalism mainly from top-down, elitist dynamism and emphasised the role of 'the longings and interests of the ordinary people'.⁶⁷

Notwithstanding their differences, Gellner, Anderson and Hobsbawm belong to the same current of 'modernist' analysts of nationalism: basically they agree that nationalism is an invention instead of a force of nature and all three see the process as a modern and recent political phenomenon. Their most prominent opponent is Anthony D. Smith who belongs to the school of 'primordialists' or 'ethno-symbolists'. Primordialism opposes a purely modern origin of nations approach and suggests that modern nations have strong ties with pre-modern ethnic communities. Smith does not consider his view as contrary to the modernists', but describes his theoretical framework as 'an internal critique and expansion of modernism'. He acknowledges the crucial role of modernity, but refuses to recognise the free invention of nations and sees nation-building constrained by what he coins *ethnie*: 'a named human population with myths of common ancestry, shared historical memories, one or more

⁶³ Ibid., pp. 41-49.

⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 66-67.

⁶⁵ Hobsbawm, Eric and Ranger, Terence, *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1996, p. 1.

⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 13-14.

⁶⁷ Hobsbawm, Eric J., *Nations and Nationalism since 1780 - Programme, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1990, pp. 10-11.

elements of shared culture, a link with a homeland, and a measure of solidarity, at least among the elites'.⁶⁸ In this context, 'ethnicity' is not used as a euphemism for 'race' or referring to the nation as a biological bloodline and descent, but purely as the collective acceptance of a self-image.⁶⁹ Smith presents this 'ethnie' as the continuing pre-modern grouping necessary for the formation of a nation.⁷⁰ The question remains how these 'proto-national groups' are to be defined and categorised. Czech historian and political theorist Miroslav Hroch tried to trace back modern-day 'ethnic groups' to 'ethnies' according to their language situation: he distinguishes a group which can relate to an ancient, weakened written language tradition and a group which cannot because of a lack of or a rupture in a written tradition.⁷¹ Hroch supports Smith's model of distinguishing between 'ethnic categories' and 'ethnic communities': Smith defines ethnic categories as 'human populations whom at least some outsiders consider to constitute a separate cultural and historical grouping', but emphasises that self-awareness among the respective population may be partly or even totally absent – they are defined by third parties. 'Ethnic communities' on the other hand not only have objectively shared traits, but also have a subjective sense of shared identity.⁷²

In 1995, the two tendencies in nationalism studies engaged in a debate at Warwick University. The modernist view was represented by Ernest Gellner, the primordialist by his former student Anthony Smith. The issue under debate was simple, Gellner maintained: is the sense of ethnicity, the identification with a 'nation', and the political expression of this passionate identification, something old and present throughout history, or is it, on the contrary, something modern and a corollary of the distinctive feature of our recent world?⁷³ Smith underscored that in his view, the modernist account tells only half of the story, namely that the nation is a product of specifically modern economic, social and political conditions but that it suffers at root from the fact that the account is ineluctably materialist and thus neglects cultural aspects of nationalism. Gellner responded by asking Smith 'Do nations have navels?', referring to the philosophical argument about the prototypical Adam: if he did not have a navel, then God created him. In the analogy, the 'ethnie' is like the navel. Some have it, some do not, Gellner maintained. Smith's response was 'nihil ex nihilo' - nothing from nothing. Among other things, the Warwick Debates pointed at a weakness of the modernist approach: with all its ability to show how ideologies of nationalism connect with processes of social and

⁶⁸ Smith, Anthony. D., *The Nation in History. Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism*, University Press of New England, Hanover 2000, p. 65.

⁶⁹ Leerssen 2006, p. 16.

⁷⁰ American historian Jeremy King argues that 'the forebear to nationhood was not nonnational politics but nonpolitical ethnicity'. King, Jeremy, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans: a Local History of Bohemian Politics 1848-1948*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 2002, p. 6.

⁷¹ As examples of the first group, Hroch mentions the Greeks, Czechs, Magyars, Croatians, Finns, Catalans and Welsh, as examples of the second group the Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Bulgarians and Serbs but also the Irish, Basks, (Iberian) Galicians and Norwegians.

⁷² Hroch, Miroslav, *Das Europa der Nationen - Die moderne Nationsbildung im europäischen Vergleich*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 2005, p. 70.

⁷³ Gellner 1997, p. 90.

economic change, it tends to regard cultural production and its influence as a mere byproduct.⁷⁴

This criticism is shared by Dutch literary historian Joep Leerssen, who positions himself between modernism and primordialism by claiming the existence of cultural awareness very early in history, albeit an awareness devoid of a political function and one which defines not the proper community, but the ‘others’: the ‘ethnie’, this subjective community, is not primarily characterised by a sense of ‘belonging together’, but rather by a sense of being ‘distinct from others’ and thus seems related to Smith’s concept of ‘ethnic category’. The disciplines of Comparative Literature and cultural studies identify this phenomenon as the interplay between otherness and self-image. As such, Leerssen approaches the development of national thought and nationalism as the (political) articulation and instrumentalisation of a collective auto (or self)-image.⁷⁵ Unlike Smith, who sought the root system of nationalism in ‘the ethnic origins of nations’, Leerssen proposes to find it in ‘ethnotypes’- commonplaces and stereotypes of how others are identified, viewed and characterised as opposed to the Self. Therefore, alongside the socio-political nation-building developments as studied by the ‘modernists’, Leerssen wants to focus on the discursive patterns of auto-identification, exoticisation and characterisation that take place in the field of culture.⁷⁶ He notes that ethnotypes are not perceived as social actors and contests ‘the deep-rooted aprioristic way of thinking in which cultural expressions are always considered as (side) products, as a ‘consequence’, and rarely as creator, cause, as a process, as the agency’, for ‘directly from their inner substance, regardless of the intentions with which they are expressed, regardless of the social background of the speaker, speech acts actively and autonomously cause a change in the social position of the speaker and the person concerned’.⁷⁷

‘Indifference to Nation’ As a Fresh Approach

In 1996, sociologist Rogers Brubaker contributed significantly to the study of Eastern European nationalism with his ‘Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe’.⁷⁸ Instead of the eternal question ‘what is a nation’, Brubaker insists that scholarly work should focus on ‘nationness’ as an event, a contingent, ever changing property of groups. Just like the other container terminology Brubaker later added to his list of unsuitable categories of analysis (see above), he proposes to see ‘nation’ as a

⁷⁴ McCrone, David, *The Sociology of Nationalism: Tomorrow’s Ancestors*, Routledge, London/ New York 1998, pp. 15-16; Gellner, Ernest and Smith, Anthony D., *The Nation: Real or Imagined? The Warwick Debates on Nationalism*, Nations and Nationalism, 1996, Vol. 2/3, 357-370.

⁷⁵ Leerssen, Joep, *Ethnotypen sind Akteure: Zur Poetik und Rhetorik des Vorurteils*, in: Engler, Balz (ed.), *Wir und die Anderen - Nous et les autres: Stereotypen in der Schweiz Stéréotypes en Suisse*, Paulusdruckerei, Freiburg (Switzerland) 2012, 5-20, p. 15 (n.)

⁷⁶ Leerssen 2006, p. 17; De Bruin, Ellen, *Geen Turk, geen Duitser (interview with Joep Leerssen)*, NRC de Week, Amsterdam, 1 September 2008, pp. 12-13.

⁷⁷ Leerssen 2012, p. 3.

⁷⁸ Brubaker, Rogers, *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1996.

category of practice rather a substantial enduring collectivity.⁷⁹ By introducing an approach which he coins ‘groupness as event’, Brubaker offers a strategy to determine when (ethno-nationalist) appeals actually produced the desired results, or - so far neglected - when they failed to do so.⁸⁰

Influenced by criticism by scholars such as Brubaker who warn for unintentionally reproducing or reinforcing reification of nationalist terminology by uncritically adopting categories of practice as categories of analysis, research on Habsburg Central Europe increasingly devotes attention to manifestations of non-national identification. Historian Pieter Judson says it clearly:

*If we look to sources beyond those created by the nationalists, if we dissociate ourselves rigorously from nationalist assumptions, and if we attempt to hear what we can of the experiences of the populations of these regions, we may perhaps liberate ourselves from the unnecessary discursive prison that nationalists around us continue to re-create.*⁸¹

In his analysis of how nationalist politics forced the inhabitants of the Bohemian town of Budweis/Budějovice to adopt either a Czech or the German national identity, American historian Jeremy King underscores this point. King also notes that for a long time, scholars of Habsburg Central Europe ‘have followed national leaders in regularly using the same vocabulary for nationally conscious and unconscious individuals, and thus in minimising the distinction’.⁸² In this respect, he embraces Brubaker’s definition of ‘groupism’ as a deceptive and widely applied tendency to take discrete and reified ethnic groups as the basic constituents of social life, and in particular as self-evident protagonists in ethnic struggles.⁸³ In other words, much of the scholarly work on Habsburg Central Europe simply studied ethnic groups without differentiating between nationalists and speakers of a particular language. By no longer approaching ‘ethnic groups’ as a homogenous cluster of nationalist leaders and their unanimously inspired popular followers, the study of nationalism opens the door to the analysis of a variety of dynamics. Instead of seeing the nationalist violence that plagued much of urban Austria at the turn of the century as reflecting the authentic nationalist sentiments of a peasantry as actions of the majority, it may just as well be regarded as the actions of the few.⁸⁴ Moreover, that familiar picture of radical nationalist conflict may not be the product of emerging nations battling each other or the state, so much as a conflict that

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 21.

⁸⁰ Ibid., pp. 2, 12

⁸¹ Judson, Pieter M., *Guardians of the Nation - Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge (MS)/ London 2006, p. 257.

⁸² King, Jeremy, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans: a Local History of Bohemian Politics 1848-1948*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 2002, pp. 8-9.

⁸³ Brubaker, Rogers, *Ethnicity without Groups*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass 2004.

⁸⁴ Judson, Pieter M., *Nationalizing Rural Landscapes in Cisleithania, 1880-1914*, in: Wingfield, Nancy M.(ed.), *Creating the Other: Ethnic Conflict and Nationalism in Habsburg Central Europe*, Berghahn Books, New York 2003, p. 145.

pitted nationalists of all kinds against those whom they perceived as dangerously indifferent to nationhood.⁸⁵

The group of ‘revisionist historians’, as their American colleague Gary Cohen calls them, includes the Americans Pieter Judson and Jeremy King, the Dane Pieter Bugge, and the Pole Tomasz Kamusella.⁸⁶ They challenge a number of the underlying assumptions inherent in much of the established literature which has tended to assume an automatic, smooth progression from ‘ethnic’ to ‘national’ identities; to concentrate on nationalist thinkers and developments at the level of ‘high politics’; to study the history of one single ethnic group in isolation from the history of other ethnic groups living within the same province; to ignore the local and regional spheres of identification; to avoid the issue of how precisely the state fitted into the overall matrix of identification processes at the individual or group level,⁸⁷ and lastly to underplay the gradual erasure of the social possibility of choosing to be not nationalist in the decade leading to the First World War.⁸⁸ The revisionists point at how nationalist activists constructed conscious national allegiances and specific group solidarities where they did not exist previously in order to create boundaries in public and private life between members of one’s own nation and others, and then captured parts of public space and the state for the interests of one’s nation.⁸⁹

The growing interest for possible tensions between nationalist activists and their presumed flock, the realisation that Central European nationalists not only fought their nationalist enemies but just as often those in the general population who were ambiguous, indifferent, or mutable in their national loyalties has resulted in a number of case studies which put ‘indifference to nationality’ centre stage.⁹⁰ In May 2008, eighteen scholars whose work explicitly deals with ‘indifference to nation’ gathered in Alberta. By naming the conference ‘Sites of Indifference to Nation in Habsburg Central Europe’ instead of referring simply to ‘indifference’, the organisers underlined the critical importance of place, context and event for interpreting the phenomena they encountered and as such they followed Brubaker’s line of thinking: they saw indifference not as a ‘thing in the world’, but as a ‘perspective on the

⁸⁵ Judson, Pieter M. and Zahra, Tara, *Introduction*, in: *Austrian History Yearbook*, Volume 43, 2012, 21-27.

⁸⁶ Cohen, Gary, Review of Zahra, Tara, *Kidnapped Souls: National Indifference and the Battle for Children in the Bohemian Lands 1900-1948*. HABSBURG, H-Net Reviews Volume, DOI: November 2009.

⁸⁷ Cole, Laurence, *The Habsburg Monarchy as a failing experiment? Reflections on processes of national identification in imperial Austria* (conference paper), *National identification from below. Europe from the late 18th century to the end of the First World War*, Ghent, 7-8 March 2008.

⁸⁸ Jeremy King according to Judson 2003, p. 145.

⁸⁹ Cohen 2009.

⁹⁰ Stauter-Halsted, Keely, *The Nation in the Village: The Genesis of Peasant National Identity in Austrian Poland, 1848-1914*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, (N.Y.) 2001; King, Jeremy, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans: a Local History of Bohemian Politics 1848-1948*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 2002; Judson, Pieter M., *Guardians of the Nation - Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge (MS)/ London 2006; Bjork, James E., *Neither German Nor Pole: Catholicism and National Indifference in a Central European Borderland*, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor 2008; Zahra, Tara, *Kidnapped Souls - National Indifference and the Battle for Children in the Bohemian Lands, 1900-1948*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York 2008. A more exhaustive list of publications is provided in *Austrian History Yearbook* Vol. 43 (2012), p. 22, footnote 2.

world'.⁹¹ 'Indifference' was offered as a way to rethink the continuing powerful influence of national(ist) narratives and categories while acknowledging that this 'indifference' defines itself in relationship to that very set of narratives.

The conference focused on local behaviour which often contradicted what historians found in in party politics or mass media sources: since national indifference was hardly recorded anywhere, it appears most clearly at the moments that nationalists mobilised to eliminate it.⁹² The scholars in Alberta rejected the argument - often propagated by nationalists themselves - that indifference or even rejection of nationhood can be attributed to 'surviving pockets of economic and social backwardness or premodern religious or regional loyalties'. On the contrary, they argued, they found indifference in quintessential modern developments such as mass education, literacy, industrialisation and migration. Furthermore, they contested the degree to which alleged nations as such had actually functioned as primary agents in the history of the region and suggested that more attention be devoted to the so far often ignored importance of imperial structures in this context. As Jeremy King had already argued:

*If languages divided a population vertically, into protonational columns, then corporative and socioeconomic solidarities divided it horizontally, into Habsburg layers - and had far more institutional anchoring and sociological significance. Yet almost all historians have joined nationals in downplaying the gaps and flaws in the 'nations emerged from ethnic groups' explanation as mere gaps and exceptions.*⁹³

The participants of the Alberta conference discussed the complex ways people, families and communities may have used the language of nation flexibly and indeed opportunistically on occasion to pursue personal or community agendas. Such flexibility and opportunism was increasingly thwarted in the late nineteenth century by nationalist activists fighting bilingualism and bilingual education which they saw as a potential danger to the national community. Those nationalists met with resistance from an audience that recognised bi- (or multi-) linguism as an effective tool for obtaining social advancement. Finally, the Alberta conference reaffirmed another element about nationalist activists, namely, the close similarities of their appeals and their organisational structures. Rival nationalist organisations did not develop separately from one another; instead, they shared strategies, ideological appeals, and organisational structures.⁹⁴ They were ultimately far more similar to each other than to the nationally indifferent whom they failed to mobilise adequately.

⁹¹ Cf. Brubaker, Rogers et al., *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in A Transylvanian Town*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 2006, p. 169.

⁹² Zahra, Tara, *Kidnapped Souls - National Indifference and the Battle for Children in the Bohemian Lands, 1900–1948*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York 2008, p. 5.

⁹³ King 2002, p. 7; see also Bjork, James E., *Neither German Nor Pole: Catholicism and National Indifference in a Central European Borderland*, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor 2008, pp. 6-7.

⁹⁴ See also Leerssen, Joep: *Viral Nationalism: Romantic Intellectuals on the Move in Nineteenth-century Europe*, in: *Nations and Nationalism*, 2011, Vol. 17/2, 257–271, p. 257.

The revisionist approach of nationalism plays a significant role in the increasing attention for multiple, collective and competing identifications in Habsburg Central Europe. This is not to say that it was completely absent before the traditional dominance of nationalist groupism in the debate was challenged. Anthony Smith readily acknowledges the notion of 'multiple identities': people define their identity in terms of class, gender, religion group or geographical provenance. He distinguishes these multiple identities from ethnic identities which he regards as various territorial identities not necessarily contradicting each other and possibly complementing each other as layers of an onion.⁹⁵ With the analytical tools discussed above, Judson's 'discursive prison of nationalism' has opened its doors to studies of identification in the Habsburg Empire other than the traditional pile of nationalist narratives. One of these alternatives is a closer look at regional or crownland identification.

American historian Celia Applegate is one of the scholars who observe a growing interest for the region.⁹⁶ She describes the devaluation of regions and their pasts in the nineteenth century as naturally emerging alongside the triumph of national historiographies and notices how regional historiography became subordinate to the national history project. It was not until after 1945 that a huge number of publications explicitly took the nation-state, its origins, its developments and its consequences as the object of critical historical scrutiny. Still, post-war historiography followed a 'modernisation theory' which foresaw a gradual disappearance of the region in favour of the nation-state or even supra-national structures and thus largely ignored the role of regional developments. Only since scholarship on nationalism has started to emphasise 'multiplicity and fragmentation, diversities and contingencies, uneven diffusions and incomplete projections', Applegate argues, regions and regional identities get more attention. Still, much of the historical work on regionalism in European history has been confined to the politics of autonomism and separatism. This way, regions can be too easily dismissed as would-be nations. On top of that, constructivism which has become more or less mainstream in nationalism studies - see for instance the assertion by Benedict Anderson that all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact are imagined - only hesitantly found its way into discussions of regional or local identity. Applegate blames the relative obscurity surrounding the role of regions in European development for this as well as a perceived lack of urgency: manifestations of regional sentiment are often seen as offering a 'healthy antidote to bellicose and exclusionary national ones'. In the study of regional identification and the way in which regions are imagined she expects a contribution to the analysis of the nation-ness of modern states as well. As an illustration she offers Katherine D. Kennedy's work on how history textbooks for German schoolchildren encouraged national

⁹⁵ Smith, Anthony D., *National Identity*, University of Nevada Press, Reno 1991 and *Nationalism and Modernism: A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism*, Routledge, London/ New York 1998.

⁹⁶ Applegate, Celia, *A Europe of Regions: Reflections on the Historiography of Sub-National Places in Modern Times*, in: *American Historical Review*, 1999, 104/4, 1157-1182.

loyalty by invoking regional topics.⁹⁷ According to Applegate, for historians the study of regional identification complicates rather than undermines national histories. Especially in the case of 'border regions' she discovers the ambiguities and instabilities of the nationalising project.

A point Applegate addresses in her analysis of the case of nineteenth-century Germany is that region and nation were not antagonistic and mutually exclusive but reinforcing and interdependent. Obviously, this is not always the case. German historian Philipp Ther even finds the initial research question here: when studying identifications on offer different from the pervasive national one and then moving to a regional focus, first of all the question needs to be answered if that regional identification complements a national one or competes with it.⁹⁸

Then there is ambiguous and tricky terminology. Most of the time when the relation between 'national' and 'regional' identification is addressed, what is actually meant is the identification with the *nation-state* and the region. In the case of the Habsburg Empire, the nation-state notion does not apply; rather, there is a triangle of possible identifications. There may be identification with the state, which indeed may be enhanced by provincial/crownland identification, plus a third, national(ist) identification which can partly overlap with the previous two, but may also be competing with them. Then there is the second problem: the nationalist assumptions that have shaped historiography in Europe will not adequately be challenged if research limits itself to the study of institutions which somehow 'floated above or below the borders of nation-states' (tourism, religion, regionalism etc.). Such topics have resulted in a large range of 'transnational histories' and studies of what are often called 'borderlands' (*Zwischenraum* in German)⁹⁹ with 'hybrid identities'. By dubbing these regions 'borderlands' and by accentuating their 'hybridity', scholars implicitly acknowledge nationalist terminology and presuppose a territory in between of what was already there and a 'mixing' of what already possessed a 'fixed nature' before. As Zahra and Judson point out, it was nationalists who drew borders and nationalists who defined the edges of 'their' culture. Scholarly work on 'borderlands', 'hybrid culture' and 'transnationalism' in fact legitimises nationalist claims.¹⁰⁰

Many of the insights which have been gained in the field of national identification studies can be applied to its regional equivalent. The way traditions, peculiarities, and history are constructed and distributed are no different.¹⁰¹ Whether a territory can be considered a region

⁹⁷ Kennedy, Katharine D., *Regionalism and Nationalism in South German History Lessons, 1871-1914*, German Studies Review, 1989, Vol. 12/1, 11-33.

⁹⁸ Ther, Philippe and Sundhaussen, Holm (ed.), *Regionale Bewegungen und Regionalismen in europäischen Zwischenräumen seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts (Tagungen zur Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung)*, Herder-Institut, Marburg 2003, p. XIV (introduction).

⁹⁹ See for instance Ther 2003, p. XII.

¹⁰⁰ Zahra 2008, pp. 7-8; Judson 2006, p. 257.

¹⁰¹ Flender, Armin, Pfau, Dieter and Schmidt, Sebastian, *Regionale Identität zwischen Konstruktion und Wirklichkeit - eine historisch-empirische Untersuchung am Beispiel des Siegerlandes*, Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, Baden-Baden 2001, p. 20.

will largely depend on whether people living there accept this space as a region and identify with it. Essentially, this makes the region a mental construct no less than the nation. So far, regional studies rarely reflect on the constructed quality of the region itself.¹⁰² Dutch historian Eric Storm underscores that just like nations, regions are relatively of a recent date and largely ‘invented’,¹⁰³ albeit important to note the tenacity of identifications: the fact that they are constructed does not mean that they are easily revised.¹⁰⁴ These realisations are of importance for the role ‘regional identification’ obtains. Scholars warn for the mistake of perceiving regions, regional identifications and regional political cultures as derivatives of persistence and continuity in opposition to constructs of the nation as the engine of change.¹⁰⁵ In fact, regional identifications were more precisely defined or even invented after 1890 when the corresponding national identification had already largely crystallised.¹⁰⁶

Such risks seem limited to the analysis of regions with historical claims and/or aspirations. Numerous regions cannot, and often do not attempt to, claim to have ‘navels’ in the way discussed by Ernest Gellner: they were created on imperial drawing tables and shaped by demographic policy and local collective memory is very much aware of this. Territorial assertions in the name of the ‘nation’ are often vague - regional identification, however, is territorial by definition. ‘Topophilia’, the attachment to a context with the core elements of physical locality, durability and constancy demand a prominent place in expressions of regional affiliation. Those who live and work in a certain area are expected to have a unique solidarity with it that only can be understood by its other inhabitants and internally communicated among them.¹⁰⁷ The idea of topophilia is closely connected to what is known in the German-speaking area as *Heimat*: although later contaminated by its inclusion in Nazi propaganda, the translation-defying *Heimat* points at a homeland, a place contrasted to things foreign and different as well as the place where one eventually returns.¹⁰⁸ German historian Gerhard Brunn sees a shift from the notion of ‘region’ to the one of ‘Heimat’ when soft cultural criteria such as ‘customs’, ‘lifestyle’ and ‘dialectal peculiarities’ come into play.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰² Kühne, Thomas, *Imagined Regions. The Construction of Traditional, Democratic, and other Identities*, in: Retallack, James (ed.), *Saxony in German History. Culture, Society, and Politics, 1830-1933*, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor 2000, 51-62, p. 53.

¹⁰³ Storm, Eric, *De eerste bloeiperiode van het regionalisme (1890-1945). Een internationale historiografische verkenning*, in: *cULTUUR : tijdschrift voor etnologie*, Stichting Europese Etnologie, Zaltbommel 2005, 35-46, pp. 35-36.

¹⁰⁴ Johansson, Rune: *The Impact of Imagination - History, Territoriality and Perceived Affinity*, pp. 1-29 in: Tägil, Sven, *Regions in Central Europe: The Legacy of History*, C. Hurst & Co., London 1999, p. 10.

¹⁰⁵ Kühne 2000, p. 61.

¹⁰⁶ Storm, Eric, *The Culture of Regionalism: Art, Architecture and International Exhibitions in France, Germany and Spain, 1890-1939*, Manchester University Press, Manchester 2010, p. 6.

¹⁰⁷ Johansson, Rune: *The Impact of Imagination – History, Territoriality and Perceived Affinity*, 1-29., p. 18 and Persson, Hans-Åke: *Viadrina to the Oder-Neisse Line – Historical Evolution and the Prospects of Regional Cooperation*, 11- 257, p. 252. in: Tägil, Sven, *Regions in Central Europe: The Legacy of History*, C. Hurst & Co., London 1999.

¹⁰⁸ Applegate, Celia, *A Nation of Provincials: the German Idea of Heimat*, University of California Press, Berkeley 1990, p. 9.

¹⁰⁹ Brunn, Gerhard, *Regionalismus in Europa*, in: Bramke, Werner and Hess, Ulrich, in: *Region und Regionalität in der Sozialgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Leipziger Universitätsverlag, Leipzig 1995, p. 25.

Although the territorial character of Heimat is obvious, its size and reach are not; French historian Bernard Michel regards it as the village or town of birth rather than a region.¹¹⁰ Even more, Heimat may refer to the family farm, the village, the region or the nation-state.¹¹¹ Central to the Heimat are 'longing and belonging'.¹¹² With the rise of nationalism and the spreading of the nation-state, Heimat was increasingly linked to this understanding and the specifications *weitere/engere* (broad/narrow) *Heimat* were often applied to distinguish between one's citizenship and one's regional affiliations.¹¹³ Although most scholars who have worked on the Heimat notion readily acknowledge its use in the entire German-speaking realm, most of their research remains limited to the territory of the German state. However, the Heimat terminology also reached the Habsburg Empire. In its Austrian half, Cisleithania, with its power structure of autonomous crownlands under the rule of Vienna, the *engere Heimat* became a customary reference to one's crownland of origin. In the Romantic-nostalgic sense, attachment to the Fatherland (*weitere Heimat*) was considered a political, civic virtue, attachment to one's homeland (*engere Heimat*) was of a more sentimental, moral quality.¹¹⁴

Auto-, Hetero- and Meta-Images

As said, regional identification basically uses the same tools as its national counterpart and instrumentalises 'primordial' elements such as history, language, religion or a proper culture in order to 'prove' the region's intrinsic uniqueness and to set itself apart. This identification conveyed and staged through symbols - for example, celebrations, anniversaries or patrimony days - ultimately serves the purpose of integration on the inside and exclusivity to the outside. Identifications are thus based always on the dichotomy of 'us' and the 'other'.¹¹⁵ This brings the scope of 'regional identification' research onto the field of imagology or image studies which analyse cultural representations (books, plays, films, press releases) regarding their perceptions of peoples, cultures and societies. With its origins in Comparative Literature, imagology overlaps with many other disciplines, from social psychology to arts and cultural history and examines the deeply ingrained habit to characterise societies and individuals on the basis of their nationality and 'national character'. Since nationality and nation-ness are now widely regarded as patterns of identification rather than as identities, as subjective constructs rather than as objective essences, there is growing attention for the study of intercultural relations in terms of mutual perceptions, images and self-images. Imagology was

¹¹⁰ Michel, Bernard, *Nations et nationalismes en Europe centrale: XIXe-XXe siècle*, Aubier, Paris 1995, p. 121.

¹¹¹ Blickle, Peter, *Heimat: A Critical Theory Of The German Idea Of Homeland (Studies in German Literature Linguistics and Culture)*, Camden House, Rochester 2002, p. 3.

¹¹² Wickham, Chris, *Constructing Heimat in Postwar Germany: Longing and Belonging (Studies in German Thought and History)*, E. Mellen Press, Lewiston 1999.

¹¹³ Confino, Alon, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor: Württemberg, Imperial Germany, and National Memory, 1871-1918*, UNC Press Books, Chapel Hill 1997, pp. 126-127.

¹¹⁴ Cf Leerssen on regions in: Beller, Manfred and Leerssen, Joep, *Imagology. The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters; a Critical Survey*, Rodopi, Amsterdam 2007, p. 412.

¹¹⁵ Brunn, p. 28.

developed in France in the 1950s but met resistance in the American scholarly world, which was still more oriented towards criticism, the aesthetic of individual texts. Comparatist Hugo Dyserinck nevertheless continued imagological research in Aachen and developed a method which captures the multi-nationality of literature in terms of transient national subjectivities. He made the crucial leap from a constructivist branch of the old ethno-psychology to the study of cultural-literary representation patterns. Central insight was especially the dynamic interplay between the image of the Self and the Other, auto- and hetero-image.¹¹⁶ His work implies that the images concerned are not merely mental representations by nations about nations, but actual constituents of national identification patterns. As such, the constructivist approach of nationalism by Gellner, Anderson and Hobsbawm generated renewed interest for imagology. In Amsterdam, Joep Leerssen has put the imagological approach of national identification on the map.¹¹⁷ Together with Dyserinck he is the editor of *Studia Imagologica*, which has produced 20 volumes so far.

Leerssen focuses on the identification of 'ethnotypes', which he sees as being at the root of nationalism.¹¹⁸ He proposes three working methods in the imagological approach of texts:¹¹⁹ the *intertextual* method inventarises images as commonplaces ramifying from text to text. On this basis, the typology of the given ethnotype is established. The focus is on whether and if so, how auto- and hetero-images have determined or influenced each other. The literary-historical implication of this is that in the mutual influence of literary traditions across state and language borders, the national perceptions between the relevant peoples often play a guiding or filtering role. With respect to the history of ideas, the chronological order of the sources clarifies how image creation has developed in the course of time. This way, intertextual study provides a typology of a given national image. This kind of typology almost always turns out to be highly variable: the image of a nation or nationality differs from era to era, from country to country and often shows highly contradictory traits. The *contextual* approach relates constants and shifts in perception to the historical circumstances in which texts have been created. Rivalry between countries leads to negative perceptions (war propaganda); a more intriguing question is why at times from one country to the other the valuation and intensity of interest tends to vary. For cultural history and the history of nation and nationalism, imagological research demonstrates that nationalism can be seen as the

¹¹⁶ Leerssen 2012 (*Ethnotypen sind Akteure*), pp. 7-8.

¹¹⁷ In addition to auto-and hetero-images, Leerssen distinguishes meta-images (images of the images the Other is suspected to have), which he sees as one of the most relevant and promising prospects of a new, practice-oriented imagology. The use of ethnotypes in the last century has often assumed this form: for instance, the exotic, prejudiced persona of a foreign visitor is used to allow an inflated portrayal of one's own national characteristics. Work by J.Th. (Joep) Leerssen on imagology includes *Spiegelpaleis Europa: Europese cultuur als mythe en beeldvorming*, Vantilt, Nijmegen 2011; *Alterity, Identity, Image. Selves and Others in Society and Scholarship*, Rodopi, Amsterdam 1991 (with Raymond Corbey); *German Reflections* (Yearbook of European Studies, 7) Rodopi, Amsterdam 1994 (with Menno Spiering); *Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters - A Critical Survey* (*Studia imagologica*, 13), Rodopi, Amsterdam 2007 (with Manfred Beller); *The rhetoric of national character*. Theme issue of the *European journal of English studies*, 13.3, 2009 (with A.J. Hoenselaars).

¹¹⁸ Leerssen 2006, p. 17.

¹¹⁹ Leerssen 2012 (*Ethnotypen sind Akteure*), p. 15.

political instrumentalisation of cultural self-or auto-image: the perception of one's own 'character' determines the identity one wants to see confirmed politically. The *textual* method examines the rhetorical and narrative functions of national characterisations and analyses how authors distribute positive or negative character traits on the basis of the nationality of their protagonists and if national characterisations are deployed with serious, satirical or ironic intentions.

Determining the parameters of the variability of ethnotypes, the complex back and forth between auto-and hetero-image and thus going from the typological 'vocabulary' of national characterisations towards a 'structural grammar' of these processes seems to be the task of a 'new imagology'. An important insight of such a more structurally working imagology is that most concrete images of nations and peoples are dominated by underlying binary, oppositional structures such as north-south (hot-cold, virtue- honour civic-not civic, phlegmatic/sanguine- melancholic/choleric) or central-peripheral (progressive and traditional, dynamic and static, pragmatic and mystical). Many specific ethnotypes combine and vary such moral archetypes, and their application to real peoples is therefore formulaic and poetic rather than resulting from empirical observations. 'Recognising the formulas means debunking the stereotypes', Leerssen argues.¹²⁰

How to Approach Regional Identification in Habsburg Bukovina

Key question now is how the theoretical debates and developments as sketchily summarised above may relate to 'regional identification in Habsburg Bukovina'. By approaching 'identity' as dynamic rather than static or - to paraphrase Brubaker - as 'a perspective on the world' rather than as 'a thing in the world', it seems logical to adopt the term 'identification' instead. This way, the focus will shift from what identity 'is' to when and how it occurs. Since Bukovinian historiography so far almost exclusively consists of - conceived consciously or subconsciously - nationalist, 'groupist' narratives, there is no way around analysing how different national movements gained ground in Bukovina. For this kind of analysis, the work of primarily modernist scholars such as Gellner, Anderson and Hobsbawm is indispensable. The notions of modernisation, 'imagined community' and 'invention of tradition' will consistently need to be mirrored against the 'universal, perennial and inherently valid' principle of the nation which was common in the contemporary discourse of the era under discussion.

Then again, the weakness of the modernist approach of being focused solely on processes of social and economic change and its tendency to neglect regard cultural production and its influence also comes to the fore in the case of Habsburg Bukovina, which was only partly shaped by what can be called modernity and for such a small territory boasted a remarkable range of different national movements. The question of how these movements ignited and influenced each other or even provoked counter-movements cannot be ignored.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 9.

By introducing the notion of 'groupism', Rogers Brubaker rejects a monolithic view on 'the nation as a collective' and provides a strategy to determine when nationalist appeals actually produced the desired results, or when they failed to do so. By differentiating constantly between 'Romanian nationalists' and 'Romanian speakers', 'Ruthenian nationalists' and 'Ruthenian speakers' and so on, in this work the aim will be to refrain from groupist analysis - sometimes perhaps at the risk of laboured prose. The revisionist school of argumentation creates room for the analysis of tensions between nationalists and those they tried to reach or to convert and focuses on 'indifference to nationalism'. It also raises awareness of the trap of using terminology coined by the very nationalists whose dominance revisionists try to free themselves of. This trap, closely related to that of groupism, will hopefully be avoided in this thesis by refraining from contaminated terminology such as 'national awakening', 'transnational' or 'borderland'.

The breach the revisionists have opened in the fortress of nationalism makes room for alternative identifications in Habsburg Bukovina. For a crownland which has entered collective memory for its outstanding cultural production and lively local political debates, a closer look at elements of specifically regional identification seems obvious. In other words: when, where and how did Bukovinianness occur? This approach is closely connected with the phenomena of enhancing and competing identities or, more likely in the Habsburg constellation, the complex triangle of identifications with the State, the nation and the region which will be duly addressed. Recent studies of regional identification have led to the - rather unsurprising - conclusion that the root system of regional identification is no different from its national counterpart, with the most striking difference that regional identification has a stronger territorial component than the national one, which in turn seems to have additional affinity with the 'Heimat' notion.

Imagology, so far, focuses largely on the *literary* representation of *national* characters.¹²¹ Especially in the European context there is no shortage of material throughout the centuries which makes literary texts, together with their currency and topicality, excellent sources for the study of how stereotypes work. Literary texts can - but not necessarily will - outlast many other kinds of source materials, such as picture images, journalism, reports and so on. Then there is the focus on *national* stereotypes. Undoubtedly, as has been argued here before, during the last centuries, national characterisations, classifications and ethnotypifications have claimed centre-stage, and in order to discover more about the root system of national thinking there is no way around national stereotyping. With recent debates on 'indifference to nationality' and alternatives to national identification in mind, the question arises if the methodology so far developed and applied in the field of imagology is not equally useful in the study of stereotyping other than strictly national. When discussing regional identification, the point has already been made that regions are mental constructs and 'invented' in the same way that nations are. 'The regional community' functions in the same way as an *ethnie* - defined by Leerssen as 'a subjective community established by shared culture and historical

¹²¹ See the title of Beller and Leerssen 2007: *Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters - A Critical Survey*.

memories'. In other words, there is no reason to assume that regions are more or less 'real' than nations and that imagological text analysis would not be applicable in a regional context.

An easily conceivable practical problem is the possible paucity of source material. In a cultural landscape so strikingly dominated by the nationalist discourse, literary creation specifically addressing regional images and stereotypes may be hard to find - which does not mean it is not there. The relatively short existence of autonomous Habsburg Bukovina (strictly speaking only from 1848 until 1918) does little to expect a large literary treasure trove relating to the area. Then again, there is no reason to limit research activities to the study of literary texts alone. For a small crownland with a short lifespan, Bukovina had an impressive press activity. Especially in an era in which it was often unclear where journalism ended and, say, political agitation, feuilletonism, satire and even fiction started, press sources provide a surprisingly rich source of information. A contextual approach may shed light on the varying perceptions *by* and *of* Bukovinians in the course of the crownland's short existence. Next to the available archival primary sources, the Habsburg Bukovinian press will therefore be the starting place of a search for 'sites of regional identification in Habsburg Bukovina'.

3 Literature Survey

3.1 Introduction

Next to the abundance of archival material found in Chernivtsi, Suceava, Bucharest and Vienna, this work obviously relies on much of the work that has appeared before. Many of those sources refer only partly to Habsburg Bukovina or, in many cases, only scrutinise one ethno-national, social or religious chunk out of the bewilderingly complex total. It seems useful to take a closer look at sources covering the situation in Austrian Bukovina in its entirety in order to see how the reader has so far been confronted with the existence of the crownland, especially when the authors in question have taken - or in some cases claim to have taken - a historian's approach and have considered matters such as multi-ethnicity and/or identity. The publications presented here are in some cases of central value for the way Bukovina and its history have been viewed over the decades or even centuries. Other works are less prominent, but offer an illustrative picture of the category they represent.

Bukovina provides a classic example of the misery not only the historic, but also the historiographic turmoil ideologies may cause. Troubled history produces troublesome historiography and this category seems to dominate in the case of Bukovina. Already afflicted by nationalist shouting matches during the Habsburg years, fascism and mainly communism thwarted objective historical research until the demise of the communist regimes between 1989 and 1991. Post-war publication until that time was dominated by exile Bukovina Germans (*Buchenlanddeutsche*) and by the large number of memoirs by Jewish Holocaust survivors. Although the many Jewish memoirs published in the United States, Germany, Israel and other countries mainly deal with the interwar period and the devastating effects of the Holocaust on the Jewish population of Bukovina and thus leave the Habsburg era largely unaddressed, most of their authors refer to the memories of parents and grandparents.¹²²

¹²² See for instance Winkler, Max, *A Penny from Heaven*, Apple-Century-Crafts Inc., New York 1951; Bickel, Schlomo (also: Shloyme Biki), *Dray brider zaynen mir geven*, Farlag Matones, New York 1956; Drozdowski, Georg, *Damals in Czernowitz und rundum, Erinnerungen eines Altösterreicherers*, Verlag der Kleinen Zeitung Klagenfurt 1984; Rudel, Josef Norbert, *Von Czernowitz bis Tel Aviv gab's immer was zum Lachen*, Papyrus Verlag, Tel Aviv 1994; Friedjung, Prive, *Wir wollten nur das Paradies auf Erden: die Erinnerungen einer jüdischen Kommunistin aus der Bukowina*, Böhlau, Vienna 1995; Korber-Bercovici, Miriam, *Jurnal de Ghetou, Djurin, Transnistria, 1941-1943*, Editura Kriterion, Bucharest 1995; Glasberg Gold, Ruth, *Ruth's Journey, A Survivor's Memoir*, University Press of Florida, Gainesville 1996; Bartfeld-Feller Margit, *Dennoch Mensch geblieben. Von Czernowitz durch Siberien nach Israel 1923-1996*, Erhard Roy Wiehn (ed.), Hartung Gorre Verlag, Konstanz 1998; Coldewey, Gaby et. al., "Czernowitz is gewen an alte, jidische Schtot..." *Überlebende berichten*, Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung, Berlin 1999; Scha'ary, David, *דוד שער, ובינה בין שתי מלחמות העולם / דוד שער (Jews in Bukovina between the Two World Wars)*, Goldshtain-Goren, Tel Aviv 2004; Kehlmann, Heinz, *So weit nach Westen - von Czernowitz nach New York*, Rimbaud, Aachen 2004; Gross Sidi, *Zeitzeugin sein, Geschichten aus Czenowitz und Israel*, Hartung-Gorre Verlag, Konstanz 2005; Yavetz, Zvi, *Erinnerungen an Czernowitz - Wo Menschen und Bücher lebten*, C.H. Beck o.H.G, Munich 2007; Hirsch, Marianne and Spitzer, Leo, *Ghosts of Home: The Afterlife of Czernowitz in Jewish Memory*, University of California Press, Berkeley 2009.

The fall of the communist regime in Romania and the breakup of the Soviet Union introduced a new phase in the historiography of the region. Redeemed from official taboos, old territorial claims regarding the former Moldavian Soviet Republic (Bessarabia) and the now Ukrainian North of Bukovina by nationalist Romanians enjoyed a short-lived revival in the early 1990s. Refreshed interest for the region's past also generated some new volumes of village anecdotes in German¹²³ and Romanian.¹²⁴ Initially, traditional pre-communist views were simply rehashed: an unpublished study by Bukovinian-Romanian nationalist historian Ion Nistor from the 1960s was printed without a single reference to the debatable opinions it held, while in the newly-founded independent Ukraine the equally one-sided 1956 work by Arkadiy Zhukovs'kiy was reprinted without a word about the author's connection with the violent and Nazi-affiliated Ukrainian nationalist organisation OUN.¹²⁵ On a positive note, both Ukrainian and Romanian national and regional archives now became accessible to both domestic and foreign academics with a scholarly instead of a political focus, thus enabling the establishment of a new generation of literature on the various aspects of Bukovinian history. Young historians like Mihai-Ştefan Ceaşu from Romania¹²⁶ and Constantin Ungureanu from the Republic of Moldova¹²⁷ have already published valuable studies on Habsburg Bukovina based on recently enabled research.

At the opposite end of recent academic studies there are contemporary representations, stemming from eyewitnesses of Habsburg Bukovina. First of all, these are the reports by Austrian envoys addressed to the central authorities during the first years of the Habsburg occupation of the region. Their goal is clear: the newly-incorporated area needs to be developed according to the Austrian needs, standards and expectations and an accurate overview of the local situation is therefore required. The second collection of contemporary sources stems from decades onwards, when reports and research already showed subtle and less subtle traces of nationalist and ideological differences: there is material propagating the benefactions of Habsburg rule, accounts with clearly cultural and ethno-German nationalist overtones and critical Romanian nationalist material from the Kingdom.

¹²³ Katzenbeisser, Adolf, *Geboren in der Bukowina. Geschichte eines Lebens. Geschichte einer Zeit*, author's edition, Vienna 1993; Windisch, Gudrun, *Molodia - Chronik eines Dorfes in der Bukowina*, Gudrun Windisch & Landsmannschaft der Buchenlanddeutschen, Augsburg 2006.

¹²⁴ Cramarciuc, Gh. P., *Din satele Bucovinei: Corceştii, jud. Storojineţ – contribuţie la monografia satelor noastre*, Curierul Juridicar, Bucharest 1931; Luchian, Dragoş, *Un sat de pe Valea Sucevei – Frătăuţii-Vechi*, Editura Litera, Bucharest 1986; Drăguşanul, Ion, *Identităţi deturnate – o istorie anecdotică a Bucovinei*, Grupul Editorial Muşatinii, Suceava 2000; Nandriş, Ion, *Satul nostru Mahala din Bucovina*, Tribuna, Sibiu 2001; Gorda, Gheorghe, *Sfânt e numele tău, Voloca – Pagini din istoria şi onomastica unui sat nordbucovinean*, Zelena Bukovyna, Chernivtsi 2004.

¹²⁵ Hausleitner 2001, pp. 449-50.

¹²⁶ See for instance Ceaşu, Mihai Ştefan, *Bucovina habsburgică de la anexare la Congresul de la Viena: iosefinism şi postiosefinism, 1774-1815*, Fundaţia Academică 'A.D. Xenopol', Iaşi 1998 and *Parlamentarism, partide şi elită politică în Bucovina habsburgică (1848-1918) – Contribuţii la istoria parlamentarismului în spaţiul central-est European*, Junimea, Iaşi 2004.

¹²⁷ See Ungureanu, Constantin, *Bucovina în perioada stăpânirii austriece 1774-1918* from 2003 and *Învăţământul primar din Bucovina (1774-1918)* from 2007, both published by Civitas in Chişinău.

The third category is found in between the previous two and is by far the most problematic. Post-factum historiography on Habsburg Bukovina started immediately after the demise of the Empire and the incorporation of the territory in Greater-Romania with its centralist-nationalist agenda. Views considered extremist in the eyes of the former Austrian rulers became - and to a certain extent still are - mainstream in the Romanian historiographic production. After the Second World War, when Northern Bukovina had been annexed by the Soviet Union, the touchy subject of 'Bukovina as a historical part of Romania' remained taboo in Romania for the first decades. However, when Romanian communist dictator Nicolae Ceaușescu increasingly started to play the nationalist card, the old rhetoric returned and even survived the fall of the regime. The Soviet occupation of Northern Bukovina had split Ukrainian-oriented historiography in two: contributions from the Soviet Union focused on the historical ties between Russia the Slavophone population of Bukovina and working-class oppression under the Habsburgs, while Ukrainian diaspora nationalists continued to present a mirror image of the Romanian discourse. In the German-speaking realm, a mixture of nostalgia and cultural superiority prevailed, elaborating on the 'cultivation mission' of German culture which had been propagated already during the Habsburg era.

The value of such older studies for present-day readers fluctuates. It is obviously historiography with a political agenda and should therefore be carefully filtered with regard to its interpretations and ideological assumptions. Then again, it would be unwise and wasteful to dismiss it altogether: it is often based on exhaustive source research - including sources which meanwhile have disappeared in the mayhem of revolution, war and arson – and, speaking with Leerssen and Beller, still have bibliographic use as a shortcut to the primary literary sources.¹²⁸

3.2 Recent Academic Studies

German, Bukovina-born historian Emanuel Turczynski was the first author in the post-communist years to have published a comprehensive history of Bukovina.¹²⁹ Crucial in his argumentation is the central role of the German language and enlightened Josephinism which enabled the transition from a Moldavian border province of the Ottoman Empire into the eventual Bukovinian culture landscape.¹³⁰ Turczynski regarded both the German language and culture, combined with the loyalty to Empire and Emperor, ideal vehicles to achieve upward social mobility.¹³¹ His assumption that the changes in the electoral and constitutional laws of 1910 had canalised nationalist sentiments and had prevented poisoned relations between the

¹²⁸ Beller and Leerssen 2007, pp. 20-21.

¹²⁹ Turczynski, Emanuel, *Geschichte der Bukowina in der Neuzeit: Zur Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte einer mitteleuropäisch geprägten Landschaft*, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 1993.

¹³⁰ Ibid., p. 6.

¹³¹ Turczynski 1993, p. 172.

nationalities seems too rosy, however.¹³² Within the scope of this study, Turczynski is of particular interest as a supporter of a specific Bukovinian regional identity. He notices how 'regional patriotism' emerged as early as the first two decades of Austrian occupation¹³³ and regards a common, German-language education as a stronger unifying force than language and/or ethnicity.¹³⁴ With his ambition to compile a volume of modern-day Bukovinian history free from nationalist tendencies Turczynski - unsurprisingly - clashed with Romanian historians of a traditional nationalist signature who labelled him 'an admirer of the Empire' and 'a nostalgic, trying to find excuses for a western regime'.¹³⁵

In her study of the Romanian government policies of interwar Greater-Romania and the idea of Bukovinian Romanians to forcibly Romanise other ethnic groups in order to become once more (like before 1880) the strongest group in the region,¹³⁶ Mariana Hausleitner focuses on post-Habsburg Bukovina. Yet, she provides a thorough analysis of the developments leading to the situation at the time of the take-over by Romania. Hausleitner considers Bukovina a multicultural society before the First World War, a space where contacts between different nationalities were intense before the political elites isolated themselves by creating separate organisations around the turn of the century.¹³⁷ She argues that colonisation had been the first step towards modernisation¹³⁸ and that especially those Romanian speakers who had benefitted from the upward mobility enabled by the Austrian state turned against it after its demise by promoting a 'reversed utopia' (*eine rückwärts gerichtete Utopie*)¹³⁹ of pre-Habsburg glorification. She reveals appreciable differences between the make-up of Ruthenian and Romanian nationalist organisations and like Turczynski, she acknowledges a soothing effect of the 1910/11 Bukovinian Compromise, which she maintains has taken the national sting out of social conflicts¹⁴⁰. 'The Romanisation of Bukovina' received widespread acclaim, though critics argued that Hausleitner had only dealt with 'public history' whereas 'private history' might have been essential in order to obtain a comprehensive assessment of the theme under discussion.¹⁴¹ Hausleitner operates a traditional 'groupist' approach and as such does not escape the dominant discourse of nationalist ideology.

¹³² Ibid., p. 206. See Part III, paragraph 2.1: Landtag: Bukovinian Political Representation in Czernowitz and Vienna/ The Bukovinian Compromise.

¹³³ Turczynski 1993, pp 60-61.

¹³⁴ Ibid., pp. 159-60.

¹³⁵ Olaru, Marian and Purici, Ștefan (2002), "*Bucovinism*" și "*homo bucovinensis*", in: *Analele Bucovinei*, IX(2): 367- 374 (pp. 369-70); Grigoroviță, Mircea, *O 'istorie a Bucovinei' în limba germană*, in: *Analele Bucovinei*, 1996, III(1): 207-213; Grigoroviță, Mircea, *Din istoria colonizării Bucovinei*, Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, Bucharest 1996, p. 8.

¹³⁶ Hausleitner, Mariana, *Die Rumänisierung der Bukowina - Die Durchsetzung des nationalstaatlichen Anspruchs Grossrumäniens 1918-1944*, Verlag R.Oldenbourg, München 2001.

¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 82.

¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 46.

¹³⁹ Ibid., p. 81.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 80.

¹⁴¹ Heppner, Harald, Review of: Mariana Hausleitner, *Die Rumänisierung der Bukowina. Die Durchsetzung des nationalstaatlichen Anspruchs Grossrumäniens 1918-1944*, HABSBURG, H-Net Reviews. February, 2002. URL: <http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=5901> (date of visiting site: 24 August 2008).

Romanian philologist and Germanist Andrei Corbea-Hoişie completed numerous studies on Bukovina (and mainly on its historical capital Czernowitz),¹⁴² His approach is a literary one, and, refreshingly, the author distances himself from the anti-Habsburg national historiographies typical for the first years of post-communism in Romania and Ukraine. According to his main theory, a class of specific Bukovinians only emerged in the nineteenth century in the shape of the Czernowitz bourgeoisie, a mixture of German-oriented Jews and newly-arrived German-Austrians, later joined by a small intellectual Romanian-Ruthenian segment. Corbea-Hoişie tends to acknowledge only a 'provincial patriotism' (*Landespatriotismus*) and merely sees 'true Bukovinism' when the Freethinking Alliance (*Freisinniger Verband*) was established in 1904.¹⁴³ An expert in the field of German-Jewish cultural interaction in Bukovina, he notes how the fact that - unlike Western and Central European cities - Habsburg Czernowitz lacked a Christian bourgeois upper class enabled Jews to fill this position.¹⁴⁴ In contrast to the previous two authors, Corbea-Hoişie is not convinced of the pacifying effect of the Bukovinian Compromise of 1910 since this had officially established national segregation and had forced the voter to determine one single nationality for himself.¹⁴⁵ As such, Corbea-Hoişie's critical views have contributed to a relativisation of Bukovina as the textbook example of a multi-cultural society.¹⁴⁶ However, he confines himself to Czernowitz - all too often regarded as 'an island of culture' - and thus neglects the relations in and with rural Bukovina and other towns.

The detailed work by Austrian geographer Kurt Scharr¹⁴⁷ focuses on the Austrian region's institutional development, administrative structures, its demographic position and its status within the Monarchy. Scharr sees the development of regional institutions, the political conditions in the Habsburg Empire and the lively relations between Czernowitz and Vienna as the conditions which enabled Bukovina to become known as a 'miniature Habsburg Empire', and, mainly after the disappearance of the communist regimes, as a miniature blueprint for a tolerant, multicultural Europe. In line with scholars like Hausleitner and Corbea-Hoişie, Scharr does not deviate from the traditional subdivision of Bukovinians in homogenous ethnic groups. His focus is not so much on the population as on the policies and the institutions that provided the conditions for Habsburg Bukovina's societal developments. Oddly missing as a description and analysis of the 1910 Bukovinian Compromise in his study are,¹⁴⁸ Scharr's

¹⁴² Corbea-Hoişie, Andrei, *Czernowitzer Geschichten - Über eine städtische Kultur in Mitteleuropa*, Böhlau, Wien, Köln, Weimar 2003 and *La Bucovine - Éléments d'histoire politique et culturelle*, Institut d'Études Slaves, Paris 2004.

¹⁴³ Corbea-Hoişie 2004, p. 60.

¹⁴⁴ Corbea-Hoişie 2003, p. 50.

¹⁴⁵ Corbea-Hoişie 2004, p. 66.

¹⁴⁶ Rychlo, Peter, *Czernowitz als geistige Lebensform*, in: Braun 2006: 7–29 (p. 28); Werner, Klaus, *Erfahrungsgeschichte und Zeugenschaft - Studien zur deutsch-jüdischen Literatur aus Galizien und der Bukowina*, IGKS Verlag, München 2003, p. 18.

¹⁴⁷ Scharr, Kurt, *Die Landschaft Bukowina - Das Werden einer Region an der Peripherie 1774-1918*, Böhlau, Vienna/Cologne/Weimar 2010,

¹⁴⁸ Solonari, Vladimir, review of Scharr, Kurt, *Die Landschaft Bukowina - Das Werden einer Region an der Peripherie 1774-1918*, Austrian History Yearbook, 2012, Vol. 43 pp 201-202.

well-documented section on the current state of Bukovina research¹⁴⁹ and his meticulous appendix with archival overviews are of particular value.¹⁵⁰

3.3 Contemporary Representations

3.3.1 Writings with an Administrative Agenda

General Splény's Beschreibung der Bukowina

The first account available on the situation the Austrians encountered after their incorporation into the Empire of the area they called Bukovina is the report by military commander Splény. Largely descriptive and intended to advise the Emperor on future development policies in this region, the report also included the results of the first censuses of the population ever held. From the first moment of later nationalist debates - mainly between Romanian and Ruthenian (Ukrainian) - nationalists on the issues of 'historical rights' and 'indigeneity', these first military reports proved to be bones of content, with nationalist frontrunners from both sides attempting to disqualify the other as the indigenous and rightful inhabitant of the province. A second source from this era is the 1780 report by landowner Basilius Balsch (Romanian: Vasile Balș), appointed by the Bukovinian boyars and the Bishop of Radautz to present their views on the reorganisation of Bukovina. Though being the first source in which Romanian/Moldavian views are reflected, it contains certain elements which make it a less convenient tool within the Romanian nationalist discourse. This is less so in the case of Ion Budai-Deleanu, a Romanian-language Uniate priest, who was educated in Vienna and worked for the Galician administration in Lemberg. Budai-Deleanu did not see his critical observations published during his lifetime. His reflections on the first twenty years of Habsburg rule (Bukovina had been unified with Galicia) are critical of both the new administrative structures and the old clerical institutions. Since Budai-Deleanu was the first author to address the issue of the different ethnicities of the region explicitly, his writings were often quoted in nationalist debates from the nineteenth century onward.

Although the cession of Turkish territory was legalised by the Convention of 7 May 1775, Baron Gabriel Splény of Mihálydy had already established his headquarters at Czernowitz in August 1774.¹⁵¹ After having stayed in the newly acquired province for more than a year, Splény finished his report to Empress Maria Theresa and Emperor Joseph II entitled 'Description of Bukovina following its previous and existing consistency together with the non-binding proposal on how its state constitution up to now may be improved both

¹⁴⁹ Scharr 2010, pp. 45-54.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 249-260

¹⁵¹ Seton-Watson, Robert William, *History of the Roumanians - from Roman Times to Completion of Unity*, University Press, Cambridge 1934, p. 555.

*politically and economically*¹⁵² between 14 August and 16 September 1775. The author, a high-ranking military official of Magyar noble descent, born in Kassa¹⁵³ (now Košice, Slovakia) in 1734, was assigned to Bukovina from 1 September 1774 until 6 September 1778.¹⁵⁴ Previously, he had earned an outstanding reputation in the Austrian army, was promoted major in 1759 and major general in 1773. In that same year, Splény accompanied Emperor Joseph II on a trip to Galicia and his knowledge impressed the Emperor to such extent that he was assigned to supervise the occupation and administrative organisation of northern Moldavia, the later Bukovina.¹⁵⁵

The merit of Splény's writing in the light of this study lies in the fact that it is the first written account on the state of affairs at the very beginning of Austrian rule over the territory. Moreover, it is the view of the outsider unfamiliar with the surroundings he describes, albeit not exactly a passive outsider: being the first (military) commander of the newly acquired region, Splény was not only supposed to secure it militarily, but also politically and socially: he let the entire population swear an oath of loyalty to Emperor and Empire and announced severe punishments for criminal behaviour. His report reveals his lack of illusions in this respect:

*Even if some Moldavians served as volunteers during the latest war, one should not draw the conclusion that the nation is therefore inclined to military fervour; it rather seems that taking into consideration the conditions at the time, the boyars or noblemen were interested first of all in shaking off the Turkish yoke and acquiring a freestate. This hope as well as a certain degree of religious affiliation caused them to turn to the Russians. The common man, however, was interested in unhampered robbing and stealing according to his natural inclination.*¹⁵⁶

The feudal and in many ways medieval conditions in Bukovina must have shocked the educated nobleman. The state of education and civilisation of the locals repelled him and he was particularly unimpressed by the intellectual level of the local orthodox clergy: "the nobleman as well as the clergy hardly has any schooling or other education, and consequently

¹⁵² "Beschreibung der Bukovina nach der vorherigen und jetzo noch bestehenden Beschaffenheit deßelben nebst ohnmaßgebigen Vorschlag, wie deßen bisherige Landesverfassung sowohl in Politicis als Oeconomicis in das künftige verbeßert werden könnte".

¹⁵³ Another source claims Splény was originally from Kolozsvár (Cluj), see Csupor, Tibor, *Mikor Csikból elindultam - a bukovinai székeleyek élettörténete*, Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, Budapest 1987, p. 66.

¹⁵⁴ *General Splény's Beschreibung der Bukowina*, in: Grigorovici, Radu, *Bucovina în primele descrieri geografice, istorice, economice si demografice*, Editura Academiei Române, Bucharest 1998, p. 22 (Ab. 23).

¹⁵⁵ The details of Splény's biography are taken from the preface Johann Polek wrote to his 1893 edition of Splény's work (included in Grigorovici 1998).

¹⁵⁶ "Wenn einige Moldauer in letzten Krieg als Volontairs gedienet haben, so dürfte hiemit noch nicht richtig der Schluß erfolgen, daß die Nation hiezu durch den Militargeist belebet war; vielmehr scheint es, daß nach damaliger Lage die Absicht, und zwar erstens der Bojaren oder Edelleute dahin gieng, das Türkische Joch abzuschütteln und sich eine Freystatt zu verschaffen, diese Hofnung also und einige Religionsverwandschaft veranlaste, daß sie sich an die Rußen wanden. Die Ansicht aber zweytens bey dem gemeinen Mann gieng dahin, nach seiner wahren Neigung ungehindert rauben und stehlen zu können". Grigorovici 1998, p. 202 (Ab. 434).

the peasantry is even rougher”.¹⁵⁷ Several observations made by Splény continue to fuel debates between Romanian and Ukrainian nationalists until this day, the central issue being that of ‘historical rights’. Although this particular subject will be discussed more elaborately in Part II, it is worth mentioning here that Splény explicitly noted the presence of both aforementioned ethnies:

With regard to the characteristics and temper of the locals, one might distinguish between Rusnyaks¹⁵⁸ and Moldavians. Both nations are Orthodox, of both nations subjects are present in the new Imperial part of Moldavia. The first are less in number and occupy mainly the regions on the Polish border.¹⁵⁹

Furthermore, Splény questioned the popularity of the clergy among the people, and thus touched upon yet two other sensitive issues within the Romanian nationalist discourse: the position of the Orthodox Church as a national unifying force and the justification of the radical reforms introduced by the Austrian Emperor in the early 1780s.¹⁶⁰

The structure of Splény’s report is traditional: the first part is dedicated to the description of the geographical, economical and social circumstances. In this context this is the most relevant part, especially the third chapter which deals with the population. In the second part the author describes which sort of organisational measures needed to be taken immediately while the third part reveals his long-term strategy for the region. This strategy involved three pillars which will prove quintessential to economic reform policy in Bukovina throughout the entire Austrian era: immigration, education and industrialisation. Of particular interest are Splény’s views on the local peasantry. As has been noted above, these impressions were not entirely favourable: as well as thievish, he found them lazy¹⁶¹ and prone to alcohol abuse. On the subject of alcohol consumption, observed especially among clergy and peasantry, Splény identified two related causes for concern: first, the possibility of a rise in crime and

¹⁵⁷ “Der Edelmann sowohl als der geistliche Stand hat fast keine Studien oder sonstige Education, und der Bauernstand ist folglich um so roher”. Ibid., p. 58 (Ab. 72).

¹⁵⁸ ‘Rusnyaks’ refers here to the Slavic inhabitants of the region, mostly referred to as ‘Ruthenians’ during the Austrian period. In this work, ‘Ruthenian’ will be used when referring to the Slavic speakers on Habsburg territory later known as ‘Ukrainian’.

¹⁵⁹ “Bey den Talenten und Gemüthsgaben des Landesvolkes, sowie auch bei ihren Sitten und Gebrauchen dürfte wohl ein Unterschied zwischen den Rusniaken und Moldauern zu machen seyn. Beyde Nationen sind Graeci Ritus non uniti, von beyden Nationen giebt es Unthertanen in dem neuen kais. Antheil der Moldau. Die Zahl des Ersteren ist minders beträchtlich, hat meistens die Gegenden an den polnischen Gränzen in Besitz”. Ibid., p. 200 (Ad Caput 4tum, Ab. 432).

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 76 (Ab. 147): ‘Ihr Privat-Lebenswandel will eben auch nicht allerdings belobet werden, doch wissen sie durch die Hypokrisie des allzustrengen Fasten die Einfalt des Pöbels in engen Feßeln zu halten.’ [‘Their private moral conduct is certainly no reason for praise either, but they manage to keep the populace’s simplicity tightly chained by the hypocrisy of a far too strict Lent.’].

¹⁶¹ Ibid., p. 58 (Ab. 76) ‘Die Faulheit wird von dem Pöbel als der Grund der Glückseligkeit betrachtet. Ihre Arbeitsamkeit erstreckt sich nur auf das Nothwendigste deren alljährigen Lebensbedürfnissen (...).’ [‘Laziness is seen by the populace as the basis of bliss. Their industriousness only ranges to the most basic necessities of life (...).’].

disobedience and even resistance to the military order¹⁶² and second, an issue which was likely remain as well, namely the role of the Jewish community in the production and sale of spirits:

*As it is only too true that the peasantry, especially the Rusnyaks, is submissive to the consumption of hard liquor, it is to be reconsidered that as long as one only bothers to settle Jews and that as long as the production of spirits is freely allowed as it is now, this debauchery in the province may only increase.*¹⁶³

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, with the rise of nationalist movements the alleged role of Jews in the spirits trade and most notably in usury would frequently prove to dominate anti-Semitic diatribes. Although Splény once again displayed his lack of trust in the local population, he did admit to certain more or less likable traits as well:

*The talent of this nation basically shows a natural witticism, albeit with a disposition to shrewdness. This makes them dissembling and ambiguous in their doings, so that one should take neither the acts nor the words of a Moldavian for granted too easily.*¹⁶⁴

Tolerance, another characteristic which will continue to play a pivotal role in the historic perception of Bukovinian society, had not escaped Splény's attention either: he claimed that 'on the whole the Moldavians were more inclined towards tolerance than their neighbours, the Vlachs [since] unlike the latter, they did not surrender so fully to the blind urge and guidance of their religion'.¹⁶⁵

The useful insights Splény provided in this first account are puzzling at the same time. The confusing terminology he applied to matters concerning ethnicity/nationality was to ignite fierce debates between Ukrainian and Romanian nationalist historians later on. As shown above, Splény sometimes referred to 'Moldavians' when he seemed to imply the entire Bukovinian peasant population, in other cases, as shown above, he clearly distinguished between 'Moldavians' and 'Rusnyaks'. Another time he mentioned 'Vlachs' as the (Romanian) language community in contrast to the Germans.¹⁶⁶ Complicating matters even more, Splény, as can be concluded from his remarks on tolerance quoted above, did

¹⁶² Ibid., p. 58 (Ab. 73).

¹⁶³ "Uebrigens wenn es zwar nur gar zu richtig ist, daß das Landvolk, besonders aber die Rusniaken, dem Trunk der starken Getränke ergeben sind, so kommt andererseits wieder in Erwägung zu ziehen, daß, solange man die Population nur mit Juden zu machen besorget seyn wird, solange auch nach dermaliger Art das Brandweinbrennen frey bleibt, diese Ausschweifung im Lande immer zunehmen müße". Ibid., p. 200 (Ab. 433).

¹⁶⁴ "Das Genie dieser Nation hat zum Grund einen natürlichen, doch zur Arglistigkeit mehr geneigten Witz. Dieser machet sie in ihrem Thun und Laßen verstellt und zweydeutig, so daß man weder denen Werken noch Wörtern eines Moldauers so leicht glauben soll". Ibid., p. 56 (Ab. 63).

¹⁶⁵ "Ueberhaupt sind die Moldauer mehr zu Toleranz geneigt als ihre Nachbarn, die Wallachen, pflegen auch nicht so sehr wie letztere sich dem blinden Trieb und Leitung ihrer Religion zu überlaßen". Ibid., p. 202 (Ab. 436).

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 108, Ab. 223-224). While 'German' can only be understood here as a German-speaking Austrian (and not in the present-day concept of 'a citizen of Germany'), it is safe to assume that Splény refers here to a Romanian-speaking language community and not to 'a citizen of Wallachia' of some sorts.

distinguish between Moldavians and Vlachs.¹⁶⁷ As will be discussed further in this chapter, representatives of the Ukrainian school tend to interpret Splény's classifications as typical for a period preceding national consciousness in which the term 'Moldavian' simply serves as a regional common denominator. Romanian scholars generally maintain the opinion that 'Moldavians' can only mean '(ethnic) Romanians'.¹⁶⁸ The existing confusion automatically reflects on the results of Splény's population census: although they indicated a predominantly Romanian character of the area (Romanians 11,000 families, Ruthenians 1,261, Jews 526, Gypsies 294 and Armenians 58), other sources claim that the majority was indeed Romanian speaking, but that the census simply qualified every Orthodox as Romanian.¹⁶⁹ The debatable results of Splény's census in comparison to those of Splény's successor Enzenberg's efforts are at times attributed to Splény's alleged lack of knowledge of the region and its inhabitants.¹⁷⁰ More likely, the puzzling results of Splény's census are the product of a lack of criteria, definitions and terminology. Ethnological counts were not even attempted, which led to more unresolved mysteries than only the respective numbers of 'Romanians' and 'Ruthenians' at the time of Splény's military administration.¹⁷¹

Beschreibung der Buccowina und deren innern Verhältniss von Basilius Balsch

On 4 April 1780, a conference was installed to decide on the structure of the Bukovina district, presided over by Count András Hadik, president of the Austrian Imperial Council of War.¹⁷² Led by Basilius Balsch, member of the Conference, a delegation of Bukovinian aristocracy including Bishop Dosoftei Herescul made the case for a separate status for Bukovina,¹⁷³ a matter made urgent by the fact that in 1779, Splény's successor Enzenberg had

¹⁶⁷ Grigorovici insisted that Splény does not regard Moldavians and Vlachs as separate 'nations' ('Trebuie remarcat că în ochii lui Splény, moldovenii și valahii formează o singură națiune'). However, the author neither substantiated this statement nor provided his particular definition of a 'nation'. Grigorovici 1998, p. 221.

¹⁶⁸ In his presentation, at a conference at the Bucovina Study Centre in Rădăuți (31 May - 3 June 1996) entitled 'Bukovina 1775-1862. Political, Social, Cultural and Demographic Aspects', R. Grigorovici discussed the vision as presented in the Ukrainian translation of General Splény's report. Grigorovici stated that 'Moldavians' can only have meant 'Romanians': people of Splény's rank did not talk to commoners, and the nobility was exclusively Romanian at the time. However, this standpoint ignores Splény's clear distinction between 'Moldavians' and 'Rusnyaks'. See Purici, Ștefan, *Bucovina 1775-1862. Aspecte politice, sociale, culturale, economice și demografice*, in: *Glasul Bucovinei*, 2(10), 1996, 30-31.

¹⁶⁹ Hofbauer, Hannes and Roman, Viorel: *Bukowina, Bessarabien, Moldawien : vergessenes Land zwischen Westeuropa, Russland und der Türkei*, Promedia, Wien 1997, p. 27.

¹⁷⁰ Kapri, Emanuel. M. F. v., *Buchenland. Ein österreichisches Kronland verschiedener Völkergruppen*, Eigenverlag Landsmannschaft der Buchenlanddeutschen e.V., München/Stuttgart 1974, p. 15

¹⁷¹ For instance, nationalist Romanian historians like Nistor and Iacobescu tended to ignore the existence and importance of gypsies in Bukovina in order to keep the 'absolute' number of 70,000 Romanians in Bukovina in 1774 intact. Wagner, Rudolf, *Vom Halbmond zum Doppeladler - Ausgewählte Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bukowina und der Czernowitzer Universität 'Francisco-Josephina'*, Verlag 'Der Südostdeutsche', Augsburg 1996, p. 362.

¹⁷² Nistor, Ion, *Istoria Bucovinei*, Humanitas, Bucharest 1991, pp. 27-29.

¹⁷³ 'Ei cereau ca Bucovina să fie constituită într-o provincie de sine stătătoare moldovenească, potrivit cu trecutul ei istoric și caracterul ei etnic aparte, care să se administreze în mod autonom după vechile ei datini și obiceiuri'

suggested splitting up the newly acquired province.¹⁷⁴ In his report to Hadik, entitled 'Description of Bukovina and its Internal Relations',¹⁷⁵ Balsch ventilated his views on the local conditions.

Boyar Basilius Balsch (1756-1832) was born in Iași to a family of large landowners with close ties to the power circles in Moldavia and Austria. From 1771 Balsch, who had studied in Vienna, was the administrator of the Czernowitz region, served as a delegate of Moldavian Prince Grigore III Ghica and soon became Austria's confidant in the early years of the Austrian administration of Bukovina.¹⁷⁶ Many boyars had not been inclined to swear the oath of loyalty to the Austrian Emperor and had taken up residence in Moldavia. Only a small number of families had stayed on. To maintain relations with the boyar class, Vienna had appointed Balsch in the provincial administration.¹⁷⁷ Balsch's ideas on church reform and modernisation were in line with those proposed by the Austrian military commanders Splény and his successor Enzenberg¹⁷⁸ and were certainly influenced by Josephinism and Enlightenment, but also alienated him from both the indigenous nobility and the Orthodox clergy. Balsch was granted the title of baron in 1781 and installed as a member of the Imperial Council of War in 1783. From 1792 to 1808 he was Captain of Bukovina, the first Moldavian to fill that position.

Balsch's report provides the first insider's view of conditions in Bukovina. It should be noted that, naturally, the opinions ventilated by Balsch are those of a particular insider: the provincial nobleman and the cosmopolitan Josephinist in one. The nobleman clearly felt contempt for the peasantry, calling them 'a generally lazy, fraudulent and disobedient lot [one could] only get to work with curses and beatings'.¹⁷⁹ At the same time he cautioned, as Splény had done five years earlier, against - mainly Jewish - usury as a major threat to that peasantry:

[‘They requested that Bukovina be turned into an autonomous Moldavian province, in keeping with its historic past and its ethnically different character, which should be administered autonomously according to its old customs and traditions’], *ibid.*, p. 29.

¹⁷⁴ Safran, Menachem B., *Die inneren kulturellen Verhältnisse in der Bukowina (1825-1861)* - Dissertation at Basel University, Druckerei 'Argus', Botoșani 1939, p. 30.

¹⁷⁵ *Beschreibung der Buccowina und deren innern Verhältniss von Basilius Balsch*, Grigorovici 1998 pp. 324-259.

¹⁷⁶ Satco, Emil, *Enciclopedia Bucovinei*, Princeps, Iași 2004.

¹⁷⁷ Ceașu, Mihai-Ștefan, *Parlamentarism, partide și elită politică în Bucovina habsburgică (1848-1918)* - *Contribuții la istoria parlamentarismului în spațiul central-est european*, Junimea, Iași 2004, p. 52.

¹⁷⁸ Although Kapri was of the opinion that Balsch hardly added new insights to those already reported to Vienna by General Enzenberg, he did give him some credit for suggesting the establishment of a number of colonies as an example for local farmers. Kapri 1974, pp. 36-39.

¹⁷⁹ “Die Bauern sind in der Buccowina ein durchgängig faules- lügenhaft- und gegen ihre Herren ungezogenes Volck, welches seine kleine Arbeiten entweder mit Scheltworten oder Schlägen zu verrichten gewohnt ist”. Balsch, Basilius in Grigorovici 1998, p. 344 (Ab. 34).

*In order to counteract the matter of usury, which is detrimental to the general peace, safety and well being of the public, forms of rental should be allowed neither to strangers nor to Jews, the complete expulsion of the latter being the most beneficial.*¹⁸⁰

Next, Balsch took the opportunity to discredit the lower nobility of Bukovina, the so-called *mazils*, who in his view unjustifiably presented themselves as boyars and enjoyed their privileges while neglecting their duties as local supervisors. He maintained, incorrectly,¹⁸¹ that *mazils* could not lay claim to a title of nobility and that they were direct subjects of the boyars.¹⁸² Balsch the Josephinist advocated public schools and the creation of Austrian citizens:

*(...) if according to the most heartfelt wish of all compatriots it was taken into consideration to establish public schools for the instruction of Christianity and other essential subject matter in order to educate this offspring in due time as worthy pupils of the state, thus upholding the love felt in the whole of Moldavia and enriching Bukovina considerably, the majority in Moldavia would happily and impatiently send their children there while the monasteries would be inclined to establish a fund to cover the expenses anyway.*¹⁸³

The establishment of public schools was not the only issue Balsch addressed in order to change the feudal injustice within the clerical order. He challenged the powers of the Archbishop of Iași, who, in spite of the presence of Bishop Dosoftei in Radautz, still ruled over large monastery estates in Bukovina and was held responsible by Balsch for many cases of extortion and abuse of power. Superintendent positions, officially to be allocated through elections, were simply sold to the highest-bidding. Balsch found the reasons for these various forms of misconduct with Ottoman influences, which he said had thoroughly corrupted the clerical order. He therefore proposed to have Bishop Dosoftei appointed as the sole head of the Orthodox Church in Bukovina.¹⁸⁴ In view of the pivotal role Balsch had reserved for the bishop, it seems only logical that the latter was in full support of the reform plans proposed first by Enzenberg and now endorsed by Balsch. Although at this point Balsch only suggested to appoint 'Imperial supervisors' to control monastery revenues,¹⁸⁵ the price Dosoftei

¹⁸⁰ "Um dem der allgemeinen Ruh, Sicherheit und Besten des Publicums so nachtheiligen Pachtungs-Gegenstand wirksamst entgegen zu dammen, solle weder denen Fremden, weder denen Juden, welche letztere gänzlich wegzutreiben am zuträglichsten wäre, einige Gattung von Pachtung zu gestatten seyn". Ibid., p. 356 (Ab. 58).

¹⁸¹ Kapri 1974, p. 37.

¹⁸² "Diese Mazillen waren jeder Zeit verbunden Contributionen anzuführen, haben mit denen Bojaren keine Ähnlichkeit, da sie zu soviel fürstlich- als Landes-Arbeiten ohnentgeltlich als Aufseher verwendet, und zu ihrer Schuldigkeit mit peinlichen Strafen, worzu sogar den Bojaren die Befugnis einberaumet ist, angehalten werden können". Balsch, Basilius in Grigorovici 1998, p. 334 (Ab. 11).

¹⁸³ "(...) wann man nach dem eifrigsten Wunsch aller Compatrioten den Bedacht nähme, zu Unterweisung der Jugend in dem Christenthum und sonst erforderlichen Wissenschaften, um aus disen Sprösslingen seiner Zeit würdige Zöglinge des Staats zu bilden, öffentliche Schulen zu errichten, welches die Liebe der ganzen Moldau aufrecht erhalten, und die Buccowina, da der grösste Theil der Moldau ihre Kinder mit Freud und Ungedult dahin abzuschicken, sich angelegen seyn liesse, nahmhaft bereichern würde, und da die Klöster zu Errichtung eines Unkosten Fonds für diese Schulen, ohnehin beyzutragen geneigt waren". Ibid., pp. 348-350 (Ab. 40).

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., pp. 338-340 (Ab. 17-23)

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 342 (Ab. 27).

eventually paid for his clerical omnipotence would prove to be much higher: complete secularisation of church property through the establishment of the Church Fund and the closure of all but three of the Bukovinian monasteries. A supplementary argumentation provided by Balsch to support his reform proposals sheds light upon the lack of popular support of the Orthodox Church at the time:

*The other advantage of this salutary measure would be that the discipline and order of the clerics be restored in keeping with the laws and conventions of their congregation, that the Church be maintained within the boundaries of its religion according to the true principles of Christianity and that, no less, the customs of the nation be remodeled, as the people are used neither to going to church nor to respecting a cleric.*¹⁸⁶

Balsch intended to secure the traditional power position of the boyar class, while advocating Josephinist modernisation of the province under Austrian rule.¹⁸⁷ He regarded the Austrian occupation of the northern part of Moldavia as a convenient opportunity to rid the territory of Ottoman corruption and did not hesitate to discredit practically all other social groups in the process: the peasantry, lower nobility and the vast majority of the clergy. He must have been well aware of the fact that he was addressing a peer, Field Marshall Count Hadik, who, being a nobleman himself, might have been expected to sympathise with a boyar's grievances. In addition, Balsch hinted at the possibility of the incorporation by Austria of southern Moldavia as well,¹⁸⁸ while, one source claims, he was even trying to convince Vienna to integrate Wallachia on top of that.¹⁸⁹

For Romanian historians, and especially for those pursuing a nationalist agenda, Basilius Balsch proves to be a wayward and ambiguous protagonist. Whereas he indisputably pioneered the plea for Bukovinian autonomy and was therefore rightly regarded by Nistor as the instigator of the first political manifestation of the Bukovinian population after the secession from Moldavia,¹⁹⁰ it requires a vivid imagination to expose him as a representative of retrospective Romanian nationalism: first of all, his intervention in favour of provincial autonomy indicates implicit recognition of the Austrian annexation of northern Moldavia, which Romanian nationalists consider the beginning of all misfortune - support for an autonomous Bukovina means acceptance of the division of Moldavia, so they reject the concept altogether. Balsch went the extra mile: he explicitly advocated the benefits of Austrian rule and even proposed to utilise public education to turn pupils into loyal Austrian subjects. Romanian historian Grigorovici reprimands Balsch for 'seemingly not having

¹⁸⁶ "Der anderwärtige Vortheil dieser so heilsamen Einrichtung wäre: dass die Zucht und Ordnung deren geistlichen nach den Gesätzen und gebrauchten ihres Ordens hergestellt, und die Kirche in denen Schranken ihrer Religion nach den wahren Grundsätzen des Christenthums erhalten, wie nicht minder die Sitten der Nation, da das Volck ohnehin weder in die Kirche zu gehen, noch für einen Geistlichen Achtung zu haben gewohnt ist, umgeschaffen würden". Ibid., p. 344 (Ab. 31)

¹⁸⁷ Grigorovici 1998, p. 328.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Ceașu, Mihai-Ștefan, *Das Russen - und Türkenbild in der Bukowina um 1800*, in: *Identitate și alteritate în spațiul cultural românesc* (1996), 247-254, p. 251.

¹⁹⁰ Nistor 1991, p. 30.

realised the existence of the national problem of the people he belonged to'¹⁹¹ (and simultaneously provides an illustrative example of the retrospective nationalism often found with - not only - Romanian historians). Even though some tried to accredit Balsch with promoting the introduction of education in the Romanian language,¹⁹² careful reading of his suggestions only reveals his insistence on the introduction of Latin in the curriculum.¹⁹³

Ion Budai-Deleanu: *Kurzgefasste Bemerkungen über die Bukowina*

Discovered amidst Budai-Deleanu's family heirloom by Gheorghe Asachi in 1868, Ion Budai-Deleanu's 'Compact Remarks on Bukovina',¹⁹⁴ were first transferred to the Museum of Antiquities in Bucharest¹⁹⁵ before being incorporated in the collection of the Romanian Academy. Romanian historian Ion Nistor attributes the fact that the work had never been published during Budai-Deleanu's lifetime to its abrasive criticism of the authorities.¹⁹⁶ Initially published only in Romanian by George Bogdan-Duică in the 'Gazeta Bucovinei' in 1894, the original German text first appeared in the annex of Nistor's 'The Romanians and Ruthenians in Bukovina'.¹⁹⁷

Born the son of an educated Uniate priest in the early 1760s in the Transylvanian village of Csigmó (present-day Cigmău in Romania),¹⁹⁸ Budai-Deleanu studied law in Vienna, where he also mastered fluent German. He returned to Transylvania to teach at the Uniate seminary of Blaj, but a conflict with Bishop Ioan Bob caused him to abandon both Blaj and his theological ambitions. He then settled in Lemberg where his knowledge of law, Romanian/Moldavian and German made him the ideal candidate for the position of translator and clerk at the Lemberg court: with Bukovina now subordinated to the Lemberg Gubernium, the court had been left with numerous law records in Moldavian to be translated into the language of administration (German) as well as with official decrees and even codes of law in German requiring a Moldavian translation. His activities, easily surpassing those of a mere translator, included a Romanian-German dictionary, studies on Romanian grammar as well as juridical, literary and historical works.

¹⁹¹ 'Balş pare să nu-şi fi dat seama de existenţa problemei naţionale pentru poporul din care făcea parte', Grigorovici 1998, p. 328.

¹⁹² Satco 2004.

¹⁹³ Balsch did in fact substantiate this proposal with the argument that the Moldavian language had used the Latin alphabet until the Church Convention of Florence in 1493. Balsch, Basilius in Grigorovici 1998, 350 (Ab. 40).

¹⁹⁴ *Kurzgefasste Bemerkungen über die Bukowina*, Grigorovici 1998, pp. 373-425.

¹⁹⁵ Vatamaniuc, Dimitrie in Grigorovici 1998, p. 6.

¹⁹⁶ Nistor, Ion in Grigorovici 1998, p. 426.

¹⁹⁷ Nistor, Ion, *Românii şi rutenii în Bucovina*, Ediţiunea Academiei Române, Bucharest 1915.

¹⁹⁸ The details of Budai-Deleanu's biography are taken from Vatamaniuc, Dimitrie, Nistor, Ion (pp. 426-27), Bogdan-Duică (pp. 376-77) and Grigorovici, Radu (pp. 430-31), all in Grigorovici 1998, as well as from Nistor 1991 (p. 53).

Budai-Deleanu provided, like Balsch had done before, an account of the state of affairs in Bukovina from the point of view different from that of the typical Viennese government official. However, to maintain with Grigorovici that the reports by Balsch and Budai-Deleanu are ‘the only two documents from the first years of the Austrian occupation written by Romanians’¹⁹⁹ is anachronistic or at least far-fetched: it is open to question which similarity between the Moldavian boyar and the Galicia-based Transylvanian jurist is the most striking, their mother tongue or rather their Viennese education? Budai-Deleanu explicitly states his sense of belonging when discussing the Moldavians: “the time they have been under the lenient Austrian government has been too short [for them] to really benefit from our customs”²⁰⁰ ‘They’ are the Moldavians; ‘we’ are the Austrians. Furthermore, a native or even an inhabitant of Bukovina Budai-Deleanu certainly was not. Hence his impressions are, like Splény’s, those of an outsider - hetero-images instead of auto-images.

For the first time, a more detailed picture of the famously diverse population of Bukovina emerged. Budai-Deleanu estimated the entire number of village communities at 300 and the total number of inhabitants at 190 to 200 thousand: Moldavians, Rusnyaks, Germans, Jews, Armenians, Greeks, Magyars, Lippovans and Gypsies.²⁰¹ Unlike Splény, he provided clarity on what (to him) ‘Moldavians’ actually were: they belonged to the Romanian or Vlach nation; more often, Budai-Deleanu referred to ‘Vlachs’ as a common denominator for ‘Romanians’: Moldavians were also considered to be Vlachs.²⁰² Next to this qualification, which rules out the possibility that to the author ‘Moldavian’ can be just any inhabitant of Moldavia, he was the first to give expression to two major pillars of the Romanian nationalist discourse in Bukovina, namely that Romanians were the historical majority in the province and that their number was decreasing.²⁰³

Whereas Budai-Deleanu criticised the local population like Splény and Balsch had done before him, his judgment was less harsh. He mainly blamed the catastrophic Ottoman influence for the character flaws he identified and, in line with his approach as referred to above, singled out the Moldavians as a separate group amidst the others:

With this mishmash of nations it is easy to assume little unity between the inhabitants and all kinds of customs or rather that no customs or character can be assigned to the Bukovinian occupants; in particular one should absolutely not look for virtues here; for what can be expected of a nation (even if one only takes the Moldavian nation into consideration), which

¹⁹⁹ ‘Memoriul lui Balș și Observațiile lui Budai-Deleanu sunt unicele două documente din primele două decenii ale stăpânirii austriece în Bucovina, ale căror autori sunt români (...)’, Grigorovici 1998, p. 430.

²⁰⁰ ‘Die Zeit die sie unter der milden österreichischen Regierung stehen, ist zu kurz, um etwas von unseren Sitten profetieren zu können’. Budai-Deleanu, Ion in Grigorovici 1998, p. 402 (Ab. 40).

²⁰¹ ‘Die ganze in beiläufig 300 grössern und kleinern wohnbaren Ortschaften befindliche Volksmenge besteht aus 190 bis 200 Tausend Seele verschiedener Nationen als: Moldauer, Russniaken, Deutsche, Juden, Armenier, Griechen, Ungarn, Lipowaner und Zigeuner.’ Ibid., pp. 378-79 (Ab.8).

²⁰² Ibid., pp. 380-82 (Ab. 10-13).

²⁰³ ‘Obwohl die Zahl der Moldeauer seit der Revindizierung sehr abgenommen weil viele von ihnen ihren alten Gebräuchen getreu sich nach Türkisch-Moldau begaben, kann man dennoch selbe für die Hauptvölkerschaft in dieser Provinz annehmen’. Ibid., p. 380 (Ab. 10).

*the prolonged despotism has oppressed like slaves, which has belonged here to one, there to another during the alternately frequent Russo-Turkish wars and has been ransacked and abused either by one or the other, which has never seen any good but all the bad, which has never experienced the act of a foreign nation as being kind and benevolent but always as brutal, barbarous and avaricious, what virtues I say can one expect from the Moldavian nation under these conditions?*²⁰⁴

When discussing the peasantry, Budai-Deleanu's 'nationality consciousness' seemed to disappear. Now, he referred to 'the Bukovinian people':

*(...) one can safely take the peasantry for altogether good-natured and placid, one can do anything with them and one would do them an injustice by blaming the Bukovinian people for everything that goes wrong in Bukovina. The prevalent vice one can justifiably charge them with to some extent is rustling. This is rampant here and every day such people are brought in.*²⁰⁵

Budai-Deleanu was certainly not the first observer to describe local usury practices. His report, however, contains exact descriptions of how the system worked and why the Jews of Bukovina were blamed for the poor living conditions it created. According to Budai-Deleanu, the boyars had moved to Turkish Moldavia and had leased their domains to 'private individuals' in a way that was 'not only disadvantageous to the highest treasury, but also to the contributing people'.²⁰⁶

The leaseholders keep Jewish innkeepers and propination lessees everywhere in Bukovina (in defiance of the ban); however, in order to evade the law, they award the contracts to the Jew on a foreign, Christian name, for only the Jew notoriously masters the skill to make perfectly clear to those who do not know how to calculate that the entire reason for being of the manor is to make sure that the peasants booze more from day to day, from year to year. (...). In case a leaseholder runs out of compulsory labour days and he really needs a few hundred, he turns

²⁰⁴ "Bei diesem Mischmasch der Nationen ist auch leicht zu vermuten, dass wenig Einigkeit zwischen den Inwohnern herrsche und dass allerlei Sitten allda zu finden seien oder besser zu sagen gar keine herrschende Sitten und Charakter der Bukowiner Insassen zu bestimmen sein; besonders aber Tugenden darf man hier gar nicht suchen; denn was kann man von einer Nation (wenn man auch die moldauische selbst betrachtet) erwarten, welche der langwierige Despotismus unter die Klasse der Sklawen niedergedrückt, welche bei den abwechselnden häufigen russisch-türkischen Kriegen bald diesem, bald jenem zugehörte und entweder von diesem, oder von jenem ausgeplündert und misshandelt wurde, nie etwas gutes, wohl aber alles schlechte sah, die Handlung einer fremden Nation gegen sich nie mild und wohlthätig, sondern allezeit grausam, barbarisch und habsichtig empfand, was für Tugenden, sage ich, kann man in dieser Voraussetzung von der moldauischen Nation erwarten?" Ibid., pp. 400-402 (Ab. 40).

²⁰⁵ "Bei allen diesen kann man es als eine gewisse Sache annehmen, dass das Landvolk überhaupt gutmütig und ruhig sei, mit welchem man alles machen kann, und man tut ihm sehr Unrecht, wenn man alles, was in der Bukowina schlecht geschieht, dem Bukowiner Volke zumutet. Sein herrschendes Laster, was man ihm mit einigem Rechte vorwerfen kann, ist das Viehstehlen; dieses ist hier allgemein und tagtäglich werden hier solche Leute eingeführt". Ibid., p. 404 (Ab. 43).

²⁰⁶ "Die Bojarengüter aber, weil diese sich nach der türkischen Moldau begeben haben, werden denen Privatleuten verpachtet; eigentlich diese Pachtungen sind es, welche nicht nur dem höchsten Aerario, sondern auch dem contribuierendem Volke sehr nachteilig sind". Ibid., p. 416 (Ab. 52).

*to his Jewish lessee; the latter must hand in his specification of subjects still owing for spirits and cash in these debts.*²⁰⁷

Although Budai-Deleanu's comments clearly indicate the ways in which the boyars managed to use the services of Jewish usurers to subdue the peasantry, it was only Jews who were blamed for the results thereof: "Woe the land where the Jews gain the upper hand!"²⁰⁸ This partial blindness would prove to be a recurring phenomenon in the Romanian nationalist and anti-Semitic discourse.

Even more inconvenient for advocates of Romanian nationalism is the criticism Budai-Deleanu saved for the state of affairs within the Orthodox Church. Bishop Vlahovici's knowledge was said 'not to have exceeded that of an Orthodox village priest, for episcopal dignity had made him loftier, but not more learned'.²⁰⁹ The education of new clerics seemed marred by corruption, their admittance decided upon 'by the gifts they brought rather than their skills and good conduct'.²¹⁰ Interestingly, it is the entire chapter on the conditions within the Orthodox Church of Bukovina which was omitted when Bogdan-Duică published the first translation of Budai-Deleanu's work in 'Gazeta Bucovinei' in 1894. The harsh criticism it contained was most likely ill-fitting to the editors at the time; after all, 'Gazeta Bucovinei' was the party organ of the Romanian National Party.²¹¹

Had Budai-Deleanu saved his criticism for the local nobility and the clergy, his reports just might have reached the Imperial authorities. After all, many reports and complaints were sent to Vienna and were apparently read with interest.²¹² The fact that he not so much found fault with Austrian legislation as with its local implementation implicitly incriminated his own employers, the responsible authorities in Lemberg:

²⁰⁷ "Die Pächter halten überall in der Bukowina (ohngeachtet allen Verbot) jüdische Schenker und Propinationspächter; um aber das Gesetz zu eludieren, geben sie die Contracte dem Juden auf einen fremden, christlichen namen, da nur der Jude bekanntermassen mehr Geschicklichkeit besitzt, einen der seine Rechnungskunst nicht versteht, sonnenklar begreiflich zu machen, dass der ganze Nutzen einer Grundherrschaft darin bestehe, wenn die Bauern von Tag zu Tag und von Jahr zu Jahr immer mehr und mehr saufen. (...) Wenn nun dem Pächter die Robotstage ausgehen und er notwendig ein Paar Hundert braucht, so wendet er sich zu seinem jüdischen Arendator; dieser muss seine Spezifikation der Untertanen, welche für Getränke schuldig geblieben, eingeben, und bei denselben um die Eintreibung dieser Schulden einkommen". Ibid., p. 418 (Ab. 53).

²⁰⁸ "Wehe dem Lande, wo die Juden überhand nehmen!" Ibid., p. 390 (Ab. 24/25).

²⁰⁹ "Seine Kenntnisse erstrecken sich auch heutzutage nicht weiter, als eines griechisch nicht unierten Dorfpopen, denn die Bischofswürde hat ihn nur stolzer, aber nicht gelehrter gemacht". Ibid., p. 420 (Ab. 56).

²¹⁰ "(...) bei der Aufnahme der Alumnen wird selten auf gute Conduite und Geschicklichkeit, sondern bloss auf Geschenke gesehen". Ibid., p. 422 (Ab. 59)

²¹¹ Grigorovici 1998, p. 374.

²¹² Turczynski, Emanuel, *Geschichte der Bukowina in der Neuzeit: Zur Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte einer mitteleuropäisch geprägten Landschaft*, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 1993, p. 61.

*Generally, one can state with a clear conscience: the best and most lenient laws of the Austrian government do not serve to advance the common good in this land, but rather to corrupt and subdue the inhabitants!*²¹³

For this reason alone, the Lemberg Gubernium may have prevented Budai-Deleanu from forwarding his report to Vienna. Yet Budai-Deleanu went as far as to rebuke the central authorities for their appointments to the Bukovinian judiciary and lamented that ‘the positions had been filled by the quaintest people right from the start, [by] worthless individuals, sottish good-for-nothings, carpenter assistants’, and that ‘even lackeys had been sent and appointed to Bukovina as presidents, assessors and chancellors’.²¹⁴ Certainly, no one in Lemberg would have wanted to take the responsibility for sending this kind of analysis to the ‘lenient Austrian government’: to prescribe remedies for the persistent wayward ways of local elites was one thing, to snub instructions given on behalf of His Apostolic Majesty was quite another.

Budai-Deleanu’s comments proved to be a source of inspiration for Romanian nationalists: not only did he confirm their notion of being the historical majority population, he also acknowledged the massive influx of Ruthenian-speaking immigrants and the problems attributed to Jewish usurers. On top of that, he clearly linked Moldavians and Vlachs as members of the same ethnic group. The timing of the resurfacing of his writing in 1868 was even more convenient, since the nationalist debate was rapidly gaining ground. As indicated above, not all characteristics of the report were equally applicable within this context, the most obvious evidence being the mentioned omission of the sections on the Orthodox Church, but not only this: the fact that Budai-Deleanu saw himself as Austrian and the clear way in which he described how Romanian-speaking boyars eagerly invoked the services of usurers fitted the nationalist agenda to a much lesser degree.

3.3.2 Writings with an Ideological Agenda

Hermann Ignaz Bidermann: *Die Bukowina unter österreichischer Verwaltung 1775-1875*

By stating ‘We only wanted to highlight part of the successes and the apparent run of events through facts, which in turn explain the gratitude with which the commemorating population these days solemnises the centenary of the country’s linkage with Austria’,²¹⁵ legal historian

²¹³ “Überhaupt kann man mit gutem Gewissen behaupten; die besten und gelindesten Gesetze der österreichischen Regierung dienen hierlands nicht um das allgemeine Beste zu befördern, sondern viel mehr zum allgemeinen Verderbnisse und Unterdrückung der Inwohner!” Budai-Deleanu, Ion in Grigorovici 1998, p. 408 (Ab. 47).

²¹⁴ “Aber zum Unglück wurde diese Stellen gleich vom Anfang an mit den bizarsten Leuten besetzt. Kassierte personen, versoffene Taugenichts, Tischlergesellen, ja sogar Livréebedienten wurden nach der Bukowina als Vorsteher, Besitzer, Kanzelisten etc., geschickt und angestellt”. Ibid., p. 408 (Ab. 48).

²¹⁵ ‘Wir wollten bloß einen Theil der Erfolge und den äußerlichen Verlauf durch Thatsachen markiren, aus welche die Wärme der Dankesempfindung sich erklärt, womit in diesen Tagen die ihrer eingedenke Bevölkerung der Bukowina die Feier der hundertjährigen Verbindung des Landes mit Oesterreich begeht’. Bidermann,

Hermann Ignaz Bidermann completed his 'Bukovina under Austrian Administration 1775-1875'. By 1875, many of the conditions in Bukovina described by the first Austrian envoys had changed dramatically: the aftermath of the 1848 revolutions had accelerated the process of Bukovinian disengagement from Galicia and had eventually led to independent crownland status. Immigration had continued and urbanisation had taken root, especially in Czernowitz and to a lesser extent in the towns of Suczawa and Radautz. National consciousness among the elites of Romanian and Ruthenian speakers was on the rise and was to be enhanced by the founding of the Franz Joseph University in 1875. Wallachia and Moldavia had merged and were about to be recognised as an independent nation, thus encouraging Romanian nationalists in both the Principalities and in Bukovina to contest the Austrian occupation of Northern Moldavia with renewed energy. The centenary celebrations, including the inauguration of the university, raised controversies in different intellectual circles. In addition to Bidermann, the renowned statistician Adolf Ficker published his 'Centenary of the Unification of Bukovina with Austria'.²¹⁶ These complacent works, containing nothing but praise for the Habsburg achievements, provoked an anonymously published reaction from the Romanian side by politician and publicist Mihail Kogălniceanu, entitled 'The Theft of Bukovina'.²¹⁷ Moreover, the correspondence between Chancellor Kaunitz, Internuntius Thugut and the High Porte regarding the process of the Austrian annexation of Bukovina was published in both Romanian and French. The booklet was immediately forbidden in Bukovina, which tarnished the festivities.²¹⁸ According to Nistor, the preparation of the festivities had taken place without the participation of even one Romanian boyar, while the inauguration of the university was accompanied by provocative speeches like the one by the dean of the law faculty, Frederic Schuler Libloy, who argued that 'Romanians had not contributed one bit to the progress of science and should be glad to be enabled to receive now what they could not produce themselves'.²¹⁹

Not only were the publications by Bidermann and Ficker the first works for a larger audience dealing with Austrian Bukovina, they also specifically aimed at glorifying the Austrian achievements on the occasion of an anniversary which in the eyes of Romanian nationalists was no reason to celebrate to begin with. Adding insult to injury, Bidermann challenged several pillars of the Romanian nationalist discourse: he quoted Bukovina's second military commander, Splény's successor Enzenberg, who had estimated the number of 'true Moldavian' families to be only 6000 out of 23,000 at the time and had claimed that most boyar families were not of Romanian/Moldavian descent.²²⁰ Furthermore, Bidermann rejected the notion that the Romanians/Moldavians had settled in 'empty territory'.²²¹ As for the

Hermann Ignaz, *Die Bukowina unter österreichischer Verwaltung 1775-1875*, Selbstverlag des Verfassers, Wien 1875, p. 115.

²¹⁶ *Hundertjahrfeier der Vereinigung der Bukowina mit Österreich*.

²¹⁷ *Răpirea Bucovinei*.

²¹⁸ Hofbauer, Hannes, Bukowina 1774 bis 1919: Österreichs Osterweiterung, in: Cordon, Cecile and Kusdat, Helmut (ed.), *An der Zeiten Ränder: Czernowitz und die Bukowina: Geschichte, Literatur, Verfolgung, Exil*, Theodor Kramer Gesellschaft, Vienna 2002, pp. 18-19.

²¹⁹ Nistor 1991, p. 216.

²²⁰ Bidermann 1875, p. 61.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

alleged influx of Ruthenians, he pointed out how Enzenberg had not accommodated new immigrants from Galicia and had demanded a written declaration from the Galician landowner that the individual in question had indeed been free to go and he stipulated that in 1804, the area between Dniester, Sereth en Czeremosch was already inhabited by Ruthenians.²²² Contrary to Romanian nationalist assertions that ‘Ruthenians’ and ‘Hutsuls’ were separate tribes, Bidermann saw them as one.²²³ Reactions like the one by Kogălniceanu were hence to be expected. Criticism was also passed within Austrian circles, though. Julius Platter, whose study on usury in Bukovina - to be discussed below - was to provide anti-Semites with useful ammunition, asserted that books like Bidermann’s and Ficker’s painted a far too rosy picture of the state of affairs in the crownland.²²⁴

Karl Emil Franzos: *Aus Halb-Asien. Kulturbilder aus Galizien, der Bukowina, Südrussland und Rumänien*

Novelist and journalist Karl Emil Franzos (1848-1904) is one of the most frequently quoted sources on Austrian Bukovina and a key figure in contemporary images of the crownland. Born of Jewish parentage in Podolia, he spent his early years in Galicia, attended the Czernowitz gymnasium and studied law in Vienna and Graz before becoming a journalist and a travel writer.²²⁵ He was forced to abandon a career in administration because of his controversial membership of a German-nationalist student association advocating the unification of Austria and Germany.²²⁶ In spite of his Jewish background and his Galician birthplace, Franzos was raised a ‘cultural German’.²²⁷ His firm belief in the beneficial influences of German culture in Eastern Europe was not so much based on a settled conviction of German superiority per se, but on that of the role model of western culture in general. At the same time, though, his colonial approach²²⁸ towards those whose morals he tried to elevate encountered understandable resistance, not in the least with Romanian nationalists, when he published his ‘Semi-Asia: Cultural Images from Galicia, Bukovina, Southern Russia and Romania’ in 1876:

To awaken the cultural ambition of those nations, to be the stick for their national culture to twine up to - that is the task of Germanity in the East. If this has only been realised to a limited extent so far, those nations are to blame themselves. They have allowed only limited access to western education, to French and German, and have not properly processed that limited amount; it has not become second nature to them and therefore is not much more than the

²²² Ibid., p. 66.

²²³ Ibid. p. 67.

²²⁴ Platter, Julius, *Der Wucher in der Bukowina*, Fischer, Jena 1878, p. 37.

²²⁵ The details of Franzos’ biography are taken from the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th ed. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1910-1911.

²²⁶ Bentz, Oliver, *Franzos, Emil: Chronist einer verlorenen Welt*, Wiener Zeitung, 30 January 2004.

²²⁷ Pollack, Martin, *Nach Galizien : von Chassiden, Huzulen, Polen und Rutheniann : eine imaginäre Reise durch die verschwundene Welt Ostgaliziens und der Bukowina*, Christian Brandstätter, Wien/München 1984, p. 140.

²²⁸ Corbea-Hoisie 2004, p. 36.

*varnish to cover indigenous barbarity. Hard work should have been part of a productive adoption [of western culture] and unfortunately hard work is apparently the eighth cardinal sin to the Pole and the Romanian.*²²⁹

Within the scope of this study, a number of points should be made on Franzos' travel accounts, which were first published in the Austrian *Neue Freie Presse* between 1874 and 1876, then appeared in two volumes to be reprinted numerous times and translated into 15 languages,²³⁰ thus making it the first internationally accessible publication dealing with Bukovina. As said, Franzos was by no means the unbiased traveller, eager to gain new insights into a world yet unknown: his liberal, Josephinist way of thinking had made him a staunch defender of the assimilation of the Jews into German culture, of freedom for Ruthenian-speaking farmers (in Galicia) as well as a harsh critic of Romanian-speaking boyars and orthodox Jews. His travel accounts merely served to illustrate how in his view much remained to be done and continue to provoke (even post-communist) Romanian historians, who reproached Franzos for utterly failing to understand the national aspirations of the nationalities of the Dual Monarchy.²³¹ The fact that 'Semi-Asia' was often reprinted reveals the sustained interest for Franzos' travels and his views. Franzos himself updated his book regularly and this way provides the reader with fascinating observations of the changes in Bukovina between 1876 and 1901. At times it requires careful simultaneous reading of different editions to disclose the author's altered perspective: in 1901, Franzos remarked that 'the brilliant idea of the Monarch to turn Austria into a German civic society had only materialised to some degree in Bukovina'.²³² 'To some degree' (*einigermaßen*) had been tellingly absent in the earlier editions. More often however, Franzos ventilated the negative developments he observes more explicitly, for example in relation to the results of Austrian ethnic policies:

*The 'Era of Reconciliation', almost continuously dominating from 1879 onwards, has caused a discord between the nations everywhere, unheard of even in this unfortunate state, the worst being in Galicia and Bukovina (...) Still the situation in Bukovina is somewhat better, but there as well the 'Reconciliation' already boasts rather alarming successes. Already, Romanians and Ruthenians clash; Germanity, hitherto the mediatory element, is now feuded by both sides, the Poles are gaining ground and already the religious denominations are at loggerheads in the same little land that only in 1876 was an Eldorado of unconditional tolerance. And with all the German university in Czernowitz might have meant for the entire East, it is currently treated like an orphan by the government and, scantily equipped, carves out a miserable existence.*²³³

²²⁹ Franzos, Karl Emil, *Aus Halb-Asien. Kulturbilder aus Galizien, der Bukowina, Südrussland und Rumänien*, Vol. I, Concordia, Berlin 1901, p. XXI.

²³⁰ Erdheim, Claudia, *Karl Emil Franzos 'Aus Halb-Asien' - Zum 100. Todestag des polnisch-österreichischen Schriftstellers*, in: *Illustrierte Neue Welt*, 2004, 8/9, Wien.

²³¹ Grigoroviță, Mircea, *Din istoria colonizării Bucovinei*, Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, Bucharest 1996, pp. 57-73.

²³² "(...) ist der geniale Gedanke des Monarchen, aus Österreich einen deutschen Culturstaat zu machen, nur in der Bukowina zur einigermaßen zur That geworden". Franzos 1901, p. 227.

²³³ Die seit 1879 fast ununterbrochen herrschende 'Versöhnungs'-Ära hat überall einen selbst in diesem unglücklichen Staate unerhörten Hader der Nationalitäten herbeigeführt, mit den schlimmsten auch in Galizien

Franzos' views on Bukovinian multi-ethnic culture and its development seem to be contradictory at times, probably caused by inconsistent editorial work on the different editions of 'Semi-Asia'. Notwithstanding his expectation that 'all brooks of different national cultures and backwardness (*Unkultur*) would eventually flow into one stream without anyone's guessing its former variety of colours',²³⁴ he concluded that the reason for the harmonious coexistence of different religions and nationalities was the mere fact that none of them was dominant enough to oppress the others.²³⁵ Towards the end of his life, Franzos became bitterly disappointed with the unifying and harmonising forces of German culture in 'Semi-Asia', as well as with the progress of Jewish assimilation into that same culture. Not only did the assimilation failure result from the rigid customs in the Jewish quarters and the adverse attitude of the non-Jewish environment,²³⁶ but also, according to Franzos, from the mitigation of German cultural influences in Galicia and Bukovina which had pushed the cultural orientation of Jews towards Zionism: whereas the choice between 'remaining a Jew' or 'becoming a German' was easy since their own 'corrupted slang' (he meant Yiddish) was close to German and obtaining 'a language of culture' was attractive, a choice between 'remaining a Jew' or 'becoming a Romanian or a Pole', would probably result in 'remaining a Jew'.²³⁷ Nevertheless, Viennese authorities were eager to invoke Franzos' dismissal of a Jewish national identity when the government refused to officially recognise that identity in 1911, reasoning along the lines that 'the government cannot be requested to acknowledge a Jewish identity when even Jews themselves oppose it'.²³⁸ Franzos' later disillusion with Jewish integration as well as the question why he should suddenly figure as a representative of Jewish nationalism were conveniently ignored.

und der Bukowina. (...) Noch ist in der Bukowina die Sachlage etwas besser, aber auch dort hat die 'Versöhnung' bereits recht bedenkliche Erfolge aufzuweisen. Schon stehen Rumänen und Rutheniann einander feindlich gegenüber; das Deutschtum, bisher das vermittelnde Element, wird nun von beiden Seiten befehdet, das Polentum gewinnt an Einfluß und schon liegen sich in demselben Ländchen, das noch 1876 ein Eldorado der unbedingten Toleranz gewesen, die Konfessionen in den Haaren. Und was hätte die deutsche Universität Czernowitz für den gesamten Osten bedeuten können, während sie jetzt von der Regierung als Stiefkind betrachtet und auf das kärglichste ausgestattet, ein armseliges Dasein fristet!' Ibid., p. XXXII- XXXIII.

²³⁴ Ibid., p. 265.

²³⁵ Ibid., p. 268.

²³⁶ Bentz 2004

²³⁷ Franzos 1901, pp. XXXVIII-XXXIX.

²³⁸ When defending Vienna's refusal to recognise Jews as a nationality, Governor Regner von Bleyleben quoted Franzos in the provincial Diet in 1911: '(...) der Ihnen doch gewiß nahe steht und der noch vor 30 Jahren folgendes geschrieben hat: 'Die jüdische Nation im Osten ist - ich muß es zu meiner Schande gestehen - noch eine eigene Nation mit ihren eigenen Sitten, Sprache und Gebräuchen'. Und da wünschen Sie, daß diese Regierung diesen von Juden selbst als schmachvoll bezeichneten Zustand petrifiziere?' Regner von Bleyleben, Oktavian (2002). *Meine Zeit als Landespräsident der Bukowina*. , in: *An der Zeiten Ränder: Czernowitz und die Bukowina: Geschichte, Literatur, Verfolgung, Exil*, C. Cordon, Helmut Kusdat. Wien, Theodor Kramer Gesellschaft: 23-34 (p. 25); see also Part II, 3.6: Jewish Nationalism in Bukovina.

A true mirror image of Franzos' work is Nicolae Iorga's 'The Romanian People in Bukovina',²³⁹ first published in 1905 and reprinted together with its twin 'The Romanian People in Bessarabia' in 2006. Strikingly, the reprinted edition lacks the necessary preface or introduction to the author's xenophobic and anti-Semitic ramblings and therewith aptly illustrates the return to prewar nationalist historiography which can regularly be observed in post-communist Central Eastern Europe. Although Iorga experts disagree on the intensity of his anti-Semitism,²⁴⁰ his views on the Romanian nation left no room for multi-ethnicity.²⁴¹

The Romanian historian Iorga is a fitting example of the impossible balancing act between scholarly activity and political activism. Author of more than 1,200 books and 20,000 articles, Iorga was one of the most prolific scholars of all time and a member of the Romanian, French, Yugoslav, and Polish academies. In addition, he was deeply involved in the political life of Romania throughout the first four decades of the twentieth century, serving as a member of Parliament, as President of the interwar National Assembly, as minister, and briefly (1931-32) as Prime Minister. He was a co-founder (in 1910) of the Democratic Nationalist Party. As a Romanian citizen he had no official status in Austrian Bukovina, but his activities within the Bucharest-based Cultural League (*Liga Culturală*, established in January 1891 by Bucharest students to draw attention to what they perceived as actions taken by the Habsburg Monarchy against the Romanians living within its boundaries) intensified when the inter-ethnic Freethinking Alliance won the Bukovinian Diet elections in 1904 and thus formed a direct threat to local Romanian nationalist activism.²⁴²

'The Romanian People in Bukovina' is presented like a travel account, a pilgrimage even, undertaken by Iorga without a clear purpose. The wandering observer finds a land of natural beauty and eternal Romanian heritage, unfortunately spoiled by foreign elements and corrupting governance:

In Solca they say the Jew is the master, some hundred Jews rule over several thousands of Christians. (...) The Austrian breeding which brought about class consciousness, state

²³⁹ Iorga, Nicolae, *Neamul românesc din Bucovina*, Minerva/Semne, Bucharest 1905/2006.

²⁴⁰ See Nagy-Talavera, Nicholas M., *Nicolae Iorga: A Biography*, Center for Romanian Studies, Iași/Portland 1998, p. 270, and Oldson, William O. *The Historical and Nationalistic Thought of Nicolae Iorga*, Columbia University Press, New York 1973, p. 85. The authors mainly focused on the question whether Iorga had been an 'assimilationist' and hence would allow Jews the status of 'true Romanians' with Oldson being the more critical in this respect.

²⁴¹ Oldson 1973, p. 56: 'At one time, he maintains that all foreigners mean ill for Romania, that not one - and there he names the Russians, Germans, and Jews - wishes the Romanians well. On other occasions he says that nationalistic politics, and hence Romanian nationalism in general, should have a deep respect for other nations. (...) As with so much of what Iorga says, though, I believe that Iorga's initial sentiment of fear and distrust of foreigners remains closer to his true beliefs'.

²⁴² Corbea-Hoisie, Andrei, *Urbane Kohabitation in Czernowitz als Modell einer gespannten Multikulturalität*, in: *Neohelicon*, 1996, XXIII (1), 77-94, pp. 81-82.

*fetishism and the love for the material goods of life has marked the soul. One does not see any confidence in the people, in Romanianness as a whole, in another future.*²⁴³

As Corbea-Hoișie emphasised, the traveler only comes across ‘beautiful’, ‘tall’, ‘broad-shouldered’ Romanians and ‘big’, ‘fat’, ‘long-nosed’ Jews with a ‘calculating’ and ‘pompous’ pace.²⁴⁴ His alleged coalition with the Jews makes the Habsburg Emperor the anti-Christ in person.²⁴⁵ Direct personal attacks are reserved for Aurel Onciul, the Romanian front runner of the Freethinking Alliance, and his ‘infamous, unheard-of mockeries,’²⁴⁶ as well as for the latter’s Ruthenian counterpart Stepan Smal’-Stocky, ‘the Galician agitator and baptised Jew, more agitator than professor’.²⁴⁷

Iorga’s ‘travel accounts’ cannot possibly serve to provide reliable information on the ethno-national relations and the general status quo in multi-ethnic Bukovina: they are too obviously a political pamphlet. In spite of the questionable assertion by Iorga biographer Nagy-Talavera that ‘Iorga was first and foremost a historian (...) and had good instincts and great talent to recreate the event, but always on the basis of documents and facts’,²⁴⁸ therewith obviously ignoring how amply documents and facts can be manipulated, it is safe to conclude with Hobsbawm²⁴⁹ that political agendas produce ramshackle historiography. Still, Iorga was a prominent voice in the increasingly bitter intra-national disputes in and about Bukovina as well as a headache for the Austrian authorities. His international reputation as a scholar certainly enhanced the persuasiveness of anti-Semitism and indigeneity theories such as the one about the allegedly Slavicised Bukovinian Romanians who only needed to be ‘reminded’ of their Romanian ancestry.²⁵⁰ His work was to become very influential in the Romanian nationalist propaganda of the 1920s and 1930s.

²⁴³ “În Solca va să zică stăpîn e Evreul, cei vre-o sută de Evreî aû în mîna lor cele cîteva miî de creștinî. (...) Creșterea austriacă, din care iese spirit de clasă, fetișism față de Stat, iubirea bunurilor materiale ale vieții, aceasta și-a pus pecetea pe suflet. Încrederea în popor, în Romînimea toată, în alt viitor, nu se vede”. Iorga 1905/2006, pp. 78 and 120.

²⁴⁴ Corbea-Hoișie 1996, pp. 86-87.

²⁴⁵ Corbea-Hoișie, Andrei, *Czernowitzer Geschichten - Über eine städtische Kultur in Mitteleuropa*, Böhlau, Wien, Köln, Weimar, 2003, p. 112.

²⁴⁶ Iorga 1905/2006, pp. 57-58.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 211

²⁴⁸ Nagy-Taravella 1998, p. 517.

²⁴⁹ Hobsbawm, Eric J, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1990: ‘(...) I cannot but add that no serious historian of nations and nationalism can be a committed political nationalist, except in the sense in which believers in the literal truth of the Scriptures, while unable to make contributions to evolutionary theory, are not precluded from making contributions to archaeology and Semitic philology. Nationalism requires too much belief in what is patently not so.’ p 12.

²⁵⁰ Iorga 1905/2006, p. 228: ‘Nicî el nu știe românește. Dar, șînd așa pe gînduri, cu ochîi aceia buni, duioși, cari ni pătrund, el îșî aduce aminte. [‘He does not know Romanian either. But, thus rapt in thought, with those good, gentle eyes penetrating us, he *remembers*’].

Marie Mischler: *Soziale und wirtschaftliche Skizzen aus der Bukowina* and Julius Platter: *Der Wucher in der Bukowina*)

Two other publications with a prominent role for the Jewish population of Bukovina are the social-economic analyses by Julius Platter, 'Usury in Bukovina' from 1878²⁵¹ and by Marie Mischler, 'Social and Economic sketches from Bukovina' from 1893.²⁵² The economist Platter (1844-1923) was no stranger to Bukovina, where he had taught at the Franz Joseph University. Platter had clear persuasions with regard to social justice and staunchly defended social reform from above, the responsibilities of the property-owning class and the right to fair wages. His work, including a review of Marx' 'Das Kapital', called the attention of Engels to Platter's work.²⁵³ Mischler had similar academic affiliations through her husband, Ernst Mischler, a renowned statistician who taught at the Franz Joseph University from 1888 to 1891 and who in 1890 established the Regional Statistic Authority of the Bukovina Duchy.²⁵⁴

Both works are refreshing in the sense that they distanced themselves from the Austrian 'cultural mission' and elaborated on the actual situation *in situ*, more often than not passing implicit and sobering criticism on the efforts made by the central authorities. Platter pointed out how the situation of the peasants had not improved over the last hundred years. Czernowitz was a dirty city with half-naked children playing in its streets, servants were seldom seen, there was no industry to speak of and for reasons unknown to the author, the new railroad did not reach the larger market towns of Sereth, Radautz and Suczawa, thus depriving them of trade opportunities.²⁵⁵ Mischler noted that all towns were in a backward condition, without gaslight or a sewerage system. Snow was not being removed in the winter. She blamed the absence of a healthy middle class on the lack of an organic urbanisation of the rural population and called upon the authorities to create more favourable conditions to advance such development.²⁵⁶

Not only were Platter and Mischler the first authors to address social issues in Bukovina, they also proved to be the first exponents of 'German nationalism' in the Bukovinian context. Whereas 'Austrians' like Bidermann and Franzos had exclusively invoked the German language and culture as vehicles to civilise the 'barbarians', Platter's and especially Mischler's references to things 'German' specifically implied an ethnic component. Platter noted how Germans could be recognised by their 'decent presentation', how many alleged Germans were in fact Galicians who had only a German name to show for their Germanness and were inclined to speak French or Polish rather than German at home. Jews, he claimed,

²⁵¹ Platter, Julius, *Der Wucher in der Bukowina*, Fischer Jena 1878.

²⁵² Mischler, Marie, *Soziale und wirtschaftliche Skizzen aus der Bukowina*, Weiß Wien/Leipzig 1893.

²⁵³ Obermayer-Marnach, Eva (ed), *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexicon 1815-1950*, VIII. Band, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 1983.

²⁵⁴ Obermayer-Marnach, Eva (ed), *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexicon 1815-1950*, VI. Band, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 1975.

²⁵⁵ Platter 1878, pp. 38-40.

²⁵⁶ Mischler 1893, pp. 10-11.

‘could not wash away their nationality with baptismal water, even when their parents had already been christened and had raised their children to be Christians’ and not many ‘real Germans’ were to remain.²⁵⁷ Mischler observed how immigrated Germans ‘regrettably dwindled away due to interaction, mixed marriages and the lack of national cohesion, that they turned into ‘nationless’ people, speaking two, three or even four languages provided they had not simply been Polonised at an earlier stage’. She added that there was hardly a more German province among the mixed-language provinces in Austria than Bukovina and acknowledged the contribution by the forceful Jewish population in this respect ‘to some extent’.²⁵⁸ Strikingly, both Platter and Mischler emphasised the large and visible Polish presence in Bukovina in a time when the Polish influence in the now independent crownland had already significantly decreased. Mischler even observed a growing Polish influence by means of land purchases by the Polish.²⁵⁹

These impressions may have resulted from the fact that both authors were members of urban communities and probably were well-connected to German Roman-Catholics, circles with a traditionally strong Polish presence. Additionally, in Platter’s case the frustration of the academic surfaced in his struggle with ethno-national qualifications: while he claimed that Romanians and Ruthenians could easily be identified as such by their last names - which was certainly not correct - Jews could not always be distinguished from (ethnic) Germans since they almost invariably bore German family names.²⁶⁰

Platter and Mischler embody two opposite factions of German nationalism: Platter and his remarks on ‘baptismal water’ indicate a segregationist vision, aiming at racial purity, whereas Mischler showed an assimilationist tendency in which Jews were part of the German nation. It should be stressed that this does not place Mischler automatically in Franzos’ league, the difference between them being that Franzos advocated assimilation of Jews into the German *cultural* community while Mischler referred to the German ‘tribe’. Platter might not have seen a place for Jews within the German ‘tribe’, yet he did see a future of ‘real citizenship’ for them in Europe, albeit only on the basis of complete assimilation:

*Only truly higher education will denationalise the Jew completely, it will turn him into a true citizen, into a true member of European society in the way we can most clearly observe through countless examples in Western-European countries (that is, in Europe proper), especially in France.*²⁶¹

Corbea-Hoişie has characterised both Platter and Mischler as writing ‘anti-Semitic slanted narratives’ (*antisemitisch geprägte Schilderungen*),²⁶² but this portrayal fits only Platter and

²⁵⁷ Platter 1878, p. 41.

²⁵⁸ Mischler 1893, p. 6.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 7.

²⁶⁰ Platter 1878, p. 43.

²⁶¹ Ibid., p. 47.

²⁶² Corbea-Hoişie 1996, p. 88.

then merely to a certain degree. Unlike nationalists like the Romanian historian Iorga,²⁶³ Platter did not attack Jews as such, but addressed the problem of usury in Bukovina and stressed the prominent role of Jews in this field. Admittedly, he did not shy away from racial slur and derogatory statements when he claimed for instance that ‘Jews would never, or at least not any time soon, become farmers, since they loathed physical labour’.²⁶⁴ This aside, his views on assimilation were remarkably similar to those held by Franzos. Platter’s reference to Western-Europe as ‘Europe proper’ clearly recalled Franzos’ ‘Semi-Asia’ and in his final remarks Platter even quoted him:

*The peasant is inclined towards idleness and brandy. The townsfolk are inclined to prey upon their fellow man (unlimited greed without industriousness!) and on squandering and the Jew stuffs everything into his pocket. “Each country gets the Jews it deserves”, K.E. Franzos says. If this is true, and there is a lot to say for it - then everyone should draw his own conclusions with regard to our case.*²⁶⁵

Platter remained ambiguous in more ways than one: he did not always clearly distinguish between ‘Jews’ and ‘usurers’ and although his language on Jews was often racist and offensive, he did regard them as the most intelligent part of the Bukovinian population.²⁶⁶

Anti-Semitic activists quoting Platter’s observations later on usually painted the picture of an innocent, submissive peasantry trapped by the unscrupulous usurer. However, Platter himself placed the responsibility for the bad state of affairs firmly with the community, which did not seem inclined to assist its own members in time of need. The author failed to identify a community to begin with, but only saw a sum of individuals, no villages but mere collections of clay huts. He showed no understanding for the local tradition of lavishly celebrated births, weddings etc. when it was clear that the expenses could not be covered and was even more abhorred by party guests who ‘feasted and gormandised when they most certainly knew that, through their stomachs, hearth and home of the host went into the usurer’s pocket’.²⁶⁷ Not only peasants borrowed irresponsibly, landowners did it too, some even to idly gamble fortunes away: secret gambling sessions organised by large landowners were always attended by several Jews (*ein oder zwei schmutzige Kaftanjuden*), ready to provide the necessary sums.²⁶⁸ Jews themselves, Platter asserted, simply did not indebt themselves for weddings and funerals.²⁶⁹ Platter’s disenchanting sketches of Bukovinian society may or may not have been

²⁶³ Iorga, Nicolae, *Neamul românesc din Bucovina*, Minerva/Semne, Bucharest 1905/2006).

²⁶⁴ Platter 1878, p. 46.

²⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 54, p. 195: This specific Franzos quote had not escaped Iorga’s attention either: “‘Fiecare țară are Evreii ce merită”, a zis cineva al cărui interes era să creadă astfel. “Fiecare țară se poartă cu Evreii săi cum merită ei”, trebuie să fie răspunsul. Cît merită însă această păcătoasă calicime leneșă, care spurcă țara pe care o locuiește?” [‘Each country has the Jews it deserves’ someone has said whose interest it was to believe as much. “Each country deals with the Jews the way they deserve to be dealt with”, the answer should be. What does that miserable, lazy poor lot, which desecrates the land, deserve?’ Iorga 1905/2006, p. 195.

²⁶⁶ Platter 1878, p. 46.

²⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 32.

²⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 35.

²⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 43.

accurate, yet the fact remains that there was an obviously dark side to the rosy images provided before by the likes of Bidermann and later, after the Dual Monarchy had disappeared, by nostalgically inclined German historians and Jewish memoirists.

In the introduction to her survey, Mischler pointed at an important feature of Bukovinian life for the educated newcomer: “The social stratum that might pay homage to the Westerner is small; on the other hand, the latter mostly comes entirely alien to the region and will not stay long. He mostly lives a ‘colonial life’ which withholds him from searching and finding gratification in the ado of society (...).²⁷⁰ Although Mischler was less explicit than *Bukowiner Rundschau*, which characterised Bukovina as a penal colony for Austrians five years later,²⁷¹ she clearly indicated that to Viennese intellectuals Bukovina was just a stopover on their way to new career opportunities. Her own life during the years in Czernowitz can therefore best be seen at that of today’s ‘expatriate spouse’. As she herself explained, her work was compiled of her own impressions enhanced by her husband’s economic and statistic overviews. This way of compiling data and personal experiences may have led to the rather awkward and unbalanced way Mischler structured her book: the first three chapters follow a traditional setup (Towns, Crafts, Trade) , followed by a fourth on usury and parasitism and a fifth on the life of Chassidic Jews. The usury chapter might have been inspired by the social urgency of the topic and the political prominence attached to it by Platter’s publication fifteen years earlier. The chapter on Chassidic Jews can only be explained by the author’s personal fascination with this exotic phenomenon and highlights the sometimes curious mixture of economic analysis, journalistic approach and travel account. Although there is one case in which Mischler’s observations have a slightly anti-Semitic ring to them,²⁷² she generally adopted a neutral tone in relation to the ethnicities in Bukovina and addressed one of the most notable features of Austrian Bukovina: the gap between rural and urban communities, not only in terms of development, but also in terms of ethnic composure. She noted that the majority of the rural population, Romanians and Ruthenians, were underrepresented in towns and cities, where Germans, Poles and Jews constituted the majority. In spite of the fact that the countryside grappled with overpopulation (causing fragmentation of arable farm land), migration to the urban centres failed to materialise and urban growth in Bukovina was due exclusively to immigration from beyond its borders. Countryside and cities showed an unbalanced growth: in the first century after Austrian occupation, cities grew tenfold, villages only threefold.²⁷³

Both Platter and Mischler have presented fascinating accounts, certainly from the descriptive point of view: they provided their readers with statistic and ethnographic information,

²⁷⁰ Mischler 1893, p. 2.

²⁷¹ ‘Die Strafcolonie’, *Bukowiner Rundschau*, 11.06.1898, p. 1.

²⁷² In the last chapter she noted: ‘During the big flood caused by the overflowing of the Prut banks in September 1889, which could rightfully be described as a catastrophe and which destroyed especially the lower situated Jewish quarters, I visited the threatened alleys and also entered a house in which the flood reached the threshold. The owner, a Chassidic Jew, approached me and, while I was still smitten with the devastation, tried to do business with me’. Mischler 1893, p. 121.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-5.

critically addressing neglect by the central government as well as social flaws within Bukovinian society. For this study, their value lies most of all in the connotative sphere of their publications, revealing not only contemporary shifts towards the national discourse and with, in some cases, racial and anti-Semitic implications, but above all their own struggles with the unclear and variable identifications of the local population.

3.4 Other Representations and Interpretations

Menachem Beir Șafran: *Die inneren kulturellen Verhältnisse in der Bukowina (1825-1861)*

With Bukovina becoming part of Greater-Romania (*România Mare*) after World War I and the collapse of the Habsburg Empire, historiography followed suit. As mentioned by Brubaker et al: “One problem is the dense entwining of history and nationalist politics. Historiographic debates have been ethnicised, and ethno-political struggles cast in historic terms, throughout East Central Europe, and beyond; historiographic and ethno-national fault lines have often coincided”.²⁷⁴ This ‘dense entwining’ could already be traced in the work of Iorga and remained consistent throughout the interwar/Greater-Romania period and has to some extent, as will be discussed further on, resumed after 1989.

An interesting example of historiography within the parameters of Romanian nationalism is presented by Menachem Beir Șafran from Bacău, who in 1939 defended his dissertation on the internal cultural relations in Bukovina between 1825 and 1861 in Basel.²⁷⁵ Having chosen this specific period in Bukovinian history in order to analyse the radical change in ethnic composition of the region during this time, Șafran has delivered a textbook example of the Romanian nationalist discourse, including its anachronisms, for instance when dealing with the situation in the 1830s:

*The available documents reveal to what extent the socially privileged made every effort at the Court in Vienna to obtain some personal benefits and how little they cared about the national interests of the Romanian part of the population. (...) at that time, ‘National Romanian’ and ‘enemy’ were synonyms in government circles.*²⁷⁶

Immigrants are blamed for squeezing out the Romanians from trade and handicraft, although the author does not specify how these immigrants had managed to succeed so smoothly.

²⁷⁴ Brubaker et al., 2006, p. 23.

²⁷⁵ Șafran 1939.

²⁷⁶ ‘Aus den vorhandenen Akten kann man ersehen, wie sehr sich die Sorgen der Sozial Höhergestellten um die Erlangung irgend einer persönlichen Begünstigung am Wiener Hofe drehten und wie wenig sie sich um die nationalen Interessen des rumänischen Volksteiles kümmerten. (...) Nationalrumäne und Feind waren damals den regierenden Kreisen gleichbedeutende Begriffe’. Ibid., pp. 42-43.

Aristocracy is said to have assimilated into the German circles.²⁷⁷ While the mixed populations of Bukovina had ‘lacked a unified cultural direction’, colonists had ‘flooded the country and deprived it of its purely Romanian character’.²⁷⁸ ‘The Romanians alone were the indigenous population and bearers of the historical and cultural traditions of this once Moldavian swathe of land’,²⁷⁹ while ‘based on its historical past and as the representative of a specific, Romanian nationality’, Bukovina had managed to achieve separation from Galicia and its political autonomy.²⁸⁰

To Șafran, the authentic Bukovinian is the Romanian peasant. As expressed in the quotations above, Bukovinian aristocracy is accused of squandering its Romanian heritage. Șafran emphasised that although in most parts of Austria farmers had still lived in medieval conditions, the situation in the eastern parts of the Empire had been downright deplorable.²⁸¹ The abolition of serfdom had been a great improvement on a moral level, but in reality the peasants’ position had only deteriorated since he was not given any arable land and credit facilities to bridge the difficult transition period had not been available. The deep distrust towards the boyars had resulted in a flat refusal to work for them, which in turn had provoked the boyars to recruit workforces from Galicia.²⁸² Șafran blamed the boyars for both the cultural deprivation of the peasant class and for the influx of ‘foreign’ immigrants taking over its jobs.

The author’s background make his views all the more fascinating: Șafran was the son of the Chief Rabbi of Bacău, Bezalel Șafran. His elder brother Alexandru was to become the youngest Chief Rabbi of Romania in 1940 and later, after being expelled by the communist regime, Chief Rabbi of Switzerland. His other brother Joseph was Chief Rabbi of Iași. Being of such prominent Jewish descent during a particularly violent anti-Semitic phase in Romanian history probably did not leave the author another option than to work within the discourse of contemporary Romanian nationalism. After having graduated at the Jewish Theological Academy in Vienna, Șafran had continued his studies of history, philosophy and religious history at the Vienna University, until in 1938 ‘continuation of his studies in Vienna proved to be impossible’, whereupon he had finished his dissertation in Basel.²⁸³ Although

²⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 138: ‘Das grosse Zuströmen der Kolonisten, welche die Rumänen vom Handel und Handwerk verdrängten, liessen keinen rumänischen Bürgerstand aufkommen. Der Adel, der gleichzeitig die intellektuelle Klasse bildete, assimilierte sich dem deutschen Milieu’.

²⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 183: ‘Dem Völkergemisch das die Bukowina bewohnte fehlte es an seiner einheitlichen kulturellen Richtung. Die Siedler hatten das Land mit fremden Elementen überschwemmt und ihm den rein rumänischen Charakter geraubt’.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 79: ‘In diesem wahren Sprachen- und Völkergemisch sind allein die Rumänen eine einheimische, bodenständige Bevölkerung und Träger der historischen und kulturellen Traditionen dieses ehemaligen moldauischen Landstriches’.

²⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 85: ‘Und nur auf Grund ihrer historischen vergangenheit und als Vertreterin einer besonderen, der rumänischen Nationalität, konnte die Bukowina im Jahre 1848/49 die Loslösung van Galizien anstreben und ihre politische Autonomie erwirken’.

²⁸¹ Ibid., p. 119.

²⁸² Ibid., pp. 134-35.

²⁸³ Ibid., p 207, curriculum vitae.

hardly any other data on the author's further endeavours are available apart from the fact that Romanian Chief Rabbi Alexandru Șafran is said to have saved his persecuted brothers during the war,²⁸⁴ it is remarkable how widely spread the publication of his doctoral thesis is: copies can still be found in libraries throughout Europe and the United States.²⁸⁵

Ion Nistor: *Istoria Bucovinei*

Before Ion Nistor finished his 'History of Bukovina',²⁸⁶ in the 1950s, he had been released from the communist Sighet prison after having served a five year sentence. His work on Bukovina was only published in 1991, but is so much in line with the thinking of Romanian nationalism before and during Greater-Romania that a classification within bibliographies on Bukovina from the 1950s (or even the 1990s) would feel contrived. Nistor was, like Iorga and others, much more a political activist than an unbiased historian. A Bukovina-born history professor and a member of the Romanian Academy from 1915, Nistor played a prominent political role after Bukovina had been united with Romania. He was elected rector of Cernăuți University from 1920 and was a cabinet minister in several governments between 1922 and 1940, serving his first term as Minister of State for Bukovina. Communist purges ended his career and eventually landed him in Sighet.²⁸⁷ As pointed out by Hausleitner, Nistor's 'History of Bukovina' did not fulfil the title's promise since Nistor only focused on Romanian activities and only marginally discussed the other nationalities - while regarding them as disruptive intruders.²⁸⁸ Just like Iorga's 'The Romanian People in Bukovina', Nistor's work was published in 1991 without any critical observations by the editors, in spite of its militant, xenophobic and anti-Semitic character.

Not surprisingly, Nistor advocated the traditional Romanian nationalist point of view which was by and large no different from that of his contemporary Iorga. 'History of Bukovina' provides a fine example of the intensified tensions between Romanian and Ruthenian nationalists. Centre stage of dissent was the Orthodox Church.²⁸⁹ Romanian nationalists claimed the Orthodox Church to be 'theirs', part of the Romanian national identity²⁹⁰ and dreamt, until the 1867 Compromise (*Ausgleich*) between Austria and Hungary rendered this impossible, of a secession from Dalmatia in order to establish a religious community of Transylvania and Bukovina, thus uniting all Romanian-speaking Orthodox within the Habsburg Empire. There were also financial matters to be considered: the Austrian government had secularised the possessions of the Orthodox monasteries in the Church Fund

²⁸⁴ *Nécrologie Alexandre Safran*, Le Monde, 31 July 2006.

²⁸⁵ Source: <http://www.worldcat.org>

²⁸⁶ Nistor, Ion, *Istoria Bucovinei*, Humanitas, Bucharest 1991.

²⁸⁷ Neagoe, Stelian, *Ion Nistor, un istoric pentru eternitatea românilor de pretutindeni*, Humanitas, Bucharest 1991, pp. V-XVII.

²⁸⁸ Hausleitner, Mariana, *Die Rumänisierung der Bukowina - Die Durchsetzung des nationalstaatlichen Anspruchs Grossrumäniens 1918-1944*, Verlag R.Oldenbourg, München 2001, p. 449.

²⁸⁹ See also Part II, 2.3: The Bukovinian Orthodox Church.

²⁹⁰ See for instance Iorga 1905/2006, p. 208: 'Ce e biserica, ortodoxă sau națională? Națională, spun Românii cu iubire de neam (...)'.

and Romanian nationalists now feared that the Ruthenian Orthodox faction would lay claim to its wealth.

Eugen Hacman, a theologian and from 1835 Bishop of Bukovina, had successfully insisted on a 1820 guarantee that would allocate Church Fund means strictly to the Orthodox. This had prevented the Catholics from claiming Church Fund resources during the years of Galician rule, but could not be invoked against the Ruthenian Orthodox of Bukovina. Hacman saw himself as the bishop of *all* Orthodox believers and was not impressed by nationalist claims. He tried to create a situation acceptable to both sides. A fusion of the Transylvanian and Bukovinian bishoprics was not a viable option to Hacman, since this would severely weaken the position of the Bukovinian Ruthenians. He proposed the establishment of an independent Bukovinian Metropoly or archdiocese instead.²⁹¹ Romanian nationalists, many of whom were clerics²⁹² now staunchly opposed Bishop Hacman, who would live just long enough to see the formation of the Metropoly of Bukovina and Dalmatia in 1873. Hacman and his obvious disregard of Romanian nationalist interests made him a prime target for Nistor's bitter attacks. Nistor maintained that Hacman's stance in the matter was not attributable to conviction, but to fear of losing his position of archbishop. That is why he fought national interests in clerical matters. He was an 'opportunist', a 'malleable and docile instrument of Vienna which took advantage of his character weakness and his ambition to become Metropolitan at any price'.²⁹³ Nistor found the sole motivation for the Imperial decree to establish a Metropoly for Dalmatia and Bukovina with the Bishop of Bukovina promoted to the rank of Metropolitan in the ambitions of the Dual Monarchy to establish the division of territories once and for all, and to keep nationalities divided along these lines, instead of in Hacman's 'senile ambitions'.²⁹⁴

Even worse, he saw Hacman as a promoter of 'Bukovinism', this notion of a regional identity of multi-ethnicity cemented by Austro-German 'Hochkultur' and loyalty to the Emperor and thus very close to the ideal envisaged by Franzos. In the post-Habsburg years, Romanian nationalists in Bukovina would accuse the Austrian government of a deliberate strategy to create a 'homo bucovinensis' in order to thwart Romanian national ambitions.²⁹⁵ In this context, according to Nistor, Hacman even forbade his clergy folk to attend Romanian theatrical performances and his students to read Romanian newspapers while constantly preaching tolerance towards 'foreigners'.²⁹⁶ By accusing Hacman of Bukovinism and anti-

²⁹¹ Hausleitner, Mariana, *Der Griechisch-orientalische Religionsfonds und die rumänischen Vereine in der Bukowina*, presented at: *Kirche und Nation in Ostmitteleuropa im 19. Jahrhundert (1848-1914)*, Conference paper, Lüneburg 2006.

²⁹² Nistor 1991, p. 90.

²⁹³ Ibid., pp. 119-120.

²⁹⁴ Ibid., pp. 194-195.

²⁹⁵ Similar views are held in Romanian academic circles to this day and even appear in recent publications of the Romanian Academy: 'Se demonstrează că 'Homo Bucovinensis' este un personaj inventat, fără identitate națională, ca să servească politicii antiromânești' ['It is proved that the *homo bucovinensis* is a character without a national identity, invented to serve anti-Romanian policies'], Vatamaniuc, D., *Bucovina între Occident și Orient - studii și documente*, Editura Academiei Române, Bucharest 2006, p. 533.

²⁹⁶ Nistor 1991, p. 207.

Romanianism, Nistor provided his readers with a fine example of how his nationalist parameters troubled his analytic observations: the fact that Hacman was not supportive of the Romanian nationalist cause within the Orthodox Church did not make him automatically anti-Romanian. The Bishop presented himself first and foremost an Orthodox believer with a responsibility for his entire religious community, no matter how (some of) its members might have identified themselves individually along national lines. Moreover, he showed a practical nature and feared an exodus of believers if the nationalist infighting continued.²⁹⁷

Nistor exposed a similar one-track mind when he discussed the role of German culture in Bukovina, consistently mixing up the concept of 'Leitkultur' as advocated by Franzos and his own narrow ethno-national notions. He therefore qualified 'Germanisation' of education as a hindrance for the schooling of the 'indigenous population'²⁹⁸ and the founding of the university in 1875 as 'a pivotal instrument to promote German culture'.²⁹⁹ He found further proof of the Bukovinism concept deliberately turned into a doctrine in the influence of large numbers of 'German' functionaries in Bukovina, propaganda in the German press and in the fact that the 'German administration' was in charge of the Church Fund.³⁰⁰ Even more than against Hacman, Nistor agitated against Aurel Onciul, one of the leading figures of the earlier mentioned Freethinking Alliance and one of the initiators of the Bukovinian Compromise of 1910.³⁰¹ To Nistor's outrage, Onciul had claimed that defending Romanian national rights hindered the cultural progress of the Ruthenians.³⁰² According to Nistor, the Freethinking Alliance had meant only stronger support for the Ruthenians, who - he claimed - had been backed in Bukovina by the Austrian government to make up for the fact that there was little Vienna could do for them in Galicia where the Poles were so clearly the dominating force. The internally divided Romanians, Nistor observed, had been incapable of offering resistance.³⁰³

The theory of Daco-Roman continuity, 'historical rights' and indigeneity was imported from Transylvania. Its character proved to be profoundly different in Bukovina. For Transylvanian Romanian speakers it served within the context of the emancipation struggle against Magyar landowners, while in Bukovina those very landowners were Romanian speakers and the

²⁹⁷ 'Nun lehrt sowohl mich, als auch meinen ganzen romanischen und slavischen Clerus eine vieljährige Erfahrung, das Unzufriedenheit und Erbitterung gegen die Kirche, respective gegen den Clerus in der Bukowina, mag sie auch unbegründet sein, fast jedesmal einen Abfall von der Kirche selbst in Massen nach sich ziehe', in: Smal-Stocki, Stefan (ed.), *Nationale und Kirchliche Bestrebungen der Rumänen in der Bukowina 1848 – 1865* [*Von Bischof Hakmann in einem Sendschreiben dargestellt*], Ruska Rada, Czernowitz 1899, p. 128.

²⁹⁸ Nistor 1991, p. 189.

²⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 212. As will be argued further in this chapter, Ukrainian nationalists like Botushans'kyi similarly suspected Vienna of Germanisation intentions in relation to the establishment of the university.

³⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 208.

³⁰¹ This compromise provided a complicated system in which elections were held according to national representation. See Stourzh, Gerald, *Die Gleichberechtigung der Nationalitäten in der Verfassung und Verwaltung Österreichs, 1848-1918*, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 1985, pp. 233-38.

³⁰² Nistor 1991, p. 325.

³⁰³ Ibid., p. 324.

indigeneity argument was shifted towards the Ruthenian population. Thus, in contrast to Transylvanian Romanian nationalists who tried to bring about change, Bukovinian Romanian nationalists argued along their nationalist lines to maintain the status quo.³⁰⁴ Within the framework of Romanian nationalism in general, anti-Ruthenianism was unique for Bukovina: Nistor carefully stuck to a division of 'Ruthenians' and 'Hutsuls' so as to deny their total number a majority on Bukovinian soil³⁰⁵ and claimed they were consciously abused by the Austrians as a tool against the Poles in Galicia, the Magyars in Sub-Carpathia and the Romanians in Bukovina.³⁰⁶ Romanian political parties were said to have refused cooperation with Ruthenian parties 'because of [the latter's] hostile attitude towards the Romanian population, their support of Hacman and their continuous penetration of the land in order to denationalise the Romanians'. Nistor saw no difference between Young-Ruthenians and Old-Ruthenians: both groups wanted to claim Bukovina, albeit for the realisation of different state concepts.³⁰⁷

As far as interethnic relations are concerned, even Nistor admitted there were no tensions to speak of in daily life. The fact that Romanian speakers tended to assimilate more easily into Ruthenian-speaking communities, a great frustration of Romanian nationalists at the time, was simply attributed to the combination of interethnic (but intra-religious) marriages and the Ruthenian-speaking wife, who was unwilling or unable to learn her husband's native language:

*Relations between native Moldavians and foreign settlers - Ruthenians, Germans, Lippovans, Armenians etc. - were normal, imposed by the Romanian's spirit of hospitality. The difference in religion, however, impeded marriages between orthodox Romanians and catholic or protestant Germans. On the other hand, since the Galician Ruthenians went over from the Uniate to the Orthodox Church once they had settled in Bukovina, marriages between Romanians and Ruthenians occurred frequently to the detriment of the Romanians. The smarter Romanian woman easily learned her husband's foreign language whereas the Ruthenian woman did not really learn Romanian, thus imposing her language on the entire family.*³⁰⁸

The first Romanian ball organised in Czernowitz in 1864, Nistor noted, might have been about national pride, but most of all served to make clear to non-Romanians that they did not belong. He quoted one of the attendees stating in the *Concordia* newspaper:

*(...) foreigners, wondering how we, Romanians, organise a ball in their place, have felt for the first time during our carnival that they are on foreign territory and that it is them who are the minority where first they felt they were dominant.*³⁰⁹

³⁰⁴ Hausleitner 2006, p. 4.

³⁰⁵ Soviet authorities employed the same method by distinguishing between 'Romanians' and 'Moldavians' when referring to the Romanians in Soviet (North) Bukovina.

³⁰⁶ Nistor 1991, pp. 101-02.

³⁰⁷ Ibid, p. 309.

³⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 22.

³⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 166.

Press reports in other newspapers of the time paint a different picture and only mention the balls of the different nationalities in a harmonious context.³¹⁰

Nistor's zealotry to present Bukovinian history within a framework of heroic struggle of aggrieved Romanian nationalists not only conflicted with other contemporary sources, it also produced some noteworthy contradictions within his own discursive framework: unlike Șafran, Nistor portrayed Bukovinian aristocracy (*boierime*) as a stronghold of Romanian self-awareness and anti-Habsburg resistance. This is how he interpreted their reluctance to take part in sessions of the Galician *Sejm* during the years of Galician dominance, while he left unexplained the contradicting fact that Bukovinians had not hesitated to respond to a call for help from their 'adoptive motherland during the 1809 war against Napoleon'.³¹¹ A similar inconsistency concerned the role of Bishop Hacman allocated to him by Nistor, when a delegation of prominent Bucovinians presented a list of wishes to Emperor Ferdinand in 1848:

*A delegation led by Bishop Eugen set off to Olmütz to present to Emperor Ferdinand the petition of a land that, however small, still represented a nation, a Moldavian nation, as the Bishop declared in his address to the Emperor.*³¹²

Even if Hacman's 'senile ambitions' to be promoted to the rank of metropolitan had been all-consuming enough to let them prevail over possible nationalist sentiments, the gap Nistor left open without any further explanation between the 'malleable and docile instrument of Vienna' and the pioneer of Moldavian nationhood is simply too wide.

Nistor can be seen as the father of today's Romanian historiography on Bukovina. His ideas on indigeneity, 'historical rights' as well as his anti-Semitic views were not new and rarely his own findings, but he has coined several aspects of the Romanian nationalist discourse such as Bukovinism and anti-Ruthenianism. His publications prominently appear in every Bukovina-related bibliography in Romania and are mostly quoted without criticism. Much of the information he provided on the descriptive level is useful, but, to put it mildly, his analyses do not stand the test of time and deserve a critical approach.

Emanuel von Kapri: *Buchenland. Ein österreichisches Kronland verschiedener Völkergruppen*

Before the fall of Communism, research on Bukovinian history studies suffered from a great deficit: the only contributions stemmed from the 'Bukovina Landsmannschaft', an organisation formed by and supporting expelled Bukovina Germans and their families, while the contributions from the Soviet Union and Socialist Romania were largely moulded to fit

³¹⁰ See for instance Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, *Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten: Junimeaball*, 1498 (1909), p. 5, on the Junimea ball organised by the Romanian Junimea society: '(...) and the entire intelligentsia, the Romanian as well as the others, [were] joined in a solemn yet cosy gathering'.

³¹¹ Nistor 1991, pp. 58-59.

³¹² *Ibid.*, p. 94.

ideologic purposes and were therefore seldom included in debates on Bukovina's Habsburg past. As a result, the German postwar discourse is of a largely nostalgic nature, focusing on a utopian and ideally tolerant society which was ultimately ruined by destructive external forces.³¹³ This lack of discussion promoted the utopian view on the Habsburg era in Bukovina with its tolerance being attributed not only to Austrian governance, but to the Germanophone community as a whole.³¹⁴

Born a German Bukovinian nobleman of Armenian descent who lost his property partly because of the 1920s Romanian agrarian reform, partly as a result of communist nationalisation, Emanuel von Kapri was allowed to leave Romania for the Federal Republic of Germany in 1971. He died ten months later. His 'Bukovina - An Austrian Crownland of Various Peoples' was published posthumously in 1974.³¹⁵ Kapri stressed that his work should not be understood as the result of personal research, but refrained from quoting his sources specifically. Instead, he mentioned Austrian scholars like Kaendl, Polek and Ficker as his main sources of information. For Kapri, Austrian rule and German culture were one and the same thing: the sole driving force behind Bukovinian cultivation, that is, of its economical and cultural development. Every Bukovinian - defined here as 'every fellow citizen who had joined the German cultural sphere wholeheartedly'³¹⁶ - especially the Romanian, should realise that he owes *everything* to German culture.³¹⁷ Although Kapri dismissed Romanian-Ruthenian differences as 'pointless' in the patronising way typical of nostalgic German sources, he did make some valuable points in his analysis of the unification of Bukovina and Galicia under Polish supremacy: like other analysts, Kapri maintained Galicia had nothing to offer to Bukovina since it was poor and hardly able to solve its own problems such as the gap between the feudal Polish-speaking nobility and the Ruthenian-speaking peasantry. Moreover, the nobility was Roman Catholic, the peasantry Uniate/Greek Catholic; theologically close maybe, but very different from the (liturgical) outside - and this was what mattered to the simple layman. The situation in Bukovina was different: nobility and peasantry, Romanian and Ruthenian speaking, were united in the same religion and the revenue of church property was (under German supervision, the author underscores) beneficial to all. Thanks to German leadership, Bukovina had made enormous progress, whereas the Polish distrusted 'strangers' and wanted to solve their problems themselves.³¹⁸ Kapri mainly blamed tensions between

³¹³ Corbea-Hoişie 2003, p. 103.

³¹⁴ See for example Ciuciura, Theodore B. with Nahrebecky, Roman, *The Role of German Language and German Community in the Multi-Lingual Austrian Kronland of Bukovina (1775-1918)*, in: *Jahrbuch der Ukrainekunde*, 19, 1982, pp. 88-101: 'In conclusion one might say that the sympathies of Bukovinians toward Old Austria, that outlived the Habsburg Monarchy, were quite natural and justified. This is due not only to the general character of the Austrian rule but also to the human qualities of Bukovina's Germanophones. They always displayed non-aggressive and conciliatory attitudes; served as mediators in ethnic conflicts, innovators in agriculture, crafts and industry; and finally as brokers of novel ideas and ideologies'.

³¹⁵ Kapri, Emanuel. M. F. v., *Buchenland. Ein österreichisches Kronland verschiedener Völkergruppen*, Eigenverlag Landsmannschaft der Buchenlanddeutschen e.V., München/Stuttgart 1974.

³¹⁶ Ibid., p. 120.

³¹⁷ Ibid., p. 8: 'Jeder *Buchenländer*, gleichgültig welcher Abstammung und Nationalität, ja vornehmlich der *Rumäne*, muß bekennen: Was ich ward und werd gewesen, verdank ich deutscher Art und Wesen'.

³¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 96-97.

Romanians and Ruthenian nationalists during the post-Galician period for a temporary delay in cultural development: he provided the example of brand new school buildings in mixed villages remaining empty for years because no compromise had been reached regarding the language of tuition.³¹⁹ Like Ciuciura and Nahrebecky, Kapri attributed the lack of tensions in Bukovina in general to mediation by the Germans, 'free from nationalist self-seeking and arrogance'.³²⁰ With his reasoning exactly following Franzos' theory of German cultural supremacy, objections against Kapri's views can easily be imagined. Additionally, Kapri hardly seemed to take notice of Jewish culture, anti-Semitism and, eventually, Nazism and its consequences. Kapri complimented Austrian commander Enzenberg, for instance, for his 'warm heartbeat of love for the peoples entrusted to him'.³²¹ He conveniently ignored the fact that Enzenberg regarded Jews as 'insects'.³²² As far as the Second World War is concerned, Kapri only mentioned how Berlin wanted to save Bukovinian and Bessarabian Germanity from falling into Soviet hands, nothing more.³²³

Works by Rudolf Wagner

Of a more scholarly nature but stemming from the same school of German exile nostalgia as Kapri is Rudolf Wagner, who both wrote and edited volumes on Bukovinian history.³²⁴ One of the most prolific publicists in the field, Wagner was born in Duliby near the Galician town of Stryj in 1911 and moved to Bukovina with his parents after the First World War. After having served in the Romanian army, Wagner studied Comparative Religion in Marburg between 1934 and 1938 and received a PhD degree for his dissertation on the Ruthenian reformatory movement in Eastern Galicia. His activities during the Second World War remain controversial: although Wagner himself only admitted to having been a Wehrmacht soldier and a chief of staff of the relocation commission responsible for bringing the Bukovinian Germans 'back home' (*heim ins Reich*), he denied having been a Party member, while left-wing circles in postwar Germany accused him of having been a high-ranking SS official closely affiliated with the notorious Wannsee Institute. After the war he presided over the

³¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 104-5

³²⁰ Ibid., p. 118.

³²¹ Ibid., p. 29.

³²² Bidermann 1875, p. 69.

³²³ Kapri 1974, p. 123: 'Man wollte in Berlin das Bessarabien- und Bukowinadeutschtum den Russen nicht ausliefern, was je dessen Knechtung, sowohl auch Verschleppung und Vernichtung bedeutet hätte und setzte dem Kreml gegenüber ein am 5. September 1940 unterfertigtes Abkommen durch, welches die Umsiedlung dieser Deutschen ins Reich ermöglichte'.

³²⁴ *Alma Mater Francisco Josephina: die deutschsprachige Nationalitäten-Univ. in Czernowitz: Festschrift zum 100. Jahrestag ihrer Eröffnung 1875* (edited), Hans Meschendorfer, Munich 1975, *Die Bukowina und ihre Deutschen*, Österreichische Landsmannschaft, Wien 1979a, *Reisetagebücher des österreichischen Kaisers Franz I [des Ersten] in die Bukowina (1817 und 1823)* (edited), Der Südostdeutsche, Munich 1979b, *Deutsches Kulturleben in der Bukowina*, Österreichische Landsmannschaft, Wien 1981, *Die Revolutionsjahre 1848/49 im Königreich Galizien-Lodomarien (einschließlich Bukowina) - Dokumente aus österreichischer Zeit*, Der Südostdeutsche, Munich 1983, *Das multinationale österreichische Schulwesen in der Bukowina*, (edited) Der Südostdeutsche, Munich 1985, *Vom Halbmond zum Doppeladler - Ausgewählte Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bukowina und der Czernowitzer Universität 'Francisco-Josephina'*, Der Südostdeutsche, Augsburg 1996.

Assistance Committee for Protestant Resettlers from Bukovina (*Hilfskomitee der evangelischen Umsiedler aus der Bukowina*) and was elected spokesman of the *Bukovina Landsmannschaft* and a member of the Bavarian Landtag.³²⁵

First and foremost, Wagner idealised both the Dual Monarchy and Bukovina. He stated that 'the Danube Monarchy on a large and Bukovina on a small scale were examples of the peaceful coexistence of various tribes and peoples in spite of the preservation of their respective cultures'.³²⁶ He maintained that almost every inhabitant of Austrian Czernowitz had mastered three languages, some even four and 'if one takes Yiddish into consideration, even five'.³²⁷ Apart from the fact that Wagner painted a rather rosy picture of the knowledge of languages in Czernowitz, he did not seem to regard Yiddish as a distinctive language and on other occasions referred to it as a 'medieval German dialect'.³²⁸

Wagner did not eschew the confrontation with representatives from the Romanian nationalist discourse when he discarded their key argumentation of indigeneity: even if one admits to the alleged medieval Romanian rights to the entire Bukovina, he stated, one cannot claim these rights to be everlasting; the land belongs to those who have cultivated it.³²⁹ He insensitively branded even the painted monasteries, cornerstone of Romanian/Moldavian cultural pride in Bukovina, teamwork of German builders and Byzantine monks.³³⁰ In turn, he considered the monasteries aesthetically outclassed by the Habsburg architectural splendour of the Metropolitan residence in Czernowitz.³³¹ Wagner also contested the number of 'Romanians' claimed by Romanian nationalists to have been present in the region at the time of the 1774 Austrian occupation. He challenged the (proto-)Romanian ethnicity of the pre-Habsburg Moldavians - according to Wagner, Orthodox believers in 1774 were both Romanian and Ruthenian speakers calling themselves 'Moldavians'³³² - as maintained by Nistor and Iacobescu. On top of this, he criticised modern day Romanian historians for downplaying the presence of Gypsies in the pre-Austrian times for the sake of keeping the number of indigenous Romanians at 70,000 in 1774 in the process.³³³

Whereas Wagner's criticism of the Romanian nationalist approach of historiography is of value, he significantly weakened his case by (exclusively) invoking Ukrainian nationalist sources to support his claims. The so-called 'theft of Bukovina' (*răpirea Bucovinei*) by the Austrians, coined by Kogălniceanu and embraced by Iorga, Nistor and Bălan, is said not to

³²⁵ The details of Wagner's biography are taken from Büscher, Wolfgang, *Politik statt Rache: Rudolf Wagner und die Charta der Vertriebenen*, in: *Die Welt*, 18 February 2002, and Später, Erich, *Gez. NSDAP, SA und SS*, in: *Konkret*, 2004, No. 4.

³²⁶ Wagner 1981, p. 8.

³²⁷ Wagner 1996, p. 219.

³²⁸ Wagner 1979a, p. 17.

³²⁹ Wagner 1996, p. 227.

³³⁰ Wagner 1981, p. 55: '(...) als durch das Zusammenwirken deutscher Bauhüttenleute und byzantinischer Mönche vom heiligen Berg Athos zahlreiche Klöster errichtet wurden (...)'.
³³¹ Ibid., p. 57.

³³² Wagner 1996, p. 106.

³³³ Ibid., p. 262.

have taken place because it is denied by Ukrainian sources. Diaspora Ukrainian authors Nowosiwskyi and Kolotylo have defined Austrian Bukovina as ‘a truly constitutional state’ with an equal status for Ruthenians, Romanians and Germans.³³⁴ Besides the fact that Wagner mixed up two separate issues - the justification of the Austrian annexation and the quality of the Austrian administration - an assumption made by nationalist Ukrainians does not automatically nullify nationalist Romanian claims. The same criticism applies to the way Wagner argued against the Romanian nationalist assumption (Iorga and Căndeia) that the establishment of a German university in Czernowitz had been an anti-Romanian measure: Wagner emphasised how Ruthenians/Ukrainians (and again his sources are Nowosiwsky and Kolotylo) had considered the university important for the development of their people. Wagner added that ‘this statement was more significant than the Romanian [one] not least because, in spite of the fact that it once belonged to the Moldavian Principality, Czernowitz is located in the Ruthenian-speaking and not in Romanian-speaking territory’.³³⁵ Both sources and reasoning only weakened Wagner’s substantiation: since Czernowitz had been the capital of whole Bukovina and the location of its only university, the exact number of Romanian or Ruthenian speakers in the Czernowitz area seems entirely irrelevant and the author’s argumentation only underpinned the credibility of Romanian nationalists’ accusations of Wagner’s pro-Ukrainian bias.³³⁶ Avoidably so, since more solid and valid arguments could have been asserted to invalidate those Romanian nationalist suspicions, as will be discussed further on.

Interestingly, Wagner was one of the first ‘Western’, pro-Habsburg scholars to engage in the post-communist debates on Bukovina with Romanian and Ukrainian fellow historians. His comments displayed useful insights into the areas of tension between the three groups in question, first and foremost proving how Bukovinian historiography in the 1990s was still practiced from a strictly national(ist) point of view. Second, mutual criticisms exposed where tensions lie within the German-Romanian-Ukrainian triangle: roughly, Germans and Romanians disagree on the justification and advantages of the Austrian occupation, Romanians and Ukrainians fight each other on questions of indigeneity and assimilation, whereas Post-Soviet Ukrainians historians do not seem to reproach the Germans with major issues of perceived injustice, but rather regard the Austrian administration with its Josephinist modernisations as a major vehicle for the development of Ukrainian national consciousness and emancipation in the nineteenth century. Today’s Romanian nationalists - while hesitantly admitting the advantages of the Habsburg modernisations³³⁷ - still adhere to the ‘theft of Bukovina’ dogma. At odds with both other ‘parties’, their position remains relatively isolated

³³⁴ Wagner 1979a, p. 10.

³³⁵ Ibid., p. 38.

³³⁶ Wagner responded to Mircea Grigoriu: ‘Neu ist [auch], daß man automatisch rumänenfeindlich ist, wenn man, wie ich es in der Universitätsfestschrift von 1975 getan habe, neben Rumänen auch Ukrainer für ihr Sprachgebiet zu Wort kommen läßt’ [It is [also] new that one is automatically anti-Romanian when, next to Romanians, one lets Ukrainians have their say concerning their language area like I did in the 1975 commemorative publication of the [Czernowitz] university] (Wagner 1996, p. 431).

³³⁷ Wagner likened the persistent denial of Austrian accomplishments by authors like Mircea Grigoriu to fighting windmills, Wagner 1996, p. 405.

to this day, while Ukrainian and German/Austrian exchanges within the field show more dynamism.

Wagner criticised the apparent lack of knowledge of German surfacing in numerous recent Romanian publications, quotes and footnotes of authors like Iacobescu.³³⁸ Although this criticism is justifiable, it is applicable to more than only Romanian authors: many Ukrainian and German publicists suffer from the same lack of access to sources published in other languages and it is safe to assume that, while nationalist authors might deliberately ignore dissenting opinions, scholars with the ambition to produce objective results are confronted with similar obstacles.

A strikingly apologetic position was adopted by Wagner in respect of the 'Association of Christian Germans' (*Verein der christlichen Deutschen*), founded in 1897 by Bukovinian German ethno-nationalists who wanted to distance themselves from Bukovinian Jews. The Association owed its success to the rise of anti-Semitism in Austria and the growing social mobility of Bukovinian Jews³³⁹ and regarded Jews as the only profiteers of the Bukovinism doctrine.³⁴⁰ The anti-Semitic upswing in Austria provoked reactions like Theodor Herzl's, who published his 'The Jewish State' (*Der Judenstaat*) in 1896 and therewith prepared the ground for the later Zionist movement.³⁴¹ Wagner put it as follows: "The name of the association can only be explained by the political, national (*völkisch*) and economic situation at the end of the last century, when old-school liberalism had to retreat in favour of the specific aspirations of separate peoples and, in the words of Lang, the Jews in Bukovina had remained, unlike those in Berlin and Vienna, orthodox, racially authentic (*eigenvölkisch*) and Zionist. Their number, bigger than that of the Germans, could only be determined through a declaration of religion and therefore the association founded in 1897 added the epithet 'Christian' for reasons of distinction (...)".³⁴² Not wasting a word over the rampant anti-Semitism of those times, Wagner inverted cause and effect by presenting German isolation as a result of Zionism and Orthodox Jewish dissociation. The source he quoted is Franz Lang, a prominent figure in the interwar German community in Romanian Bukovina and an advocate of racial segregation.³⁴³ The terminology applied (*völkisch*, *eigenvölkisch*) was not only outdated, but also tainted by its use in Nazi-era racial science.

³³⁸ Ibid., p. 429.

³³⁹ Hausleitner 2001, p. 70.

³⁴⁰ Corbea-Hoişie 2003, p. 36.

³⁴¹ Ceaşu 2004, p. 331.

³⁴² Wagner 1981, p. 64: "Der Name des Vereins ist *nur aus der politischen, völkischen und wirtschaftlichen Situation am Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts erklärbar*, als nämlich der alte Liberalismus vor den Sonderbestrebungen der einzelnen Völker zurückweichen mußte und die Juden in der Bukowina, anders als die in Berlin und Wien, obwohl bei den Volkszählungen den Deutschen hinzugerechnet, 'orthodox, eigenvölkisch und zionistisch', wie Lang sagt, geblieben sind. Ihre Zahl, größer als die der Deutschen, konnte nur über die Angaben zur Konfession ermittelt werden, weshalb der dann 1897 entstandene Verein *aus Gründen der Unterscheidung* seinem Namen das Beiwort 'christlich' hinzufügte (...)".

³⁴³ Hausleitner 2001, p. 289.

Readers interested in Ukrainian historiography from the period of the Cold War can consult Soviet sources as well as publications written by Ukrainian historians outside the Soviet sphere. Next to the more or less obvious traits which distinguish Soviet from Ukrainian diaspora publications such as the predictable emphasis on peasant revolt, landowner oppression and class struggle, some interesting analogies can be observed. Here, these different aspects will be illustrated primarily by quoting from two works, each of them representative of one of these categories: the Soviet publication 'Sketches from the History of Northern Bukovina' (in Ukrainian) by V.M. Botushans'kyi³⁴⁴ and 'Bukovinian Ukrainians; a Historical Background and Their Self-Determination in 1918' by I.M. Nowosiwsky,³⁴⁵ published by the New York-based Association of Bukovinian Ukrainians.

The appreciation of the Austrian role in the development of the Ruthenians/Ukrainians and their national consciousness is one of the notable differences between 'pro-Ukrainian' works from inside and outside the Soviet Union. In the words of Ciuciura and Nahrebecky: "Soviet writing on Bukovina is often meticulous, but always one-sided, criticising peasant and urban misery. This way, it is ignored that, despite all its flaws, the situation in Austria was still much better than in the Russia of the time, a fact even acknowledged by Lenin".³⁴⁶ Acknowledged by Lenin or not, Botushans'kyi not only ignored the better situation in Austria, but flatly denied it: "The tactics of the Austrian national policy in Bukovina were also connected to the preparations for the war with Russia and aimed at misleading the Ukrainians in Russia by creating the illusion that for Ruthenians in Austria life was better".³⁴⁷ Similar views were reflected in a 1963 Russian-language brochure from Moscow, which in true Soviet tradition accentuated not so much ethnic background, but mainly social classes when anachronistically expressing the 'workers' centuries-long yearning to be united with the Ukrainian SSR and only hinted at a historical justification for the occupation by referring to the former Austrian and Romanian rulers as 'foreign, cruel and evil stepmothers' (*чужую, жестокую, лухую мачеху*).³⁴⁸ However, in 1935 Ukrainian nationalist Olexandr Shul'gyn had already called the Russian invasion of 1914 disastrous for the Ruthenian-speaking

³⁴⁴ Botushans'kyi, V.M. et al., *Написи з історії північної Буковини [Sketches from the History of North Bukovina]*, Naukova Dumka, Kyiv 1980.

³⁴⁵ Nowosiwsky, I. M., *Bukovinian Ukrainians; a historical background and their self-determination in 1918*, Association of Bukovinian Ukrainians New York 1970.

³⁴⁶ Ciuciura with Nahrebecky 1982, pp. 99-101.

³⁴⁷ Botushans'kyi 1980, p. 156: 'Маневрування и австрійській національній політиці на Буковині були пов'язані також з підготовкою до війни з Росією і розраховані на те, щоб дезорієнтувати українців у Росії, створивши в них ілюзію, ніби українцям в Австрії живеться краще'.

³⁴⁸ Vashchenko, P. P., *Советская Буковина [Soviet Bukovina]*, State Pedagogical Publishing House of the Ministry of Information, Moscow 1963, p. 51: 'Так было и на Буковине вплоть до ее воссоединения с Украинской ССР. Здесь все богатства, особенно земля с ее дарами, принадлежали эксплуататорской верхушке. А сколько столетий ждали ее трудящиеся!' [This was also the situation in Bukovina [one of exploitation of workers] before the unification with the Ukrainian SSR. Here all wealth, especially land and its proceeds, belonged to the exploiting leading clique. But how many centuries had they awaited this [unification]]!

population in Galicia, since Habsburg Galicia and Bukovina were the only territories where Ruthenian speakers had had their proper schools, libraries and so on.³⁴⁹

If the role played by Austria was divergently appreciated, so were the Habsburg intentions: Soviet sources emphasised the Austrian policy of *divide et impera* and concluded that in multi-ethnic regions where ethnic Germans were a minority, they had oppressed some nations while winning over the landowners and bourgeoisie of other nations. In this way, they were said to have controlled the Ukrainians by winning over the Hungarian ruling classes in Transcarpathia, the Polish in eastern Galicia and the Romanians in Bukovina³⁵⁰ (not surprisingly, as has been mentioned before in relation to the Romanian nationalist discourse, the same argument had been invoked by Nistor, albeit with the Ruthenians in the role of instrument against the respective Poles, Hungarians and Romanians). Nowosiwsky, on the other hand, portrayed the Austrian authorities as a gullible instrument of alleged Romanian nationalist machinations:

*The Romanian leading elite of Bukovina at that time was loyal the Austrian throne and the government; among them were active Austrian patriots. To this category belonged the editorial group of Bucovina, who hailed from all parts of the Romanian settlement - Bukovina, Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia. But they were Romanian nationalists first. In order to pull wool over the eyes of the Austrian government, the lead editorial of Bucovina's first issue (1848) proclaimed as its motto 'full equality of the nationalities of Bukovina', only subsequently to negate the existence of the Ukrainians at every turn and their aspiration to equal rights in Bukovina.*³⁵¹

A similar divergence of opinion surfaced in the question of the role of the Czernowitz University: whereas Botushans'kyi presented the establishment of the institution as one of the most powerful instruments of an obvious Germanisation policy³⁵², Nowosiwsky lauded it as having been pivotal for Ukrainian national emancipation.³⁵³

Another central element of the Soviet discourse on Bukovina was the emphasis on the historic relations between Bukovinian Ruthenians and the Russian state. While the first decades of Austrian rule in Bukovina had seen lively migration movements between the Ottoman, Russian and Habsburg empires, Botushans'kyi mentioned migration away from Habsburg Bukovina exclusively and attributed the phenomenon to the alleged oppression of the

³⁴⁹ Choulguine, Alexandre, *L'Ukraine contre Moscou 1917*, Librairie Félix Alcan, Paris 1935, p. 37:

'L'occupation de la Galicie orientale par les armées de Broussiloff fut un véritable désastre pour la population ukrainienne, car la Galicie et la Boukovinie se trouvant sous la domination autrichienne, ce furent les seuls pays où les Ukrainiens aient eu leurs écoles, leurs bibliothèques, etc.'

³⁵⁰ Botushans'kyi 1980, p. 155.

³⁵¹ Nowosiwsky 1970, p. 61.

³⁵² Botushans'kyi 1980, p. 153.

³⁵³ Nowosiwsky 1970, p. 64 and I.M. Nowosiwskyj and Kolotylo, Basil, *Die Ukrainistik an der Universität Czernowitz*, in: Wagner 1975, p. 196.

peasants.³⁵⁴ Moreover, these emigrants were said to have fled to Russia, not only because of this oppression, but also to reunite with their fellow Ukrainians on Russian soil.³⁵⁵ This way, the author did not only paint a very selective picture of the mentioned migration, he also conveniently ignored the harsh circumstances in the Russia of the time (the fervour to 'reunite with fellow Ukrainians on Russian soil' might have been tempered slightly by prohibitions in 1863 and 1876 in Russia to speak and write in Ukrainian)³⁵⁶ and bestowed an anachronistic national consciousness upon the implied emigrants. Migration to Russia aside, Botushans'kyi devoted ample space to all possible trade relations between Bukovina and Russia and highly valued the many exchanges in the fields of economy, culture, lifestyle and, of course, class struggle.³⁵⁷ He even suggested that, next to the enhancement of cross-border Ukrainian national unity, contacts with Russia had had a modernising and emancipating effect on Bukovinian Ukrainians.³⁵⁸ All the same, Nowosiwsky argued that the only Ruthenians in Bukovina and Galicia to favour closer ties with Russia had been the Old-Ruthenians - also known as Russophiles- one of the two competing factions within the Ruthenian/Ukrainian emancipation movement in the Monarchy and - more importantly - the one which would eventually lose to the stronger popular appeal of the Young-Ruthenians.³⁵⁹ What is more, he regarded the conservative Old-Ruthenians as having been a major obstacle to emancipation, since they had joined forces with the Romanian ruling classes in Bukovina.³⁶⁰

Notwithstanding the clearly ideological differences which led to diverging interpretations of the role of both the Russian and the Habsburg empires by Soviet and non-Soviet scholars, the 'indigeneity principle' remained a remarkable constant in both schools, or, as formulated by Glajar:

*In retrospect and based on nationalistic assumptions, both Romanian and Ukrainian historians argue about who were the first and more numerous settlers of Bukovina prior to Austrian occupation. (...) By manipulating specific historical aspects, different nationalities create 'rival versions of the past' and a myth of origins which is meant to establish and legitimate the claim to cultural autonomy and eventually political independence.*³⁶¹

³⁵⁴ Botushans'kyi 1980, p. 94: "Як констатувало Окружне управління Буковини, селян емігрували через поміщицький гніт, злиднів орендарів та невпевненість у безпеці свого майна засобів до існування" [As the regional administration concluded, peasants emigrated because of landowner oppression, extortion by leaseholders and incertitude of the safety of their property and means of existence].

³⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 116: "масові втечі на російську територію були виявом протесту українського населення Буковини проти австрогабсбурзького гніту і прагнень до возз'єднання в єдиній сім'ї українського народу в складі російської держави" [Massive escapes to Russian territory were a manifestation of protest of the Ukrainian population of Bukovina against Austro-Habsburg oppression and of the aspirations to reunite within a single Ukrainian family within the body of the Russian state].

³⁵⁶ Turczynski 1993, p. 157.

³⁵⁷ Botushans'kyi 1980, pp. 114-15.

³⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 115.

³⁵⁹ See also Part II, paragraph 2.1: Different types of Ruthenian Nationalism.

³⁶⁰ Nowosiwsky 1970, p. 66.

³⁶¹ Glajar, Valentina, *The German Legacy in East Central Europe as Recorded in Recent German-Language Literature*, Camden House, Columbia 2004, p. 19.

The views held by Romanian nationalists have already been noted with regard to the works by Iorga and Nistor and the 'rival version' deployed by their Ukrainian adversaries followed the typical strategy of inversion of the Romanian claims: where Romanians maintained the indigenous population of Bukovina had consisted of Moldavians and therefore of Romanians, Ukrainians would argue that 'Moldavian' was used as a generic term for inhabitants of the region and had therefore included Ruthenians as well³⁶² - or even claim that Ruthenians/Ukrainians had shaped the historical Moldavian state to begin with.³⁶³ When discussing majority and minority populations, Ukrainian nationalists once more invoked the conversion argument: whereas Romanians blamed their own adaptation qualities and a conscious Austrian policy³⁶⁴ for their allegedly shrinking population contingent, Ukrainians lamenting an equal fate accused Romanian officials of census fraud and of taking advantage of an illiterate and ignorant peasant population,³⁶⁵ key Romanian figures in the Orthodox Church of forging birth and wedding certificates and, in the tradition of their Romanian opponents, the Austrian government of Machiavellian machinations.³⁶⁶

Interethnic inarticulateness was not confined to an ethnic or regional interpretation of the term 'Moldavian': equal confusion and fuel to the nationalist debate was provided by the term 'Wallachian'/'Vlach'. According to Nowosiwsky, both the Romanians and the Ukrainian peasants were of the Orthodox faith, both belonging to the 'Wallachian' church. Thus Ukrainians often would call themselves 'Wallachians', although they spoke the Ukrainian language. Small wonder, then, that this ethnic confusion should often have been repeated by foreigners, unacquainted with 'the true state of affairs'.³⁶⁷ Botushans'kyi affirmed that 'Romanian priests (...) called the Orthodox faith 'Vlach' and its believers 'Vlachs', that is to say, Romanians'.³⁶⁸ Naturally, Romanian nationalists followed Nicolae Iorga in explaining the confusion surrounding the term 'Wallachian'/'Vlach' differently: to them, the phenomenon merely served as proof that (at least many) Ruthenian speakers were in fact Ruthenised Romanians, who, although they had forgotten their original native language, still 'remembered' their true ethnicity.³⁶⁹

The Romanian approach

In 1947 and 1948, the newly-installed communist Romanian government had issued decrees outlawing the circulation of some seven hundred publications covering the former Romanian-ruled provinces of Bessarabia and Bukovina and the Romanian royal family. Furthermore, a wave of systematic arrests meant imprisonment for the vast majority of Romania's prewar

³⁶² Nowosiwsky 1970, p. 24.

³⁶³ Nowosiwsky 1970, preface by Matthew Stachiw, p. 15.

³⁶⁴ Torouțiu, Ilie E., *Poporația și clasele sociale din Bucovina*, Bucharest 1916, part I.

³⁶⁵ Botushans'kyi 1980, p. 154.

³⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 155.

³⁶⁷ Nowosiwsky 1970, p. 48.

³⁶⁸ Botushans'kyi 1980, pp. 153-54.

³⁶⁹ Torouțiu 1916, Part I.

intellectuals. The publications of the arrested were proscribed and access to inter-war Romanian intellectual work was henceforth denied and replaced by Marxist-Leninist ideology and versions produced according to Soviet instructions.³⁷⁰ Implicitly, authors such as Iorga and Nistor were declared 'undesirable'.³⁷¹ Although Stalin may have felt compelled to exploit the forces of national consciousness in order to provide a pre-revolutionary historical justification for the Soviet present, around 1947 historians carefully referred to their object of interest as 'the development of human society' and not of that of 'the Romanian nation', which was to be analysed 'on the territory of today's Romania' instead of bluntly 'in Romania'. East-Moldavia was completely ignored in early communist historiography.³⁷²

Marxist historiography regarded non-Eastern European peoples as a threat, as could be observed above in sources from Soviet Ukraine. Especially the Turks, the Tatars and the Habsburgs were suspected of wanting to destroy the 'Eastern-European family' from the outside.³⁷³ The Kievan State and 'the Russian feudal state of Galicia' were presented as a positive influence on the development of Moldavian history.³⁷⁴ Soviet historians distinguished between Romanians and Moldavians which enabled them to dismiss Romanian claims to the territory of the ancient Moldavian state - surely, a continuous settlement by Moldavians in the region which also included Bukovina since the fourteenth century could only mean there had never been a Romanian colony to speak of.³⁷⁵

In the 1960's, competition between the USSR and China diversified the once extremely homogenous and centralised communist block. This might have encouraged the Romanian Communist Party's self-confidence and caused an emancipatory tendency from Soviet tutelage, one of its results being a partial return to a nationally oriented representation of history.³⁷⁶ A speech by Romanian communist leader Nicolae Ceaușescu on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the RCP on 8 May 1966, seen by Radio Free Europe as 'probably the most notable effort yet made to project the Party as the continuance and the embodiment of Romanian nationalism',³⁷⁷ openly disputed the annexation of Bessarabia and Bukovina by the Soviet Union. Ceaușescu stated that 'the Marxist-Leninist teachings proclaim the right of the peoples to self-determination, not for the purpose of breaking up established national states but, on the contrary, for the liberation of the oppressed peoples and for constituting them into sovereign national states in accordance with the will and the decision of the broad people's

³⁷⁰ Deletant, Dennis, *Rewriting the Past: Trends in Contemporary Romanian Historiography*, in: *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 1991, 14 (1), 64-86, p. 68.

³⁷¹ Corbea-Hoișie, Andrei, *La Bucovine - Éléments d'histoire politique et culturelle*, Institut d'Études Slaves, Paris 2004, p. 68.

³⁷² Ghermani, Dionisie, *Die kommunistische Umdeutung der rumänischen Geschichte unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Mittelalters*, Verlag R. Oldenbourg, München 1967, pp. 125-26.

³⁷³ Ibid., p. 137.

³⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 139-40.

³⁷⁵ A.M. Lazarev in 1974 as quoted by Ghermani, Dionisie, *Die nationale Souveränitätspolitik der SR Rumänien - im Rahmen des sowjetischen Bündnissystems*, Verlag R. Oldenbourg, München 1981, pp. 183-84.

³⁷⁶ Ghermani 1967, p. 135.

³⁷⁷ Radio Free Europe Background Report (Munich 1966), *The Rumanian Party's 45th Anniversary*, Open Society Archives, p. 1.

masses'.³⁷⁸ RFE analysts concluded that by presenting the Romanian case on an issue which the Soviets had hoped was closed for good, Ceaușescu was 'showing a dangerous originality in his historical interpretations'.³⁷⁹ The speech was followed by the June 1966 issue of 'Class Struggle' (*Lupta de Clasă*), dealing with the unfortunate pre-war policies of the Comintern and with a direct reference to Bessarabia. For the first time, Bessarabia and North Bukovina were said to be ceded to the USSR 'as the result of an ultimatum'.³⁸⁰ The expression was to remain and in a later stage also appeared in Romanian publications specifically aimed at an international audience.³⁸¹

Within Romanian national circles, the distribution of newly developed views gathered speed from the end of 1975, when historians Ion Ardeleanu and Mircea Mușat published an article in *Anale de istorie* - a publication by of the Romanian Institute for History and Social Policy - that would reignite the debate on Bukovina. The two reaffirmed the unification of Bukovina with 'the Romanian motherland' as the culmination of both a battle of centuries by the Romanian people and the realisation of a dream and added that the right of self-determination of nations was acknowledged 'by collective international socialism'.³⁸² The new treatment given to the Bessarabian and Bukovinian issue is illustrated by the two editions of 'Political Life in Romania, 1918-1921' (*Viața politică în România 1918-1921*), by the same authors.³⁸³ The first edition was published in 1971, the second in 1976.³⁸⁴ Unlike the first edition, the second begins with a nineteen-page discussion of the achievement of national unity in Romania in 1918. The section dealing with the union of Bessarabia and Bukovina with Romania was one of the most detailed and complete reviews of the history of these two territories published in Romania since 1945. Elaborate according to the standards of Socialist Romania as these reviews may have been, they provide little additional information for today's reader interested in Habsburg Bukovina. Representative of the discourse is how the Habsburgs were customarily accused of swindling Moldavian land out of Ottoman hands³⁸⁵ and how in 1918 Bukovina 'had been *restored* to the fatherland as one of its provinces'.³⁸⁶ Tellingly, the authors generously quoted Ion Nistor, who was evidently acceptable again. The fact that the revised edition was favourably reviewed by the party historical journal and other publications, some of which cited in particular its treatment of Bessarabia and Bukovina, meant it had enjoyed approval on the highest level.³⁸⁷ A second key-note speech by party leader Ceaușescu to the Congress on Political Education and Socialist Culture in Bucharest in

³⁷⁸ Ibid., p.4.

³⁷⁹ Ibid., p.6.

³⁸⁰ Hale, Julian, *Ceaușescu's Romania - A Political Documentary*, George S. Harrap & Co Ltd.London 1971, p. 186.

³⁸¹ See for instance Giurescu, Constantin C. (ed.), *Chronological History of Romania*, Editura enciclopedică română, Bucharest 1974, p. 340.

³⁸² Ghermani 1981, p. 181-83.

³⁸³ Radio Free Europe Background Report (King, Robert R., 1976). *Debate between Rumanian and Soviet Historians over Bessarabia Continues*, Open Society Archives, p. 3.

³⁸⁴ Mușat, Mircea and Ardeleanu, Ion, *Viața politică în România 1918-1921*, Editura politică, Bucharest 1976.

³⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 16.

³⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 17.

³⁸⁷ King 1976, p. 4.

June 1976 stated that ‘certain problems inherited from the past (...) did not affect the co-operation and solidarity between the respective parties and peoples’ and that ‘Romania had no territorial or other problems with the Soviet Union or its other neighbouring socialist countries’.³⁸⁸ It was a clear indication of Ceaușescu’s intention to use the ‘falsification’ of the national past for internal consumption without provoking the Soviet Union with territorial claims.

A luxury edition of a photo book by Ion Miclea (comments by Radu Florescu) entitled ‘Sweet Bukovina’,³⁸⁹ published in several foreign languages, displayed a similar non-confrontational approach: while Florescu sang the praise of the beauty of the ‘Suceava region’ and the wise leadership of Ceaușescu, he flatly ignored the mere existence of Northern Bukovina and the shared history of the now separated territories. In his ‘Illustrated History of the Romanian People’, Dinu C. Giurescu drily informed his readers that ‘the land between the rivers Prut and Dniester (Bessarabia) and the northern part of Bucovina became part of the Soviet Union on June 26, 1940’ and left it at that.³⁹⁰ In a volume edited by Ceaușescu’s brother Ilie in 1983, Mircea Mușat once again mentioned how ‘on November 15/28, 1918, the Congress of representatives of the population of Bukovina decided unanimously ‘the unconditional union, for good and all, of Bukovina with Romania, within its former frontiers’.³⁹¹ Unlike Mușat’s previous publications, this contribution noticeably lacked referrals to ‘the right of self-determination of nations as acknowledged by collective international socialism’ or even the Soviet ultimatum. It simply continued with a bland quote of President Ceaușescu on ‘the tireless struggle for unity’.

Only in 1985, a more daring statement appeared in a history volume edited by Andrei Oțetea (English-language edition by Andrew MacKenzie) when the author accused the Soviet Union of supporting the Magyar cause in Romania:

*Another possible reason for Russian background support for the Hungarian agitation about its minority is a fear that the Romanians might reclaim Bessarabia and northern Bukovina. This, I gather, is not a Romanian intention, but if it were, Russia could have a useful card in reserve by implying that it could hold the Hungarians in check if a dispute developed over Transylvania but only if Romania did not press her claims to what is now Soviet territory.*³⁹²

Although the book failed to specify whose hypothesis this is, Oțetea’s or MacKenzie’s, it later became apparent that Bucharest had provided the manuscript and that MacKenzie’s input had

³⁸⁸ Scînteia, 3 June 1976 as quoted by King 1976, pp. 1-2.

³⁸⁹ Miclea, Ion, *Dulce Bucovina*, Editura Sport-Turism, Bucharest 1976.

³⁹⁰ Giurescu, Dinu C., *Illustrated History of the Romanian People*, Editura Sport-Turism, Bucharest 1981, p. 551.

³⁹¹ Mușat, Mircea, *Military Factors and National Development: The Impact of Foreign Pressure*, (pp. 261-271) in: Ceaușescu, Ilie (ed.), *War, Revolution, and Society in Romania: The Road to Independence*, Social Science Monographs, Boulder 1983, p. 270.

³⁹² Oțetea, Andrei and MacKenzie, Andrew (ed.), *A Concise History of Romania*, Robert Hale, London 1985, p. 547.

been marginal. It is therefore safe to assume that this view had official sanction from the communist regime at the time.

3.5 Conclusion

It is challenging, to put it mildly, to find source material dealing with regional identity in Habsburg Bukovina that is not tainted somehow by a political agenda. Post-socialist developments and recovered scholarly freedom initially led to a worrying come-back of old-school nationalism and is, in some cases, still prominently present in recent Ukrainian and Romanian publications on Bukovina. However, the newly obtained access to relevant source material inspires both Western European scholars such as Hausleitner and Scharr and their Eastern colleagues like Corbea-Hoişie, Purici and Ceaşu to produce critical, unbiased analyses. Combined with the possibility of free exchanges and discussions with fellow academics abroad, the debate on Bukovinian history is likely to become much more dynamic.

The first primary sources, texts meant to inform Vienna on the state of affairs in its newly acquired region, prove to be the most refreshing in their ambiguity: the seemingly careless way of dealing with ethnicity and nationality, the clear contempt the aristocracy showed for peasantry and clergy alike and the active role an 'ethnic Romanian' like Balsch played in the confiscation of Orthodox Church property are a far cry from the creative nationalist interpretations of the nineteenth century. Still, the roots of later discontent were already present in this early stage. Especially the bare anti-Semitism was an ominous precursor of what was to follow when nationalism gained ground. With an interval of several decades, the accounts from Austrian Bukovina's 'finest hour' are already infiltrated by nationalist, ethno-central and, in some cases, racist influences. Rosy pictures of a multi-ethnic family stemming from Austrian authors should be taken with a grain of salt, while nationalist pamphlets such as Iorga's and the 'cultural mission' of a Franzos have little to do with serious historiography. The excitement experienced by Viennese correspondents when confronted with Bukovina's multi-ethnic exoticism risks depicting the local community in an overly-segregated way.

The tricky middle category provides a mixed bag of useless propaganda and valuable source material. Apart from an impressive number of (sometimes arguable) facts, Greater-Romania's nationalist studies are anti-innovative by definition, since they serve invariably to back Romanian nationalist dogmata such as 'indigeneity' and 'squeezing out'. Socialist historiography did not fundamentally eradicate this tradition: periods of deafening silence on Bukovina aside, the aforementioned dogmata remained firmly in place. The situation 'on the other side', in Soviet Ukraine, was not much different. Under a layer of 'class struggle' and 'eternal Russian-Ukrainian friendship', the predictable 'rival indigeneity version' surfaced in close resemblance with contemporary Ukrainian diaspora writing. Meanwhile, German authors, not constrained by an authoritarian regime, endeavoured - in good Habsburg tradition - to interpret Bukovinian history in the role of the nonpartisan mediator. Nostalgic sentiments for the 'paradise lost', struggle with the German role in the dramatic developments of the

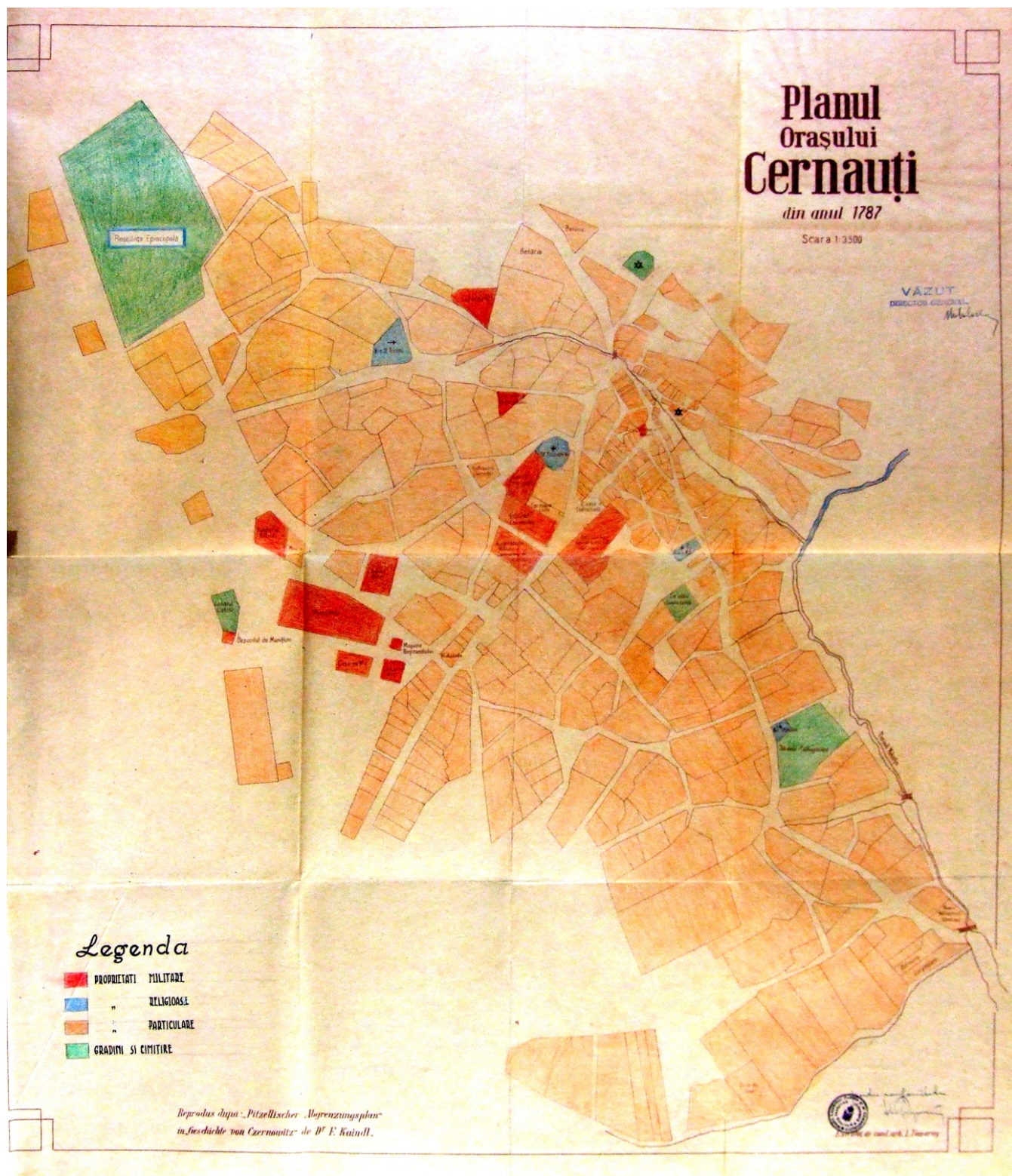
Second World War and the continuation of bitter polemics with traditional (mostly Romanian) adversaries often proved these ambitions elusive.



Left to right: three key sources on Habsburg Bukovina: Austrian commander Baron Gabriel Splényi of Mihálydy (1734-1818), author Karl Emil Franzos (1848-1904) and Romanian historian and nationalist Nicolae Iorga (1871-1940).



Left: Splényi's successor Karl von Enzenberg (1725-1810). Right: the Bukovinian population pledges its loyalty to the Habsburg Emperor, 1777.



A map of Czernowitz in 1787, illustrating the town's modest size.

PART II –BUKOVINIANS

1.1 Introduction

If there is one truism about Habsburg Bukovina's society, it is the one related to 'inter-ethnic harmony and tolerance'. Every author dealing with the crownland's history has either confirmed or only carefully challenged this image.¹ As such, the fundamental question whether such clear notions of ethnic and national consciousness existed among the population at large is thus ignored: in order to respect and tolerate the other, the awareness of 'otherness' must first be present. There is little doubt that such awareness spread with the increase of ethno-nationalist influences in the second half of the nineteenth century, but it is far from self-evident that differentiation along national lines was common practice before that time. By acknowledging 'inter-ethnic harmony', scholars consciously or subconsciously apply nationalist terminology and find themselves in a circular argument: First they divide the Bukovinian population into ethno-national groups and then conclude that these groups lived together in peace and harmony.

Next, Bukovinian 'inter-ethnic harmony' is generally explained by the multitude of ethno-national groups and the lack of a clear majority which forced them to work together.² This way, the Bukovinian situation is often favourably compared to other parts of Habsburg Austria where the political landscape was dominated by two competing national groups (German vs. Italian in Tyrol, German vs. Czech in Moravia etc.). A major problem in this respect is the narrowing of the focus group, since the 'groups' referred to here are in fact only nationalist politicians and activists primarily based in the regional capital(s). The majority of the population said to have been 'inter-ethnically harmonious' is thus not taken into account. Second, it remains to be seen if a certain dichotomy was not present in Habsburg Bukovina as well. In order to recognise the two groups in question, a 'colonial' reference point may be more useful than traditional ethno-nationalist labeling: Bukovina-born novelist Gregor von Rezzori saw Bukovina as a colony of the Habsburg Empire in his autobiographical novel *The Snows of Yesteryear* and an increasing number of scholars share 'the concept of an internal colonialism in the Habsburg Empire'.³ Indeed, the characteristics of 'the periphery as an internal colony' seem in many respects applicable to the way the Austrian Empire incorporated Bukovina:

¹ See for instance Purici 2000, p. 180: 'ein musterhafte interethnische Pax unter habsburgischer Herrschaft'; Corbea-Hoisie 2004, p. 46: '... en Bucovine l'harmonie aurait prévalu dans la cohabitation des diverses nationalités au-delà des contradictions et des dissensions...'; Beaumont 2004, p. 84: 'la cohabitation harmonieuse des nationalités'; Rechter, David, *Geography is Destiny - Region, Nation and Empire in Habsburg Jewish Bukovina*, in: *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, 7, 2008, Vol. 3, 325-337, p. 327: 'ethos of inter-ethnic tolerance'.

² See for instance Rychlo 2006, p. 28.

³ Glajar, Valentina, *The German Legacy in East Central Europe as Recorded in Recent German-Language Literature*, Camden House, Columbia 2004, p. 16.

*...domination by a 'racially' and culturally different foreign conquering group, imposed in the name of a dogmatically asserted racial, ethnic, or cultural superiority, on a materially inferior indigenous people. (...) High status occupations tend to be reserved for those of metropolitan culture; while those of indigenous culture cluster at the bottom of the stratification system.*⁴

Whereas the Austrian authorities cannot be said to have had any kind of 'racial' or 'ethnic' agenda in Bukovina, Viennese circles clearly cherished a 'dogmatically asserted cultural superiority'.

The way mass immigration to Bukovina was encouraged deepened the divide between 'metropolitan' and 'indigenous' culture. Only when political nationalism started to dominate the regional discourse, Vienna-oriented 'metropolitans' were subdivided into 'Germans' and 'Jews', and the 'indigenous' into 'Romanians' and 'Ruthenians'. These four were the largest in Bukovina (next to smaller groups of Lippovans, Magyars, Armenians, Poles and more) and represented in Bukovinian politics on a specific national ticket. The following paragraphs will argue that the ethno-national classification of Bukovinians as 'Germans', 'Jews', 'Romanians', 'Ruthenians' and so on is less 'natural' and obvious than is generally assumed in scholarly (and less scholarly) publications. No matter how bitter the enmity, Romanian and Ruthenian nationalists found each other in their rejection of those they called 'the foreigners': in 1903, Ruthenian nationalist *Bukovyna* depicted Germans and Poles as the 'hereditary enemies' (*Erbfeinde*) of the 'natives' (*Autochtonen*) and thus sided with their traditional Romanian adversaries in this context.⁵ When Orthodox priest Georgiu Pauliuc asked Metropolitan Repta in 1908 to be transferred from his 'hardship post' in the village of Kirlibaba/Mariensee, he emphasised not only how he had battled 'for religion and [the Romanian] nation', but also mentioned that he had established a Romanian-Ruthenian class in the local school, since 'the Romanian language had unjustly not been taught so far while Ruthenian risked to be eliminated altogether by German through the German-Jewish force'.⁶ That same year, in an article titled 'How the Foreigners Treat Us', the fact that Czernowitz schoolchildren were supposed to sing in German at the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of the Emperor's accession to the throne angered Romanian nationalist *Apărarea Neamului* 'because the children of the Romanians and Ruthenians greatly outnumbered those of the Germans and Jews'.⁷ The polarisation 'native/ non-native' can also be found in more recent Romanian studies which view the centennial commemoration of the Austrian annexation of

⁴ Hechter, Michael, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966*, University of California Press, Berkeley 1975, p. 30.

⁵ *Ruthenen und Rumänen*, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 04.03.1903, p. 1.

⁶ "Deaceea respectuos subsemnatul (...) a exoperat și'n Cârlibaba succese vitale pentru confesiune și națiune, înființând anul trecut 1907 o clasă paralelă română-ruteană în școala din loc, unde limba română cu nedreptul n'a existat nici ca obiect până atunce, eară cea ruteană era în pericol de a fi eliminată definitiv prin forța germano-evrească de limba germană". Pauliuc, Georgiu, *Cătră Înalt Prea Sântitul Archiepiscopul și Mitropolitul Dr. Vladimir de Repta în Cernăuți* 10 September 1908/ DJAN Suceava, Fond 'Mitropolia Bucovinei', secția 14/1, dosar 56.

⁷ *Cum ne bagă în samă străinii*, *Apărarea Neamului* – organ politic-poporal-creștin, 24.05.1908, p. 41.

Bukovina in 1875 first and foremost as an event meant for the Jews/Germans (*evreo-germanii*) and thus imply that the ‘real’ Bukovinians had little reason for celebration.⁸

As will be argued, there is more reason to distinguish ‘natives’ and ‘newcomers’ than the resentment felt by some towards those they regarded as cultural imperialists alone. The elements ‘language’ and ‘religion’ play a central role in this respect.

1.2 Structure

First, the diverse images as they emerged during the Habsburg years will be examined, taking into account the variety of authors and their backgrounds. The focus will then shift to Bukovinians. Terminology like ‘Romanians’, ‘Ruthenians’, ‘Germans’ etc. will be avoided, since it all too often follows national leaders in regularly using the same vocabulary for nationally conscious and unconscious individuals, and thus minimises the distinction.⁹ Or, as Brubaker puts it, ‘the beliefs, desires, hopes, and interests of ordinary people cannot be inferred from the nationalist (or other) utterances of politicians who claim to speak in their name’.¹⁰ In order to keep the distinction visible, ‘Romanian nationalists’ will be used as opposed to ‘Romanian speakers’. Obviously, all observations are reflected here within their respective context. Bukovinians, the ‘spectred’, are depicted as they were seen by ‘spectors’ of very different natures and backgrounds and will include characterisations by ‘others’ (hetero-images) as well as auto-images.¹¹

In paragraph 2.1, the focus will lie on how the traditional ‘indigenous elements’ of Bukovina, the Romanian speakers and the Ruthenian (Ukrainian) speakers appeared to outsiders, Austrian observers, fellow Bukovinians and each other. Whereas many observers resort to the use of ‘ethnotypes’ (Romanian, Ruthenian), paragraph 2.2 aims to show that other categorisations appeared more frequently than nationalists from either side like to admit. In paragraphs 2.3 and 2.4, ample attention will be devoted to the central institution of the ‘autochthonous’ population which developed into a bone of contention once Ruthenian and Romanian nationalisms clashed: The Orthodox Church.

Four short biographies of prominent Bukovinians then serve to illustrate their ambiguous ‘ethnicity’, although it did not keep some of them from becoming ardent nationalists on either side.

From paragraph 3.1, the focus of attention will be on the ‘newcomers’ with a German cultural orientation. Although Jews - and not in Bukovina alone - were traditionally often ‘singled out’ as a group, they formed in many respects a collective with those whose self-proclaimed leaders would in days of intensified nationalism isolate themselves as ‘ethnic’ or ‘Christian’

⁸ Olaru, Marian, *Aspecte ale vieții politice în Bucovina la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea* (2), in: *Analele Bucovinei*, V/1, 1998, 123 -134, p. 129.

⁹ King, Jeremy, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans: a Local History of Bohemian Politics 1848-1948*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 2002, pp. 8-9.

¹⁰ Brubaker et al. 2006, p. 167.

¹¹ Beller and Leerssen 2007, p. 27.

Germans. The common feature of the German language and culture will be analysed more closely, while anti-Semitism on popular and political level - so often claimed to be either non-existent or insignificant in Habsburg Bukovina - will be examined.

1.3 Early travel accounts

Early travel accounts provide interesting views on the newly acquired Austrian territory of Bukovina. In contrast to the more or less politically motivated reports or essayist works as discussed in the literature survey, they offer no lengthy analyses, but rather snapshot impressions of the situation young Bukovina found itself in. In 1808, German physician and journalist Friedrich Lindner in the Vienna-published *Vaterländische Blätter*, despaired that

*out of respect for humanity alone one must assume that also the Bukovinian has the ability to be good, even when there is no other evidence available. But the example of the truly respectable Lippovans and the fact that the history of Moldavia has preserved the memory of several outstanding rulers vouch, it seems to me, for the foundation of intrinsic goodness in these people as well. (...) It is desirable that unbiased observers also impart traits of noble-mindedness of which the Bukovinian is capable; they will always find a place on these pages. (...) Then again, it cannot be denied that the people are still deeply immersed in barbarism and that ruggedness, robbery and immorality hold sway over them.*¹²

A group of Scottish ministers on their way back from the Holy Land gathered similar impressions of Bukovinian morality some thirty years later, when they ended up in Sereth.¹³

*In the inn where we rested, many were coming and going, and we had a painful view of the immoral state of the people. When they heard that we were English, they said, "Ah, they have the same noses and eyes that we have!" Many were intoxicated; and one old man came up to us, and made a long apology, stating that the funeral of a wealthy resident had taken place that day, which had occasioned the revelry, and hoping that we would not carry away an unfavourable report, as Austrians were generally given to this vice.*¹⁴

More than the described alcohol-induced festivities it seems relevant to note here that a local resident felt obliged to apologise for the situation, apparently aware of the bad press 'wild Bukovina' had received so far in Austria proper.

Simultaneously, travel writers did not save their harsh criticism for the 'natives' alone: Johann Georg Kohl, who crossed the border from Russia into Austrian Bukovina in 1844, portrayed the Austrian customs officials as both bureaucratic and corrupt:

¹² Lindner, Friedrich von, *Bemerkungen über die Bukowina*, *Vaterländische Blätter*, 35, 279-283, Wien 1808: pp. 280-282.

¹³ In 1839, two ministers of the Free Church of Scotland, Bonar and McCheyne, together with two older ministers, Dr. Alexander Black and Dr. Alexander Keith, were sent to Palestine on a mission of inquiry to the condition of the Jews. Upon their return, their official report for the Board of Mission of the Church of Scotland was published as *Narrative of a Visit to the Holy Land and Mission of Inquiry to the Jews*.

¹⁴ Bonar, Andrew A. and Robt. Murray McCheyne, *Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jews from the Church of Scotland in 1839*, William Whyte & Co, Edinburgh 1839, p. 429.

The boundaries of Bukovina are surrounded with a threefold Cordon, and we were obliged to pass through so many offices, custom-houses, and inspection-houses, that I could not number all the stamps, seals, marks, and signatures which were put on our luggage. But the worst of all was, that all our books and papers were sent to the Hofrath at Tshernovitze, who, instead of returning them, sent them to the authorities at Lemberg, who serving us in the same way, sent them finally to the higher authorities at Vienna. On these frontiers we were incessantly obliged to ransom ourselves from further importunity, with Zwanzigern. "Sir, you have still two cigars and a half there". "Hold your tongue, and here's a Zwanziger for you!"- "What papers are those? They must go with the rest". "Never mind, here are a couple of Zwanzigern".- "And these boxes, have they been searched?" "Yes, take these three Zwanzigern". What can the Russians think of the good old German honesty and truth, of which they are so fond of talking, when they contemplate these frontiers? Yet all the officers at the boundary line are Germans.¹⁵

With his final remark the author, a native from Bremen, revealed that his mindset was already influenced by ethnic nationalism. In this sense, it is not surprising that he was also sensitive to displays of other nationalist sentiments. Kohl's comments indicate that Daco-Romanian nationalism was already spreading in Cisleithania before the revolutionary year of 1848.

Our evening companions interested us far more than our dinner society. They were two well-educated young Moldavians in the Austrian service, and were enthusiastic patriots. They told us many stories and legends of the golden age of their country, of the Moldavian, or, as they said, 'Daco-Roman' mythology, and of Stephen the Great, and other heroes of Moldavia. We had never before seen Moldavian patriots; and like many other ignorant people, we did not even know there was such an article as Moldavian patriotism. To our surprise we now encountered it everywhere, and met many people even in Lemberg, glowing with tender enthusiasm for the great days of the Dacian Empire, under Decebalus the Great. Dacia is now surrounded with mighty and powerful neighbours, which do not permit its nationality to obtain a free voice. The country has been torn up and partitioned quite as much as Poland, but it obtains less general sympathy, because its situation is not generally known, and yet the Moldavians, Walachians, Bessarabians, and Bukovinians are men - nay more, they are countrymen, fellow-citizens, and patriots.¹⁶

Although the depicted omnipresence of Romanian nationalism seems unlikely for the time, the author emphasised that its existence was not known to him so far: he more or less stumbled over the phenomenon. Moreover, the case described here deals with two 'well-educated' men 'in the Austrian service'. The Imperial military and civil services provided men from all over the Monarchy with the occasion par excellence to meet and to get acquainted with new ideas. Kohl's evening companions might have been from Transylvania, the cradle of Romanian political national awareness, or influenced by Transylvanians. In Kohl's earlier depictions of travels in the region, he had dealt extensively with the exotic nature of the Hutsul mountain tribes, however without mentioning Ruthenians as such. As clearly as Romanian nationalism

¹⁵ Kohl, Johann Georg, *Austria. Vienna, Prague, Hungary, Bohemia and the Danube; Galicia, Styria, Moravia, Bukovina, and the Military Frontier*, Chapman and Hall, London 1844, p. 429.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 429-430.

confronted him a few years later, the mere existence of a large Slavic population seemed to have escaped him a few years before.¹⁷ His 1844 observations substantiate this hiatus. Kohl stated that '[the] extraordinary increase in the population may be partly owing to the influx of German emigrants, who have settled in the cities as merchants and mechanics, and of the Rusniaks, who are preferred to the native Moldavians as labourers'.¹⁸ By deeming the Rusniaks/Ruthenians 'immigrants' and the Moldavians/Romanians 'natives', Kohl seemed once more to rely on the information he received from his Daco-Romanian nationalist sources. This presumption is supported further on by his claim that 'Bukovina [...] belonged mostly to the latter [Moldavians], for not only is the principal population Moldavian, which it has probably been from the remotest ages, the names of all the mountains and rivers in the country, being, with few exception, Moldavian, but both the physical circumstances and the social condition of the country, are the same as in the rest of Moldavia'.¹⁹

Back in 1808, Lindner had not gone into the existence of national distinction, but spoke generically of 'Bukovinians' when discussing the indigenous population and deemed it more useful for his travel account to differentiate according to religion, 'since the names of the inhabitants of the different regions of Bukovina refer to the religious cults they belong to rather than to national diversity'.²⁰ An excerpt of a travelogue sent by the Governor's Office in Czernowitz to the Viennese Minister of Internal Affairs in 1855 acknowledged national distinctions, but only seemed to take the Poles seriously in this respect:

*The Polish [nation], which produced in name the Ruthenian one in 1848, is the most advanced in Bukovina and sprawls into the bordering Russian governorate towards Odessa. (...) The other nationalities, to whom the Romanians and Ruthenians belong, find themselves in a certain apathy caused by the absence of an educated class, and their ambitions are harmless.*²¹

This apparent national apathy seems to have been less prevalent in religious matters. In 1808, Lindner enthused over conversion opportunities as a way of enhancing the state:

*European missionaries go to China and California, why should we not want to move within our shared home country to where the light of reason burns gloomily and where we could conquer new provinces for the state within the country through the education of rude peoples!*²²

Almost fifty years onwards, the Governor's Office in Czernowitz decidedly discouraged any attempt the Viennese authorities might have considered to change the religious configuration

¹⁷ Kohl, Johann Georg, *Die Bukowina, Galizien, Krakau und Mähren - Reisen im Inneren von Rußland und Polen*, Arnoldische Buchhandlung, Dresden/Leipzig 1841.

¹⁸ Kohl 1844, p. 426.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 425.

²⁰ "Die Bewohner der verschiedenen Gegenden der Bukowina haben verschiedene Nahmen, welche aber mehr die Religionssecten, zu welchen sie gehören, als einen Nationalunterschied bezeichnen, daher ihre Beschreibung in den folgenden Abschnitt gehört". Lindner 1808, p. 280.

²¹ *Auszug aus einem Reiseberichte*, Zl. 2158 Pr. I, 9 June 1855/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MI, mapa 71/1.

²² Lindner 1808, pp. 283

of Bukovina and concluded that ‘evangelism is hitherto not conceivable, and in the event that such would gain ground, it would be certain that the peasantry would oppose landlords and clergy. So it was that when the priest brought forth something incomprehensible from the pulpit, the country people denounced the incident’.²³

Even before Bukovina had obtained its status as an autonomous crownland in 1848, travelers, as travelers naturally do, drew comparisons with the neighbouring territories they had visited. Bonar and McCheyne qualified Bukovinian cottages ‘more comfortable than those of Moldavia’, and the aspect of the country ‘more civilised’.²⁴ Joseph Rohrer, a former police inspector who worked as a statistics professor in Lemberg and Olmütz/Olomouc, wrote in 1804 how Bukovina appeared to him as an island of civilisation compared to Moldavia, Transylvania and Galicia. He also considered the radical population increase and its ethnic mix as beneficial for Bukovina’s development.²⁵ Kohl on the other hand found that the ‘villages had undergone little change, and both the peasants and their dwellings resembled exactly those of other Moldavian villages’,²⁶ but he noticed a difference in the country estates and larger towns, bearing ‘some resemblance to the smaller towns of Germany’ while the Moldavian towns on Russian soil ‘still preserved their Turko-Moldavian character, and had lost none of their Oriental features’.²⁷ Clearly, to Kohl Bukovina could easily stand comparison not only to Moldavia/Bessarabia, but to Galicia as well:

*Coming from the valleys of Bessarabia, and the shapeless, disorderly towns of Podolia, the sight of this handsome and pleasant town seemed to us a glimpse into another world, and so it certainly was. The crossing of the frontier line between the Russian and Austrian territories seemed at once to have brought us some hundred of versts nearer to Germany, Vienna, Berlin, nay, even to Paris, Spain and Italy.*²⁸

Kohl expressed his appreciation for provincial capital Czernowitz in similar terms and whereas Bonar and McCheyne had sufficed to see Czernowitz as ‘a pleasant town, with streets wide, well aired, and clean’,²⁹ Kohl commented that ‘the whole west of Europe seemed before their eyes’,³⁰ that the ‘Moldavian huts and cabins had disappeared from around it, and the whole was built of stone’ and how ‘good roads and avenues of poplars and linden trees led

²³ *Auszug aus einem Reiseberichte*, Zl. 2158 Pr. I, 9 June 1855/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MI, mapa 71/1.

²⁴ Bonar/McCheyne 1839, p. 428.

²⁵ Rohrer, Joseph, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise von der Türkischen Gränze über die Bukowina durch Ost- und Westgalizien, Schlesien und Mähren nach Wien* (Pichler, Vienna 1804), as quoted by Maner, Hans-Christian, *Galizien : eine Grenzregion im Kalkül der Donaumonarchie im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, IGKS Verlag, Munich 2007, p. 229.

²⁶ Kohl 1844, p. 428.

²⁷ *Ibid.* In both publications, the identifier *Moldavian* seems to refer to the ethnicity/language of the population concerned, while *Moldavia* is reserved for Bessarabia, the Russian part of historical Moldavia.

²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 429.

²⁹ Bonar/McCheyne 1839, p. 481.

³⁰ As observed by Corbea-Hoişie, Kohl thus creates a formula that from then on will adhere to the image of Czernowitz and Bukovina more or less consistently until well into the 1920s. (Corbea-Hoişie, Andrei, *Czernowitzer Geschichten - Über eine städtische Kultur in Mitteleuropa*, Böhlau, Wien/ Köln/ Weimar 2003, p. 18.

to the pretty and cheerful houses which formed the suburbs'.³¹ He considered these achievements clearly Austrian. In his earlier work he had echoed the opinion of one of his sources that 'Czernowitz had only acquired this importance since the Austrian occupation, because before nothing of interest was to be found there apart from some beautiful Jewish women'.³² Not only did he admire the well-kept, Austrian image of Czernowitz, he also saw the town as a crossroads of culture and trade:

*We found the town busy, cheerful and lively. Little as the rest of Europe knows of Tshernowitz, yet the little place enjoys a great reputation, far and wide around, for excellent wares, good cakes, and merry festivals, and whenever the Russian public officers of Chotim, Kamenyez, and other neighbouring villages, wish to enjoy themselves for a little while, they get leave of absence, and come to Tshernowitz for a few days, to drink the good wines of Hungary, and buy pretty trinkets for their wives. Nowhere are Russian and German life brought into such close neighbourhood, and such striking contrast with one another, as here. (...) The inns were full of life and bustle. There was a long table-d'hôtel, at which Germans, Hungarians, Poles, Armenians, Jews, and Walachians, mingled together.*³³

Leon Gerbel wrote in the Viennese periodical *Der Humorist* that intellectual life in the city aimed to keep pace with cosmopolitan modernisation:

*A social reading and conversation club under the name Casino has been established and encloses the élite of the Czernowitz public. Hence a new era of social conditions commences and with the mutual exchange of ideas, the most beautiful fruit is to be expected for the future. That is why our city, which increases each year in size and expansion, will measure up to other provincial capitals with regard to the inner content of its art-loving residents.*³⁴

While emphasising the multi-ethnic contrasts of Czernowitz, Kohl had also pointed at the apparent harmony which prevailed in the region between different groups. Lindner, with his preference to divide Bukovinian society in religious rather than ethnic subgroups, had already marveled at this phenomenon in the early years of the nineteenth century:

*Bukovina presents the rare spectacle that of the biggest superstition alongside an almost boundless tolerance. (...) Rare cases aside, Catholics, Protestants, Armenians, Greeks, Lippovans, Abrahamites, Hutsuls, Jews and Mohammedans live here without hatred and persecution peacefully next to each other. Especially Catholics and Armenians, whose clergy even alternately lend religious robes to each other, get along well.*³⁵

In the earlier mentioned 1855 travelogue, an observation was made which would continue to live on to this day as one of the lasting conclusions, if not truisms, regarding Bukovina's much praised climate of multi-ethnic tolerance, stating that 'the city of Czernowitz as well as Bukovina [as a whole] contain a conglomeration of nationalities, none of which is strong

³¹ Kohl 1844, pp. 428-429.

³² Kohl 1841, p. 13.

³³ Kohl 1844, pp. 429-430.

³⁴ Gerbel, Leon, *Album. Czernowitz*, *Der Humorist*, Wien, 8 October 1842, 811-812, p. 812.

³⁵ Lindner 1808, p. 280.

enough to dominate the other'. Even more, the report stated that 'maintaining public order is made easier since the different nationalities keep an eye on each other'.³⁶

³⁶ "Was die staatspolitische Lage in der Stadt Czernowitz betrifft, so sei die Handhabung [unclear] derselbst keine schwierigen, indem man, bei dem Gemisch von Nationalitäten, die sich gegenseitig kontrolliren, mit wenig [unclear] auskommen kann". *Auszug aus einem Reiseberichte*, Zl. 2158 Pr., Ministerium des Innern, 9 June 1855/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MI, mapa 71/1.

2.1 Historical Claims

Romanian Speakers in Bukovina

In a time in which national, ethnic and racial parameters were presumed to be clearly defined, Bukovinian Romanians speakers were remarkably vaguely defined by their contemporaries. Lemberg school teacher Jandaurek cautiously noted that their dark skin seems to be caused more by the weather than by race',³⁷ Franzos saw them as 'a diverse and a very mixed race' and observed how 'one can travel the countryside for days without finding Romanians of pure blood (*reinblütig*)'.³⁸ Only a few years later, however, Mittelmann presented a radically different picture and concluded that 'it took them a long time to develop into their own race, but now all Romanians, no matter where they live, are clearly identical'.³⁹ Interestingly, Franzos seems to have regarded 'race' and 'pure blood' as a precondition, the 'raw material' of ethnic identity, while Mittelmann presumed it to be the end product of a process.⁴⁰

Readers of Wilhelm Schmidt's account from 1887, describing the migration of Magyar/Csángó settlers in young Bukovina were left with a rather uninviting image of the natives the newcomers had to come to terms with:

*[However] the roses on which those poor souls looking for a new home land strolled were not without thorns, if, in spite of the military government protection, they strolled on roses at all, even if the Vlachs or Romanians from the year dot came up with neither hegemony thoughts, nor confessional hostilities and were not inciting national hatred as they are today, even if there had been cultural contacts with Germans and Poles since a hundred years, the morally and intellectually relatively very low standing, so-called 'indigenous' have learned nothing decent and still supply the major share to criminal statistics.*⁴¹

Whereas the author, tempted as he seems to be, cannot revert to antedated accusations of Romanian nationalism, he depicts the 'natives' as criminal barbarians nonetheless.⁴² Schmidt, a Gymnasium teacher from Suczawa, seemed to have adopted a clearly pro-Hungarian view,

³⁷ Jandaurek 1884, pp. 172-177.

³⁸ Franzos 1901, p. 260.

³⁹ Mittelmann 1907/08, pp. 12-13.

⁴⁰ These contradictory observations suggest that the debate between modern scholars whether the nation precedes nationalism or vice versa is not as new as it is often thought to be.

⁴¹ Schmidt, Wilhelm, *Die magyarischen Colonieen der Bukowina - Eine Plauderei*, in: *Ungarische Revue*, 1887, VIII-IX, 672-683, p. 677.

⁴² Ironically, it is the Magyar residents from Andrásfalva whom the Radautz District Captain portrays as 'people who enjoy not the best reputation anyway and keep the Criminal Division of the District Court only too busy' [Leute, welche sich ohnehin nicht des besten Rufes erfreuen und die Strafabtheilung des Bezirksgerichtes nur allzusehr beschäftigen], *District Captain's Message to Governor's Office on Magyar emigration from Bukovina*, report 18AV, p. 3, Radautz, 10 March 1883/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 4745. Šafran came to similar conclusions: "Im allgemeinen waren diese ungarischen Siedler sehr arm und konnten sich nur schwer behaupten. Es kann einen daher nicht wundernehmen, wenn sie weit in der Runde einen üblen Ruf hatten. Aus Armut dürften sie einen Teil der Diebstähle, die ihnen zugeschrieben wurden, tatsächlich begangen haben. Jedenfalls hatte die Regierung, wie schon an anderer Stelle erörtert wurde, öfters Anlass gegen sie einzuschreiten". He added that their national pride had often been cause for conflicts with neighbours and government agencies. Šafran 1939, p. 101.

which he had probably acquired during his time in Transylvania. In his fervour to dismiss of the Romanian nationalism of the late 1800s, Schmidt did not even hesitate to invoke the assassination of Huguenots in sixteenth-century Paris, only to call into question the tolerance which has always been the core of Bukovinian imagology, and not in the discourse of Romanian nationalists alone.

The popular saying of the Romanians, acting as Cicero's great-grandsons: 'Cine nu este Rumîn, nu are obras', meaning: 'He who is not Romanian, has no human face', this saying of arrogance, if not of nonsense of a Little Thumbling of parvenus, prematurely acting on its own, eagerly awaited culture state, is as little familiar to the Bukovina Magyar as the dictum served up only recently in a Romanian newspaper, suffering from internal contradictions and smelling very strongly of the Saint Bartholomew's Massacre of the 24th August 1572: 'If the Romanians in the land were not as tolerant as they are, Bukovina would be populated by adherents of the Orthodox faith dogmas alone'.⁴³

First of all, it is doubtful whether belligerent nationalist discourses contrive any useful information on Romanian speakers in Bukovinian and how there were perceived at the time. When Schmidt invoked his 'great-grandsons of Cicero' as he did, he probably did not even refer specifically to Bukovinian Romanian nationalists, but to Romanian nationalists in general.

A more personal account originates from descendants of those first settlers and goes back to the first difficult days of Magyar migration to Bukovina:

The harsh Bukovinian winter set in quickly, and around Christmas a [unit of] corn already equalled the price of two geese. The inhabitants of the surrounding Romanian villages took advantage of the situation of the Magyars living in distress and drastically raised the prices of the corn and potatoes, which are usually cheap in this area.⁴⁴

The problem with this anecdote is that it relies heavily on oral transmission, with all the risks of having been modified over the years. Especially the bitter Romanian-Hungarian nationalist disputes of later years might have added a far stronger 'anti-Romanian' twist to it later on. Contemporary Bukovinian sources paint a decidedly more harmonious picture of intra-communal relations. For instance, when the Magyar colony Józseffalva was struck by fire, village priest Drusbaczky (referred to by Schmidt as 'the venerable Father Družbacki'⁴⁵) reported on the various initiatives by Bukovinian Orthodox church authorities - and not by them alone - to assist the victims:

On 4 October 1866, 56 residential buildings burned down in Józseffalva in addition to the existent fruit stock [...] Orthodox landowner Alecu Popovici from Stupka gave 200 pieces of

⁴³ Ibid., p. 682.

⁴⁴ "A kemény bukovinai tél hamar beköszöntött, és karácsony táján egy merce málé (kukorica) már két liba árába került. A környező falvak román lakossága, kihasználva a szorultságban levő magyarok helyzetét, nagyon megdrágította az ezen a vidéken általában olcsó gabonát és pityókát (burgonyát)". Fazekas, István, *Hetediziglen: Bukovinai székegy családi krónika*, Polis, Kolozsvár/Cluj 2005, p. 37.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 679.

*logs to everybody, the distinguished Orthodox priest Andruhovici from Dragojestie gathered various kinds of fruit for the poor affected Magyars of Józseffalva and sent these to them.*⁴⁶

Similar cordial relations are suggested by the coverage in *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* of a local folk costume competition, hosted by Baron Kapri in the village of Jakobestie, locally known by its Hungarian name Fogadjisten:

*Taking a trip to Itzkany, one will see on a gentle hill from the Milleschoutz railway station the castle of Baron Kapri of Jakobestie, which stands out effectively with its red roof from its framing of green forest and which rules the wide Suczawa valley all the way to Solka. Jakobestie is home to the Magyars, the surrounding areas to the Romanians and all are known to dress up in vividly coloured costumes. The costumes of the women in particular show not only the usual embroidery at the shoulders (altiță), they also show richly-coloured adornments on chest and sleeves, which are painstakingly embroidered by busy hands during the long winter evenings. Council Kolbenheyer, who has always greatly cared for this branch of Bukovinian domestic industry and who will publish a study on the domestic embroidery of Bukovina in the near future, found yield for his studies in the areas around Jakobestie and wasted no opportunity to assist the people with advice and encouragement regarding their artistic work. In this endeavour, Council Kolbenheyer found in the landlord of Baron Georg Jakobestie Kapri a kindred sponsor who hosts a harvest festival at his castle every year and bestows awards upon the most beautiful costumes. This year's harvest festival was held at Jakobestie Castle Sunday on the first of this month in the presence of the district chief, Administrative Council Von Tarangul and his wife and with the participation of more than 500 peasants from neighboring villages in groups, all in their Sunday best. First in line was the gypsy band from Gurasolcze, then came the girls, boys, men and women until the wide square in front of the castle was filled by an immense crowd of happy faces, tanned by harvest labour. Council Kolbenheyer never tired to check every single costume, sometimes to praise, sometimes to rebuke and selected the most beautiful embroidery in order to submit it for awards: 16 girls received prizes of 10 Crowns from the hands of the charming castle lady Baroness Luzza Kapri while the country folk cheered. After the award ceremony a 'Hora mare' united all participants in a joyful dance, and only late in the evening these beautiful, weather-blessed festivities ended, owing its success particularly to the young and very likable Baron Emanuel Kapri.*⁴⁷

Not a word in this account suggests that the competition was organised along national lines, and the description of the costumes involved does not make clear if a distinction between 'Magyar' and 'Romanian' costumes could be made at all; on top of that, none of the participants seems to have taken offence when asked to participate in a typical 'Romanian' *Hora mare*.

⁴⁶ "Im Jahre 1866 am 4. Oktober sind in Jóseffalva 56 Wohngebäude nebst dem vorhandenen Fruchtvorrath verbrannt, [...] Aleko Popovics griechisch-orientalischer Gutsherr in Stupka hat jedem 200 Stück Holzstämme gegeben, Andruhovits der ausgezeichnete griechisch-orientalische Pfarrer in Dragojest sammelte verschiedene Fruchtgattungen für die armen abgebrannten Magyaren in Jóseffalva und übersandete denselben". Drusbaczky, Bonaventura, *Auszug aus dem Gesuche der Gemeinde Jóseffalva in Bukovina um einen Geldbeitrag ex 6838.1868*, addressed to The Hungarian Parliament in Budapest, Józseffalva 1866/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 2881.

⁴⁷ *Volkstrachtenkonkurrenz in Jakobestie*, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 11.09.1912, p. 3.

By sampling just a few cases of the ‘Magyar’ view on ‘Bukovinian Romanians’, operating principles are challenged and reports of day-to-day relations seem to contradict the views generally promoted by the likes of Schmidt. The final case also illustrates the difficulty when operating a distinction like ‘the other’: in the Jakobestie/Fogadjisten example, the juxtaposition ‘Magyar-Romanian’ initially sets the tone, but once the correspondent shifted his attention to the tool meant to underline this difference, ‘folk costume’, he only referred to ‘Bukovinian embroidery’. The earlier example of Father Drusbacky’s reports on how the Orthodox clergy had rendered assistance to the residents of Józseffalva showed similar signs of ‘national blindness’: knowing the dominant position of Romanian-speakers in the Orthodox church and their prevalence in the south of Bukovina, Drusbacky could easily have labeled them ‘Romanians’. Yet he did not. The only source to have mentioned Magyar-Vlach/Romanian tensions in Bukovina is Schmidt, who refused to substantiate his claims and reserved his bitter comments for Romanian nationalism in general without specific reference to Bukovinian-Romanian nationalism.

‘Outsiders’, non-Bukovinians or those addressing an outsider audience, obviously, are a richer source of stereotyping. To this day, most publications on Bukovinian ethnography stick to the traditional division of ‘nationalities’ or ‘ethnotypes’. This categorisation and its subsequent stereotyping even facilitates interpretations of history as is shown as recently as 2002 with the statement relating to the Austrian annexation of Bukovina, that ‘the peaceful and conciliatory nature of the Romanian made him a devoted citizen of the newly installed order, defending his rights with words instead of weapons’ and that ‘newcomers enjoyed more freedom among the tolerant Romanians than in their regions of origin’⁴⁸. Only an author like Șafran, who from his Romanian-nationalist point of view must have felt uneasy presenting an all-too-tolerant ‘native’ attitude towards the large numbers of emigrants after the Austrian annexation, claimed that ‘the native Romanian population managed to acquire only very cool relations (*ein ganz kühles Verhältnis*) with the new migrants’.⁴⁹

The image of the ‘peaceful and tolerant’ Bukovinian Romanian appears throughout the existence of Austrian Bukovina, and, as shown above, long thereafter. When Herman Mittelman tried to lure tourists to his beloved Bukovina in the early twentieth century, he recommended his Romanian compatriots for being ‘peaceful, orderly and courageous’ and added that ‘a lively temperament, endurance, loyalty and gratitude were the distinguishing features inherent in the entire nation’,⁵⁰ which was also ‘very inclined to peaceful cohabitation with foreign co-nationals (*mit fremden Nationsgenossen*)’.⁵¹ A more detailed, but not dissimilar description comes from a governor in Bukovina, Baron Bourguignon, who reported to Vienna in an effort to explain several tumultuous incidents surrounding Czernowitz

⁴⁸ Olaru, Marian and Purici, Ștefan, ‘Bucovinism’ și ‘homo bucovinensis’, in: *Analele Bucovinei*, 2002, IX, vol. 2, 367- 374, p. 368.

⁴⁹ Șafran 1939, p. 31.

⁵⁰ Mittelman, Herman, *Illustrierter Führer durch die Bukowina*, Verlag der Buchhandlung Romuald Schally, Czernowitz 1907/8, p. 29.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

University memorial ceremonies for the deceased Crown Prince Rudolph in 1889⁵² and described the different faculties, their professors and students:

*Firstly, as regards the theological faculty, the professors hired there are all native Bukovinians and of the Orthodox denomination. According to their nationality, they are Romanians [...] and members of the here existing Club for Romanian Literature and Culture, but all in all they are politically very moderate and very tolerant of other nationalities and confessions. They are aspiring teachers throughout, quiet men who enjoy public esteem at the same time, perfectly satisfied with their status and position, which have improved significantly since the conversion of the former ecclesiastical diocese institution in a theological faculty; in their faculty, there has hitherto never been a conflict, they live in peace and harmony with each other and with the professors of the other faculty.*⁵³

Bourguignon not only underscored aspects of peace and harmony within the theological faculty, but, strikingly, only referred to its members' Romanian nationality after having designated them as Bukovinians and Orthodox - the latter being rather self-evident at an Orthodox theological faculty.

Not all stereotyping regarding Bukovinian Romanians is as positive as those in the 'tolerance/hospitality' category. Mittelmann's travel guide noted that 'they needed strong leadership'⁵⁴. In his volume on Galicia and Bukovina, Julius Jandaurek pointed at the Romanian fear of vampires and further claimed that 'Romanians did not eat much and did not need much, their tendency to drink not taken into account', but added that he had never seen a Romanian woman drunk⁵⁵, while Franzos observed that Romanians 'had a lot of natural dignity - as long as they are sober'.⁵⁶

Already in 1823, when Emperor Franz I visited Bukovina, the local district captain praised the German subjects for their diligence. However, 'the Vlachs - he said - grow corn, and in case of a bad harvest, they would be in dire straits'.⁵⁷ A reputation of being bad farmers, especially

⁵² For more on these incidents, see paragraph 3 of Part III: The Empire, the Nation and the Region: Competing Identifications in Bukovina/ 3.2: Bukovinians and the Habsburg dynasty/ Bukovinians and the Extended Habsburg Family.

⁵³ "Was zunächst die theologische Fakultät anbelangt, so sind die an derselben angestellten Professoren sämtlich Bukowinaer Landeskinden und gr.or. Confession. Nach ihrer Nationalität sind sie Rumänen, [...] sind Mitglieder des hier bestehenden Vereins für rumänische Literatur und Cultur, jedoch in politischer Beziehung sämtlich sehr gemässigte und sehr tolerant gegenüber anderen Nationalitäten und Confessionen. Es sind dies durchgehends strebsame Lehrer, dabei ruhige der allgemeinen Achtung sich erfreuende Männer, sie sind mit ihrer Stellung und Lage, welche sich seit der Umwandlung der früher bestanden geistlichen Diözesenanstalt in eine theologische Fakultät wesentlich gebessert hat, vollkommen zufrieden; in ihrer Fakultät hat es bisher niemals einen Conflict gegeben, sie leben in Frieden und Eintracht miteinander und mit den Professoren der anderen Fakultät". Bourguignon, Friedrich, *Bericht des Landespräsidenten an den Minister für Cultus und Unterricht*, 482 Pr., Czernowitz, 27 March 1889/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCÎ, XCIII/9.

⁵⁴ Mittelmann 1907/8, p. 14.

⁵⁵ Jandaurek, Julius, *Das Königreich Galizien und Lodomerien und das Herzogthum Bukowina (Die Laender Oesterreich-Ungarns in Wort und Bild – 10)*, Graef, Vienna 1884, pp. 172-177.

⁵⁶ Franzos 1901, p. 260.

⁵⁷ Wagner, Rudolf, *Reisetagebücher des österreichischen Kaisers Franz I [des Ersten] in die Bukowina (1817 und 1823)*, Der Südostdeutsche, Munich 1979, pp. 80-81.

when compared to the German immigrants, would continue to stick stubbornly to Romanian-speaking Bukovinians. Even as recent as 1993, Bukovinian-born Adolf Katzenbeisser stated that ‘Romanians were sometimes referred to as lazy by the Germans. Eastern Europeans with their different mentality and way of life could in no way compete with the able, ambitious and performance-minded Germans, who calculated output’.⁵⁸

Philipp Menczel equally implied the superiority of German discipline in his memoirs when he recalled that ‘the Romanians, who were the neighbours of [these] Germans, had assimilated: their settlements contrasted favourably with the purely Romanian villages (...).’⁵⁹ According to August Nibio, these feelings of superiority were overtly displayed, since ‘the Romanians were almost consistently called Vlachs by the Germans, always in a somewhat contemptuous sense, but mostly ‘stinking Vlachs’, also ‘sheepskins’ (*cojoci*) or eagle, golden eagle’.⁶⁰

Not surprisingly, such attitudes offered a welcome opportunity for Romanian nationalists to bewail how the ‘natives’ were being humbled by ‘strangers’. In an anonymous publication (signed only ‘A Bukovinian’) against the alleged ‘Ruthenisation of Bukovina and other reasons for the denationalisation of the Romanian people’, the author described what supposedly happened when a Bukovinian Romanian entered the home of his German daughter-in-law:

“Out, you peasant, you stinking Vlach! What does this smelly peasant want from you, I don’t want to see him in my house, otherwise I will kick him out with you!” This way, the father of the man is treated by the lovely and cultured foreign (Swabian) woman. But the Romanian husband is not treated any better. There is no escape for him from epithets like: ‘you Vlach peasant’, ‘Your father is a smelly peasant and so are you’, ‘you stupid Vlach’ etc. ..., all this they assign to their men, all this true Swabian gentleness, grace and finesse, as an influx of culture from a nation that claims to be a superior race. Because here in Bukovina, a foreign woman, especially a Swabian one, believes that she is superior to the Romanian man, and that no matter how poor and wretched she might be, she has still performed a grand gesture by suffering a Vlach.’⁶¹

Matters were made worse by the fact that educated Romanian girls ‘would do everything to marry a stranger, no matter how stupid, alcoholic he might be’, the same anonymous author grumbled. This way, the brides in question implicitly acknowledged ‘foreign superiority’.⁶² In 1913, the Romanian nationalists of *Viața Nouă* were outraged when a certain Hellmann, alleged to ventilate his dissatisfaction with his new home and its residents liberally, was appointed as a teacher to Gymnasium no. 3 in Suczawa:

⁵⁸ Katzenbeisser, Adolf, *Geboren in der Bukowina. Geschichte eines Lebens. Geschichte einer Zeit*, author’s edition, Vienna 1993, p. 69.

⁵⁹ Menczel, Philipp, *Trügerische Lösungen. Erlebnisse u. Betrachtungen eines Österreicherers*, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, Stuttgart, Berlin 1932, p. 34.

⁶⁰ Nibio, August, *Über den Einfluß von Sitten und Sprache der Rumänen auf die Deutschen in der Bukowina*, Bukowiner Volks-Zeitung, 07.04.1912, p. 2.

⁶¹ NN, *Rutenisarea Bucovinei și cauzele desnaționalizării poporului român*, Minerva, Bucharest 1904, p. 179.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 180.

He calls the Romanians 'pig barons' (Schweinebarone) and says that Suczawa rather resembles a region of Siberia - which is meant to imply that we are all culturally backward and wild as those on the Siberian plains, to where the Russians send their biggest bandits and wrongdoers. Obviously, the German was thinking of his own ordeal when he saw that the Ministry had decided Suczawa to be his penal settlement, and therefore to him a kind of Siberia. (...) The newspaper of those same local nationalist Germans, 'Bukowinaer Nachrichten', allowed itself the other day to ridicule us and our language in such a way that another German newspaper, 'Volksfreund', felt obliged to severely box the impertinent ears of those of the 'Nachrichten', requesting that the little Germans do not behave so arrogantly towards us, the native people.⁶³

Whether it is questionable if the authors were insulted in their capacity as Romanians or as Bukovinians, 'the Austrian Siberians', remains unclear. As in many cases, it was probably a bit of both, and for those Bukovinian Romanian nationalists who regarded Bukovina as their exclusive historical cradle, there was no distinction between the two. As will be discussed in Part III, the feeling among Bukovinians that their crownland was regarded as a 'penal colony' within the Empire was a constant factor in public debates.

Not only ethnic/nationalist German circles regarded 'the natives' with some disdain. In a study on Jewish identity in Czernowitz, it is noted that Jews considered Romanians and Ruthenians culturally inferior⁶⁴ and that Romanians were well aware of this.⁶⁵ The sensitivity of the matter is aptly illustrated by a minor incident from 1908, when a group of young men was accused of having stolen flour from a freight train and some Czernowitz newspapers subsequently mentioned that the suspects were Bukovinian Romanians. Nationalist newspaper *Voința Poporului* responded venomously to the insinuation:

So now the Romanians from Bukovina are a nation of thieves and bandits, a bunch of wild men, who thus have to be called to order, even with arms if possible. This the Jewish newspapers from Czernowitz have established. How else could be explained that some youngsters - we do not know to which nationality they belong since they have not been caught yet - who surely live in very good circumstances, and are surely not peasants or better said peasant labourers, exploited by Jewish usurers and innkeepers, had the boldness to enter a freight train and steal flour!⁶⁶

Apart from the Romanian nationalist frustration of being portrayed as uncultured, these few lines from *Voința Poporului* reveal a number of intertwined issues of Habsburg Bukovina: anti-Semitism, economic hardship and usury, in this case enhanced by the fact that all prominent (and therefore German-language) newspapers were in Jewish hands.

⁶³ Sentinela, *Obrăznicie nemțască*, Viața Nouă, 64, 09.03.1913, p. 3. The 'pig baron' insult may well have been inspired by Johann Strauss II's *The Gypsy Baron* (*Der Zigeunerbaron*) is an operetta *The Gypsy Baron* (German: *Der Zigeunerbaron*) which had premiered on 24 October 1885. The libretto was based on a story by Mór Jókai and set in Transylvania.

⁶⁴ Heymann, Florence, *Le crépuscule des lieux - Identités juives de Czernowitz*, Stock, Paris 2003, p. 46.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁶⁶ *Voința Poporului*, 36, 06.09.1908, p. 3.

An even bigger annoyance to Bukovinian Romanian nationalists was the threat from within: The local elite were noticeably willing to embrace both German culture and language. As noted above, women regarded marrying a 'foreigner' as status-enhancing and such views were shared by many of the upper class. Boyars sent their sons to Vienna to be educated and were considered friends of the German culture and language. The latter was even dubbed 'their second mother tongue' (*zweite Muttersprache*).⁶⁷ A much-cited incident occurred in the 1890s, when the Romanian King Carol I was passing through Czernowitz and was greeted at the railway station by a delegation of Bukovinian dignitaries. *Bukowinaer Rundschau* depicted the scene as follows:

*At the reception of the Romanian king in Czernowitz railway station a very amusing incident took place, which for more than once reason deserves to be rescued from oblivion. Baron Nicholas Mustatza was introduced to the king as well, in fact as a particularly 'good' Romanian, an honour befitting the head of the national party. The King of Romania, who sincerely believed he was dealing with a whole-blood Romanian, addressed Baron Mustatza in Romanian and was utterly surprised to be answered in German by the leader of the Bukovinian Romanians. "We have received a German education here!" ("Wir sind hier deutsch erzogen!"), the national hero begged to excuse his ignorance regarding the Romanian language. Hurriedly, the introduced Baron Mustatza was put aside again, the young Baron Hurmuzaki PhD then addressed the King in German, the Baron replied in Romanian, the King assessed Baron Mustatza with a quick glance and smiled. The attending Romanians however had turned bright red with shame.*⁶⁸

According to Iorga, the incident 'earned the Baron an Austrian award, much Austrian sympathy and the disapproval of all Romanians in Bukovina who truly cared for their nation'.⁶⁹ Nistor observed that 'Bishop Hacman's Bukovinist'⁷⁰ concept was shared by many Romanian and foreign proprietors' and 'was expressed most clearly by the response of Nicholas Mustatza, descendant of a Greek leaseholder in Bukovina, made baron by de Austrians for supplying their army during the Napoleonic wars'.⁷¹ It is not difficult to imagine the embarrassment felt by Romanian nationalists. It explains why Iorga tried to imply a kind of Viennese conspiracy behind Mustatza's clumsy performance and why Nistor accused the baron of 'Bukovinism', probably the nastiest insult he could think of. Obviously, Nistor readily emphasised Mustatza's 'foreign' roots and - incorrectly - suggested the baron owned his title solely to services rendered to the Habsburgs.⁷² Moreover, he argued that Mustatza had

⁶⁷ Simiginowicz-Staufe, Ludwig Adolf, *Die Völkergruppen der Bukowina*, Czopp, Czernowitz 1884, p. 34.

⁶⁸ *Glückliche Katastrophe*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 2789, 29.07.1898, p. 1.

⁶⁹ Iorga 1905/2006, p. 236.

⁷⁰ For more on 'Bukovinism', see Part III, paragraph 4.

⁷¹ Nistor 1991, pp. 208-209.

⁷² According to the International Association of Nobility, Theodor Mustaca arrived in the second half of the 18th Century in Moldavia. Soon after he purchased the estate Sadagora and on 5 November 1794 he was knighted (Ritter) with the title 'of Sadagora'. In 1821 he was promoted to baron (Freiherr). Source: www.edelleute.eu, retrieved on 21 May 2010.

replied ‘haughtily’ (*țanțos*),⁷³ which puts the scene in a light quite different from that of the awkwardness at the railway station as depicted by *Bukowinaer Rundschau*. The air of lofty superiority attributed to Mustatza would prove hard to shake off. In 2004, Corbea-Hoisie provided the following interpretation:

*This cultural integration above social classes and even nations was pushed very far because in the 1890s during a visit by the Romanian sovereign in Czernowitz, a representative of one of the most prominent aristocratic families refused to answer the King’s salutation in Romanian, and told him in German that he was educated in that language. This was a consequence of the consistent and continuous education policy in the Josephinist spirit implemented by the Austrian authorities on the territory of the new province in the early years of the military administration.*⁷⁴

The element of ‘refusal’ here together with the presumed far-reaching cultural integration under the flag of Josephinism provide practical reasons to question this interpretation of events as well as the one given by *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, which, by the way, served as an introduction to an article which harshly attacked the person of Baron Mustatza and thus had not intended to make nobleman look more sympathetic. The only consistent elements in all versions are the arrival of the King, his salutation in German and Mustatza’s answer. Whether he answered the sovereign ‘haughtily’ or ‘blushingly’ can no longer be determined, nor can be established if he ‘refused’ to answer or ‘begged to excuse his ignorance’. However, it seems unlikely that the well-bred nobleman would snub a crowned head of state or that he would be unable to answer even one question in Romanian. An aspect so far ignored is the common cultural background both protagonists shared: as a born Hohenzoller, the King’s mother tongue was obviously German. In an effort to show courtesy, and most likely to demonstrate that Bukovina was not just a backward province, the Baron just might have wanted to show off his decent upbringing. After all, his reply does not refer to language alone, but to his education as a whole. An extreme, all-compassing cultural integration under the influence of Josephinism, as suggested by Corbea-Hoisie, might here be reduced to the fact that German was the *lingua franca* of the Habsburg Monarchy and for a family like the Mustatzas, with their close political ties to its power centre Vienna, a proper command of its language and familiarity with its culture were a given.

The railway station incident does not alter the fact that the eager embrace of German culture by the elites, who at the same time felt a growing pressure from nationalists to profile themselves firmly as ‘Romanians’, faced heated debates and attacks. Accordingly, the earlier quoted ‘Bukovinian’ deplored that

(...) it is hardly surprising if today the Romanian cultural elite of Bukovina, with very few exceptions, does not know Romanian and does not have love for or a more profound or true sense of the language and the nation, when this language of theirs, which they use now and then, is, with little exceptions, only a Romanian-Swabian (‘romano-șvăbesc’) dialect. Today, only the Romanian peasant, who still exists however decimated, is the one who still speaks

⁷³ Nistor 1991, p. 209.

⁷⁴ Corbea-Hoisie, Andrei, *La Bucovine - Éléments d'histoire politique et culturelle*, Institut d'Études Slaves, Paris 2004, p. 20.

pure Romanian while the cultural elite occupies itself exclusively with the German language and literature. It is therefore hardly surprising that everywhere you go to a so-called Romanian club, association or party, nearly everybody, Romanian language teachers, so-called Romanian men of letters, catechists and even the learned members (learned in regard to collected editions of popular poetry and literature, compiled for them by their students) of the Romanian Academy of Bucharest employ in their conversations, their toasts and even at home with their families preferably the German language, that our ladies and damsels, even those who are members of the 'Association of Romanian Ladies' and have the mission to spread the national mindset among their tender Romanian scion, among our daughters, so that they become true Romanian mothers (adevărate mame române), the most splendid mission for our girls, use the German language exclusively and with the greatest pleasure in all their business (even in family business) on all occasions, on the road, in shops, on the market, while shopping, whenever they go out, in short everywhere and amongst their own whenever they meet. Indeed, they do this with an exceptional pride because they want to show in this way that they are cultured, well-bred and that they are worth a lot more than those who do not know how to fart in Swabian (a părțai la șvabește). Because of this complete lack of national mindset of our Romanian ladies it happens sometimes, even regularly, that if a single Swabian, Polish etc. woman comes to their association, even if only to ask for help or to beg for money, and the conversation had so far by chance been in Romanian, it switches completely to German, Polish or even Russian.⁷⁵

Worse, Romanian ladies apparently did not need 'foreign' ladies in their presence in order to choose German-language publications over Romanian ones. In 1913, Vasile Greciuc complained that in most Bukovinian Romanian families, the women rather read *Leipziger-Illustrierte-Zeitung* or *Das Buch für Alle* than *Luceafărul* or *Junimea Literară*.⁷⁶

In a different tone of voice, these phenomena were echoed by *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, in a piece previously published in *Gazeta Bucovinei* and in the Viennese *Rumänische Revue*:

Those who know us better (...) know exactly that perhaps none of the non-German Austrian tribes is as responsive to German culture as the Romanians of Bukovina. They learn the German language with particular preference already in elementary school, they learn it in secondary school etc. In the homes of the nobility, the clergy and the rest of Romanian intelligence they delight in speaking German, but in most cases to the detriment of the mother tongue. No matter how numerous a Romanian social circle is, its members will immediately switch to German as the language of conversation when only a single German is among them, a favour that neither the Germans, nor the Poles would do a single, nay, not even a dozen of Romanians. The German theatre in Czernowitz was built with large sums of money coming from Romanian hands and again it is the Romanians who visit it most often and most regularly.⁷⁷

In order to refute claims that Bukovinian Romanians fostered anti-German sentiments, the author plainly attempted to depict the mentioned Germanophilia as a positive trait in the framework of which Romanian nationalism should be allowed to flourish without being

⁷⁵ NN, *Rutenisarea* etc. 1904, p. 152.

⁷⁶ Greciuc, Vasile, *Cultura românească în Bucovina*, Societatea tipografică bucovineană, Czernowitz 1913, p. 30.

⁷⁷ *Die Bukowiner Rumänen und das Deutschtum*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 1232, 27.12.1892, p. 1.

accused of being disloyal to the Habsburg Empire. The anonymous 'Bukovinian' on the other hand, who had published his work in Bucharest, was obviously not - or in any case less - troubled by censorship or matters of disloyalty to the Habsburg Throne and could in this way blatantly denounce 'Swabian farts' and other 'foreign' elements as a direct threat to Romanian culture in Bukovina.

The readiness of Romanian Bukovinians to switch from Romanian to any other language at the slightest provocation proved to be an enduring component of the image created by themselves (auto-image) as well as by others (hetero-image). Shortly after the collapse of the Monarchy and the unification of Bukovina with Romania, *Glasul Bucovinei* revealed 'that about fifteen years ago professor Iorga was the dinner guest of a Bukovinian Romanian and that he was completely neglected once a university professor imported from the West came into the house, because in his narrow-mindedness the Bukovinian only noticed what came from the West, from Vienna, whereas he ignored and even despised the achievements of his own culture and literature'.⁷⁸ What only years before had been presented as a 'favour' by the Romanian Bukovinians to the non-speaking people around them, had changed into 'narrow-mindedness' and 'disdain for one's own culture' once Austrian censors had left the stage. This paradigm shift is consistent with the different ways in which Baron Mustatza's quoted performance was assessed over the years.

Meanwhile, linguistic adjustment was not seen as a feature of the Romanian-speaking élites exclusively. Quite unlike the case argued above, Romanian nationalists claimed that lower-class Bukovinians were targets for Ruthenian rather than German manipulation:

*The Romanian peasant with his extreme fondness of foreign languages, and his language talents - which in this case should actually be labeled a national misfortune - easily and quickly picks up the very simple and grammatically primitive Slavic dialect (Mundart) of the neighbouring nation, while the Ruthenian, partly as a result from innate stubbornness, partly a result of planned agitation evoked by agitation, usually does not learn a new language at all.*⁷⁹

The malleable Romanian peasant becoming Ruthenian in the blink of an eye was a cornerstone of the 'Ruthenisation theory' of Romanian nationalists, although it was denied and ridiculed within their own circles as well: Aurel Onciul skitted upon educated Romanian nationalists who lamented that 'peasants went to sleep as Romanians and woke up as Ruthenians', accusing them of having lost all confidence in the ability of Bukovinian Romanians to defend their proper national identity.⁸⁰ Still, within the Bukovinian context it is one of the best examples of a presumed regional characteristic consistently applied in political bickering between nationalists - Romanian and Ruthenian in this case. Enviously, *Deșteptarea*

⁷⁸ *Vom Tage: Aus der Bukowinaer Presse - Glasul Bucovinei*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung/Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 04.04.1919, p. 3.

⁷⁹ (Zota, Iancu), *Die Slavisierung der Bukowina im 19. Jh. als Ausgangspunkt grosspolnischer Zukunftspolitik. Ethnographische und politische Betrachtungen*, Gerolds, Vienna 1900, p. 14.

⁸⁰ Onciul, Aurel Constantin, *Aurel Ritter von Onciul und der nationale Ausgleich in der österreichischen Bukowina: eine wissenschaftliche Dokumentation*, author's edition, Nuremberg 1999, p. 63.

claimed that Romanians in Transylvania had managed to maintain language and ‘purity’ since they never married members of other ethnic groups:

With us Bukovinians, things are different: with us, you see a poor Romanian lad take a girl from another nation, who does not speak Romanian. With us, you see a Romanian girl marry a foreign lad, who does not speak Romanian either. And what happens in these cases? The spouses speak either both languages, Romanian and Ruthenian for instance, so that they will not know what they are, Romanians or Ruthenians, or they speak only Ruthenian, which is the bigger shame, because this way their children will think of themselves as Ruthenians. This is very bad and in Transylvania such things do not occur. Over there Romanians have not defiled their blood with that of another nation and it is the Holy Lord who made them act in this fine way. (...) We can go to church with strangers of the same denomination, but we should not marry them.⁸¹

The author’s evident resentment towards Romanian Bukovinians indicates that loyalty questions such as ‘region vs. nationality’ were a serious point of discussion. At the same time, Romanian nationalists saw their views reflected in contemporary scholarly publications like in Weigand’s description of dialects in Bukovina and Bessarabia, in which the author concluded that in the Kucurmare area ‘it can be observed in general that the Romanians in this area are very easily Slavified’ and that ‘in mixed communities, they all speak good Ruthenian, even where they are by far the majority, and although the clergy as well as the school is working consistently to promote Romanian’.⁸²

Similarly, the track record of Romanian nationalist community building seems modest when compared to other ethnically defined groups in Austrian Bukovina. Village reading rooms as established by Ruthenian activists were unknown.⁸³ Romanian nationalists were well aware of this and envied their Ruthenian adversaries in this respect.⁸⁴ Urban cultural associations popular among Ruthenians and Jews were less numerous and less actively supported in Romanian national circles.⁸⁵

Still, the degree of active support at the time is hard to measure and consequently evaluated differently by different sources. Turczynski for example equals the strong community sense of the Romanians to that of the Jews.⁸⁶ In his famous lamentation “The Theft of Bukovina”, Kogălniceanu assesses that ‘among the many qualities we Romanians lack is the one of being solidly united, of knowing how to support each other in times of need and want’.⁸⁷ A similar

⁸¹ Deșteptarea, 20, 15.10.1893, p. 153.

⁸² Weigand, Gustav, *Die Dialekte der Bukowina und Bessarabiens. Mit einem Titelbilde und Musikbeilagen*, Barth, Leipzig 1904, p. 15.

⁸³ A claim to the contrary can be found with Iacobescu quoting Sbiera. Here the phenomenon of the ‘travelling teacher’ is described, who, following an ancient Romanian custom, went from village to village to gather young boys in one of the larger dwellings in order to teach them to read and write in Romanian (“*după o Bucoavnă tipărită la Buda (...) apoi Ceaslovul, Orologierul și Psaltirea, mai rar Biblia*”) Iacobescu 1993, pp. 285-86.

⁸⁴ See for instance Apărarea Națională, 16, 01.03.1908, p. 1.

⁸⁵ Hausleitner 2001, p. 59.

⁸⁶ Turczynski 1993, p. 180.

⁸⁷ (Kogălniceanu, Mihail), *Răpirea Bucovinei*, Minerva, Bucharest 1907, p. 55.

observation is made by Ion Drăgușanul with reference to the situation in Bukovina shortly after the Austrian occupation:

With us, there has always been a tradition of rushing for foreign aristocratic titles, especially Polish, in such a way that the chance of obtaining one of those incites pride and detachment from one's roots. Nobility, merchants and leaseholders, all are allured by titles like flies by honey. Everyone wants security, wealth and a nobleman's life, so to get as much as possible from the inherited estates, they colonise them extensively with foreigners without pondering on future risks.⁸⁸

Not only greed and ambition were seen as a hindrance to the nationalist project: unlike their Czech and Polish peers, the Bukovinian Romanian educated elite was reluctant to bridge class distinctions and typically steered clear of general nationalist gatherings:

Only in our case, the learned classes, who were always invited to these meetings, with few exceptions deemed it proper to stay away entirely. Only with us Romanians, caste spirit flourishes like it did in the past. This will have to stop. Workers will only have confidence in us if we do not trivialise them, but give them a friendly welcome and dwell lovingly in their midst. It is not about becoming their drinking mates, but about befriending them, listening to their bitterness and giving them good advice. Then their confidence in the learned classes will be great and infinite.⁸⁹

Identification with the Romanian national idea was more firmly entrenched within the cordial yet competitive sphere of society events such as the national balls. After having organised the first of such events in 1864 (as mentioned before when discussing Ion Nistor's work in the literature survey of this thesis), Romanian nationalist organisations had confidently established their position in this respect by the turn of the century. This was reflected in a regional novel of the time, written by Bukovinian Anna Pawlitschek, who let one of her characters fret about the upcoming German ball in Czernowitz:

You must know, the ball should become a huge success. The Romanians must be trumped! Remember their fabulous New Year's feast on 12 January! It is crucial for us Germans to stick together.⁹⁰

Unsurprisingly, these events were reserved for the upper crust and hence disclosed little to nothing with regard to a possible all-encompassing sense of community among Romanian speakers in Bukovina. And, ironically, just like the Romanian learned classes were accused of ignoring the common people, social climbers among those very learned classes like the 'democratic priest' quoted below, felt ignored and humiliated by their own aristocracy at national balls:

⁸⁸ Drăgușanul, Ion, *Identități deturnate – o istorie anecdotică a Bucovinei*, Grupul editorial Mușatinii, Suceava 2000, p. 64.

⁸⁹ *Apărarea Națională*, 16.02.1908, p. 1.

⁹⁰ "Du musst wissen, der Ball soll glänzend ausfallen. Die Rumänenpartei muss übertrumpft werden! Denke an ihre brillante Sylvesterfeier am 12. Jänner! (...) Da gibt's jetzt, dass wir Deutschen zusammenhalten". Pawlitschek, Anna, *Ob ich dich liebe. Roman aus dem Kleinstadtleben der Bukowina*, Konegen, Vienna 1897, pp. 26-27.

*About five years ago, boyars were even ashamed to go to the 'Junimea' ball together with the Romanian intelligence which could not boast of being of boyar origin, but rather went with haughty soldiers and hussars from other nations, and it agreed even less with spoiled little lords like our boyars to work for the poor landfolk.*⁹¹

Ruthenian speakers in Bukovina

Just like Bukovina's Romanian speakers, its Ruthenian speakers were the subject of an elaborate catalog of images and stereotypes. In his travel guide for Bukovina, industrious Bukovina promoter Mittelman depicted Bukovinian Ruthenians as being 'of strong character, lively and easily excited', while 'their loyalty, devotion and their courage, which easily turned into recklessness, were proverbial'.⁹² This image of 'recklessness' was not shared by those deeming the Ruthenian suspicious towards anyone, but mostly towards clergyfolk, including his own priest, 'for he knew that every time he visited him, it would cost him a chicken or at least an egg'.⁹³ Ruthenians were said to be true to their independence, their kin and their land (and therefore seldom migrated) and though 'they did not accept orders, with a friendly word one would get them to do anything'.⁹⁴

Poverty was an overall trait, leading to alcohol abuse and subsequently to even more misery. Splény had already complained about this 'Ruthenian vice' as well as about the role Jewish usurers played here. A century later, the situation seemed to have remained unchanged, however some attention was paid to the ambiguous and symbiotic relations between usurer and borrower: 'No matter how the Jew is made a target of mockery, an object of ridicule, the centre of a truly rich treasure of anecdotes and stories, the peasant still gladly returns to him'.⁹⁵ 'Free farmers' (the so-called *Reseschenadel*, which had received noble titles after the Austrian annexation and were thus entitled to add 'de' to their names) were just as poverty-stricken and were ridiculed by their fellow villagers since they were 'numerous like poppyseed - but with lice the size of beans'.⁹⁶ Polish-speaking Bukovinians were said to have called Ruthenian speakers 'pigs' ('*Co Rusyn, to swinia*').⁹⁷

Budai-Deleanu set a trend when he noted that 'the Moldavians are smarter and funnier than the Rusnyaks'.⁹⁸ A lack of intellect and education was stubbornly attributed to Ruthenian speakers, while it was asserted that they lived on a culturally low level because their fathers were reluctant to send their offspring to school 'since they had always survived without any

⁹¹ *Chestiunea economică și organizarea clerului*, Voința Poporului, 37, 09.09.1904, p. 7.

⁹² Mittelman 1907/8, p. 29.

⁹³ Simiginowicz-Staufe 1884, pp.44-45.

⁹⁴ Budai-Deleanu in Grigorovici 1998, p. 382 (Ab. 13).

⁹⁵ Simiginowicz-Staufe 1884, pp. 42-43.

⁹⁶ Nibio, August, *Vom Volkswitz und den Spitznamen in der Bukowina*, Bukowiner Volks-Zeitung, 07.04.1912, p. 2.

⁹⁷ Nibio, August, *Vom Volkswitz und den Spitznamen in der Bukowina*, Bukowiner Volks-Zeitung, 14.04.1912, p. 1.

⁹⁸ Budai-Deleanu in Grigorovici 1998, p. 382 (Ab. 13).

education themselves'.⁹⁹ For the sake of completeness, it should be added that Bukovinian Romanian nationalists complained about a similar reluctance expressed by the peasant population they tried to reach through their awareness campaigns themselves, as is illustrated by *Voința poporului* in 1905:

*Among many other flaws, we Bukovinian Romanians have an unforgivable one: we neglect the speech of our ancestors and use other foreign tongues. (...) I only wish to say now that we can achieve a pretty solid and Romanian growth within the family if parents assume this sacred obligation towards their children. (...) I think the poor peasant's answer when asked to send his child to school is known to each of us: "Don't think I'll turn him into a lord!" In this response, dictated by many needs which might arise from the loss of manpower, lies a lack of judgment: peasants do not think of the benefits that education might bring one day, but only of the needs of the moment.*¹⁰⁰

In search of an answer to the acclaimed assimilation of Romanians into Ruthenian communities, Romanian nationalists concluded that 'the smarter Romanian woman easily learned her husband's foreign language whereas the Ruthenian woman did not really learn Romanian, therewith imposing her language on the entire family'.¹⁰¹ In 1913, Aurel Onciul, the Bukovinian Romanian politician who was one of the architects of the 1911 Bukovinian Compromise and who was often attacked for dismissing the Ruthenisation theory, even presented a 'racial superiority theory' rejecting a Romanisation of Bukovinian Ruthenians because the inferior Ruthenian blood would eventually pollute the Romanian race.¹⁰²

Ruthenians circles were well aware of their reputation of being poorly educated. A Ruthenian author who tried to involve the German-speaking community of Bukovina in Ruthenian political matters was ahead of his target audience:

*Now some German readers will say: "I feel no need to know what kind of political parties the long-haired Ruthenian peasants and woodcutters have; these folks should first of all learn to read before they aspire to play a political role".*¹⁰³

⁹⁹ Șafran 1939, p. 89.

¹⁰⁰ *Reviste literare românești*, *Voința Poporului*, 3, 15.01.1905, p. 5.

¹⁰¹ Nistor 1991, p. 22.

¹⁰² "In Konkurrenz mit den Ruthenen werden aber die Rumänen als reicheres, intelligenteres und widerstandsfähigeres Element als die Ruthenen unbedingt Erfolg haben. Die einzige Sorge bleibt, daß sie zu erfolgreich sein werden und zu viele Ruthenen assimilieren, denn auch so ist das Blut der Bukowiner Rumänen mit zu viel ruthenischem belastet, was nach wissenschaftlichen Kriterien mindere Typen hervorbringt. Es zeigt sich eben, wie man es bei den Engländer feststellen kann, daß im Leben der Völker nicht eine größere Anzahl von Individuen maßgeblich ist für den Fortschritt, sondern die aus der Tugend hervorgegangene Qualität der Menschen. Diesem Kriterium wird in der Bukowina keine Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt, unsere Intelligenz, dem Wahn der Ziffern erlegen, weil sie glaubt, daß das Volk besser gedeiht, wenn seine Zahl größer ist, selbst durch Assimilierung minder hochstehenden Elemente (...)" Onciul 1999, pp. 67-68. *Das Rumänische Problem in der Bukowina* (translated into German by Aurel C. Onciul) was originally published in *Viața românească*, vol XXXI, Iași 1913 under the title *Chestia românească în Bucovina*.

¹⁰³ NN, *Res Ruthenicae*, Czernowitzer Buchdruckerei-Gesellschaft, Czernowitz 1897, p. 3.

Another telling example of such contempt is provided by the Roman-Catholic prelate Schmidt, who seemingly felt safe within the comfort zone of a ladies' tea party when he commented on the Ruthenian ambition to establish a Ruthenian university:

*The Roman Catholic prelate Schmidt is not unknown in the Czernowitz high society. Where no unchristened or Ruthenian intruder disrupts the trusted circle, where in the afternoon the top fifty (...) decide over tea and sandwiches over the remaining 700,000 Bukovinians, the jokes of the esteemed prelate are often heard and the local society for ladies and damsels (...) applauds him cheerily. A few days ago, the Ruthenian university question was on the agenda of this society as well. Monseigneur Schmidt holds views different from those of Messrs Von Koerber and Von Hartel: "A nation of peasants and servants need not have a university in his view, or soon the gypsies will also demand one!" (...) The 'Society for Sandwich Obliteration and Other Useful Dawdle' cheered and we only marvel that there are hosts who tolerate such jokes at the expense of other nationalities in spite of their official positions and that there are Bukovinians among the guests who do not turn their backs on this kind of jesters! Or maybe the host has not heard this loudly articulated insult to an entire nation? In this case we bring it to his attention!*¹⁰⁴

Ruthenian nationalists were aware like no other of the need for education and the eradication of illiteracy in order to effectively multiply their ideas. The creation of Ruthenian 'reading rooms' (читальні) in the villages was significant in this respect.¹⁰⁵

Whereas Romanian nationalists consistently - and with regard to public acceptance, successfully - claimed 'indigeneity' on Bukovinian soil, their Ruthenian adversaries encountered difficulties maintaining the same. In a pamphlet arguing against Ruthenian assertions, Ion Nistor argued that 'Bukovinian Ruthenians are not native to this land, but simple Galician wanderers sheltered in Bukovina only since the late 18th century as Greek Catholics'.¹⁰⁶ The religious element proved to be a useful weapon in the nationalist battle: no matter that many Ruthenians in Bukovina were Orthodox, those emigrated from Galicia were mostly Uniate. This enabled Romanian nationalists to generalise and tag Ruthenian 'foreignness' in two ways, national and religious:

Behind them stand papist monks, Jesuits, who teach them how to strike us Romanians even more fiendishly, but we are a people strong in our Orthodox faith which we will not abandon like the Ruthenians have, those nomads coming from Galicia. Since they are ready to defect to the Uniates at any time, these nomads are supported and encouraged by the regional administration, with the Jesuits standing behind them. All the other foreign peoples in this land are incited against us Romanians, like the Jews who live off our backs and who have

¹⁰⁴ *Wie man sich in unserer Gesellschaft amusirt*, Bukowinaer Post, 1263, 16.02.1902, p. 4.

¹⁰⁵ As a reaction to conservatism and Russophile tendencies among Ruthenian politicians, Young-Ruthenian (later called Ukrainian) nationalists established 'Prosvita' (Enlightenment) societies from the late 1860, first in Galicia and later in other regions such as Bukovina as well. A key focal point for community activities, 'Prosvita' initially set up a tightly-knit network of reading rooms in even the smallest villages, aiming at educating the illiterate masses by teaching them the vernacular they promoted as the 'authentic Ruthenian language' as well as their nationalist ideology. Gradually, 'Prosvita' expanded its activities to the establishment of schools, stores, small credit unions and warehouses.

¹⁰⁶ Nistor, Ion, *Românii și rutenii în Bucovina*, Edițiunea Academiei Române, Bucharest 1915, introduction.

*sworn irreconcilable hatred against us, equally like the Poles and the Germans, but most of all those Rusnyak nomads.*¹⁰⁷

Interestingly, such theories spread well beyond the circles of Romanian nationalists and were successfully linked to claims of Romanians assimilating into Ruthenian language communities, which were in turn supported by linguists like Gustav Weigand. Even Bukovina's most prominent contemporary mouthpiece Karl Emil Franzos assessed its Ruthenians this way:

*Toughly and persistently, they have conquered the land and now push the original main inhabitants, the Romanians, ever further to the south. Wherever Romanians and Ruthenians share a border, the Slav prevails within ten or twenty years and the loser adopts the language of the winner. (On a group of people dancing) ... and what they perform is really a Romanian dance, the Harcanu. Their skin colour is bronze, and their thin, flexible shape betrays Roman blood. But listen to the shouting with which they dance on in ever wilder joy - it sounds Ruthenian. And when addressed in Romanian, they respond shaking their heads: "Ne ponemayu". ("I don't understand") They have forgotten the language of their fathers.*¹⁰⁸

Some Ukrainian nationalist diaspora publications argue opposite developments, stating that 'even the later state of Moldavia could not erase the autochthonous population' and 'in fact, Moldavia itself fell under the influence of Ukrainian culture and political civilisation', this - anachronistically - being 'evident from the fact that for centuries the Moldavian state, to which Bukovina belonged, used the then Ukrainian literary language of that time as the official and diplomatic language; this language was also used in the church of Moldavia', and 'even the titles of of Moldavian rulers were Ukrainian *voyevoda* and *hospodar*'.¹⁰⁹

As noted before, Splény had made a distinction between 'Rusnyaks' and 'Moldavians' (the later 'Ruthenians' and 'Romanians') in his early reports. Furthermore, he had explicitly mentioned that both groups were Orthodox. If his writings had been the only source material available to the competing nationalist groups, matters might have been slightly less complicated. The relatively large number of sources on the early years of Habsburg Bukovina, however, provided ammunition for those who wanted to deny Ruthenian indigenous presence as well as for those who wanted to prove it. Those referring to the travel diaries of Emperor Franz I could argue that according to his observations, the languages spoken in Czernowitz were German, Polish and Moldavian, while Ruthenian was not even mentioned.¹¹⁰ In defence of Ruthenian claims, a popular reference was geometrician Johann Budinsky, who had established in 1783 that 'because most of the inhabitants are emigrated Polish subjects, usually Rusnyaks, mostly Russian was spoken, and only about one quarter spoke Moldavian'.¹¹¹ Even if this proved a Ruthenian presence in Bukovina from the earliest years of Austrian rule, it also specifically branded the Ruthenians as immigrants, which was less

¹⁰⁷ 1777 – 1899, *Deșteptarea*, 22, 15.11.1899, p. 1.

¹⁰⁸ Franzos 1901, pp. 259-60.

¹⁰⁹ Preface by Matthew Stachiw in Nowosiwsky 1970. p. 15.

¹¹⁰ Wagner 1979, *Reisetagebücher des österreichischen Kaisers Franz I etc.*, p. 15.

¹¹¹ Polek, Dr. Johann, *Die Bukowina zu Anfang des Jahres 1783. Nach einer Denkschrift des Mappierungsdirectors Johann Budinsky*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 09.05.1894, p. 1.

sought after in the pro-Ruthenian argumentation. Budai-Deleanu was even stauncher in his assertions on Ruthenian immigration by stating that ‘all Rusnyaks located in Bukovina and Moldavia are Galician or Russian subjects. Those in Bukovina are almost all Galicians and therefore have Galician customs, speak the same language, but with the distinction that they mix many Moldavian words in their language as a result of the contact with the Moldavians’.¹¹² Without any great effort, Romanian nationalists could adapt these observations to their own agenda and readily introduced the ‘dim-witted Ruthenian’ image in their 1890 calender when they deemed the Ruthenians ‘stray Mazurians and Bojks, who had arrived naked and starved in Bukovina, wanting to realise their devious plans there, although they were very stupid’.¹¹³

Different Types of Ruthenian Nationalism

Ruthenian nationalists were struggling with more than the justification of their presence in Bukovina alone: mainly as a result of the Polish-Ruthenian tensions in Galicia, some openly called in question the mere existence of the Ruthenian people as such. In the words of Kann, ‘the Poles considered the Ruthenians a poorly developed branch of their national culture as frequently as the Russians considered them their kin’¹¹⁴. The fact that Ruthenian nationalists were supported by the enlightened governor of Galicia, Austria's future centralist reformer Count Franz Stadion, allowed their adversaries to label them ‘the invention of Count Stadion’. When the Constitutional Commission of the Austrian parliament debated in the possible separation of Galicia and Bukovina in January 1849, the Galician Poles invoked this argument to counteract a possible partition of the two:

*The Polish-Galician position was defended in particular by Mr Florian Ziemiakowsky. Central issue was the vehement opposition to any ideas or intentions of separation. No ifs or buts, he concluded that Galicia is a member of the ‘Polish Nation’ and that a ‘Ruthenian nationality’ had only been ‘invented’ by Governor Franz Stadion.*¹¹⁵

The underlying motive for Stadion’s supposed invention was said to be a claim to more political powers by the Poles in Galicia than the government in Vienna deemed agreeable, which urged Stadion to find a political counterweight in Galicia proper. This line of argumentation was eagerly adopted by Romanian nationalists in Bukovina and duly reproduced throughout the years. Hence it is found with Şafran, who concluded that Stadion

¹¹² Budai-Deleanu in Grigorovici 1998, p. 388 (Ab.22).

¹¹³ *Cătră sătenii români bucovineni*, in: *Calindarul poporului bucovinean*, Czernowitz 1890 pp. 79-99, as quoted in Daszkiewicz, Silvester, *Die Lage der gr.-or. Ruthenen in der Bukowinaer Erzdiöcese, zugleich Antwort auf die ‘Apologien’ des Bukowinaer gr.-or. Metropolitens Silvester Morariu-Andriewicz*, author’s edition, Czernowitz 1891, p. 19.

¹¹⁴ Kann, Robert A., *The Multinational Empire. Nationalism and National Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy 1848-1918, Vol. 1: Empire and Nationalities*, Columbia University Press, New York 1950, p. 322.

¹¹⁵ Maner, Hans-Christian, *Galizien: eine Grenzregion im Kalkül der Donaumonarchie im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, IGKS Verlag, Munich 2007, p. 99.

found the desired counterbalance in the local Ruthenians, 'whom he invented politically, so to speak'.¹¹⁶

Once doubt was cast on the very existence of Ruthenians, Romanian nationalists could easily link this thesis to their dogma of 'Ruthenisation of the Romanian Bukovinians'. So, when in 1891 growing Romanian nationalist tendencies within the Bukovinian Orthodox Consistory caused commotion among Ruthenian nationalists, the Uniate Church complained how Romanian nationalists 'had wanted to prove to the government that in Bukovina there are no Ruthenians and that the people who currently use the Ruthenian tongue are nothing more than a truly Romanian tribe, Russified in the course of time'.¹¹⁷

However, Ruthenian nationalists had more issues to worry about than scepticism from outside: Also within their own circles, the very Ruthenian identity was still under debate. In 1888, *Bukovyna* despaired:

*It properly stands out as odd and it is ridiculous that we are quarreling about the question: Who are we? When one is German, he is German; when one is Polish, he is Polish; and when one is Czech or French he is Czech or French! Every educated German, Pole, Czech or Frenchman knows clearly and in detail what the German, Polish, Czech or French nation is; what and how their native language is; and that the native nation is only one, one native language, just like one has only one father and mother! And in this way, everybody knows about himself and about the others, since this is the natural and clever way. Nevertheless, with the Ruthenians things go differently. When one declares himself Ruthenian, he still does not know at all about the Ruthenian nation or language; the language of Shevchenko, Shashkevych, Fed'kovych.*¹¹⁸

Indeed, Ruthenian (later, more commonly: Ukrainian) nationalists were dealing with a problem, or, as Takach puts it, a 'formidable obstacle'¹¹⁹ beyond external doubts regarding the provenance or the bare existence of the Ruthenians. Ruthenian patriots suffered from a profound identity crisis, dividing them in three orientations during the second half of the nineteenth century: the Old Ruthenians, the Ukrainophiles and the Russophiles. According to Magocsi, at the beginning of this period all Rus' patriots were Old Ruthenians (*starorusyny*): 'As for their similarities, all three orientations shared the belief that the origin of Austria's East Slavs must be traced back to medieval Kievan Rus'. (...) All three also used the same term to describe themselves and their culture: they were the people of Rus', who called

¹¹⁶ Şafran 1939, p. 91.

¹¹⁷ *Gegen die 'Apologie'*, Bukowinaer Nachrichten, 05.05.1891, p. 1.

¹¹⁸ *Руский нарід – руска мова*, Буковина, 01.12.1888, pp. 5-6; Taras Hryhorovych Shevchenko 1814 -1861 - Ukrainian poet and artist whose literary heritage is regarded to be the foundation of modern Ukrainian literature and, to a large extent, the modern Ukrainian language; Markiyan Shashkevych 1811 - 1843, Galician-born Ruthenian Greek-Catholic priest, poet, translator, and promotor of the Ruthenian popular vernacular as opposed to the bookish *iazychie*; Osyp Yuriy Fedkovych 1834 -1888 Bukovinian-born Ruthenian/Ukrainian writer, poet, folklorist and translator.

¹¹⁹ Takach, Arthur, *In Search of Ukrainian National Identity: 1840-1921*, in: *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 1996, 19, 3, 640-59, p. 650.

themselves *rusyny* (Rusyns or Ruthenians) and who spoke the *rus'kyi* (Rusyn or Ruthenian) language. Although all three orientations started from a similar terminological premise, their interpretations of the term differed. The Ukrainophiles argued that the terms *rusyny* and *rus'kyi* were antiquated forms of the preferable and more modern terms *ukraïntsi* (Ukrainians) and *ukraïns'kyi* (Ukrainian). The language and the group therefore should be called Ukrainian. The Russophiles argued that the terms *rusyny* and *rus'kyi* were local variants of the forms *ruskie* (Russians) and *ruskii* (Russian). Accordingly, the people in question were really Russian and the language they spoke was Russian, or more precisely, the 'Little Russian dialect' of Russian. The Russophiles (...) argued that members of all three East Slavic components (Great Russians, Belorussians and Little Russians) should identify themselves as Russian and use one literary language, Russian, for intellectual discourse. In contrast, the Ukrainophiles considered the idea of a single common-Russian nationality an ideological fantasy. They regarded the East Slavs of Austria-Hungary as belonging to a distinct Ukrainian nationality living on compact ethnographic territory that stretched from the Carpathian Mountains in the west to the Caucasus Mountains in the Southeast".¹²⁰

Contrary to Magocsi's division in three, Ruthenian nationalism in Bukovina came mainly in two versions: Russophilism and Ukrainophilism. Contemporary sources apply a wide variety to address these two: Russophilism is also called Moscophilism, and even, though incorrectly, Pan-Slavism. Ukrainophiles are at times referred to as *narodovtsi*, Young-Ruthenians, Young-Ukrainians, Ukrainomans or simply Ukrainians. For the sake of clarity, in this text the dominating terminology of the Habsburg era will be used: Young-Ruthenian (instead of Ukrainophile) and Old-Ruthenian (instead of Russophile). The generic term 'Ruthenian-speaking' will be used in reference to the Slavic-speaking Uniate and Orthodox population of Bukovina as a whole. Whenever appropriate, in quotations the original terminology will remain.

The fact that the Young-Ruthenians, having become the dominant one of the competing factions in the early twentieth century, wanted to be termed 'Ukrainians' instead of 'Ruthenians' caused bewilderment outside of their own circle. As Polish historian Stanislas Smolka commented in 1917:

*(...) the former name 'Ruthenian', which is known in Western Europe since well before the Crusades and dear to the Ruthenian heart until recent years, is something one should not rid oneself of so easily. (...) Yet it would be impossible to imagine the Swedes for instance declaring all of a sudden they will from now be known as Goths, in honour of a favorite part of their territory and ancient historical memories very dear to them.*¹²¹

In both Old-Ruthenian and Young-Ruthenian groups, heated debates were ongoing on what a future 'Ukrainian/Rus'kyi entity' should encompass: Old-Ruthenians desired a state from Galicia to the Ural, nationalists around Taras Shevchenko supported a Ukraine independent from Russia according to plans by Khmel'nitskyi and Mazepa, while Uniate Young-

¹²⁰ Magocsi, Paul R., *A History of Ukraine*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto/Buffalo 1996, pp. 437-438.

¹²¹ Smolka, Stanislas, *Les Ruthènes et les problèmes religieux du monde russe*, Ferdinand Wyss, Bern 1917, pp. 16-17.

Ruthenians mostly envisaged a Ukrainian state with Lemberg as its capital, including Bukovina; West-Galicia with its capital Cracow was then to remain Austro-Hungarian. This concept, formulated by historian Hrushchevskyi, was of course rejected by Galician Poles, Carpathian Magyars and Bukovinian Romanians.¹²² Another issue entirely was the extent to which some of these concepts collided with Habsburg solidarity (*Kaisertreue*) and the inviolability of the Empire to the core (*Staatstreue*).

To complicate matters even further, Ruthenian patriots disagreed on the written language to be used. An old controversy opposing a book language with prestige to one based on the spoken vernacular continued. *Iazychie*, as the former was called, was based on Church Slavonic with some local vernacular elements and a large number of Russian borrowings. Vernacular was inspired by Dnieper Ukrainian writers such as Taras Shevchenko and was based on the language of the peasants.¹²³ Magocsi maintains that *iazychie* was promoted or even dictated by the conservative clerical leadership within the national movement, while the promoters of vernacular were Galicians called *narodovtsi* (populists) and that the use of or preference for either variant was not linked to different factions within the Ruthenian movement. Yet, *iazychie* was generally seen as being attached to the Old-Ruthenians and vernacular to the Young-Ruthenians. The choice of language of the different Ruthenian Bukovinian newspapers reflects this division. According to Romaniuk, 'Old-Ruthenians created an artificial language (*iazychie*), which, in the words of Franko, 'nobody in the world had ever heard'.¹²⁴ The fact that *iazychie* was an artificial creation indeed posed problems for those trying to introduce it to the audience at large. The Ruthenian newspaper *Bukovyna* – which appeared in vernacular itself – complained about the absence of Ruthenian writing in daily life, for 'everything is written in German and when one stumbles upon Ruthenian, with minor exceptions it is written in this *iazychie* which is very hard to read'.¹²⁵ In the view of Kann, the language issue would be decisive for the future of Ruthenian nationalism. He concluded that 'since the language of the church was that of the principal carriers of literacy, the outcome of this conflict was to decide whether Ruthenian cultural evolution was an achievement of the few or of the masses'.¹²⁶

The matter of internal division and especially the appeal of the Old-Ruthenian movement do not sit well with nationalist Ukrainian historians, who deem it a disruptive element in the preferred discourse of a united Ukrainian nation with a solid claim to historical rights. Some of them blame the phenomenon on the absence of Cossack traditions in - anachronistically - 'western Ukraine',¹²⁷ while others assume that 'linguistic and cultural similarities between Russians and Ukrainians at a time before the crystallisation of a modern Ukrainian national consciousness'. In Galicia, 'the marked sense of inferiority many leading Ukrainians felt in the face of Polish culture' as well as social frustration attributed to diminishing power and prestige after political changes within the Monarchy during the 1860s are said to have led to

¹²² Roman, Viorel, *Bucovina și Basarabia: omagiu istoricului la 60 de ani*, Artemis, Bucharest 2002, p. 24.

¹²³ Magocsi 1996, p. 440.

¹²⁴ Romaniuk 1998, p.16.

¹²⁵ *I ce i me*, Буковина, 25.07.1907, p. 1.

¹²⁶ Kann 1950, p 323.

¹²⁷ Takach 1996, p. 651.

the desire of Galician Old-Ruthenians to identify with the status of the Russian nation and its cultural achievements.¹²⁸ Another way of explaining away the Old-Ruthenian movement is by coining it the embryonic phase of Ukrainian ‘national awakening’, thus suggesting sequential instead of synchronous phenomena.

Within the Bukovinian context, Young-Ruthenians had to deal with more than just the Old-Ruthenians in their defence of an authentically Ruthenian/Ukrainian identity. Some of their adversaries maintained that Ruthenians were in fact Slavicised Romanians, others accused them of having a hidden Polish agenda because of the Galician origins of their movement:

At some point in time, the world and its people started to take an interest in us, started to explain us and even started to quarrel about us and we were delighted, because only the living arouse interest – about the dead one remains silent. Therefore we live! Some say: you are Romanians. Just like us, you descend from Trajan, but you were displaced by our enemies, that is why you are Rus’ speaking Romanians! Others again: you are Great-Russians: we are one people, 80 million in total! Educated people have ascertained already that we are not Romanians and Rösler¹²⁹ says that even in Romania and Transylvania there were Ruthenians among the Romanians, who were Romanised later on. (...) If hence we are Little-Russians, from this results that we have to speak and write Little-Russian, for every self-respecting nation loves and applies its fatherland and mother tongue. (...) Among Rus’ dialects, the Middle-Rus’ is the most important, since the most well-lettered, most beautiful historical songs stem from it. The most eminent writers used this dialect and elevated it to the level of a literary language. Therefore the Middle-Rus’ dialect is our literary, ‘Little-Rus’ speech, we all understand it, the essence of our grammar is written in it and therefore we use and cherish it. This language is taught everywhere in primary and secondary schools and universities, consequently our speech is recognised by the k. and k. authorities. Our Bukovinian authors write in this language themselves and our paper Bukovyna does not steer away from it either. But we also have enemies, even from our native nest, who banish us to thunder and hell for this ‘error’ of ours, for the fact that we love our mother tongue above all. They say we are nihilists, socialists, anarchists, that we are selling out to the Poles, that we want to install some kind of ‘Ukraino-Polish’ state and God knows what! (...) You do not know Greater-Russian yourselves, but you force this language upon us. (...) In this kind of ‘language’ you try to write newspapers in Czernowitz, but Zorya Bukovyny only existed for three months and Rodymiy Lystok had only 5 subscribers in Bukovina.¹³⁰

The rather modest number of sold Old-Ruthenian newspapers in Bukovina as mentioned here is surely significant, if accurate, but the fact that *Bukovyna* felt urged to address its own audience in an editorial entitled ‘Who are we?’ (*Хто мы?*) also aptly illustrates that convincing results of the Young-Ruthenian campaign were a long time coming.

¹²⁸ Ripetsky, Stepan and Sereda, Ostap, entry: *Russophiles (rusofily, or moskvofily)*, in: Encyclopedia of Ukraine vol. 4, University of Toronto Press, Toronto 1993.

¹²⁹ Eduard Robert Rösler, (1836 - 1874) Austrian historian who gave his name to the ‘Rösler theory’ which claims that the Romanians originate south of the Danube and is - since this conflicts with the ‘continuity theory’ and its subsequent historical claims - highly controversial in Romanian nationalist circles.

¹³⁰ *Хто мы?* Буковина, 01.09.1886, pp. 1-2.

In their crusade against the Young-Ruthenians, the Old-Ruthenians consistently drew the religious card in their presentation of good versus evil, which in their discourse meant Orthodox-Russian-Bukovinian versus Uniate-Ukrainian-Galician¹³¹, hence in order to boost their own brand of Ruthenian nationalism, elements of a regional and religious nature were invoked, to say nothing of the justness of these clustered juxtapositions. Bukovinian Old-Ruthenian newspapers published poems like the anonymous *Song of the Bukovinian peasants* in which ‘evil Ukraine’ is portrayed as the arch enemy of ancient Rus’:

*Still holy Rus’ has not died/ It has lived for a long time/ And live till the age of ages/ Will the orthodox faith/ ‘Ukrainians’ are considered cursed/ Like smoke they will evaporate/ Our orthodox faith/ Will last forever/ Soul and body we devote/ To Rus’ in Bukovina/ And chase from Rus’ villages/ The devilish ‘Ukraine’.*¹³²

Another example in this category is titled *To the Faith and to Rus’* and although the poet deplored the fact that Ruthenians are not able to join forces, being a Young-Ruthenian is still considered a betrayal of Rus’:

*Your children split up/ Became enemies/ Only to inflict pain on you/ By the hands of strangers/ Enemies gathered/ It is sad to see/ How they set out/ To make Bukovinians ‘smart’. They taught us to desert/ Holy Mother Rus’/ And accepted as their mother/ The shallow Ukraine.*¹³³

The intensity of Ruthenian infighting did not go unnoticed beyond their proper realm. According to *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, it transcended even the bitterest quarrels between nations:

*The Ruthenians, who call themselves Ukrainians now, do not bear as much as hatred against their alleged hereditary enemies, the Poles, as they do against their brothers and sisters who claim to belong to the Russian tribe. What is argued in the Ukrainian press against the ‘Russians’ goes far beyond a newspaper polemic: this kind of utterly fanatical and bloodthirsty hostility may possibly reach a similar degree in Macedonia between Bulgarians and Turks, but certainly nowhere else among brethren of one tribe. Not a day goes by without the help of the courts and the political authorities being invoked by those very Ukrainians, and if the Austrian government followed every report, all ‘Russians’ in Austria would be in prison.*¹³⁴

The belligerent Ruthenian factions clearly did not attempt to settle their differences behind closed doors. Not only were press and regional authorities involved, but both Bukovinian Old-Ruthenians and Young-Ruthenians also readily dragged their quarrels all the way to Vienna. Young-Ruthenians urged the Minister of Education in the House of Representatives to intervene in what they saw as privileging of Old-Ruthenian priests over their Young-Ruthenian colleagues in the Bukovinian Orthodox Church:

¹³¹ For example: *До буковинського русско-православного народу!*, Народна Рада, 13.02.1907, p. 1.

¹³² *Bukovinets'*, *ПБся буковинськихъ крестьянъ*, Русская правда, 25.03.1911.

¹³³ *Tovstyuk, Vasiliy, За вѣру и Русь*, Народна рада, 16.12.1905.

¹³⁴ *Volk oder Partei?*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 14.04.1912, p. 1.

The consistory portrayed, promoted and honoured Russophile priests at every opportunity as true Ruthenians; Ruthenian priests, however were decried as Uniates and thus oppressed, persecuted and curtailed. The promotion of Russophilism among the Ruthenian clergy by the Orthodox Consistory was not inspired by love for Russianism, but by the same policy considerations of supporting Russophile elements on the surface as induced by the Polish leaders in Galicia. This way, two goals are reached: firstly, a weakening and paralyzation of Ruthenians by Ruthenians, which has become proverbial among the Poles (puścić Rusina Rusina = to put Ruthenians onto Ruthenians) and second, the creation of a good reason to denounce the Ruthenians as an unreliable element, a threat to the Empire (reichsgefährlich).¹³⁵

While the Young-Ruthenians took the stage in Vienna to denounce the Orthodox Consistory, Old-Ruthenians in turn used the same platform to accuse the regional government in Bukovina of being held in the Young-Ruthenians' leading strains when an Old-Ruthenian leader, Kassian Bohatyretz, got himself in trouble with activities deployed in Russia:

This way, a veritable witch hunt was staged recently by the imperial government administration against the leader of the Russian National Party in Bukovina, the Orthodox priest Dr. Kassian Bohatyretz, in order to destroy his material existence, and, since he became quite an inconvenience to the local Young-Ruthenian party because of its popularity and energy, to render his political life impossible as well - especially in view of the impending elections.¹³⁶

Busy battling each other at the highest level, Ruthenian nationalists just like their Romanian adversaries encountered 'disobedience' at the grassroot level. *Bukovyna* illustrated the situation in this scene from a railway journey of three men from Galicia to Czernowitz:

Two start a conversation, naturally in the good German language. At some point, the third one joins in, but this one speaks Polish, because he has evidently not been to Germany. In Czernowitz, getting off the train, they introduce themselves and to their astonishment they realise they are all – Ruthenians. The one speaking Polish is Galician, but he is the most embarrassed. You might expect them to continue their conversation in Ruthenian', but expressions like: "я бачув його їхаму"¹³⁷ do not seldom flow from their lips. And all of Bukovina is Ruthenian land....¹³⁸

Generally speaking, spreading national fervour among the respective target tribes proved to be challenging in Bukovina, as will be elaborated from paragraph 2.2.

¹³⁵ Haus der Abgeordneten, *Interpellation der Abg. Pihuliak, Spenul und Genossen an Seine Exzellenz den Herrn Minister für Kultus und Unterricht wegen Ruthenenverfolgungen seitens des griechisch-orientalischen Konsistoriums in Czernowitz*, 1909-1911/ 20. Session, Angang III, 688/I, Kaiserlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, Vienna 1911, pp. 4429-4430.

¹³⁶ *Interpellation des Abg. Dr. Dmitryj Marków und Genossen an seine Exzellenz den Herrn Kultusminister, betreffend gesetzwidrige Verfolgungen und Maßregelungen des griechisch-orthodoxen Pfarrers von Ober-Stanestie Dr. Kassian Bohatyretz*, Haus der Abgeordneten, 1909-1911/ 20. Session, Angang III, 1108/I, Kaiserlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, Vienna 1911, pp. 6081-6082.

¹³⁷ lit. "I saw him go", but according to German sentence construction.

¹³⁸ *I ce i me*, Буковина, 25.07.1907, p. 1.

Even if general agreement was reached on the existence and the indigeneity of the 'Ruthenians of the planes', the question of the provenance of the enigmatic Hutsul mountain tribe remained. After the untimely death of the heir to the Imperial throne Arch Duke Rudolph at Mayerling in 1889, his widow thanked the 'Mountain Ruthenians' for the wreath they had sent. This makes it likely that the senders themselves had signed their wreath this way.¹³⁹ Trivial as it seems, this 'confession of identity' at least sheds some light on how the Hutsuls - their political representatives in any case - perceived themselves, for their origins puzzled contemporary ethnographers and their successors alike.

Those attempting to determine Hutsul origins often resorted to a (more or less) educated guess. It was argued they were of a Slavic descent and in all respects different from the Wallachian population with their name - which was said to be used only in Bukovina and Moldavia - derived from the old Dacian word 'Huzz', signifying 'robber', 'and therefore originally, like many other names of nations rather used as a *Nomen Appellativum* than as a *Nomen proprium*'.¹⁴⁰ To others, they made the impression of being a mixed race of Ruthenians, Romanians and Csángó¹⁴¹ or of being a destitute lot with an isolated lifestyle ('When a Hutsul wants to tell his neighbour something, he sometimes needs to wander through ancient forests for more than half a day'), peaceful, but 'with a raging hatred only towards Russians'.¹⁴² According to Franzos, Hutsuls despised the Ruthenians of the planes,¹⁴³ while Kassner - quoting from Kaindl's *Die Hutzulen* - underlined the good relations between Jews and Hutsuls:

*The Hutsuls know the system of 'hodowanci': Elderly Hutsuls with no offspring 'adopt' a wealthy man under the condition that he cares after him until death and arranges a decent funeral. In return, the adoptive son is heir to the deceased's possessions. Most of the time, Jews were chosen to be 'hodowanci', since the Hutsuls expect them to honour their promise.*¹⁴⁴

¹³⁹ "Der Obersthofmeister I. K. und K. Hoheit Kronprinzessin-Witwe Erzherzogin Stephanie Ihre k. und k. Hoheit die durchlauchtigste Kronprinzessin-Witwe, Erzherzogin Stephanie, haben mich zu beauftragen geruht, den "Ruthenen vom Gebirge", der Höchstsie getroffen, sowie für den weiland Seiner k. und k. Hoheit dem durchlauchtigsten Kronprinzen, Erzherzoge Rudolph gewidmeten Kranz den wärmsten Dank auszusprechen". *Expression of gratitude to 'Mountain Ukrainians' for their condolences on the death of Crown Prince Rudolph*, Cabinet of Crown Princess Dowager Stephanie, Vienna, 18. February 1889. DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 5427.

¹⁴⁰ Kohl 1844, p. 427.

¹⁴¹ Weigand 1904, p. 11.

¹⁴² Zach, Franz, *Galizien und Bukowina. Wanderungen über die Schlachtfelder und Schilderung von Land und Leuten*, St. Josef-Bücherbruderschaft, Klagenfurt 1917, p. 197.

¹⁴³ Franzos 1901, p. 258.

¹⁴⁴ Kassner, Salomon, *Die Juden in der Bukowina*, Löwit, Vienna/Berlin 1917, p. 51.

In Bukovina, the Hutsuls enhanced local pride in its ethnographic specificity and exoticism.¹⁴⁵ Foreign correspondents contributed to this imaging, evoking how ‘downward from the mountains, robust warriors in picturesque colourful costumes descend to buy and barter - the Tyrolians of the East – the magnificent figures of the Hutsuls’.¹⁴⁶ In the early 1800s already, they were portrayed as ‘having almost no religion, but for the rest (...) a peaceful and polite people’, although ‘the efforts which had been applied to civilise them, had so far been fruitless’.¹⁴⁷ A century later, in his travel guide Mittelman would add to this that ‘classically beautiful men and mostly ugly women are features of this tribe’.¹⁴⁸

Other attributes linked to the Hutsuls were more negative than the superficiality of their appearance. While Budai-Deleanu speaks of ‘a situation of anarchy’ in the Hutsul Mountains, physician Balthasar Hacquet had heard of street robbery and murder committed by Hutsuls when he visited the area in 1788, and he had added that many of them were infected with sexually-transmitted diseases by Russian troops during the 1768-1774 war.¹⁴⁹ In 1913, a grim court room report of a trial against a large group of Hutsuls, charged with murder, extortion and perjury evokes a hauntingly analogous picture:

*The men dull and indifferent, as if the events in the courtroom did not concern them, the young girls, fifteen and sixteen, with all traces of devastation and vice in their very young faces, turning cigarettes with nimble fingers and deeply inhaling the smoke of the cheap reefers with evident passion. An image worthy of the pencil of a cartoonist or a portrayer of public morality. They were Hutsuls. National discretion prohibits us to say more, as in our land we are strangely too sensitive even where the most honest endeavour prevails in order to shed light into the darkest abyss, not to scold, but to improve. (...) These people, still living in some primitive state, do not hold human life in high esteem. (...) However, people who live amidst the Hutsuls maintain they possess a certain melancholy kindness. They kill out of ineradicable instincts which do not allow them to distinguish between good and evil. It is simply the custom on Hutsul territory that the girls at twelve years of age are taken by the man, by all men, and that - it must be said - the pox are the disease of each house. (...) The Hutsuls are sick. Sick in body and soul. All diseases, physical as well as moral, have raged among them for decades and bring them down lower and lower.*¹⁵⁰

For the competing Ruthenian and Romanian nationalists of Bukovina, a community or tribe without a clearly declared ‘ethnicity’ offered attractive opportunities and thus easily became a bone of contention. The well-known elements of discourse between the two groups - mutual accusations of Romanisation respectively Ruthenisation, claims of one’s indigeneity as

¹⁴⁵ Turczynski 1993, p. 83.

¹⁴⁶ Julien, R., *Aus der Bukowina*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung (appeared earlier in *Vossische Zeitung* in Berlin), 22.09.1906, p. 3.

¹⁴⁷ Lindner, Fr. von, *Bemerkungen über die Bukowina*, Vaterländische Blätter, 35, 279-283, 6 September 1808, p. 280.

¹⁴⁸ Mittelman 1907/8, p. 35.

¹⁴⁹ Nistor 1991, p. 67.

¹⁵⁰ *Krankes Volk*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 3034, 12.06.1913, p. 1.

opposed to the other's 'foreignness', quarrels about whose nation builds the majority in the crownland - were all projected on the Hutsuls.

Romanian nationalists claimed that the Hutsuls had spoken Romanian in the seventeenth and eighteenth century and that many mountains, creeks and villages in East Galicia bear Romanian names.¹⁵¹ In more recent times, authors defending the Romanian nationalist perspective have continued to invoke similar reasoning to downplay the number of Ukrainians/Ruthenians in Habsburg Bukovina. This way, it is asserted that 'at the beginning of the First World War, Bukovina had some 800,000 inhabitants of whom 300,000 were Ukrainians and Ruthenians and less than 300,000 Romanians' although 'according to British sources, the Ukrainian figure must have been inflated because Hutsuls were counted as Ukrainians although their language was different and they appeared to be of old Scythian origin'.¹⁵² Another admits that Hutsuls had features in common with Ruthenians such as speech and customs, but sustains they also shared many of these with Romanians and must therefore be descendants of Slavicised Romanian villages in eleventh to sixteenth century Galicia.¹⁵³ In a volume on the Hutsuls which appeared in 1998 - and tellingly adds on the cover page that it was published 'on the eightieth anniversary of the return of Bukovina to the bosom of Homeland' - the author, who is an archeologist and the director of the National Bukovina Museum in present day Suceava, argued that 'it has been clearly written and shown that the Hutsuls were not actual Ukrainians, although they speak a Slavic dialect', that 'tall, lively and hospitable, they closely resemble the Romanians, as they are Orthodox as well and have many similar customs, traditions and musical instruments' and finally, that 'the elders in Hutsul villages keep on emphasising how their nature is different from that of Ukrainian villages'.¹⁵⁴

In an academic context, the conclusion is based on at least dubious assertions here: the language argument is simply ignored, resemblances are not even considered to be the result of assimilation processes and opinions of (unspecified) village elders are presented and interpreted in the predictable nationalist way.

Most authors, not all of them necessarily trying to defend the Ruthenian/Ukrainian position, tended to lean towards a close kinship between Ruthenians and Hutsuls 'even though their origin is unclear',¹⁵⁵ while others, similar to Romanian nationalists, made a brave guess with regard to their origins. Bidermann opted that the Cumans¹⁵⁶ might have been Hutsul ancestors, but admitted that Hutsul dwellings, food and language hardly differed from those of the surrounding Ruthenians.¹⁵⁷ Editors of a prominent contemporary encyclopedia saw

¹⁵¹ (Zota) 1900, p. 5.

¹⁵² Dima 1983, p. 21.

¹⁵³ Iacobescu 1993, pp. 174-76.

¹⁵⁴ Andronic, Mugur, *Huțulii – o minoritate din Bucovina (Pagini din istoria și cultura Bucovinei)*, Societatea culturală 'Ștefan cel Mare', Suceava 1998, p. 23.

¹⁵⁵ Simiginowicz-Staufe, 1884, p. 66.

¹⁵⁶ A nomadic Turkic people who inhabited a shifting area north of the Black Sea known as Cumania along the Volga River.

¹⁵⁷ Bidermann 1875, p. 68.

distinctions between different tribes, but by naming them, they implicitly assumed that both the people from the mountains and the planes were basically from the same stock:

*The mountain dwellers, especially the tribes of the Bojks and Hutsuls distinguish themselves by their oval faces and slender body physique from the stocky inhabitants of the plains, the Podolaks, whose broad, square faces recall the Tatar invasion of the past. Despite the great richness of the soil, the latter seem much more unkept in matters of housing and clothing than the mountain dwellers.*¹⁵⁸

For the Bukovinian Ruthenian nationalist discourse it was vital to resolve the Hutsul question in favour of the Ruthenians. For one, apart from the mentioned assimilation accusations and rigged headcounts, there was the case of Yuriy Fed'kovych. Fed'kovych was the co-editor of the first Ruthenian-language publication in the region, *Bukovyna*, and the first to put Hutsul oral poetry down in writing – Ruthenian writing. He was widely seen as the 'Bukovinian Shevchenko'.¹⁵⁹ This firmly linked Hutsuls and Ruthenians within the Ruthenian nationalist canon.

Even more important in this respect was the illustrious figure of the illiterate peasant leader Lukyan Kobylytsia, who played a key role in Bukovina during the tumultuous years 1848 and 1849. It was in these years that the conflict between Ruthenian and Romanian nationalists in Bukovina surfaced for the first time. The Romanian faction, led by Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki, opted for a separation of Bukovina from Galicia in order to form a Romanian Duchy under Habsburg sovereignty together with Transylvania, Banat, Moldavia and Muntenia in due course. Their Ruthenian adversaries wanted Bukovina to remain with Galicia in the hope that Eastern Galicia eventually be turned into a separate Ruthenian entity.¹⁶⁰

Prior to the revolutionary events, representatives of the peasantry had been admitted to the Austrian Parliament in 1848 in order to avoid social unrest.¹⁶¹ Of all 108 Galician deputies, eight were from Bukovina, the most controversial among them Lukyan Kobylytsia.¹⁶²

For the peasants of Galicia and Bukovina, the revolution brought the abolition of serfdom, albeit four months later for Bukovina's peasants than for those in other parts of Galicia, which were officially emancipated in August 1848. Hutsul peasant leader Kobylytsia and his followers were discontented because of the unresolved problem of peasant indemnification for their recently acquired land.¹⁶³ Instead of occupying his seat in the Austrian Parliament, which had moved to Kremsier after the October revolution in Vienna, Kobylytsia returned to his native village where he managed to convince his fellow Hutsuls that the Emperor had

¹⁵⁸ *Meyers Konversationslexikon*, Verlag des Bibliographischen Instituts, Leipzig und Wien, Vierte Auflage, 1885-1892, entry: *Ruthenen*.

¹⁵⁹ Turczynski 1979, p. 11.

¹⁶⁰ Heymann 2003, pp. 34-35.

¹⁶¹ Hausleitner 2001, p. 62.

¹⁶² For more on the role these eight played in the parliamentary discussions on a possible separation of Bukovina from Galicia and especially on the way in which they were nationally see paragraph 2.2 of this section: Nationally Indifferent Parliamentary Deputies and Their Political Priorities.

¹⁶³ Magocsi 1996, 414-415.

appointed him to restore order in the mountains.¹⁶⁴ From November 1848 he organised a series of big public meetings (*великі народні зібрання*) against feudal oppression, referring to the Monarch as ‘his friend’.¹⁶⁵ All of this failed to amuse Austrian authorities, all the more since there were rumours that Kobylitsia also collaborated with the anti-Austrian Hungarian revolutionaries under General Bem and supported their attempt to occupy Bukovina.¹⁶⁶

Much of the turmoil attributed to Kobylitsia and his men remained limited to panic and hearsay. Hutsuls were said to address their leader as ‘King’ and large landowners took refuge at Czernowitz, where they urged the authorities to intervene. Meanwhile, Czernowitz residents feared a violent peasant raid on their city.¹⁶⁷ Some of Kobylitsia’s men informed the authorities of Kobylitsia’s instructions: Peasants were to approach their masters without taking off their hats and were to demand, for instance, the permission to chop the wood they needed. Furthermore, they were told to chase all ‘foreigners’ away from Bukovina and were promised that all soil and forests would be distributed among the peasants as soon as Kobylitsia had returned to Parliament at some point in the following five months.¹⁶⁸

District Captain Bach distributed a ‘circular’ among all dominions and church authorities in which he denounced Kobylitsia’s activities and the latter’s apparent success with the local population:

*Kobylitsia posed as an emissary from the Emperor, he arrogated to himself to depose local judges and jurymen and to pick new ones, he terminated the obedience to the dominions and he preached that he was allowed to seize the groves of landlords, though without acting upon it. Such outrage will be rightly punished, Kobylitsia will be prosecuted and will not escape legal penalty. The High Parliament has declared void the seat which he abandoned without authorisation. It is regrettable that so many among the country people believed his silly delusions to be true, and for quite some time remained deaf to all instructions. Several of Kobylitsia’s companions who had connived at his fraudulent machinations and had carried the anxiety and excitement further had to be arrested and examined. Even military assistance had to be applied to suppress the arising rebellion. The country people may finally realise that an impostor entangled them in a dangerous web, confused their notions of property and right, and usurped an authority which was not rightfully his.*¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁴ Șafran 1939, p. 52.

¹⁶⁵ Zhukovs'kyi 1993, p. 25.

¹⁶⁶ Ceașu 2004, p. 70.

¹⁶⁷ Wagner 1983, *Revolutionsjahre etc.*, p. 89.

¹⁶⁸ “Alle Ausländer sollen sie aus der Bukowina herausjagen - der Grund der Herrschaft, soll sobald Kobylitsia zum Reichstage rückkehrt, was höchstens in 5 Monaten erfolgt, unter die Bauern, sowie auch die Wälder vertheilt werden. (...)” Strzelbicki, *Copy of a protocol*, Zelenen, Zl 996/196, 21 November 1849/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MI, mapa 86/4, vol. I.

¹⁶⁹ “Kobylitsia gab sich für einen Abgesandten des Kaisers aus, er maßte sich an Ortsrichter und Geschworene abzusetzen und neue zu wählen, er kündete den Dominien den Gehorsam auf, er predigte daß er erlaubt sei, die Waldungen der Grundherrschaften in Besitz zu nehmen, ohne Eingriffe dahin zu thun. Solcher Frevel findet gerechte Strafe, Kobylitsia wird Kriminalgerichtlich verfolgt, und wird der gesetzlichen Strafe nicht entgehen. Der hohe Reichstag hat seinen Sitz, den er eigenmächtig verließ, für erledigt erklärt. Zu bedauern ist, daß unter dem Landvolke so viele seinen albernen Vorspiegelungen Glauben schenkten, und längere Zeit taub gegen alle Belehrungen blieben. Es mußten mehrere Genossen des Kobylitsia die seinen betrügerischen Vorgängen Vorschub

In 1850, Kobylitsia was arrested and taken to Czernowitz, where he was sentenced to only one month of incarceration. His rebellion was of a social rather than a political nature and primarily directed against Bukovina's large landowners. The fact that the region had also fallen victim to a devastating epidemic and drought in 1848-49 had contributed to the generally miserable mood.¹⁷⁰ Evidently, Kobylitsia and his 'anti-feudal' struggle blended in well with Soviet versions of history, though Soviet authors seem to have overplayed their hand when they suggested that Kobylitsia's actions were directed against Austrian occupation.¹⁷¹ Indeed, Kobylitsia had claimed to have acted on behalf of the Emperor and if charged with treason, he would have faced substantially more than just one month in prison. Wagner notes that he would not have forfeited his mandate only because of 'no show' in the Diet if he had been found disloyal to the Monarchy.¹⁷²

For Romanian and Ruthenian nationalist historiography alike, 'Bukovina 1848' had a profound significance. In the matter of obtaining administrative autonomy from Galicia, the local nobility, the liberal bourgeoisie and the Orthodox Church readily agreed on the lobby initiative known as the 'Landespetition'. Although the document contained some specific (Romanian) nationalist demands, the political projects in cooperation with the other reforming forces clearly dominated.¹⁷³ On 15 December 1848, four of Bukovina's peasant Diet representatives, including Kobylitsia, had sent a memorandum on behalf of their electorates with the request to keep Bukovina within Galicia. The prominent Hurmuzaki brothers, who were among the architects of the autonomy proposal, greeted this clear contradiction with the Landespetition with outrage in *Bucovina*.¹⁷⁴ In his 'Promemoria', meant to clarify the 'Landespetition' to the Imperial Council, Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki noted that 'Bukovina had had already quite some trouble with the Ruthenian element during the pre-March system' and that 'to this the region owed a not insignificant part of its political and religious neglect, its national shortfall'.¹⁷⁵

Whereas Romanian nationalists had depicted Hutsuls hitherto as distinctly different from Ruthenians, the quarrel surrounding the 'Landespetition' as well as Kobylitsia's prominent role during the peasant unrest made a clear linkage between Hutsuls and Ruthenians politically attractive: by branding Kobylitsia a Ruthenian, his antagonism against Bukovinian autonomy could be explained as Ruthenian (and therefore anti-Romanian) agitation, while his absence from parliament, his revolutionary activities and his supposed collaboration with

leisteten und die Unruhe und Aufregung weiter trugen, festgenommen und der Untersuchung unterzogen werden. Selbst die Anwendung von Militärassistenten war nötig um die sich zeigende Auflehnung zu unterdrücken. Das Landvolk möge endlich einsehen, das ein Betrüger es in ein gefährliches Netz verwickelte, seine Begriffe von Eigenthum und Recht verwirrte, und sich eine ihm nicht zustehende Gewalt anmaßte". Bach, Eduard, *Zirkulare vom k.k. Kreisamte für die Bukowina an alle Dominien und der Geistlichkeit aller Ritus*, Kreisamt für die Bukowina, Czernowitz, 19 February 1849/ DJAN Suceava, Fond 'Mitropolia Bucovinei', secția 'Diverse', dosar 1006.

¹⁷⁰ Șafran 1939, p. 52.

¹⁷¹ Botushans'kyi 1980, p. 95.

¹⁷² Wagner 1983, *Revolutionsjahre etc.*, p. 90.

¹⁷³ Corbea-Hoisie 2004, p. 24.

¹⁷⁴ Ceaușu 2004, p. 70.

¹⁷⁵ Șafran 1939, p. 59.

Bem's Hungarian revolutionaries added a whiff of disloyalty towards Vienna and the Emperor which Romanian nationalists readily attributed to their Ruthenian adversaries in Bukovina. In *Bucovina*, the Hurmuzaki brothers would refer to Kobylitsia as a 'Ruthenian Hutsul'.¹⁷⁶

In turn, Ruthenian nationalists (and later Ukrainian historians) were more than willing to classify the Hutsuls as Ruthenians: Not only increased their number in Bukovina considerably this way, they were also presented with a regional national hero of their own. Romanian and Ruthenian nationalist movements had a profoundly different character. Much more than the Bukovinian Romanians, whose nationalism was a well-funded elitist project leaning heavily on historical claims and heroes from a distant past, the Ruthenians - who lacked an elite - needed to secure a solid popular base for their project.¹⁷⁷ No matter how important an intellectual like Fed'kovych was for the development of language and literature, a social rebel like Kobylitsia provided an excellent figurehead for the assertive, freedom-loving Ruthenians of Bukovina. Gradually, Ruthenian (later Ukrainian) sources portrayed Kobylitsia more and more as a political instead of a social rebel and in some cases, paradoxically, even attributed the eventual Bukovinian administrative autonomy of 1861 to the initial efforts of Kobylitsia and his men.¹⁷⁸

The events of 1848, combined with Fedkovych's incorporation of Hutsul oral poetry in the newly-born Bukovinian Ruthenian literary canon, enabled a subtle incorporation of the Hutsuls in the 'Ruthenian nation' as such. The Hutsuls themselves, or at least their leaders, do not seem to have objected, at least not when in 1889 in their condolences to the Crown Princess-Dowager they referred to themselves as 'Mountain Ruthenians'.

2.2 Popular culture, Apathy, Indifference and National Ambiguity among Romanian and Ruthenian speakers

Bukovinian Popular Culture along National Lines

In theory, popular culture with its arts and crafts, costumes and culinary traditions were of great instrumental value to activists with a desire to claim ethno-national uniqueness. In practice, it proved less malleable to nationalist agendas.

In 1906, the young Kingdom of Romania asserted its national pride and the abundance of its capital by organising an international exhibition in Bucharest to mark the 40th anniversary of the ascension of Carol I to the Romanian throne. The Habsburg Monarchy was well-

¹⁷⁶ Wagner 1983, *Revolutionsjahre etc.*, pp. 83-89.

¹⁷⁷ Hausleitner 2001, p. 68.

¹⁷⁸ See for instance: Kubijovyc, Volodymyr, *Ukraine - A Concise Encyclopaedia*, entry: "*Bukovina - Before the Middle of the Nineteenth Century*", University of Toronto Press, Toronto 1963.

represented at the event. In Bukovina, the crownland's own participation was passionately debated, mainly because Bukovinian Romanian nationalists insisted on having a separate pavilion in the capital of their 'brothers'. A compromise was reached when each nationality got its own section within the Bukovinian wing.¹⁷⁹ When the Romanian royal family paid a visit to this wing, they also devoted their attention to the Ruthenian section and were welcomed by Bukovinian Ruthenian chief Mykola Vasylo. However, the esteemed visitors appeared to be less than fully convinced of the unique character of the objects on display, since 'the Crown Prince said to Vasylo that the character of the exhibited Ruthenian objects is more Slavic, although a certain similarity with Romanian motives cannot be denied' while 'the queen noticed a similarity between the motives of the handicrafts with local ones'.¹⁸⁰

It is unlikely that a nationalist like Vasylo, whose own ambiguous ethno-national background will be discussed later,¹⁸¹ was pleased by the remarks in question. Though they may be easily dismissed as expressions of royal ignorance in this case, distinctions between Bukovinian handicrafts produced by Romanian and Ruthenian speakers were hard to make even by experts: Max Rosenberg quoted ethnographer Erich Kolbenheyer - the same Kolbenheyer who had been so prominently present at Baron Kapri's folk costume competition - when he discussed Bukovinian peasant art:

*From the sociological and historical point of view, Kolbenheyer also considers the difference in the Bukovinian art from the artistic products of Galicia and the other regions surrounding Bukovina. The Dniester is the artistic border with Galicia. The ornaments are different. The colors are not the same. It is as if there is no relation at all, even though the adjacent areas are inhabited the same nation. Only the Hutsuls, who form their own social and ethnographic unit as mountain dwellers, share their art motifs with the Galician Hutsuls. It is however not language alone that influenced art. And that is why even in Bukovina it is difficult to make a clear distinction between Ruthenian and Romanian samples. Kolbenheyer specifies different features, but stresses that they do not apply always and everywhere. There is just something beyond the language of the different peoples, something superior reflected in art as well: social coherence. If nationalist politicians let themselves be guided by such considerations, perhaps they would run another path.*¹⁸²

According to Kolbenheyer, or at least according to Rosenberg's interpretation of Kolbenheyer's observations, regional prevailed over national coherence in the case of Bukovinian embroidery. As early as in 1869, Bukovinian author Adolf Simiginowicz-Staufe (who himself was of mixed Slavic-German descent) he had come to similar conclusions regarding the Bukovinian songs and tales he had gathered and translated into German. He was firmly put right by Karl-Emil Franzos:

¹⁷⁹ For more on this event and the way it was approached in Bukovina, see Part III, paragraph 6: Displaying Bukovinian Identity: Parades, Exhibitions and Commemorations/ 6.4: Bukovina and the Bucharest 'Jubilee Exhibition' of 1906.

¹⁸⁰ *Die Bukarester Ausstellung*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 21.06.1906, p. 5.

¹⁸¹ See 'Prominent Bukovinians with Ambiguous National Backgrounds' in this paragraph.

¹⁸² Rosenberg, Max, *Heimatkunde - Bukowiner Bauernkunst II*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 05.04.1914, p. 7.

*And yet this in itself so meritorious and in the circles of the homeland unfortunately so little appreciated work suffers from a serious defect. Staufe has coined the collected tales which he gathered from the Romanian and Ruthenian - or rather Little-Russian - people's vernacular and translated into German, Bukovinian folk tales. Regarding this issue, Staufe wrote me this: "The peculiar position of the two nationalities at the time when I collected the fairy tales, almost equivalent to a merger, was the reason for the fact that the Ruthenian folk tales of Bukovina were also heard in colloquial Romanian and that the Romanian ones could equally be found with the Ruthenian people. The almost accomplished merger of ethnic elements made it very difficult to distinguish them from each other; thus the unbiased collector had no choice but name the fairy tales Bukovinian folk tales, which I did". To this, however, we have to offer in reply that the nation's soul most tenaciously holds on to songs and tales, and that therefore, even in case of such a merger, separating the fairy tales and tracing them to their national origin would probably not have been an insurmountable obstacle. This distinction, however, is absolutely necessary - as our poet himself recently expressed - because fairy tales do not belong to the land in which they flourish, but to the ethnic soul from which they arose. We hope and wish that Staufe will soon succeed to order his estimable collection from this perspective and offer the homeland a valuable gift with its publication.*¹⁸³

In the spirit of Herder and Grimm, Franzos refused to see folklore in any way other than national: with the nation as the foundation of civilisation, Bukovinian folk culture could only be a perverse Gordian knot of pure Ruthenian and Romanian elements which somehow needed to be separated. Franzos' stern reprimand provides an apt illustration of the pressure felt by those who suggested alternatives to nationalist doctrines. As suggested by Franzos here, Simiginowicz-Staufe soon wilted under it.

Presenting Bukovinian rural culture without making a distinction between Ruthenian and Romanian was nothing new: its long-standing tradition went back to the days of the earliest reports on Habsburg Bukovina and was still applied in promotional material such as Herman Mittelmann's Bukovina travel guide:

*Modest as the Bukovinian farmer is, he is content with mamaliga (a kind of polenta) and Barszcz (a sour soup). Meat is eaten only on Sundays and public holidays, luxury items such as tea and coffee are alien to him, but he likes his brandy.*¹⁸⁴

Obviously, Mittelmann saw no reason to differentiate between Romanian and Ruthenian culinary traditions. Even when he made the Ruthenian-Romanian distinction, he emphasised their common features:

*Customs and traditions of both tribes are elemental; superstition is everywhere: the fear of devils, witches and evil spirits prevails the mindscape of the rural population.*¹⁸⁵

The Orthodox church of Bukovina acknowledged the crownland's strong intermingling as well. Bishop Hacman, despised by Romanian nationalist for denying the Bukovinian Orthodox Church a specific Romanian identity, actually invoked the phenomenon when he

¹⁸³ Franzos, Karl-Emil, *Deutsche Poeten der Bukowina. I: Ludwig Adolf Staufe-Simiginowicz*, in: *Bucowinaer Volks-Kalender 1870*, Buchowiecki, Czernowitz 1869, p. 85.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 34.

¹⁸⁵ Mittelmann 1907/8, p. 29.

argued against a possible separation of the Bukovinian and the Dalmatian Orthodox Church. This separation was favoured by Romanian nationalists who envisaged a merger with the Transylvanian Orthodox, but opposed by their Ruthenian rivals who feared Romanian dominance:

*All (...) Christian religious groups live so mingled together that they have their representatives not only in various communities, but also often in the various homes, and even in individual families. Through this close cohabitation, the frequent intermarriages and equally frequent conversions from one religion to another, over time a mutual toleration has formed among the common people, who do not want to hear or know about a confessional partition once internal displeasure erupts or advantages from outside allure. In such a situation, no religious instruction helps, no matter how carefully and thoroughly instructed in school or in church.*¹⁸⁶

Hacman was not referring exclusively to the rural population, but he saw the same pattern among his own clergy, which was obviously homogenous from a religious point of view but until recently had shown the same national ambiguity:

*These days, this task is not difficult at all, because nowadays, you can specify exactly to which nationality a priest is committed. This is not so easy for the past, at a time when national consciousness was not so highly developed and thus by the same token, many priests could be classed among both the Romanian and Ruthenian nationality.*¹⁸⁷

Just like Franzos, Bukovinian Romanian nationalists started reasoning from the other end. They opposed Hacman's view of a pre-nationalist common identification and instead argued that previously separate Romanian and Ruthenian ethnic groups had begun to mingle to the detriment of national purity. In 1906, *Voința Poporului* opined that 'unions with non-Romanian women are already so numerous, so many children are already of dubious nationality that it might be necessary to impose some sort of ban'.¹⁸⁸

Perceived Apathy and Ignorance among rural Bukovinians

In contrast to the heated debates between nationalists and those like Bishop Hacman who proposed alternative collective identities (a religious one in Hacmans case), the rural population seemed indifferent to identification issues. According to the reports the Austrian governors sent to Vienna, the general population was indifferent to basically everything. The provisional governor addressed the population shortly after corvée had been abolished in a 'circular to all the communities of the crownland Bukovina':

During my official travels through Bukovina I have noticed that although this year's sowing germinates beautifully and lushly in the favourable spring weather, I also observed that extensive and fertile tracts of land are entirely uncultivated, that some fruit types still require

¹⁸⁶ Smal-Stocki, Stefan, *Nationale und Kirchliche Bestrebungen der Rumänen in der Bukowina 1848 – 1865* ('Von Bischof Hakmann in einem Sendschreiben dargestellt'), Ruska Rada, Czernowitz 1899, p. 128.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid, p. 18.

¹⁸⁸ *Romîni să fim – Reflexiuni și sfaturi la situația noastră/IV*, *Voința Poporului*, 4, 28.01.1906, p. 2.

*a lot of manpower and because of the outflow of human workforce they have not reached the voluptuousness which may be expected in this season. (...) This state of affairs causes the welfare of this so-blessed land irrecoverable and unpredictable damage which will only expand with the persistent laxity and the constant indolence of the peasantry (...).*¹⁸⁹

His successor Baron Franz von Schmück found the situation unchanged and his efforts to make a difference just as fruitless as earlier attempts. In his report to the Viennese authorities he characterised the general attitude as follows:

*In particular, the aversion to work has come prominently to the fore, the fields remain either uncultivated or, often the case with owners of large stretches of land - the fruits of the earth remain partially unharvested and are left to rot. The ever-increasing daily wages are seemingly unable to provoke the country people's industriousness, instructions by me, the clergy and the police are hardly listened to, much less taken to heart. Despite the abundance of time, the peasant - farmer - grows only as much as he needs for his household, since he does not care about the future. He does not have a palate for opulence, he'd rather starve than work more than the absolutely necessary; he usually spends the remaining time in the inn.*¹⁹⁰

In 1862, Governor Martina noted that apathy also dominated the general attitude towards politics:

*Due to its low level of spiritual development, the rural population is concerned about their proper affairs and within this realm only about ensuring their most urgent material needs. They are not able to grasp political events outside of their own sphere (...) and therefore retain in their political attitude their own peculiar reputation.*¹⁹¹

Similar impressions were echoed in the local press. Bukovinian Romanian *Patria* quoted an article from the 'competing' Bukovinian Ruthenian *Bukovynsky Vedomosty* in which Mykola Vasylok from Lukavetz reproached the Ruthenians from Wiznitz-Putilla for a lack of national awareness. It concluded that 'the bulk of ordinary people, our peasants, remain silent, because they are in the dark and have no concept of their national and economic status'.¹⁹² The eagerness of Romanian nationalists in Bukovina to disseminate Ruthenian nationalist difficulties in convincing their target group is may be explained by resemblant issues of their own: *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* observed that if there remained a Romanian nation to

¹⁸⁹ Henniger-Seeberg, Adalberth Baron von, *Circulare an sämtliche Gemeinden des Kronlandes Bukowina*, report no. 9954, Czernowitz, 30 June 1851/ DJAN Suceava, Fond 'Mitropolia Bucovinei', secția 'Diverse', dosar 1119.

¹⁹⁰ Schmück, Baron Franz von Governor's report to Vienna, Czernowitz, 31 December 1853/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MI 79/2.

¹⁹¹ 'Die Landbevölkerung ist durch den geringen Grad geistiger Entwicklung auf den eigenem unmittelbar beruhenden Verhältnisse beschränkt und selbst innerhalb desselben lediglich auf die Sicherstellung der nothwendigsten materiellen Bedürfnisse bedacht, vermag kein außerhalb ihrer Sphäre liegendes politisches Ereigniß zu erfassen und behält daher, nachdem zu ihrer Aufengung keine äußeren Einflüsse wie zur Zeit der Landtagswahlen wirkten, in ihrer politischen Haltung fortan die ihr eigenthümliche Rufe'. Martina, Wenzel Ritter von, *Abschrift des an Se Exzellenz den Herrn Polizeiministers erstatteten Stimmungsberichtes*, 115 Praes, Ministerium des Innern, Czernowitz, 14 January 1862/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MI, mapa 86/3.

¹⁹² *Bukovynsky Vedomosty* [Буковински Вѣдомости], no. 39, 5/17 October 1897 as quoted in *Spicuri din foile rutene*, *Patria*, 46, 15.10.1897.

speaking in Bukovina, this was thanks to the cities, because 'the Romanian peasants had themselves denationalised in huge numbers by the tougher Slavs without offering resistance and this at a time in which the Romanians had the overwhelming preponderance in the land'.¹⁹³

Aloofness could not always be interpreted as apathy - it was also caused by ignorance. In a passage which fell victim to the censorship authority, Galician Ruthenian newspaper *Batktivshchyna* claimed that Ruthenians in Galicia made the least use of their rights and their power of all the peoples of Austria since they did not elect for themselves the sort of deputies who would do their will, but rather elected mainly Polish lords and government officials. And, it maintained, the situation was even worse in Bukovina.¹⁹⁴ In 1878, Julius Platter had quoted a conversation between a policeman and a peasant to illustrate the general cluelessness of the rural population:

*What is your native village called? The peasant named a nearby village. - What is the district called to which your village belongs? I don't know. - What is the country called in which you live? Well, I don't know that, either. - What is then the name of the entire state to which this country belongs? I have never heard anything about it. - Then who reigns over all of us? Is it a count, a prince or a king or an emperor? I have heard that further away somewhere there is a big, big city named Czernowitz and there a powerful king lives. - What is your religion? Oh, just the usual, common one, which is just for us peasants.*¹⁹⁵

Even in 1911, when the new system of national registers was passionately debated, rural ignorance was said to prevail:

*To them, the national divorce as well as the national principle as a combat moment have not at all become clear, and their economic credo is so ill-defined that their current representatives in the Imperial Council and the regional Diet actually only needed to hand out their business card and make some courtesy calls in order to secure their election.*¹⁹⁶

To nationalist activists in Bukovina, perceived peasant apathy and ignorance were sources of constant frustration. However, they had more to worry about than uncooperative peasants alone. They perceived a lack of national fervour even among those representing the backbone of nationalist movements in Bukovina, the clergy and the educated class. The editors of *Bukovyna* exclaimed in 1891:

The big mass of our people, our peasants and lower middle-class live under the influence of age-old spiritual slavery and obscurity, unaware of their human dignity, unaware of their proper issues, force and national obligations. But the mass of our educated class is not much

¹⁹³ *Der Landtag*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 28.12.1909, p. 1.

¹⁹⁴ *Batktivshchyna* [Батківщина] 1881, no. 16, as quoted in Himka, John-Paul, *Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement in the Nineteenth Century*, St. Martin's Press, New York 1988, p. 150.

¹⁹⁵ Platter 1878, p. 30.

¹⁹⁶ *Der große Wahltag*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 02.04.1911, p. 1.

*better than our popular masses; even now in free Austria, the majority of our educated class lives from day to day, without a clear program, without spirit, awareness of a higher goal in human life or awareness of prevailing obligations regarding its nation of origin!*¹⁹⁷

Lukewarm reactions to nationalist agitation were not merely a matter of perception. Throughout the decades of history of the nationalist press in Bukovina, editors appeared strapped for cash and struggled with debtors. In 1887, *Deșteptarea* called upon its readers to pay their bills:

*Romanians! If you see that our people move towards enlightenment and prosperity, for which 'Deșteptarea' has sacrificed not just a little, then do not allow it to disappear, for the foreigners would laugh bitterly at our depravity and stupidity.*¹⁹⁸

Viitoriul, a journal specifically aimed at an audience of Romanian Orthodox clerics in Bukovina spoke of 'a disease from which suffer almost all Romanian journals in the land', referring to the weak intellectual and material support from the circle of readers for whom the paper was meant. This 'disease' caused Romanian journals in general to be short-lived. Not only were subscriptions left unpaid, but copywriters equally lacked. And even if the editors received enough copy, they were no means available to cover overhead expenses. *Viitoriul* did not even have four hundred subscriptions. Overall, a large part of the clerics seemed not to care, even when they received personal reminders. The editors conceded grudgingly that 'apparently they shared the principle of our Romanians to have journals, but not to pay for them.'¹⁹⁹

Signs of lacking national awareness were at times explained more favourably, for instance when Bukovinian politician Aurel Onciul was said to skillfully tap into the peasants' economic worries:

*The peasant is passive in national issues. The hard battle for existence which he must fight makes him focus compellingly on economic issues, something Mr Onciul with his sound instinct of a tireless agitator immediately found out.*²⁰⁰

Others imputed Bukovinian peasantry with the wisdom to see through nationalist agitation:

*Fractions of the people, intellectuals and shopkeepers believed to be able to use nationality and language in order to prevent the masses to turn to the 'foreign element'. The linguistic battle cry was the watchword of those who believed to be able to protect themselves against the efficiency and fairness of the competition. The first to see through this campaign was the peasant with his healthy instincts.*²⁰¹

¹⁹⁷ *Наша непорадність*, Буковина, 05.09.1891, pp. 1-2.

¹⁹⁸ *Fraților Români!*, *Deșteptarea*, 23, 01.09.1897, p. 175.

¹⁹⁹ *Nepăsânță neexplicabilă și nescuzabilă*, *Viitoriul*, 8/9, 23.04.1908, p. 57.

²⁰⁰ *Die Wahlen auf dem Lande*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 08.05.1907, p. 1.

²⁰¹ *Aschermittwoch*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 05.03.1908, p. 1.

Although all available sources point at peasant apathy, largely absent political awareness and a high level of ignorance, it should be noted that these observations are largely elite reflections: They were uttered by governors longing for more local economic activity, journalists trying to explain unexpected election results and nationalists unable to understand why their campaigns largely fell on deaf ears. Useful as these opinions may be, they will have to be handled with care.

Nationally Indifferent Parliamentary Deputies and Their Political Priorities

Indifference regarding nationalist agendas was not confined to members of the population who chose to stay away from politics. The first 'peasant deputies' from Bukovina are a case in point. When under popular pressure the 1848 Constitution was revoked, new elections for the Imperial Parliament were necessary. Although still part of Galicia, Bukovina got its own electoral regulation and was divided into electoral districts. Czernowitz elected its own deputy, the others came from the remaining seven rural districts.²⁰²

The urban Czernowitz deputy was Gymnasium principal Anton Kral, who would later move to Brünn/Brno. Of the seven peasant deputies, Lukyan Kobylitsia (Wiznitz district) was the most prominent. The remaining six were Ivan Dolenchuk from Hatna (Suczawa), Vasile Cârste from Bojan (Sadagora), Vasyl Murgoch from Kotzman (Kotzman district), Miron Ciupercovici from Louisenthal (Kimpolung), Mihai Bodnar from Woitinell (Radautz) and Gheorghe Timiș from Kupka (rural Czernowitz)²⁰³. Apart from the educated liberal German Kral, only Ciupercovici and Bodnar were literate and, perhaps therefore, the only two with a clear - Romanian - nationalist focus. The other five were ambiguous or indifferent on a national level and concentrated their political activities on matters aimed at the improvement of the situation of the peasantry. Nevertheless, a recent study tried to make the national shoe fit maintaining that Dolenchuk and Kobylitsia were definitely Ruthenian, while Cârste from Boian and Murgoci from Kotzman were Ruthenised Romanians. According to their colleague Ciupercovici, Cârste was 'Ruthenian, though he also knew Moldavian' ('*un rus, dar știe și moldovenește*') and Murgoch was 'Ruthenian and did not know a word of Moldavian' ('*rus și nici nu știe nici o vorbă moldovenească*').²⁰⁴

When the project of the 'Landespetition' was launched, it became painfully clear that the peasants in Bukovina mainly perceived it as an elite project, conceived by the local boyar nobility and the liberal bourgeoisie. During the debates in the Constitutional Committee, committee member Rieger noted that the desire of the separation of Bukovina only stemmed from aristocrats and bureaucrats, not from the people and that he had heard from eyewitnesses that particularly Romanian nobles oppressed their peasants the most, even more than the Jews. For that reason, Rieger maintained, a number of peasant deputies from Bukovina protested

²⁰² Ceașu 2004, p. 58.

²⁰³ The autobiographical details of the eight deputies can be found in Ceașu 2004, p. 414-116.

²⁰⁴ Ibid, p. 65.

against the separation.²⁰⁵ The explanation these protesting deputies gave their electorate certainly pointed at a deep distrust of the boyars' intentions and of those of their two fellow representatives:

*The two Parliament deputies Miron Ciupercovici from Kimpolung and Mihai Bodnar from Radautz do not support our just cause. They united with the landowners and the clergy, and wish that we, the country people, remain in the old landlord patronage, which we have suffered for so many years and from which we have only liberated ourselves halfway. We, the undersigned, have been called by deputy Lukyan Kobylitsia to the two deputies mentioned above in order to sign a petition to the Parliament; as it was read to us, we realised that the two deputies mentioned above are completely opposed to our view, our general welfare - we saw that they are paid by the large landowners, and that it is us whom they want to sell to the gentlemen in the strict sense of the mandate.*²⁰⁶

The initiators of the autonomy initiative were outraged by this majority position taken by the Council deputies. In later analysis, not only the deputies' lack of knowledge, but also their illiteracy and their lacking command of the German language was blamed for the position they took in the case of Bukovinian autonomy and claimed they were turned into 'instruments in foreign hands', fostering 'certain pro-Ukrainian sentiments and affinities'.²⁰⁷ Whereas Kobylitsia and Dolenchuk might somewhat plausibly be labeled Ruthenians, matters were more complicated in the case of Cârste and Murgoch. The latter two had been adopted as Romanians by Romanian historiography and thus had displayed curious behaviour when they had turned against the 'Landespetition', which in turn had been a pre-eminent Romanian initiative according to Romanian nationalist historians. In the words of a historian from present-day Bojan, they had 'opposed openly the wishes of the whole province as formulated in the 'Landespetition', while 'among them was, unfortunately, also Vasile Cârste from Bojan', whose 'lack of intellectual and political preparation, of knowledge of the German language and of the political situation led to his transformation into a puppet of the forces interested in maintaining the old system within the framework of the Habsburg monarchy'.²⁰⁸ However, if this line of argumentation is followed, the number of 'Habsburg puppets' does not seem to be limited to the inexperienced parliamentarians alone: in November 1848, deputy Bodnar deemed it necessary convince his peasant constituency of the advantages of

²⁰⁵ Wagner 1983, *Revolutionsjahre* etc., p. 102.

²⁰⁶ "(...) Die beiden Reichstagsdeputirten Miron Czuperkowicz aus Kimpolung und Mihai Bodnar aus Radautz sind nicht für unsere gerechte Sache. – Sie vereinigten sich mit den Gutsherrn und mit der Geistlichkeit und wollen daß wir, das Landvolk, wieder in die alte Grundherrn- Kundschaft, welche wir durch so lange Jahre erlitten, verharren aus der wir uns bis jetzt nur halb herausgefunden haben. Wir, Unterzeichneten, sind durch den Deputirten Lukian Kobilitza zu den obigen zwei Deputirten gerufen worden um dort eine Petition an den Reichstag zu unterschreiben; als wir dieselbe uns vorlesen ließen, da sahen wir daß die obbenannten zwei Deputirten ganz gegen unsere Ansicht, gegen unser Gesamtwohl sind; - wir sahen, daß sie in Solde der Grundherrn stehen, und daß sie uns, in eigentlichen Sinne das Mandat, den Herrschaften verkaufen wollen (...)"²⁰⁷ Morgotsch, Krste, Kobelitz, Dollenczuk (deputies), *Die unterzeichneten Reichstagsdeputirten an das Landvolk in der Bukowina!*, Vienna, 30 August 1848/ DJAN Suceava, *Colecția de documente*, pachet XII, no. 48 (Photocopy from the original located in Vienna).

²⁰⁷ Ceașu 2004, p. 65.

²⁰⁸ Dârda, Florin, *Boianul din Bucovina*, website of the village of Boian, Romania, 2008, http://www.mareleboian.com/istorie_austr_1848.html, accessed 15 June 2010.

Bukovinian autonomy by means of manifesto²⁰⁹ while his Romanian nationalist colleague Ciupercovici was repudiated by his Romanian-speaking electorate when he pronounced himself in favour of Bukovinian autonomy.²¹⁰

In conclusion, the episode of the 'Landespetition', the lobby for Bukovinian autonomy and the role of the eight Bukovinian deputies in the debate seems unfit for a plausible nationalist framing. At the Ukrainian side, the leader of the peasant opposition against Bukovinian autonomy, 'the Emperor's friend' Lukyan Kobylitsia is portrayed as an anti-Habsburg initiator of that very autonomy. Romanian nationalist historians faced an even more daunting balancing act: By declaring the 'Landespetition' a purely Romanian initiative and by branding deputies Cârste and Murgoch Romanians, they now had to explain why those Romanians opposed a Romanian initiative and why an electorate they presented as Romanian reproached Bukovinian Romanian deputy Ciupercovici for supporting that same initiative.

Ceaușu touched upon the problem when he referred to the 'barely developed national consciousness' of the deputies²¹¹ and to the 'Landespetition' as the product of merging interests of the emerging bourgeoisie and the local nobility:²¹² social emancipation is likely to have played a larger role in the development of both the ambitions of the local elite and the recently liberated peasantry. In the case of the illiterate early peasant deputies, nationality issues do not seem to have loomed large. Even more, there does not even seem to be a national affiliation.

Prominent Bukovinians with Ambiguous National Backgrounds

Generally, national apathy, indifference and ambiguity were attributed to the lower classes with their lack of education and literacy. As far as apathy and indifference are concerned, this may have been largely true. However, national ambiguity was firmly rooted in all strata of Bukovinian society and admitted, though hesitantly, by nationalists as well. An author only known as 'an Orthodox Romanian priest' commented in his brochure regarding the nationalist polemics within the Bukovinian Orthodox Church:

*It should be noted, however, that the name alone is not essential for the membership of a particular nationality, especially in Austria and certainly in Bukovina. There are indeed persons within each nation who play a leading role among their fellow tribesmen, and yet have foreign names.*²¹³

²⁰⁹ Ceaușu 2004, pp. 68.

²¹⁰ Wagner 1983, *Revolutionsjahre etc.*, p. 88.

²¹¹ Ceaușu 2004, pp. 64-65.

²¹² Ceaușu, Mihai-Ștefan, *Obținerea autonomiei Bucovinei în dezbaterile elitei multi-etnice provinciale. 1848-1861*, in: *Analele Bucovinei*, 2006, XIII/1, 39-54. Tellingly, Wagner accredited a decisive role to the German Kral in the lobby for the 'Landespetition' (Wagner 1983, *Revolutionsjahre etc.*, p. 83).

²¹³ N.N., *Die gr.-or. Kirchenfrage in der Bukowina und die Jungruthenen (Kritische Beleuchtung der Brochure: 'Beitrag zur kirchlichen Frage in der Bukowina. Zwei zeitgemäße Artikel vom Reichsratsabgeordneten Hierotheus Pihuliak und einem gr.-or. ruthenischen Priester')*, Bukowinaer Vereinsdruckerei, Czernowitz 1906, p. 20.

That said, things were definitely more complicated than clearly defined nationalities with ill-fitting family names. This may be illustrated by presenting a number of prominent Austrian Bukovinians with their own perception of identification as well as the identity attributed to them by others. Not surprisingly, the first two names, Morariu-Andrievici and Călinescu, are those of prominent figures in the hierarchy of the Bukovinian Orthodox Church. Being the single common institution of exclusively Romanian and Ruthenian speakers, the Orthodox Church provided fertile soil for national ambiguity. Outside the realm of the Church, prominent politicians Mykola Vasylo and Constantin Tomasciuc are discussed here.

Metropolitan Silvestru Morariu-Andrievici

Silvestru Morariu-Andrievici became Metropolitan of Orthodox Bukovina in 1880 and kept this position until his death in 1895. Unlike his predecessor Eugen Hacman, Morariu represented the Romanian national wing, which presupposed identification with the nation as the only way for the Church to reach the highest goal on earth.²¹⁴ Morariu opposed Ruthenian influences within the Bukovinian Metropolis and maintained that Galician and Bukovinian Ruthenians were ethnic separate groups.²¹⁵ Although the clerical infighting clearly intensified under Morariu, he was also the initiator of the bilingual (Romanian-Ruthenian) theological magazine *Candela* in 1882, which aimed at keeping the Bukovinian clergy unified.²¹⁶ His staunch position on the alleged Romanian character of the Bukovinian Orthodox Church also created tensions between the Metropolitan and the Habsburg authorities. In 1890, the expiration of the lease on a Radautz domain owned by the Orthodox Church Fund led to Morariu's initiative to organise a church congress in order to discuss the administration of the Church and the Church Fund. Since both the Fund administration and clerical appointments fell within the sphere of competence of the state, the central government was ill-disposed towards the event. Governor Pace, known to have supported a stronger Ruthenian political clout in regional politics,²¹⁷ was in the end ordered to convene the congress in 1891. Bad blood between Morariu and Pace caused it to be dissolved almost immediately, never to be convened again.²¹⁸

The regional press was critical of Morariu's disregard for Ruthenian interests. *Gazeta Polska*, *Bukovyna* and especially *Bukowinaer Rundschau* with its feuilleton named 'Laical Voices from the Province' (*Laienstimmen aus der Provinz*) slashed the Metropolitan's pro-Romanian attitude. Morariu responded to the accusations by means of two self-justification brochures, one from 1883 and the other from 1889, entitled 'Apologies of the Orthodox Church of Bukovina' (*Apologien der orthodoxen griechisch-orientalischen Kirche der Bukowina*). These only added fuel to the flame, since the Metropolitan openly argued that there were no real

²¹⁴ Hitchins 1973, p. 620.

²¹⁵ Nistor 1991, p. 272.

²¹⁶ Turczynski 1993, p. 173.

²¹⁷ Corbea-Hoisie 2005, p. 93.

²¹⁸ Nistor, pp. 275-278.

Ruthenians in Bukovina, but only Ruthenised Romanians. This was understood as a move to enlarge Romanian influence in Vienna and was criticised in the local press:

*As it is well-known that the Ruthenians in Bukovina are the clear majority of the indigenous population and have expressed their existence most energetically, the gentlemen from the Orthodox consistory calculated that the central government would assign to the Romanians - who in recent times have sought to manifest their loyalty in every possible way - a similar dominant position against the Ruthenians in Bukovina as they have allocated to the Poles in Galicia.*²¹⁹

The same way he regarded Orthodoxy a Bukovinian (and therefore, in his view, a Romanian) characteristic, Morariu attributed Catholic influences firmly to Galicia. In 1885, he filed an official complaint at the Prime-Minister's office in Vienna because of the acclaimed Polish character of Catholicism in Bukovina and the behaviour of its priests, who were said to behave like Polish representatives.²²⁰ Paradoxically, his adversaries held Morariu responsible for involuntarily strengthening the Uniate Church, since his Romanian nationalism would cause Ruthenian Orthodox parishioners to convert.²²¹ In his second Apology, the metropolitan presented himself as a champion of tolerance and lamented the increase of fanaticism in Bukovina. Most of all, he decried Polish/Galician influences:

*We no longer believe to be in Austria and in our homeland, but in Poland and as an Orthodox priest I cannot show my face in the so-called Russian street without being reminded of the streets of Cracow from the past and without being pelted with mud and dung by the dumb mob, this dirty ejection of Galicia.*²²²

Morariu's Romanian nationalist fervour and his anti-Galician position become more intriguing in view of his assumed ethnic background. Silvester Daszkiewicz, who dismissed Morariu's assertions on behalf of the 'secular Orthodox members of the Ruthenian Club in Czernowitz', casually noted how 'the author of the Apology forgot that his ancestors were millers and simple farmers of Ruthenian nationality'.²²³ In its eulogy for the Metropolitan, *Bukovyna* portrayed the deceased as a 'descendant of former lower middle-class inhabitants of Drohobych (Galicia - HFD) called Zilyns'kiy, educated by Romanian relations and associations at a time in which the Ruthenian cause was not yet clear', and who 'like many of his age-mates had not been able to grasp its importance'.²²⁴ Changing from a Ruthenian to a Romanian speaker may well have been a practical career move for Morariu, or more likely for his ancestors, in a time in which Romanian was the *lingua franca* of the Bukovinian Orthodox clergy and Ruthenian nationalism had not yet developed into an attractive alternative. It is gripping nevertheless that one of the more prominent Bukovinian Romanian nationalists was said to be of Galician Ruthenian descent.

²¹⁹ *Gegen die 'Apologie'*, Bukowinaer Nachrichten, 05.05.1898, p. 1.

²²⁰ *Ecclesia militans*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 13.08.1885, p. 1.

²²¹ *Kirchliches*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 15.04.1888, p. 2.

²²² Silvestru Morariu, Metropolitan, *Apologie der orthodoxen griechisch-orientalischen Kirche der Bukowina*, Erzbischöfliche Buchdruckerei, Czernowitz 1889, p. 58.

²²³ Daszkiewicz 1891, p. 28.

²²⁴ *Високопреосвященний Митрополит Сильвестер Морар-Андрієвич... помер дня 3. (15) квітня...*, Буковина, 05.04.1895, pp. 1-2.

When in 1902, Bishop of Radautz Vladimir Repta was appointed Archbishop of Czernowitz , the position of consistory archimandrite remained vacant. On behalf of the Romanian Bukovinian Orthodox population, a request was sent to the Emperor to take into consideration Romanian nationalist concerns when naming a successor. The obvious worries regarded a possible Ruthenian candidate, but on top of this, the petitioners addressed the problem of personal connections within the church hierarchy, thus preventing the best candidate to obtain the position he deserved.

Therefore, we resort to the Highest church-protecting care and grace of Your Majesty to ensure that neither of these two movements be successful to the detriment of the Church of our land and that by Your Majesty's gracious appointment to the dignity of an episcopal vicar and consistory archimandrite, possibly also to Bishop of Radautz, a man will be chosen who is - we certainly want to not say a Romanian - but we only say a man, who is worthy and capable in every respect, who on the one hand guarantees the safeguarding of equality between Ruthenians and Romanians in the sense and degree in which national equality also applies to state affairs, and to no lesser degree guarantees respect for the historic general character of the Church and who on the other hand has excellent and proven abilities in all duties of the consistorial services and diocese administration, knowledge of both languages of the diocese and especially not only imperfect knowledge of Romanian, as well as a deserving, hard-working previous life devoted both dutifully and professionally to higher ecclesiastical and theological activity and who enjoys universal respect and recognition in the diocese.

Finally, the petitioners suggested the appointment of Miron Călinescu and assured the Emperor that Călinescu would prove to be a loyal servant not only to his church but to Throne and Empire as well.²²⁵ However, it was exactly the matter of loyalty which made Călinescu highly unpopular among Ruthenian parishioners, who 'hated him most fiercely because he had traded his Ruthenian nationality against a better one and from his high position he had forgotten about his former tribesmen'.²²⁶ After Călinescu's passing in 1912, *Nova Bukovyna* presented Călinescu's life story in a rancorous eulogy as that of a traitor:

²²⁵ "Dem gegenüber nehmen wir unsere Zuflucht zur Allerhöchsten kirchenschutzherrlichen Fürsorge und Gnade Eurer Majestät, auf daß keine dieser zwei Bewegungen zum Schädén unserer Landeskirche Erfolg habe und auf daß durch Eurer Majestät Allernädigsten Ernennungsakt zur Würde eine Consistorial-Archimandriten und erzbischöflichen Vicars, eventuell auch Bischofs von Radautz, wir wollen durchaus nicht sagen, ein Romäne, sondern, wir sagen nur, ein Mann gelange, welcher der Stelle in jeder Beziehung würdig und gewachsen ist, welcher einerseits wie Garantien für die Wahrung der Gleichberechtigung der Ruthenen mit der Romänen in dem Sinne und Maße, in welchem nationale Gleichberechtigung auch auf staatlichem Gebiete gilt, so nicht minder Garantien für die Respectierung des historischen Gesamtcharakters der Landeskirche bietet und welcher andererseits hervorragende und bewährte Tüchtigkeit in allen Obliegenheiten des Consistorialdienstes und der Diöcesanleitung, Kenntnis beider Diöcesenssprachen und zwar die Kenntnis der romanischen Sprache nicht bloß in unvollkommenen Maße, dabei ein verdienstvolles, in berufseifriger und arbeitsamer höherer kirchlicher und theologischer Thätigkeit zugebrachtes Vorleben und allgemeinen Achtung und Anerkennung in der Diöceze besitzt". *Die allerunterthänigsten und allergetreuesten gr.or. Romänen der Bukovina, Euere kais. und königl. Apostolische Majestät! Allerdurchlauchtigster, Allernädigster Kaiser und Herr!*, Czernowitz, 2 May 1902/ DJAN Suceava, Fond 'Mitropolia Bucovinei', secția 'Diverse', dosar 2133.

²²⁶ *Schweigen ist Gold*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 2608, 18.12.1897.

*Our nation, like others which are still in the course of development, had many turncoats. Not only did they refuse to provide protection to their poor nation, but they also fought their own people as mercenaries of a foreign nation and helped to oppress their proper nation. When the Uniate Pumnul from Transylvania organised the Bukovinian Romanians fifty years ago, they started to fish out our ignorant youngsters, who almost all believed to be Romanians to such extent that they now head the Romanians and are recruiting by their side. (...) To this group also belonged the late M. Kalynovskiy. He was the son of a Ruthenian potter-craftsman from Holy Trinity Street. Entering the seminary, he joined the Romanian's association and converted to their ideas. As a grammar school teacher he already belonged to the active Romanians and recruited mercenaries even among his pupils, especially when acting as secretary of the Association for Culture and Literature (Societatea pentru cultură și literatură). In 1877 he changed his name to Miron Călinescu and afterwards became a theology professor, a consistorial councilor and finally consistorial archimandrite. In these influential positions, as well as in the position of crownland deputy, he developed an assiduous activity, but always clearly more for the Romanians than for the school of the Ruthenians. Thus having the proper relations in public life, he left no room for Ruthenian influences and gave everything a Romanian character. (...) The truth is that also today many Ruthenians defect to the Romanian camp and deal us decisive blows, nevertheless with a changed diocese system, exactly as it should be, our deprivations will finally be compensated (...).*²²⁷

In the eulogy written by 'an Orthodox Ruthenian', *Bukowinaer Post* echoed that Romanian nationalists had lured 'nationally underdeveloped' Ruthenians into their camp and even maintained that because of this, 'almost all' prominent Bukovinian Romanians were from Ruthenian descent, having changed their names into Romanian ones when the Romanian nationalist current gathered steam and Ruthenian names were considered an embarrassment.²²⁸

Earlier, in 1903, Young-Ruthenian parliamentary deputies had lamented the deprived position of Ruthenians in the Orthodox consistory of Bukovina and had highlighted how those who were said to be Romanised Ruthenians now had become the driving force behind the Romanisation of the Bukovinian Orthodox Church themselves.

*A remediation for the situation in the diocese, which has become unbearable, is unfathomable due to the present Orthodox consistory, with at the centre men like Călinescu (formerly Kalynovskiy) and Bejan (formerly Bezhan) who are hostile towards the Ruthenians. For it is precisely through the activity of these two consistorial councilors and through that of the previous Metropolitan Morariu (formerly Andriewicz) that the once numerous Ruthenian clergy was pushed into the Romanian camp and the continuation of the theological faculty by the Ruthenian youth was understandably completely suppressed (...).*²²⁹

Even in matters not directly related to Călinescu's public activities, Ruthenian nationalists readily used the case of his 'national conversion'. When *Bukovyna* accused Romanian clerics

²²⁷ Мирон Калинеску, з роду Михайло Калиновский..., Нова Буковина, 23.01.1912, p. 5.

²²⁸ Myron Calinescu, *Bukowinaer Post*, 23.01.1912, p. 1.

²²⁹ Interpellation der Abgeordneten Pihuliak, Nikolaj v. Wassilko und Genossen an Seine Excellenz den Herrn Minister für Cultus und Unterricht wegen der notorischen Verkürzung und Schädigung der ruthenischen Gläubigen durch das griechisch-orientalische Consistorium in Czernowitz, Sitzung, 14 March 1903/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCÎ CXXXI/4.

of deliberately registering Romanian versions of Ruthenian names in birth certificates, they illustrated their claim with several examples, including the one of ‘the honourable potter Kalynovskiy who stemmed from the glorious Cossacks and was mutilated into Călinescu’.²³⁰ Instead of resenting Călinescu for his conscious identification with Romanian nationalism as usual, this time the Young-Ruthenians of *Bukovyna* considered it more convenient to depict him as a passive victim of Romanisation schemes.

Mykola Vasylo

Baron Mykola (‘Koko’) Vasylo²³¹ was born in 1868 as the son of landowner Nicholas von Wassilko and his wife Aglaia, the former Baroness Petrino-Armis. A graduate of the Viennese Theresianum, he settled on the family estate in Lukawetz. From the age of thirty he represented the district Wiznitz-Putilla in the regional diet. Later, when the Young-Ruthenians managed to obtain five out of the fourteen Bukovinian seats in the first democratic parliamentary election in 1907, he entered the Austrian Parliament. Vasylo was one of the most prominent Bukovinian Ruthenian politician of his time, as well as one of the architects of the ‘Freethinking Alliance’ (*Freisinniger Verband*), the short-lived ‘reservoir of progressive politicians of the new generation from all national camps’²³² together with Romanian Aurel Onciul, German Arthur Skedl and Jewish Benno Straucher. In 1911, he was one of the architects of the Bukovinian Compromise, which envisaged popular representation along national lines. Vasylo energetically advocated the opening of a Ruthenian university in Lemberg and was one of the driving forces behind the founding of a Ruthenian Gymnasium in Wiznitz in 1908. Although he was popular with the peasantry and fostered a down-to-earth image, his former ally Onciul noted in his memoirs that ‘Vasylo never refrained from the feudal tendencies of his younger years; being used to bossing his Ruthenian fellow men around, he tried to do the same to the Romanians who would not tolerate this’.²³³

Once the war broke out, Vasylo moved to Vienna, where in 1915 he was among the founders of the Central Ukrainian Council and promoted the concept of an autonomous Ukrainian entity comprising Podilia, eastern Galicia and Bukovina in case the Central Powers would win the war. In 1918 Vasylo served in the Ukrainian National Council in Lemberg. Just like in Bukovina, Vasylo proved to be a controversial political figure in Galicia, where, judging from a private letter from Lemberg in December 1917, he was definitely not universally trusted by his fellow Ukrainian nationalists:

Following the events in Ukraine there is a total lack of organisation and orientation among the local population. Moreover, the Ukrainian Republican Party speaks out very clearly

²³⁰ *Волоска віра*, Буковина, 05.03.1909, p. 1.

²³¹ Biographic details from: Ceașu 2004, pp. 461–462, *Reichsrathscandidat Nicolai Ritter von Wassilko*, Czernowitzer Presse, 15.12.1899, p. 1, *Turning the pages back*, in: *The Ukrainian Weekly*, 12, 21.03.1999, p. 6.

²³² Leslie, John, *Der Ausgleich in der Bukowina von 1910: Zur österreichischen Nationalitätenpolitik vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg*, in: *Geschichte zwischen Freiheit und Ordnung - Gerald Stourzh zum 60. Geburtstag*, Brix, Emil et al. (ed.), Styria, Graz/Wien/Köln 1991, 113–143, p. 117.

²³³ Onciul 1999, p. 43, ad. 3.

*against the president of the club of Bukovinian Ukrainian deputies, Baron Vasylo, who is accused of never having been a true and genuine Ukrainian politician and of always having cared more about foreign interests, supporting these as well. An anonymous author published a series of very harsh newspaper articles against him in which he is subjected to severe criticism.*²³⁴

In the war's immediate aftermath, Vasylo served as the diplomatic representative of the Western Ukrainian National Republic government in Austria between in 1918 and 1919. He was the Ukrainian National Republic's ambassador to Switzerland and subsequently to Germany, where he died in 1924.

Whereas the letter from Lemberg implies that Vasylo was regarded by some as being more Austrian than Ukrainian/Ruthenian, in Bukovina his political enemies instrumentalised another aspect of his background to call his sincerity into question. The Romanian nationalists from *Deșteptarea* brought out their version of Vasylo's record in 1905:

*In order for our readers to know who Koko Vasylo is, we will tell them in two to three words. His father, the boyar Nicholas Knight of Wassilko of the Komarestie estate was a particularly respected Romanian. To what purpose however, if his son Koko was to squander all parental wealth after the death of the old man? Honourable Koko even managed to waste the Lukawetz estate, brought as a dowry by his wife, so that the other day it was auctioned off to a Galician bank. What was poor Koko to do now? He resorted to begging on the threshold of the Romanians so they would help him get a mandate. However, our people knew his kind only too well and would not entrust it to him. This bitterly upset the gentleman and within a split second, he transformed from Romanian into a staunch Ruthenian. He goes to the regional administration and lashes out mightily at us Romanians. The administration receives him and lo, today he is a Ruthenian deputy to both the regional Diet and the Imperial Council in Vienna.*²³⁵

The Wassilko family was one of the oldest in Bukovina and played a prominent role in Moldavia well before the Austrian annexation. According to the list of electors for both the Imperial Council and the regional Diet in the large landowner category as compiled by Governor Alesani in 1875, the Wassilko's²³⁶ were classified as 'Romanian'.²³⁷ The fact that

²³⁴ (...) Infolge der Ereignisse in der Ukraine herrscht unter den hies. eine völlige Desorganisation und Desorientierung. Ausserdem tritt die ukr. Republikanische Partei sehr scharf gegen den Präses des Bukowinaer-ukr. Abgeordnetenklubs Baron Wassilko auf, dem zum Vorwurf gemacht wird, dass er niemals ein wahrer und echter ukr. Politiker war und dass er sich immer eher um fremde Interessen kümmerte und auch solche unterstützte. Gegen ihn veröffentlichte ein anonymer Autor eine Reihe sehr scharfe Zeitungsartikel, in welchen er einer strengen Kritik unterzogen wird. (...)” *Letter from Marijka Donzow from Lemberg*, 28.12.1917, in: *Beilage 35 zur Monatsbericht pro Jänner 1918/ Innerpolitische Wahrnehmungen einschl. der hochverraeterischen Umtriebe unserer Staatsbuerger im Auslande – Ukrainische Bewegung in der Monarchie*, Vienna, Kriegsarchiv/Armeeoberkommando/Gemeinsames Zentralnachweisbüro (AOK/GZNB), Karton 3757, Fasc 4986.

²³⁵ *Să fie oare Bucovina țeară rusască??* *Deșteptarea*, 5, 01.03.1900, pp. 33-35.

²³⁶ Since Mykola Vasylo (Nicholas von Wassilko) was the only family member to claim a Ruthenian identity, on these pages his name is spelled according to the transcription of Ruthenian/Ukrainian orthography. To other family members will be referred as 'Wassilko', according to the German spelling common at the time. To avoid further confusion, the Romanian alternative 'Vasilco' will not be used.

young Mykola ‘chanced his luck’ at the Ruthenian side of the local political spectrum was obviously perceived rather divergently by either group. According to the Young-Ruthenians of *Selyanin*, Vasylo was ‘one of the inhabitants of their native land who staunchly and heartily stood by the Ruthenian people and had dared to avow himself Ruthenian, while all other Wassilko’s had sided with the Romanians’ and his while father ‘like the entire unconscious Bukovinian gentry, had regarded himself as Romanian’.²³⁸ On the other hand, the conservative nationalist faction of Romanian large landowners in Bukovina used every opportunity to use Vasylo’s ‘national betrayal’ against him. When they felt that in Vienna he had spoken on behalf of the Bukovinian Romanians, they fumed that ‘it was about time the Romanians showed this man point-blank with the desired lucidity that when Romanian politicians had already earlier refused him party membership, today, now that he had ‘shed’ his Romanian nationality and had become ‘Ruthenian’, they decidedly abhorred cooperation of any kind with him and that he had forfeited the right to count on whatever kind of consideration from the side of the Romanians’.²³⁹

Vasylo’s turncoat reputation proved to be persistent, even among those who appreciated his political capacities. After the 1905 parliamentary elections, the editors of *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* worried about the Young-Ruthenians, who had lost the elections but might become more popular in the future thanks to their socialist and anti-Semitic positions. The newspaper wondered why a relatively moderate politician like Vasylo had joined these ranks and opined he could change his mind once more, since ‘he had never been a Young-Ruthenian, but had simply converted to the Ruthenians’. So, ‘if he managed to draw the only permissible conclusions from the circumstances, his valuable work for the Ruthenian people in Bukovina would remain’.²⁴⁰

In spite of his unambiguous political activity within the framework of Ruthenian/Ukrainian nationalism, Vasylo’s loyalty would never be completely uncontested. His specific Bukovinian background and life career made him a renegade to Romanian nationalists, an Austrian centralist to non-Bukovinian Ruthenian/Ukrainian nationalists and ‘flexible’, to say the least, to some of his more appreciative fellow Bukovinians. In present day scholarly work, Vasylo remains ‘the Romanian who turned Ruthenian’.²⁴¹

Constantin Tomasciuc

When Constantin Tomasciuc died in 1889, *Bukowinaer Rundschau* commented that to Czernowitz, he had been ‘the Prometheus who set off the fire of spiritual freedom, the man

²³⁷ Bidermann 1875, pp. 64-65.

²³⁸ *Посоль на соймъ краевый бояринъ Николай Василько*, Селянинъ, 01.09.1898, pp. 2-3.

²³⁹ *Wird der Frieden in der nächsten Landtagssession gestört und von wem?* Bukowinaer Journal, 1010, 15.06.1902, p. 1.

²⁴⁰ *Die Neue Aera - Die Ruthenen*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 15.10.1905, p. 1.

²⁴¹ See for instance Ceaușu 2004, p. 461 (*român ucrainizat*) and Corbea-Hoisie 2004, p. 56 (*grand propriétaire terrien roumain, autodéclaré ruthène*).

who had made the sun of Enlightenment rise in the east and had opened the halls to scholarship, so that intellectual life and aspiration would find their way into them'.²⁴²

Born 1840 in Czernowitz, Tomasciuc remained widely revered in Bukovina after his death as one of the most prominent advocates for and, consecutively, the first rector of the Franz Joseph University. He had been educated at the Lemberg University and was appointed regional court judge after having served the Habsburg government administration in Lemberg and Hermannstadt. He was a member of the Czernowitz municipal council and the regional diet of Bukovina, which in turn delegated him to the Austrian Parliament. The latter proved a useful platform for his lobby campaign for a German-language Bukovinian university, which was realised in 1875 at the occasion of Austrian Bukovina's centennial.²⁴³ Speaking on the subject before the House of Representatives of the Austrian Imperial Council on 13 March 1875, Tomasciuc had proven himself a true Austrian centralist:

*We are not only Polish, Germans, Romanians, but we are most of all people rooted in the same soil from which we draw our collective strength. I mean our Austria. And the university is a genuinely Austrian idea.*²⁴⁴

Ironically, it was exactly the new university with its professors from all over the Monarchy that would eventually bring a fresh influx of nationalist fervour to Bukovina. Tomasciuc himself would maintain that 'in his opinion, the widely-held view in the land that party differences in the diet were predominantly of a national nature, was erroneous'.²⁴⁵ In his capacity as university dean, Tomasciuc seems to have lacked the aptitude for the balancing act necessary to appease Viennese sensitivities in matters of nationalist political activity. When Romanian nationalist students sent Tomasciuc a telegram to congratulate him on a parliamentary speech against Polish nationalist agitation in Bukovina, the Minister of Culture and Education was not amused: Tomasciuc was ordered to let his students know that students in general should refrain from political activities and was subtly informed that a next time, Vienna expected him to act without having been told specifically to do so.²⁴⁶

From the reports received from its representative in Czernowitz, the central government was unlikely to hold a favourable opinion of rector Tomasciuc, anyway: no matter how vital Tomasciuc's role had been in the prelude to the establishment of the Franz Joseph University, as its dean his star had faded fast. Shortly before Tomasciuc's death, his position at the faculty was characterised by Governor Bourguignon:

Professor Tomasciuc occupies a peculiar position in this faculty. At the time of the university's establishment, he succeeded in radiating a certain aura around him which gradually he has

²⁴² † Dr. Constantin Tomaszczuk, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 22.12.1889, pp. 1-2.

²⁴³ Ceaușu 2004, pp. 459-460. For more on the Czernowitz University, see Part III, paragraph 2.2/ Franz Joseph University.

²⁴⁴ Lechner, Elmar, *Die ehemalige k.k.Franz-Josefs-Universit   zu Czernowitz - eine Chronologie und eine Bibliographie*, Historico-Paedagogica Europaea 17, Klagenfurt 2001, p. 1.

²⁴⁵ *Die W  hlerversammlung*, Bukowinaer Nachrichten, 18.09.1888, p. 1.

²⁴⁶ *Orders from the Ministry of Culture and Education to Czernowitz with regard to political activities by Romanian students*, reports No. CUM 567 and CUM 865, 16 April and 7 June 1886/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 4916.

*lost completely, since the younger generation of professors will not forgive him for never having become a professor prior to his appointment at the Czernowitz University and for rarely holding lectures for many years now because of his parliamentary activities. On the other hand, he participates as much as possible in state exams and doctoral viva (...), acts as counsel in criminal cases against wealthy clients, and on top of this he likes to pretend a certain dominance over his colleagues.*²⁴⁷

Once Tomasciuc had passed away however, his name soon became a synonym for cultural progress in Bukovina. In October 1897, the city of Czernowitz dedicated a monument to his memory. *Czernowitzer Presse* recalled how Tomasciuc, ‘the son of another tribe, had fought for the Germans in Austria because he had realised that only a strong central authority could save the fatherland, and that the young emerging nations still needed the old culture for a long time in order to mature’.²⁴⁸ Indeed, like Karl-Emil Franzos, Tomasciuc had been a product of Josephinist enlightenment, a school of thought which rapidly lost ground after the 1880s.²⁴⁹ He had firmly believed in the German cultural hegemony in Bukovina, since in his view, cultural development in a pluri-ethnic community could only prosper if one of those ethnicities took the lead. To Tomasciuc, in Austria this task fell to the Germans.²⁵⁰ He considered himself a German liberal and as such he had distinguished himself in the different political bodies. As a German liberal and a staunch opponent of Slavic dominance within the Austrian parliament,²⁵¹ Tomasciuc’s roots as a son of a Ruthenian-speaking priest and a Romanian-speaking mother perhaps offer a surprising background for such views. That said, Tomasciuc regarded himself as an ethnic Romanian and remained a devout Orthodox throughout his life.²⁵² *Bukowinaer Nachrichten* offered an explanation for Tomasciuc’s ability to harmonise all these identification markers:

Although he had an intense national consciousness just like any of his co-nationals, although he cherished the magic of that sweet sound of the mother tongue and was a proud and devoted Romanian just the same, he understood that apart from nationalism there are higher interests and obligations, the fulfillment of which equally benefits one’s own nationality. He was therefore not merely a Romanian, but also a liberal who constantly paid homage to progress,

²⁴⁷ “Eine eigenthümliche Stellung nimmt in dieser Fakultät Professor Tomaszczuk ein, welcher bei Eröffnung der Universität einen gewissen Nimbus um sich zu verbreiten wußte, den er aber nach und nach vollständig eingebüßt hat, weil die jüngere Generation unter den Professoren es ihm nicht verzeihen will, daß er vor seiner Berufung an die Czernowitzer Universität niemals Professor geworden ist, weil er ferner seit vielen Jahren in Folge seiner Wirksamkeit im Reichsrathe nur selten Vorlesungen hält, dagegen sich bei den Staatsprüfungen und Rigorosen (...) soviel als möglich betheiligt und als Vertheidiger in Strafsachen wohlhabender Clienten fungirt, überdies gegenüber den Collegen sich ein gewisses Übergewicht anmaßen möchte”. *Bericht des Landespräsidenten an den Minister für Cultus und Unterricht*, 482 Pr., Czernowitz, 27 March 1889/ ANR, Fond "Guvernământul Bucovinei", MCÎ, XCIII/9.

²⁴⁸ *Das Tomaszczuk-Denkmal*, Czernowitzer Presse, 15.10.1897, p. 1.

²⁴⁹ Turczynski 1993, p. 176.

²⁵⁰ Osatschuk, Sergij, *Nationalisierungsprozesse und religiöser Wandel in der Bukowina von der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts*, in: Karpf, Peter et al. (ed.), *Volksgruppen und Religion - Identität und Bekenntnis* (Kärnten Dokumentation, 24), Klagenfurt 2008, 144-159, pp. 147-148.

²⁵¹ Ceaușu 2004, p. 190.

²⁵² Osatschuk 2008, p. 147.

*and he was therefore not merely a Bukovinian, but also an Austrian connected to the united fatherland with every fiber of his heart.*²⁵³

Bukowinaer Rundschau had advanced a similar opinion in its previously quoted eulogy when stating that Tomasciuc ‘had known that he served his nation best when he served the Empire, devoting all his strength to its unity and welfare’ and that he ‘had felt that his nationality could only stay healthy if the entire state remained unimpaired and unbroken’.²⁵⁴

Even the analysis of only four Bukovinian biographies provides useful insights into questions of identification as well as the mobility and flexibility of identification markers. In the cases of Morariu-Andrievici and Călinescu, the decisive element which determined their national identity was their religious affiliation and subsequently their clerical careers. In a time when Ruthenian nationalists still struggled with Romanian dominance within the Bukovinian Orthodox Church, an excellent command of the Romanian language was a matter of course and declaring oneself Romanian must have been helpful, if not a prerequisite, to reach the highest ranks of the hierarchy.

In the case of Morariu, a close reading of the sources referring to his background makes it unlikely that he personally took a conscious decision to ‘swap nationalities’. If his family was indeed originally from Galicia, this might explain why to Călinescu - stemming from an Orthodox minority - Galicia was a byword for Catholics and Uniates, while Bukovina represented the ‘true faith’ - Orthodoxy - with the Romanian language as its local vehicle. For Călinescu’s ancestors, who were said to have made the conversion from Galician Ruthenian to Bukovinian Romanian, the move to Southern Bukovina might have implied an automatic assimilation into the Romanian language and, once nationalism gained ground, into the Romanian national identity.

Although Călinescu’s integration into the Romanian cultural realm displays obvious similarities to Morariu’s, the salient contrast is here that Călinescu represented a first-generation ‘national convert’, whose conscious decision was widely known and, when convenient, used against him. Although the example given above shows that he was occasionally depicted as a victim of Romanisation (a hypothesis much more plausible in the case of Morariu, if any), the overall picture in non-Romanian circles was that of a national traitor, who, just like Morariu, tended to play the Romanian card even more fanatically than other Romanian clerics and was therefore largely held responsible for the national polarisation of the Bukovinian Orthodox Church.

A mirror image of Călinescu’s ‘nationality swap’ is that of Mykola Vasylo, who managed to turn ‘becoming Ruthenian’ into a flourishing career. Whereas Călinescu benefited from Romanian clerical dominance by conformation, Vasylo saw the advantages of siding with a newly emerging national group which had large political potential but lacked political clout and local prominents to defend its interests. Just like Călinescu, however, Vasylo would be struggling with accusations of disloyalty and opportunism throughout his life.

²⁵³ *Den Namen Tomaszczuks*, *Bukowinaer Nachrichten*, 02.06.1892, p.1.

²⁵⁴ † *Dr. Constantin Tomaszczuk*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 22.12.1889, pp. 1-2.

Looking for a classic example of *homo bucovinensis*, a better representative of the species than Constantin Tomasciuc is hardly imaginable. While he defined himself as a German liberal and was clearly an Austrian Centralist, he was an Orthodox Christian at the same time and, being from mixed Ruthenian-Romanian descent, he chose the Romanian nationality.

It would be self-evident to conclude here that Bukovinian identities were a patchwork of many components, each of which depending on religious, political and national affiliation of the individual. Although Habsburg Bukovina represents an interesting case from this perspective, the phenomenon has been addressed in numerous studies. More interesting perhaps is that ‘the common people’ are generally described as passive in matters of nationality determination. In the Bukovinian context they were mostly said to have been either Romanised or Ruthenised once a shift in national identity was detected or suspected. Since their individual biographies can no longer be traced, debates on such processes all too often fizzle out under the influence of nationalist bickering. Biographies of more prominent Bukovinians are easier to reconstruct and, as has been illustrated by the case studies presented above, may provide new insights on how Bukovinian individuals dealt with national identification. Next to more or less organic processes such as bilingual marriages, ‘nationality’ seems to have been determined and subsequently altered according to rather lucid terms of ‘career planning’ as well.

2.3 The Bukovinian Orthodox Church

The Orthodox Church (known in the Habsburg era as the Greek-Oriental or Greek Non-Uniate Church) unmistakably dominated the religious landscape of Austrian Bukovina. Until the fourteenth century, the Orthodox population had been subordinate to the Galician Metropolitan. Independent of the local language(s), services were held in Church Slavonic. From the fifteenth century onward, the Church represented an autonomous entity in the Moldavian principality. From the early sixteenth century, the first Moldavian-language prayer books appeared.²⁵⁵

When the Habsburgs annexed the land in 1774, the Church was said to have 67,000 members, while 8,000 people were of other denominations. Franzos counted 39 monasteries and therefore an average of one monastery on every 1,500 believers, ‘a proportion unequalled anywhere in the world at any given time’.²⁵⁶ Moldavian nobles had established the monasteries and had donated considerable wealth to them. By 1775, the monasteries owned about 63% of the available arable land and forests and controlled 109 villages, which in turn comprised half of the population. The wealthiest of these monasteries was Putna, the final

²⁵⁵ Osatschuk 2008, pp. 144-145.

²⁵⁶ Franzos 1901, p. 238. The number of monasteries as mentioned by Franzos seems exaggerated. Other sources mention ten monasteries and thirteen hermitages.

resting place of Stephen the Great.²⁵⁷ The administration of the estates was in the hands of the monastery abbots (*stareți*), who mostly leased the properties, serfs included, to Armenians, Greeks or Jews. Mismanagement and conflict were rife.²⁵⁸

The Orthodox Church in Bukovina had less influence over education than its pendant in Transylvania. Although the Orthodox Church had the right to supervise Romanian-language education after the Galician era, the provincial government took over the direction of primary education in 1869. While the German language dominated at all levels of education, the Orthodox Theological Seminary could be considered a centre of Romanian-language education in Bukovina.²⁵⁹ By 1900, the Orthodox Church had 407,311 followers, other religions a total of 84,481.²⁶⁰

The role played by the Orthodox Church has been controversial right from the first reports. As discussed in the literature survey, men like Balsch and Budai-Deleanu had characterised the clerics as incompetent, uneducated and corrupt. According to Splény, they were not very tolerant either:

*And though the priests have almost no concept of the difference between religions, they are still so fanatical that they consider all other Christians, especially Catholics, hardly any better than Jews and heathens.*²⁶¹

Furthermore, their private lives were ‘not worthy of praise either, however, through the hypocrisy of way too strict fasting they managed to keep the naïveté of the populace tightly enchained’.²⁶² Franzos dealt with the Moldavian clergy in equally depreciating terms and highlighted that two thirds of the land belonged to the monasteries, that the clergy, ‘this army of slackers’ (*dieses Heer von Nichtsthuern*) was maintained by the monastery estates and that it was only natural that Josephinism had properly cleaned up this ‘Augean stable’.²⁶³

Bukowinaer Post gave the Church more credits, because ‘religious peace is a solid foundation on which one can easily and securely build social peace’ and accordingly, ‘the Orthodox Church had always promoted these inclinations and therefore was also sympathetic to believers of other religions, who were sincerely interested in its events and shared its joys and sorrows, just as men, as children of the same land’.²⁶⁴ For obvious reasons, recent Romanian historiography, traditionally claiming the Orthodox Church of Bukovina as a Romanian national one, adorned it with positive features:

²⁵⁷ More on Putna and Stephen the Great in Part III, paragraph 6.3: The 400th Anniversary of the Death of Stephen the Great in 1904.

²⁵⁸ Hausleitner, Mariana, *Der griechisch-orientalische Religionsfonds und die rumänischen Vereine in der Bukowina*, conference paper, *Kirche und Nation in Ostmitteleuropa im 19. Jahrhundert (1848-1914)*, Lüneburg 26-28 October 2006, p. 1.

²⁵⁹ Hitchens 1994, p. 236.

²⁶⁰ Franzos 1901, p. 240.

²⁶¹ Splény in Grigorovici 1998, (Ab. 78).

²⁶² Ibid., (Ab. 147)

²⁶³ Franzos 1901, p. 239.

²⁶⁴ *Ein Festtag der gr.-or. Kirche*, *Bukowinaer Post*, 29.01.1899, p. 1.

*It has always been an institution devoted to the state, for in their view even the ruler owes his elevated position to the grace of God. It had no inquisitions, no autos-da-fé and no religious wars. In those troubled times, the Church and its monasteries had been the only stable and peaceful institutions one could count on in these areas, both in the village and at Court.*²⁶⁵

Church Fund and Bukovinian Orthodox Church Autonomy

Upon acquiring the territory, Austrian authorities, especially worried by the miserable situation in which the peasantry found itself, decided that extensive reforms of church and education facilities were in order.²⁶⁶ The military administration ordered boyar Basilius Balsch to produce an inventory of all church property. Based on its result, General Enzenberg advised Vienna to bring all church possessions under state control and have all revenues transferred to a fund established to cover church expenses.

The number of monasteries was to be reduced to three, Putna, Suczewitza and Dragomirna. Each of them was to house no more than twenty-five monks.²⁶⁷ Enzenberg justified this reduction with the argument that the monasteries had not assumed socially beneficial services such as education and health care. The well-being of the community was specifically mentioned in the new regulation:

*It is understood that the notified assurances to the clergy and the people relieve the concerns of the community and so, according to guidelines of the Council of War from 12 February 1785, the diocese regulation drafted by administrator Enzenberg and Bishop Dosoftei, approved by the Emperor and verified by the High Court on 29 April 1786 was published in the land. (...) Revenues from these goods will flow into a Church Fund and after deduction of support for priests and schools, these will be employed in the community, exclusively for the true good of clergy, religion and mankind.*²⁶⁸

Apart from these honourable intentions, Vienna also fostered considerations of a more practical nature. Two thirds of the land's income defied state control. Until 1781, the Bishop of Radautz had been subordinate to the Archbishop of Moldavia, who then transferred his possessions in Bukovina to Radautz. In 1782, Bishop Dosoftei was ordered to move his see to Czernowitz and a year later his bishopric was incorporated by the Serbian Archbishop in Karlowitz/Sremski Karlovci, who also ruled over the Transylvanian Orthodox. Emperor

²⁶⁵ Grigorovici 1996, p. 266.

²⁶⁶ Kapri 1974, pp. 42-43.

²⁶⁷ Nistor 1991, pp. 36-37.

²⁶⁸ "Se înțelege, că astfelu de asigurări notificate clerului și poporului, alinară îngrijirile de obște, și așa, conformu directivelor date de consiliulu belicu de curte din 12. Fauru 1785, făcându-se de administrătorulu Enzenberg cu episcopulu Dositeiu proieptulu de regulământu pentru diecesă, s'a aprobatu de împăratulu și cu rescriptulu consiliulu supreme de curte din 29. Aprilie 1786 s'a publicatu în țară. (...) Proventele acestoru bunuri încurgu la o casă religiunariă anume și, duple subtragerea suștinerii pentru preuțime și scoale, se vor întrebuință în de obște numai câtu spre binele adevăratu alu clerulu, alu religiunii și alu omenimii." Morariu Andrievici, Șamuil, *Despre istoria fondulu religiunariu gr. or. în Bucovina - Prelegere ținută într'a 3/15. Ianuariu 1871 în localitățile Societății literare române din Cernăuți*, in: *Calendaru pe anul ordinariu 1874*, Eckhardt, Czernowitz 1874, p. 81.

Joseph II announced on 19 June 1783 that ‘with regard to spiritual discipline it was highly necessary that the reduction and contraction of the monk’s monasteries advance without delay, that their estates and funds all be included in the new structure, that everything belonging to foreign clergy folk without residency in the land be taken from them and that from the fund which is thus to emerge, the entire Orthodox clergy be sustained and at least one school be established in Suczawa or Czernowitz, while the remaining means be spent on other useful things’.²⁶⁹ Gypsies were freed from servitude and large numbers of immigrants arrived, who received parcels of land and initial educational support from the Church Fund estate.²⁷⁰ In 1786, a seminary was opened in Suczawa, but moved to Czernowitz in 1789.²⁷¹ Some of the 466 monks were not inclined to work as village clerics, as the new regulation ordained, and decided to move to monasteries in Ottoman Moldavia. Others stayed, because the authorities forbade them to take along their worldly possessions once they left.²⁷²

In spite of the new hierarchy, Serbian influence remained limited. After the Archbishop had attempted twice to bestow an assistant on Dosoftei - the first candidate was appointed Bishop of Transylvania before he could travel, the second is said to have run off with a mistress and never to have reached Bukovina either - Dosoftei refused to accept a third candidate. He addressed the Austrian authorities explaining these difficulties and henceforth remained free from direct interference from Karlowitz.²⁷³

Initially, the church revenue reform put the local administration firmly in charge of Church Fund management.²⁷⁴ However, in 1791 it was decided by imperial decree that the Bishop be in charge, while according to a 1820 imperial decision, the revenues could only be used to serve the orthodox religion and community.²⁷⁵ Reason for this shift was the fact that Bukovina was now part of the Galician administration, and Church Fund resources had also been made available to Catholic educational facilities, much to the dismay of the Orthodox population.²⁷⁶ Around 1820, the Uniate Church gained a foothold in Bukovina as well, sometimes with the support of Bukovinian boyars.²⁷⁷ At the same time, the Josephinist spirit of modernisation and the Austrian ambition to modernise clerical education led to generous stipends for aspiring

²⁶⁹ “(...) in Ansehung des geistlichen Faches ist höchst notwendig, daß die Verminderung und Zusammenziehung der Kalugier-Klöster ohne Weiters vor sich gehe, daß ihre Gründe und Fonds alle in die Administration genommen, was fremden, nicht im Lande wohnenden Geistlichen hievon gehöret, denselben ganz benommen und aus dem hieraus entstehenden ganzen Fundo der gesammte griechische Klerus unterhalten und wenigstens eine Schule, es sei zu Suczawa oder zu Czernowitz, errichtet werde, das von diesfällige Einkünften sodann noch übrig Bleibende zu anderer nutzbarer Verwendung vorbehalten bleibe”. Bidermann 1875, p. 23.

²⁷⁰ Hausleitner, 2006, (*Der griechisch-orientalische Religionsfonds* etc.), p. 2.

²⁷¹ Wagner 1996, p. 15.

²⁷² Kapri 1974, p. 63.

²⁷³ Nistor 1991, p. 35.

²⁷⁴ “Principele   rii, carele are asupra sea   ngrijirea pentru buna stare de ob  tie, este protectorulu fondulu   religiu  nariu; administrarea, conservarea   i   ntrebuin  area acestu  ia pentru preu  time   i scoale. Precum este elu num  i   i singuru dedicatu, depinde num  i c  tu dela or  nduirea sea”. Morariu Andrievici 1874, p. 81.

²⁷⁵ Nistor 1991, p. 68.

²⁷⁶ Turczynski 1993, pp. 75-76, Hausleitner 2001, p. 36.

²⁷⁷ Iacobescu 1993, p. 299.

theologians such as Eugen Hacman, who studied in Vienna²⁷⁸ and went down in history as the Bukovinian bishop who achieved autonomy for the Orthodox Church of Bukovina. In 1844, Hacman had succeeded in divesting Lemberg of the inspection of Orthodox schools and thus secured direct access to at least part of the Church Fund's assets.²⁷⁹

The same Hacman led the deputation asking Emperor Franz Joseph in Olmütz/Olomouc for the creation of a separate Bukovinian crownland in 1848. In the 'Landespetition', equality for all denominations, independence from the Orthodox Archbishop of Karlowitz, self-management of the Church Fund and the creation of Romanian schools were requested.

As argued previously, Bukovinian peasant deputies distrusted the project because they feared that the abolition of serfdom in an autonomous Bukovina would not be enforced. The majority of landowners were Romanians and forced labor had been reduced only through the support of the district captains. When in 1849 Bukovina became a separate crownland by imperial decree, the distributed land originated in Church Fund property.²⁸⁰ In Olmütz, Bishop Hacman had offered Church Fund assets as a bargaining chip for autonomy. The first result of this deal was the establishment of an orthodox grammar school in Suczawa, which was also frequented by Catholics and Jews.²⁸¹

As it took until 1861 for Bukovina to be ultimately separated from Galicia, the Orthodox Church had needed all its energy to fend off Catholic claims on Church Fund means and therefore had not yet occupied itself with internal tensions between Romanian and Ruthenian national factions.²⁸² Simultaneously, Hacman had to oppose Transylvanian Bishop Andrei Șaguna, who was lobbying Vienna for the creation of a united Romanian Orthodox Church in Austria.²⁸³ Hacman argued that the Bukovinian Orthodox could not join since half of them were Ruthenians and not Romanians. When Șaguna succeeded in breaking away from the Serbian Orthodox Metropoly and an autocephalous Transylvanian Metropoly was established in 1864, Bukovinian Orthodox remained out. Only once the Empire was split into two political entities as a result of the 1867 Compromise between Austria and Hungary and Transylvania and Bukovina ended up on different sides of the demarcation line, the Romanian nationalist lobby for a united Romanian Orthodox Church within the borders of the Empire came to an end once and for all. In 1873, the Metropoly of Bukovina and Dalmatia was established and the Bishop of Bukovina was consequently promoted to the rank of Metropolitan. Since the new Metropolitan presided over the Orthodox communities in Vienna and Prague as well, his authority now comprised Cisleithanian Orthodoxy in its entirety.²⁸⁴

²⁷⁸ Turczynski 1993, p. 98.

²⁷⁹ Hausleitner 2006 (*Der Griechisch-orientalische Religionsfonds etc.*), p. 3.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ Turczynski 1993, p. 134.

²⁸² Hausleitner, 2006, (*Der griechisch-orientalische Religionsfonds etc.*), p. 3.

²⁸³ Hausleitner 2006 (*Eine wechselvolle Geschichte etc.*), p. 36.

²⁸⁴ Bihl, Wolfdieter, *Die Ruthenen*, in: *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918, Band III, 1. Teil: Die Völker des Reiches*, Wandruszka, Adam and Urbanitsch, Peter (ed), Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna 1973, 555-584, p. 568.

Meanwhile, the responsibility for Church Fund affairs had been transferred from the Ministry of Culture to the Ministry of Agriculture. The practical background for this decision was the fact that the Fund with its vast domains, arable plots and forests constituted an agricultural rather than a religious issue.²⁸⁵

Both the Galician administration and the Transylvanian Bishop had obviously wanted to benefit from the wealthy Bukovinian Church Fund. It continued to play a pivotal role in Habsburg Bukovina once these outside threats had disappeared and nationalists began to dominate the Bukovinian Orthodox Church. Since Romanian nationalists in the clerical hierarchy generally refused to assist Ruthenian initiatives (such as *Narodnyi Dim*, *Selyans'ka Kasa* and *Rus'ka Shkola*) financially, Ruthenian nationalists depended to a much larger degree on their peasant constituency for financial support than their Romanian adversaries. That said, Ruthenian organisations sometimes received financial aid for their activities from Vienna directly. In other cases, the Church Fund received orders from the government to render support to Ruthenian initiatives.²⁸⁶ The 80,500 hectares of farmland and forest distributed from Church Fund property between 1853 and 1907 - for which the receiving parties had to compensate the Fund - went to Ruthenian sepaers and even to non-Orthodox Bukovinians.²⁸⁷ Meanwhile, Ruthenian nationalist protests in the Orthodox Church became louder. Metropolitan Morariu-Andrievici and his Romanian nationalist course intensified the Romanian-Ruthenian polarisation: When Morariu tried to abolish Ruthenian as the second official consistory language, Ruthenian nationalists demanded equal rights for Ruthenians in the Bukovinian Metropoly. This in turn led to accusations from Romanian activists who claimed that the Ruthenian faction wanted to get their hands on Church Fund property.²⁸⁸ This nationalist tug of war was put on hold by the outbreak of World War I and put to rest for good after the collapse of the Habsburg Empire. The Church Fund itself kept functioning until 21 April 1921, when it was restructured and incorporated in Romanian state structures.²⁸⁹

With a treasure trove like the Church Fund at stake, the relation between religion and nationalism was a hot topic in the Habsburg Bukovinian press. *Bukowinaer Rundschau* denied the Romanian character of the Fund and claimed it was 'international' (where 'a-national' would have been more suitable):

With the international money of the Romanian Church Fund - which has only a religious purpose, belongs to Romanians and Ruthenians alike and must serve both equally - the Romanisation of the land is carried out unflinchingly. With an odd logic, the purely religious

²⁸⁵ Nistor 1991, p. 194.

²⁸⁶ "We Bukovinian Ruthenians will remember forever with gratitude how our Emperor condescended some years ago to assign a considerable sum from lottery proceedings to our sacred 'National House', for we could not have imagined the glorification of this spiritual centre of ours without it. By courtesy of our Father-Emperor we have since 6 years a Gymnasium, where hundreds of our children learn about the Ruthenian people. Also ordered by our grandest Guardian-Emperor we receive already five years assistance from the orthodox Church Fund for the seminary of the 'National House'. *День уродин цїсарских*, Руска Рада, 02.04.1902, pp. 233-234.

²⁸⁷ Hausleitner 2006 (*Der griechisch-orientalische Religionsfonds* etc.), pp. 3-4.

²⁸⁸ Hausleitner 2001, pp. 54-55.

²⁸⁹ Irimescu, Gavril, *Prefața la inventarul fondului 'Administrația Fondului Bisericesc ort.rom. din Bucovina'*, DJAN Suceava, Suceava (year unknown).

*character of this fund is imputed with national importance and the Orthodox Church Fund is turned into the Romanian nationalist agitation fund.*²⁹⁰

Czernowitzer Tagblatt seemed more open to the nationalist logic which deemed the source of prosperity ‘Moldavian’ and therefore Romanian property, but was not so sure if the situation should remain unchanged:

*... the Romanians can point at the fact that the Orthodox Church Fund, whose rich resources endow the Orthodox Church, stems from Moldavian monasteries and that therefore it is Romanian property which constitutes the material basis of the Orthodox Church. It is a common human weakness to be reluctant to pass inherited property to others.*²⁹¹

Ruthenian nationalists asserted that if the Bukovinian Orthodox Church stuck to its pro-Romanian policies, all of Bukovina would soon convert to the Uniate Church and even maintained that, should this occur, the Consistory apparently did not care as long as Church Fund assets remained in place.²⁹²

As modernisation advanced in Europe and industrialisation changed landscapes in the Dual Monarchy, Bukovina and the firm grip of its Church Fund started to look increasingly like relics from an underdeveloped past. In 1895, *Bukowinaer Rundschau* blamed the economic misfortune of the land entirely on the Fund and appealed to the Minister of Agriculture to end its crushing power position, since it was the only way to bridge the development gap between the eastern and western part of Austria.²⁹³ In an editorial favourably comparing Galicia’s economic development to Bukovina’s, *Bukowinaer Nachrichten* held the vast and bureaucratically managed Church Fund responsible for the absence of investment initiatives and the necessary dynamism in Bukovina.²⁹⁴ Karl Emil Franzos was equally critical of the Fund and noted that its condition and administration were poor: the number of cattle had decreased significantly, poultry breeding had never been seriously attempted, wooden ploughs were still widely used and forests sold for deforestation turned into nothing but treeless meadows. Franzos also accused Church Fund authorities of misleading official inspections, claiming that ‘when high officials made their inspection tours, their routes were designed by people who eclipsed their role model, the late Potemkin’. After the first edition of his book had been published, Franzos was told by a former Governor of Bukovina, Myrbach-Rheinfeld: “The Augean stables of the monasteries, as you call them, have changed only by name and now have ‘Church Fund’ written on them”.²⁹⁵ The Fund that had once had seemed the pearl in the Bukovinian crown now had become a burden.

The plans of Transylvanian Orthodox Bishop Andrei Șaguna to unite all Romanian Orthodox believers of the Habsburg Empire under one roof had caused excitement among Romanian

²⁹⁰ *Der Fortschritt des Romanismus*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 15.02.1887, p. 1.

²⁹¹ *Ruthenen und Rumänen*, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 04.03.1903, p. 1.

²⁹² *Політика, а унія на Буковині*, Буковина, 01.08.1888, pp. 1-2.

²⁹³ *Der gr.-or. Religionsfonds*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 15.03.1895, pp. 1-2.

²⁹⁴ *Galizien und Bukowina*, Bukowinaer Nachrichten, 25.10.1891, p. 1.

²⁹⁵ Franzos 1901, p. 240.

nationalists in Bukovina, but it had encountered less than lukewarm reactions from both the Bukovinian clerical and political authorities. After Șaguna's lobbyists had repeatedly petitioned in Vienna and after they had even addressed the Minister for Culture and Religion in October 1849, Bishop Hacman was more or less urged to present his views on the issue. He admitted that those who wanted to rid themselves 'of the despotic pressure exercised upon them and their brethren in Austria in intellectual, moral and material respect by the Serbian hierarchy' had won the sympathy of Bukovinian Romanians. On the other hand, Hacman feared that the Ruthenian Orthodox in Bukovina would be just as unhappy under a Romanian Metropoly as the Romanian nationalists had been so far under a Serbian one. Either way, Hacman saw himself confronted with the likely possibility of half of his diocese being discontented. His experience had taught him that dissatisfaction among the Bukovinian Orthodox had often led to massive conversions and he expected that if the situation were aggravated by additional nationalist elements, he might lose more than half of his believers.²⁹⁶

Governor Martina shared the Bishop's concerns and wondered whether the Bukovinian supporters of Șaguna's plans were sufficiently aware of the consequences these plans might have. In case a new Metropoly had a distinctive national flavor, which Martina clearly expected, a Ruthenian counter movement with similar claims was expected to emerge. Since Ruthenians were now considered to be the majority in the diocese, such developments would confront Romanian nationalists in Bukovina with unforeseen blowbacks. Prophetically, the governor advised those in favour of Șaguna's ambitions to handle the Ruthenian issue with care.²⁹⁷

The hierarchic affiliation of the Bukovinian Orthodox church had been a cumbersome topic from the first days of the Austrian annexation. First of all, the ties it had with the Iași Metropoly in Ottoman Moldavia had to be severed, upon which the Bukovinian diocese was subordinated to the Karlowitz Metropoly by an Imperial Resolution from 30 September 1783. The Dalmatian bishopric, established in 1808, was equally subordinated to Karlowitz from 1829. In the view of the Austrian authorities, these different branches were not meant to function as a fully integrated organisational unit, but merely allowed Karlowitz to exercise influence *in pure dogmaticis et mere spiritualibus*. Accordingly, the Bukovinian and Dalmatian bishops were not invited to Karlowitz synods and when they showed up nonetheless, they were denied the right to vote. Since this organisational structure was clearly a mere façade, in 1861 the Bukovinian clergy requested a formal separation and a promotion of the Bukovinian bishopric to the status of Metropoly. When the matter was brought to the attention of the 1864 Karlowitz synod, it was simply ignored and left undebated. The Emperor then decided to invoke his right as Patron of the Church to found new Metropolies, and, in view of the 1867 Compromise between Austria and Hungary, he planned an Orthodox

²⁹⁶ Smal-Stocki 1899, p. 128.

²⁹⁷ "Vom Standpunkte der hierländigen Verhältnisse beurtheilt, scheint die Theilnahme der Bukowinaer an der erwähnten Deputation mit Rücksicht an der Klugheit nicht im Einklang zu stehen, und es liegt außer allem Zweifel, daß die Romanen der Bukowina alle Ursachen haben, den. gr.n.un. Ruthenen gegenüber vor allem Rücksichten der Klugheit wirken zu lassen (...)". Landespräsident Martina, *Abschrift an das Ministerium des Innern des an Se Excellenz den Herrn Polizeiminister erstatteten Volksstimmungberichtes des Bukowinaer Landes*, Vienna, 13 April 1862/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', mapa 86/3.

Metropoly for the whole of Austria with its see in Czernowitz. In spite of protests by Dalmatian parliamentarians, who objected to the 'Romanian-Ruthenian' character of the new Metropoly and who maintained that such a decision could not be taken without prior approval by the Orthodox Church authorities, the Metropoly of Bukovina and Dalmatia was established in 1873.²⁹⁸ In the process, the Governor's Office in Czernowitz had played a mediating role between Vienna and the church authorities in Bukovina. For instance, Governor Myrbach-Rheinfeld had requested the Emperor in 1870 to receive an Orthodox delegation from Bukovina advocating Church autonomy.²⁹⁹ Bishop Hacman had also done his share to create goodwill at the Imperial Court. The decision by Hacman and his consistory to donate one million guilders to the Austrian efforts in the Austro-Sardinian War in 1859 had been gratefully accepted by the Emperor.³⁰⁰

Most post-Habsburg assessments of the establishment of the Church Fund, including those by Romanian analysts, are generally positive. True to form, Iacobescu argues that closing a large number of monasteries had been 'anti-Romanian', since these monasteries could no longer offer shelter to 'Romanian resistance from the other side of the mountains'. Furthermore he objects against the 'denationalisation and exploitation' which he claims took place after the Fund was placed under the care of Lemberg, but he acknowledges the decent Josephinist intentions at the root of the reforms.³⁰¹ Not surprisingly, Habsburg-nostalgic Kapri deemed the church reform one of the most important, if not the most important condition *tout court* for cultural and material development of the region.³⁰² In 1941, Nicolae Tcaciuc-Albu appreciated the Fund as 'the strongest fortress of Romanianness throughout Austrian domination' and went on to claim, rather contrary to the Habsburg era sources quoted above, that 'the good management of forests and estates of the fund exerted a beneficent influence on the material life of the residents and served as a role model for other countries'.³⁰³ More recently, Ceașu commented that 'many of the modernising changes realised in Bukovina under the impact of Josephinism would only be introduced in the Romanian principalities much later, in the second half of the nineteenth century, in another time and another historical context'.³⁰⁴ Both the analyses by Tcaciuc-Albu and Ceașu bear the strong imprint of retrospective comparison of asynchronous developments in what would later become Greater-

²⁹⁸ Haus der Abgeordneten, *Interpellation von Abg. Ljubiša und Genossen/ Errichtung einer serbisch-rumänischen Metropole*, 1871-1873/7. Session, 11 March 1873, kaiserlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, Vienna 1873, pp. 1387-1388/ Haus der Abgeordneten, *Minister Ritter von Stremayr zur Interpellation von Abg. Ljubiša und Genossen/ Errichtung einer serbisch-rumänischen Metropole*, 1871-1873/7. Session, 23 April 1873, kaiserlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, Vienna 1873, pp. 1864-1865.

²⁹⁹ Minister für Cultus und Unterricht, *Letter to Governor regarding Bukovinian Church autonomy*, no. 382, 19 January 1870/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 3431.

³⁰⁰ Șafran 1939, p. 155.

³⁰¹ Iacobescu 1993, pp. 196 and 299.

³⁰² Kapri 1974, pp. 64-72.

³⁰³ Tcaciuc-Albu, N., *Bucovina de Nord 28 iunie 1940 - 28 iunie 1941*, author's edition, Sibiu 1941, p. 27.

³⁰⁴ Ceașu, Mihai Ștefan, *Bucovina habsburgică de la anexare la Congresul de la Viena: iosefinism și postiosefinism, 1774-1815*, Fundația Academică 'A.D. Xenopol', Iași 1998, p. 232.

Romania. In other words, both authors compared the Austrian Bukovinian Church Fund to similar institutions in the Romanian state.

R.W. Seton-Watson regarded the new Metropoly an accomplishment of the ambitious Bishop Hacman, but in the tradition of racial science of this time, he concluded that ‘the result was to accentuate the dangerous isolation in which this diminutive fragment of the [Romanian] race found itself amid the rising Slavic flood’.³⁰⁵ Contrary to what Seton-Watson suggested here, the writings by both Hacman and Martina show that they had been well aware of the ‘risks’ of a Bukovinian Metropoly indeed.

Clearly, autonomy in church affairs was limited by the power of the Emperor. From the start, Bukovinian Orthodox Church leaders had attempted to obtain the right to elect their own officials and to administer the Church Fund, but these requests had been refused by Vienna as they were seen contrary to the rights of the Throne. Further efforts to achieve these goals, including an interpellation by Romanian Bukovinian nationalists as late as 1918, fell on deaf ears in Vienna. The Bukovinian Metropoly could therefore only hope for more support from its new ruler, the King of Romania.³⁰⁶

2.4 Romanian and Ruthenian Nationalists and the Bukovinian Orthodox Church

Once the Bukovinian Orthodox Church had obtained its autonomous status, it inevitably became the arena for competing Romanian and Ruthenian nationalists. The figure of Bishop Hacman remained highly controversial. When he died in Vienna in 1873 just before he was to be promoted to the rank of Metropolitan, the Vienna-based Romanian nationalist paper *Albina* commented in an obituary: “A foreign name he bore, foreigners he served, in a foreign land he died” (*Nume străin a purtat, străinilor le-a servit, în străinătate a murit*).³⁰⁷ In Ruthenian nationalist circles, Hacman with his Slavic background (and who, anachronistically, was called a ‘Ukrainian bishop’ in later Ukrainian historiography)³⁰⁸ was revered as ‘an unforgettable labourer in the vineyard of the Lord’, with ‘his name written in gold in the history of the Bukovinian Orthodox Church’.³⁰⁹ Hacman was well aware of the growing

³⁰⁵ Seton-Watson, Robert William, *History of the Roumanians - from Roman Times to Completion of Unity*, University Press, Cambridge 1934, p. 558.

³⁰⁶ Metropoly of Bukovina, *Memorandum to King Ferdinand*, Cernăuți 1920/ DJAN Suceava, Fond ‘Mitropolia Bucovinei’, secția ‘Diverse’, dosar 2296.

³⁰⁷ Nistor 1991, pp. 196-197.

³⁰⁸ See for instance Zhukovs'kyi 1993, p. 29.

³⁰⁹ Его имя золотими буквами ясныѣть въ исторіи православной церкви Буковины. Громадныя заслуги его для ея блага долають незабвеннымъ этого труженника въ виноградникѣ Господнемъ и память его живеть въ сердцахъ всѣхъ вѣрныхъ Буковинцевъ. Сынъ бѣднаго крестьянна родился онъ въ деревнѣ Васловцахъ, въ Буковинѣ, 1793 года, изъ русскихъ родителей. Vorobkevych, Yevgeniy, *Kratkiy istorichesko-statisticheskiy poglyad na hr. pravosl. Archieparchiyu Bukovinsko-Dalmatinskuyu*, Stavropigia, Lemberg 1893, p. 14.

danger which nationalism posed for his church. He presented his views in a missive in 1865:

*The national frictions and conflicts which have affected the Orthodox Church in Austria for fourteen years already, and which threaten to tear the cord of their external unity, have not remained without a profound impression on the two different national elements of the Bukovinian diocese. The national ego here is just as vivid now as elsewhere, naturally for Ruthenians and Romanians alike.*³¹⁰

The newly created Bukovinian Metropoly was soon confronted with Romanian-Ruthenian nationalist bickering. Far from leaving church matters in church, dissatisfied parties tried to involve the Austrian authorities, both local and central. In 1881, the Ruthenian political association 'Russkaya Rada' complained to the Governor about the 'denationalisation' of Ruthenians within the Orthodox Church, which they claimed was condoned by the Metropolitan administration, and asked for equal treatment.³¹¹

The first Governor of Bukovina to actually get entrapped in nationalist controversies in the Bukovinian Orthodox Church was Anton Pace Count von Friedensberg. Although the local German-language press regarded him as 'an objective and fair man, capable of doing justice to the legitimate needs of the different stakeholders within the framework of the land's interests',³¹² it took only a few months for the new governor to get into conflict with Romanian nationalist factions. The Church Congress of 1891, organised upon request of Metropolitan Morariu-Andrievici and meant to revise certain issues established at the 1871 Congress, was officially opened on 1 October 1891. The governor was present at the opening ceremony, not only in his capacity as Governor of Bukovina but also as an Imperial observer. It remains opaque how the situation escalated exactly, but Morariu's opening remarks were made in Romanian and translated for Pace. A translation mistake subsequently urged Pace to emphasise in his own address the importance of equal rights for Romanians and Ruthenians in the Church, whereupon Pace was attacked by Romanian nationalist deputy Zotta for not having replied in Romanian. On top of this, the governor and the metropolitan disagreed on the synodal structure in relation to the Romanian Orthodox Church outside of Bukovina. The debate deteriorated to such extent that the congress was postponed *sine die* and never convened again. Whereas *Bukowinaer Rundschau* failed to see why the session had not been held in German, since this language would have been understood by all and would have had a more neutral character which would have pleased the Ruthenian-language participants, Romanian nationalists saw the events as a declaration of war. They accused the governor of having planned a deliberate confrontation in order to sabotage Morariu's congress.³¹³ Once Bukovina had joined Greater-Romania, the Bukovinian metropoly once again tried to initiate a Congress and, easily adjusting its tone of voice to the new situation, blamed the Habsburg

³¹⁰ Smal-Stocki 1899, p. 128.

³¹¹ Russkaya Rada, *Letter to the Governor's Office*, 16 May 1881/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 4533.

³¹² *Unser neuer Landespräsident*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 11.01.1891, p. 1.

³¹³ *Chauvinismus?* *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 04.10.1891, pp. 1-2/ Nistor 1991, pp. 276-277.

authorities, 'having little sympathy and consideration for the the Romanian (!) Orthodox Church in Bukovina' for dissolving the earlier Congress 'out of petty and external reasons' (*din cauze meschine și externe*).³¹⁴

By February 1892, relations between Governor Pace and the Romanian nationalists were so toxic that regional diet President Wassilko, all members of the Romanian aristocracy as well as the Metropolitan refused to attend Pace's annual ball. Sixteen non-Romanian diet members saw an opportunity to rid themselves of the dominant Romanian aristocrats and resigned, thus forcing new elections. However, these did not result in a new and stable majority and when two Ruthenian Diet members decided to join the Romanian aristocrats, the latter had obtained a majority once more. Habsburg authorities decided that peace had to be restored and to this end, Governor Pace was relieved from his duties.³¹⁵

A second governor to run afoul of the leaders of the Bukovinian Orthodox Church was Friedrich Baron Bourguignon-Baumberg. Bourguignon was appointed governor in a time when Romanian nationalists were at odds with the Church, since they deemed Metropolitan Czuperkowicz too lenient to Ruthenian demands. Demonstrations against Czuperkowicz even led to court cases with subsequent convictions. High Church functionaries who sympathised with the nationalists grumbled. At the same time, Austrian authorities both in Vienna and in Bukovina struggled with a new development: Romanian nationalists in Bukovina had started to use the blue-yellow-red tricolour, claiming that this colour combination represented all ethnic Romanians. The Habsburg authorities, however, linked the flag exclusively to the Romanian state and regarded its presence on Austrian soil as a provocation and a symbol of disloyalty. Its use was banned in Bukovina and a lengthy discussion developed whether the tricolour reflected adherence to the Romanian people or to the Romanian state.³¹⁶ Governor Bourguignon played an active role in this debate. As a result, Romanian nationalists perceived both Metropolitan Czuperkowicz and Governor Bourguignon as hostile to their cause.

The existing tensions reached a climax at the occasion of the sixty-ninth birthday of the Emperor, when a Bukovinian Orthodox Church delegation headed by the metropolitan called on Governor Bourguignon to convey their congratulations. Bourguignon accepted the good wishes but also addressed the sensitive issue of the tricolour, mentioning that Romanian priests as well as their families wore the tricolour and therewith the colours of a foreign nation. He added that, according to an old proverb, this was not true love (*"Und das ist, wie ein alter Spruch sagt, die wahre Liebe nicht"*). Metropolitan Czuperkowicz did not reply to these remarks, which in the eyes of Romanian nationalists left them 'stigmatised'. In periodicals such as *Patria* they seized the opportunity to denounce the governor.³¹⁷ A pamphlet against Bourguignon was later deemed offending enough to have its author, Transylvanian Valeriu Braniște, expelled from Bukovina:

³¹⁴ Metropoly of Bukovina, *Memorandum to King Ferdinand*, Cernăuți 1920/ DJAN Suceava, Fond 'Mitropolia Bucovinei' secția 'Diverse', dosar 2296.

³¹⁵ Corbea-Hoisie 2005, pp. 89-90.

³¹⁶ See for instance the informative, though one-sided Bălan, Teodor, *Lupta pentru tricolor. Un capitol din istoria politică a Bucovinei, 1898-1904*, Editura Academiei Române, Bucharest 2008.

³¹⁷ Bălan 2008, pp. 121-122.

*A mathematical zero embodied in a human form; (...) amorphous as a paragraph of Austrian law. (...) Granting Bourguignon the title of honorary citizen equals permitting the most disgusting form of servility.*³¹⁸

Clerics from Kimpolung and Gurahumora sent protest telegrams to the Emperor and the editors of *Deșteptarea* exhausted themselves to such extent that they found their periodical censored because of ‘insults, taunts false statements or misrepresentations of facts against the government and against the person of the governor’.³¹⁹ Manifestations were organised by clerics who claimed to use the opportunity only to reconfirm their loyalty to the Throne, but who found their initiatives under scrutiny by the same governor they rallied against. Consequently, Romanian nationalists took their discontent to the Austrian Parliament and bitterly complained about the accusations they had faced. They emphasised the Church’s traditional loyalty, they mentioned in this context the substantial donation from the Church to Austria’s latest war efforts and lamented the difficulties experienced by the initiators of the ‘loyalty meetings’.³²⁰ The matter was put to rest after Bourguignon had written to the Bukovinian Orthodox Consistory, insisting that in his address he had specifically stressed the ‘always loyal and patriotic conduct’ (*die stets loyale und patriotische Haltung*) of the Consistory and that his remarks about the use of the tricolour were not to be interpreted as an accusation of disloyalty, but only as ‘a solemn warning’ (*eine eindringliche Warnung*). Bourguignon furthermore announced that he had discontinued the investigations regarding the protest meetings as well as investigations into the use of the tricolour in families of Romanian nationalist clerics³²¹. Although it seems unlikely that Governor Bourguignon kowtowed to his nationalist adversaries of his own volition, the sting was taken out of the tense relationship between Romanian nationalists and the local Austrian government. On the other hand, the tricolour question had now gained momentum and would demand more attention than it had hitherto.

Bourguignon operated more carefully from then on. He did not hesitate to underline the ‘loyalty and patriotism of all peoples in Bukovina’³²² and was - obviously not in Romanian nationalist circles - generally appreciated for the way he supported Ruthenian emancipation within the Orthodox Church. *Czernowitzer Presse* attributed the appointment of two Ruthenian consistorial councils and two Ruthenian theology professors to Bourguignon’s

³¹⁸ “(...) O nulă matematică întrupată în chip de om; (...) amorf ca un paragraf de lege austriac: (...) A-l numi cive de onorar pe Bourguignon, e a sancționa cea mai grețoasă formă a servilismului”, *Patria*, 362/19.12.1899.

³¹⁹ Regional Criminal Court, *Motivation for censoring Deșteptarea*, No. 17, 1899, 20 September 1899/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 7676.

³²⁰ Haus der Abgeordneten, *Interpellation des Abg. Popovici und Genossen an Ihre Excellenzen den Herrn Minister des Innern und den Herrn Leiter des Ministeriums für Cultus und Unterricht, betreffend das Vorgehen des Herrn Landespräsidenten Baron Bourguignon gegen den Bukowinaer rumänischen Clerus*, 1899-1900/ 16th Session, 16 November 1899, kaiserlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, Vienna 1899, pp. 922-923.

³²¹ Governor Bourguignon, *Bericht an das hochwürdigste gr. or. erzbischöfliche Consistorium*, Z. 2152, 1900/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MI, dosar 84/1.

³²² “(...) daß nämlich meiner Überzeugung nach, sämtliche Volksstämme in der Bukowina mit Bezug auf ihre Kaisertreue und Vaterlandsliebe nichts zu wünschen übrig lassen (...)”. *Stenographische Protokolle des Landtages*, Bukowinaer Post, 1332, 31.07.1902.

efforts³²³ and *Bukowinaer Rundschau* opined that in this way, Bourguignon had broken ground for reconciliation between Romanians and Ruthenians.³²⁴ Upon Bourguignon's transfer from Czernowitz in 1903, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* characterised the Bourguignon era as 'one of the happiest in the history of Bukovina'³²⁵. After his passing in 1907, *Tagblatt* honoured the former governor as 'one of Bukovina's best governors', but also mentioned his lack of diplomacy.³²⁶

In Orthodox Church matters, the scorn of Romanian nationalists was not limited to representatives of the Austrian state alone. Leaders of the Bukovinian Orthodox Church who preferred to steer clear of nationalist quarrels and who strove to maintain cordial relations with Vienna rather than to support nationalist claims on Church and crownland soon became targets for those who considered them traitors. Since a considerable number of Orthodox priests sympathised with the nationalists, ironically, those same church leaders often had to play the role of mediators between the Romanian nationalists and Viennese authorities in order to keep the peace. In his years in office, Bishop Hacman had his windows smashed by Romanian nationalists for opposing their wish for unification of the Bukovinian and Transylvanian Orthodox Churches.³²⁷ On the other hand, when clerics complained to Hacman that they had been accused of disloyalty by Austrian officials as was the case in 1866, the Bishop had to verify these rumours. To the governor, the Bishop insisted that such accusations were unacceptable, but when the Governor's Office replied that the cases mentioned by the Bishop were completely unknown, Hacman could only return to those who had complained to him in the first place to demand further loyalty and gratitude to the Austrian state, while noting that 'only the pulse of Austria had resuscitated Bukovina' and that 'this land and [that] especially its Orthodox clergy owed all it was as well as its material and spiritual welfare only to Austria, Austria's Most Serene Imperial house and to its high government'.³²⁸

An incident with more serious implications occurred in 1899 at the Czernowitz railway station, where Metropolitan Czuperkowicz prepared for a visit to Vienna. The trip had been suggested by Governor Bourguignon, who had assessed the tense situation in Bukovina - following the appointment of two Ruthenians in the Orthodox Consistory and two more at the theological faculty - as serious enough to advise the Metropolitan not to attend church services and diet sessions and moreover, to leave Czernowitz for a while. When on 17 April 1899 Czuperkowicz was about to board his train, he ran into a Romanian nationalist group of students who started to yell 'Pereat!' at him. In the following consternation, the Metropolitan's

³²³ *Durch Kampf zum Siege*, Czernowitzer Presse, 01.02.1900, p. 1.

³²⁴ *Die Ruthenen im gr-or. Consistorium*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 29.01.1899, p.1.

³²⁵ *Die Aera Bourguignon*, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 05.04.1903, p. 1.

³²⁶ *Baron Friedrich Bourguignon †*, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 27.09.1907, p. 1.

³²⁷ Smal-Stocki 1906, p. 89.

³²⁸ "(...) daß nur der Pulsschlag Österreichs die Bukowina belebt hat und dieses Land, so wie insbesondere der gr. or. Klerus desselben, das was sie sind und zwar ihre bessere materielle und geistliche Existenz und Wohlfahrt nur Österreich, Österreichs allerdurchlauchtigsten Kaiserhause und Österreichs hoher Regierung zu verdanken haben (...)". Hacman, Bisop Eugenie, *Circulär an den ehrwürdigen Klerus der Bukowiner Diözese*, 2 November 1866/ DJAN Suceava, Fond 'Mitropolia Bucovinei', secția 'Diverse', dosar 1582.

daughter Aglaia Cosovici hit one of the students with an umbrella, upon which the student 'defended himself' with a walking stick, causing Mrs Cosovici to suffer minor injuries. The student was arrested and locked up for several hours.³²⁹

In Vienna, the news from Czernowitz caused anxiety, first and foremost because of the way Governor Bourguignon had handled the delicate situation. The Minister of Internal Affairs reproached the governor for having advised the Metropolitan to make himself scarce instead of having protected him sufficiently. The fact that Bourguignon had known about Czuperkowicz' departure by train and yet had not taken adequate measures to guarantee his safety at the railway station was taken badly. Moreover, the student in question should have been held in custody and appropriate measures should have been taken against the others, since their 'Pereat' cries constituted an offense under Austrian law.³³⁰ In order to prevent further incidents, Bourguignon instructed his Bukovinian district captains to forbid new rallies and to appeal to the public to abstain from disruptive actions.³³¹ Under clear pressure from Vienna, the students involved in the incident were fined while one of them was ordered to leave Bukovina since he was a Hungarian citizen. On top of this, the dean of the Czernowitz University expelled them for a limited period of time.³³² Metropolitan Czuperkowicz eventually returned to Czernowitz in July 1899, but relations between Romanian nationalist clerics and their leader remained strained: in his address at the occasion of the inauguration of the new Emperor's Jubilee Church in Lukawetz in October of that same year, Czuperkowicz praised his Ruthenian priests, called himself a good Romanian as well as a good Austrian and openly condemned the disloyalty and animosity he had experienced from the side of Romanian nationalist clergyfolk. As was to be expected, the speech immediately found its way into the local press.³³³

In Bukovina, especially the German-language press was disquieted by the fact that Romanian and Ruthenian nationalists had chosen the Bukovinian Orthodox Church as their battlefield. When Metropolitan Morariu-Andrievici created unrest with his first 'Apology' in 1891, *Bukowinaer Nachrichten* noted that 'priesthood can barely be combined with national leadership' and that 'the task of the pastor is complicated significantly when he involves himself in worldly matters'. *Nachrichten* stressed that the Orthodox Church did not represent a particular nation, but a religion only.³³⁴ *Bukowinaer Post* held similar views in 1897:

³²⁹ Bălan 2008, pp. 56-57.

³³⁰ *Minister Thun to Governor Bourguignon*, 3059 MI, 24 April 1899/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 7664.

³³¹ Bukowiner k.k. Landespräsidium, *Der k.k. Landespräsident an alle Herrn k.k. Bezirkshauptmänner*, No. 1666 PräS, 30 April 1899/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 7664.

³³² Bălan 2008, pp. 68-83.

³³³ N.N., *Die gr.-or. Kirchenfrage in der Bukowina und die Jungruthenen (Kritische Beleuchtung der Brochure: "Beitrag zur kirchlichen Frage in der Bukowina. Zwei zeitgemäße Artikel vom Reichsratsabgeordneten Hierotheus Pihuliak und einem gr.-or. ruthenischen Priester")*, Bukowinaer Vereinsdruckerei, Czernowitz 1906, p. 93.

³³⁴ *In stiller Zeit*, *Bukowinaer Nachrichten*, 07.05.1891, p. 1.

*The national idea has its full rights in this land. But the Church must behold its primary function in maintaining the noble good of religion entrusted upon it pure and clear, in safeguarding the faith for the believers, in teaching it to them and in encouraging them, irrespective whether they speak Romanian or Ruthenian as their mother tongue and whether they express their devotion in one language or the other.*³³⁵

Here as well as in the majority of contemporary periodicals without a clear nationalist agenda of their own, references to 'the national idea' and 'national rights' as such were carefully chosen. Nationalist influences or activities were regularly criticised, but nationalism as such was mostly approached as a natural phenomenon. In 1899, *Bukowinaer Rundschau* dryly commented that 'race and language have shown to be stronger than faith, proof once again that these days nationality is superior to religion'.³³⁶ However, it was not the German-language press alone that worried about the bad blood between Ruthenian and Romanian nationalists. Ruthenian *Priyatel'* commented in 1903 that the only remaining source of discontent between the two was the church question and especially the advocates from both parties. Romanian aristocrats and clerics were blamed for depicting Ruthenians as 'the evil spirits of Bukovina' and 'the reason for the hardships suffered by the Romanians'. They were accused of acting only to divert the attention from their own dubious activities. Then again, Ruthenian nationalists were not considered much better with their agitation against Romanian clerics, presenting them as 'some kind of one-eyed Ruthenoids' (*якісь однооки Русиноїди*) with whom it was dangerous even to talk.³³⁷

As early as 1870, Orthodox priest Hrihoriy Vorobkevych had noted in his diary that relations between in Romanians and Ruthenians in Bukovina were 'unbearable', especially in the towns and that although the population wanted to live in harmony, the intellectuals would not let them be and encouraged them to fight.³³⁸ By 1908, the editor of *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* opined that in the Orthodox Consistory with its staff being both Romanian and Ruthenian 'as far as is known in public', a collegial and fraternal spirit prevailed. He added that 'in the broad masses of both races absolutely no need for religious disputes existed'. The expectation was that, with regard to what was considered 'the only legitimate complaint', a lack of new clerical blood at the Ruthenian side, the issue would be resolved in a few years time by the growing number of Ruthenian-speaking students at the theology faculty.³³⁹

In the public eye, the Church itself mostly remained the dignified outsider in the heat of the nationalist shouting match and protested only in specific cases. A 1898 campaign speech by Young-Ruthenian deputy Hierotheus Pihuliak was one of these occasions. The consistory turned to the district attorney with a request to start criminal proceedings against Pihuliak after he had pointed at Romanising priests within the Bukovinian Orthodox Church. Yet, the district attorney's office argued that by accusing certain members of the Church, Pihuliak had in fact not offended the Church as a whole and dismissed the case. An explanatory letter by

³³⁵ *50 Jahre Priester*, Bukowinaer Post, 07.11.1897, p. 1.

³³⁶ *Die Ruthenen im gr-or. Consistorium*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 2938, 29.01.1899, p. 1.

³³⁷ *Русини і Румуни на Буковині*, Приятель, 08.02.1903, p. 3.

³³⁸ As quoted in Osatschuk 2008, p. 149.

³³⁹ *Ein müssiger Wettkampf*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 14.05.1908, p. 1.

Pihuliak to the metropolitan stating that his comments had not been intended as a personal attack on the latter had no effect: the Consistory now turned to the Senior Public Prosecutor's office in Lemberg.³⁴⁰ However, since the competent committee of Bukovina's regional Diet refused to lift Pihuliak's parliamentary immunity, further action was blocked and the situation was defused.³⁴¹

In 1911, the clerical journal *Viitoriul* published a protest when Romanian nationalist politician Aurel Onciul had proclaimed that 'in the absence of a national tradition, the Orthodox Church in Bukovina had delivered much less than might have been expected for the national culture', and that 'by tradition the Orthodox Church was a heavy vehicle alien to national aspirations.' Moreover, Onciul had stated that in the case of the Romanians, the Church had always been a culturally indifferent, in many respects inhibitory factor', while 'the country priest loved peace and a good income while the language in which he delivered the sermon did not really matter to him'.³⁴² By that time the discussions about a church split fully absorbed *Viitoriul* and its editors sighed:

*Only from 1890 onward we started to understand that being Orthodox yet did not imply being national. That is why so far Ruthenians were allowed to be in the Metropolitan See as well, seemingly without causing us any damage.*³⁴³

While the Church tried to explain to the readers of *Viitoriul* that they had been Orthodox before the nationality question appeared, Ruthenian-language *Nova Bukovyna* deemed it necessary to emphasise that one did not need to be Romanian in order to be Orthodox. It was argued that there is no such thing as a national religion and that there are obviously Protestant, Catholic and Calvinist Germans as well as Orthodox and Uniate Romanians and Ruthenians. Those Vlachs, *Nova Bukovyna* continued, now called themselves 'Romanians' and, although they had used the Cyrillic alphabet until recently, they now claimed that in spite of their different language, Ruthenians were actually Romanians.³⁴⁴

Metropolitan Morariu-Andrievici had achieved numerous results in the field of education and printing: he was responsible for the first Romanian-language school books, he established a printing office on the Metropolitan See and founded the religious periodical *Candela*,³⁴⁵ which would appear until well into the 1940s. However, he was also responsible for

³⁴⁰ Staatsanwalt, k.k., *Note an das löbliche bukowinaer k.k. Landespräsidium (regarding complaints by the Orthodox Consistory because of a speech by Pihuliak)*, Czernowitz, 15 July 1898 and Pihuliak, Hierotheus, *response and apology to the Archbishop*, Czernowitz, 25 February 1899/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 7286.

³⁴¹ Hausleitner 2001, p. 65.

³⁴² *Să ne strângem rândurile*, *Viitoriul*, 3, 01.02.1911, p. 14, in reaction to comments made by Aurel Onciul in 'Die Wahrheit' from 05.02.1911.

³⁴³ *Încă ceva despre chestia bisericească*, *Viitoriul*, 8-9-10, 27.05.1913, p. 63.

³⁴⁴ *Чи є волоска віра?* *Нова Буковина*, 16.06.1912, pp. 1-2.

³⁴⁵ In spite of Morariu's efforts to abolish Ruthenian as the second official language of the Church, *Candela* was bilingual. Turczynski regarded its establishment as an important attempt to create a continuous connection between the Romanian and Ruthenian clergy. Turczynski 1993, p. 173.

introducing nationalist disputes in the realm of the Bukovinian Orthodox Church. Shortly after Morariu's installation as metropolitan, the 1880 general census had caused panic among Romanian nationalists in the crownland, since, contrary to their expectations, 42% of the population had indicated Ruthenian as their language of conversation.³⁴⁶ From the Ruthenian side, it was the Young-Ruthenians who tried to enlarge their political influence by instrumentalising the Orthodox Church. Their intentions were often distrusted, and not by their Romanian adversaries alone. *Bukowinaer Post* accused them of claiming positions in the Church only for their personal vanity and glory, disguised as nationalism.³⁴⁷ In a rather peculiar and possibly fictional 'conversation with a lady who had only been in Bukovina for a short time' and who remained anonymous, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* ventured that 'the Young-Ruthenian efforts within the Orthodox Church of Bukovina were actually efforts against it' while 'the Orthodox Church in Bukovina was by its very nature Old-Moldavian or Byzantine' and 'its intrusion or even its conquest by Young-Ruthenians would have its destruction as a direct and inevitable effect' and as such 'the last remnants of old Bukovinian culture would be destroyed'.³⁴⁸

Meanwhile, Romanian nationalists sought the support of Old-Ruthenians in order to oppose Young-Ruthenian ambitions. By and large, group identification was not made any easier. First, nationalism was introduced in the formerly a-national Church, and in order to counter one Ruthenian faction, Romanian nationalists now looked for support from the other. An illustration of the complicated situation was provided by Governor Goëss, who qualified a candidate for the position of priest in Czernowitz as a 'national agitator and instigator of the Romanian/Old-Ruthenian orientation'.³⁴⁹ Moreover, for Romanian nationalists, their alliance with the Old-Ruthenians - whose influence was waning anyway - proved to be a burden rather than a blessing: as a result of this alliance, Ruthenian Orthodox believers converted to the Uniate Church.³⁵⁰ The Romanian trade cooperative - founded in 1905 - went out of business in 1909 partly because a loan to the Old-Ruthenians had not been paid back.³⁵¹ On top of this, Austrian authorities were less than happy with the lenient stance the Bukovinian Orthodox generally took regarding the activities of Old-Ruthenian priests. Governor Regner-Bleyleben wrote to Vienna in 1910:

I cannot help but take this opportunity to point out that the Orthodox Archbishop's Consistory in Czernowitz is in most cases not inclined to oppose Old-Ruthenian priests with the necessary focus and energy, even when they doubtlessly harbour Russophile inclinations, this apparently

³⁴⁶ Hausleitner 2006, Der Griechisch-orientalische Religionsfonds etc, pp. 5-6.

³⁴⁷ *Aus dem jungruthenischen Lager – II*, Bukowinaer Post, 08.03.1896, pp. 1-2.

³⁴⁸ *Gespräch mit einem Fremden*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 11.04.1909, pp. 1-2.

³⁴⁹ "Der an erster Stelle vorgeschlagene Pfarrer und Bezirkspriester Ioan Homiuca, in Kotzman wird von dem dortigen Bezirkshauptmann mit dem Berichte vom 15. December 1895 Z. 319 AV als ein nationaler Hetzer und Wühler u. zw. im Sinne der altruthenisch-rumänischen Richtung geschildert". Landespräsident Goëss, *Report to Minister for Culture and Education on the appointment of a priest in Czernowitz*, Z. 4455 Präz, February 1896/DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 6695.

³⁵⁰ Turczynski 1993, p. 174.

³⁵¹ Hausleitner 2006, Der Griechisch-orientalische Religionsfonds etc, p. 8.

*in order not to rob itself of the valuable assistance of Old-Ruthenians against the aspirations of Young-Ruthenians.*³⁵²

The idea of a church split was officially ventilated for the first time on 2 February 1891, when the Young-Ruthenian political association 'Ruska Rada' presented a twelve-point programme in which it also demanded an equal division of appointments between Ruthenians and Romanians in both the Consistory and the seminary and furthermore Ruthenian priests for Ruthenian villages.³⁵³ Against the backdrop of the growing number of Ruthenians counted in government censuses, Young-Ruthenian ambitions were often mistrusted and seen as detrimental to a harmonious Bukovinian society. Once the question of a church split gained momentum, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* wondered how Young-Ruthenians could claim their numbers were shrinking because of Romanisation when all data implied the opposite. Between the lines, the *Allgemeine* showed to have adopted a national view on Church matters, too, when it argued that Ruthenians were not entitled to half of the Church because they had hardly enriched it with any 'national assets' (*Nationalvermögen*). Surely, the wealth of the Church was based on ancient Moldavian monastery property - and thus, *CzAZ* echoed Romanian nationalist reasoning, it fell under Romanian input. The general worry was that the debate would open 'Pandora's box' and destroy what was viewed as a 'bulwark of the indigenous population'.³⁵⁴ Rather than an ardent desire of the 'nationally conscious' part of the Ruthenian population, the project seemed a personal venture of Young-Ruthenian Pihuliak, who only aimed at winning his affiliates as many influential positions in the Church hierarchy as possible.³⁵⁵

On numerous occasions, Pihuliak's popular backing and the way he mobilised his supporters were called into question. When Pihuliak picketed the courtyard of the Metropolitan residence in 1903 in protest of Metropolitan Repta's refusal to discuss Ruthenian Church matters with Ruthenian nationalist politicians, Repta mentioned in his report to the Governor that the peasants joining Pihuliak 'had been gathered in the well known way and [were] brought to him [Repta]'.³⁵⁶ A similar, but obviously less than impartial accusation was made by the anonymous 'Romanian Orthodox priest' in his pamphlet about the Church question and the role of the Young-Ruthenians:

The Reverend Archbishop had visited all the congregations of the Kotzman Protopresbyterate and had had the opportunity to get acquainted first-hand with the mood of the Ruthenian

³⁵² "Ich kann auch nicht umhin, bei dieser Gelegenheit darauf hinzuweisen, dass das gr. or. erzbischöfliche Konsistorium in Czernowitz in den meisten Fällen nicht mit der erforderlichen Schärfe und Energie gegen altruthenische Priester, selbst wenn diese zweifellos russophilen Tendenzen huldigen, aufzutreten geneigt ist und zwar offenbar aus dem Grunde, um sich nicht der wertvollen Mithilfe der Altruthenen gegenüber den Aspirationen der Jungruthenen zu berauben". Regner-Bleyleben, Baron Oktavian, *Abschrift (vertraulich)*, Zl. 3829, 2 January 1910/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCÎ I/7, pp. 103-108, p. 107.

³⁵³ Osatschuk 2008, p. 154.

³⁵⁴ *Ostern*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 15.04.1906, pp. 1-2.

³⁵⁵ *Die gr.-or. Kirchenfrage*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 30.11.1906, p. 1.

³⁵⁶ 'mit den bekannten Mitteln zusammengebrachten und zu mir geführten Bauernschaft'. Repta, Vladimir Metropolitan von, *Abschrift eines Schreibens an den Landespräsidenten*, 144/Präs, 12 November 1904, ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCÎ CXXXI/4.

people. The people by and large had not only received him with the respect due to a Leader of the Church because of his high position, but also with joy and true love. In several communities, conscious and non-conscious Young-Ruthenian factionists had presented the Most Reverend gentleman with petitions related to the creation of a Ruthenian diocese. But when people in the respective community were asked at the end of the visit if they had any requests to put forward, they submitted requests of a local nature, which, as they thought, had already been included in the presented documents. It turned out that the poor people had been misled by their leaders at the collection of signatures for the petitions to be handed to the Archbishop.³⁵⁷

In *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, Tichon Hacman, priest in Okna, related how Pihuliak actively sent questionnaires to all Ruthenian teachers in order to gather incriminating evidence against Romanian priests.³⁵⁸ Indeed, Pihuliak and those who shared his views were well aware of how controversial their Church-dividing plans were in the broader circles of Bukovinian society. Though *Rus'ka Rada* dismissed negative comments in *Gazeta Bucovinei*, *Voința Poporului*, *Bukowiner Lloyd* and *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* simply as statements coming from 'Romanisators',³⁵⁹ Governor Regner-Bleyleben reported to the Ministry for Religion and Education in Vienna that he was less than convinced of broad popular support for a church split. Those untouched by Young-Ruthenian campaigning, the governor maintained, would 'resolutely abhor' the idea. Then again, Regner Bleyleben also admitted that complete neglect of nationality considerations in matters of high-level Church appointments could no longer be upheld, 'no matter how valid and ideal'.³⁶⁰ A year before, the governor had termed a division of the Bukovinian Archdiocese as 'completely unfeasible under the given circumstances', because 'it would be clear to all those unbiased by national fanaticism that the existence of two consistories of the same denomination and with the same diocesan parish in which diocesan membership is only determined by the respective national disposition is not only an anomaly but also only likely fit to keep the national differences of Orthodox fellow believers alive for all time and thus to miss the desired goal of national peace entirely'.³⁶¹

³⁵⁷ NN, *Die gr.-or. Kirchenfrage in der Bukowina und die Jungruthenen*, 1906, p. 15.

³⁵⁸ *Zur Frage der Teilung der gr.-or Erzdiöcese*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 12.05.1906, p. 3.

³⁵⁹ *Цертифікати румунізаторів*, *Руска Рада*, 05.05.1906, pp. 2-3.

³⁶⁰ "Meiner Ueberzeugung nach würden nicht nur die Rumänen und Altruthenen, sondern wohl die ganze das Gros der hierländigen gr.or. Gläubigen ausmachende bauerliche Landbevölkerung, soferne dieselbe von den Suggestionen der jungruthenischen Parteiführer noch unberührt geblieben ist, in entschiedenster Weise perhorreszieren. Andererseits aber kann man sich der Einsicht nicht verschliessen, das an dem gewiss idealen, rechtlich noch immer geltenden, in der Praxis aber bereits längst aufgegebenen Grundsatzes des völligen Abstrahierens von der Rücksichtnahme auf die Nationalität (wohl zu unterscheiden von der sprachlichen Qualifikation) der einzelnen geistlichen Funktionäre bei Beurteilung der ihnen jeweils zugedachten Dienstesposten - speziell wenn es sich um die Besetzung der höheren leitenden hierarchischen Stellen handelt, nicht mehr festgehalten werden kann". Regner-Bleyleben, Count Oktavian, *Bericht and das k.k. Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht*, Zl. 2419 Präs., 26 June 1907, p. 15/ ANR, Fond 'Guvenământul Bucovinei', MCÎ, CXXIII/10.

³⁶¹ "Der Landespräsident bezeichnet sohin unter den gegebenen Verhältnissen die Frage der Zweiteilung der BUKOWINA'er Erzdiözese als völlig unrealisierbar, denn es müsse jedem vom nationalen Fanatismus Unbefangenen einleuchten, daß der Bestand zweier Konsistorien desselben Bekenntnisses und mit demselben

By the end of 1906, the 'Association of the Orthodox Clergy in Bukovina' held a meeting in the metropolitan's residence and openly discussed the clerical 'divorce' of Romanians and Ruthenians. In *Apărarea Națională*, Romanian nationalists insisted that they only recognised the 'Orthodox Russians' or Old-Ruthenians as the legitimate Ruthenian representatives and had 'always adopted an unmatched courteous and fair attitude with regard to these brothers', even if only because of the 'numerical importance' of the Ruthenian population.³⁶²

Meanwhile, an interesting shift had taken place in the debate on a 'religious divorce': It had been the Young-Ruthenians who had first brought the idea to the table, only to be met with staunch resistance from the side of Romanian nationalists as well as from Metropolitan Repta, who had stated that he had at one time taken over the Church in one piece and that he had every intention to hand it over to his successor in the same state. However, over the years the image had gradually shifted: while the Young-Ruthenians had continued to work hard on their leverage and on securing their vested rights in the Church, their Romanian adversaries saw themselves confronted with the fact that parity and, in the foreseeable future, Ruthenian preponderance was to become a reality in the Consistory. As a result, Romanian nationalists warmed to the idea of a split, keenly keeping in mind that if such were to occur, Church Fund property would remain within their respective sphere of interest. Simultaneously, the initial passion at the Young-Ruthenian side had started to wane for exactly the same reasons. The death of Vicar General Călinescu, the second in the consistorial hierarchy, brought matters to a head; the Romanian side correctly predicted that it would not be able to prevent a Ruthenian candidate to be appointed as Călinescu's replacement and therefore demanded the problem to be addressed only once the Church division had been finalised. Its Young-Ruthenian antagonist on the other hand wanted to have its candidate installed while the Church was still united - and wealthy.³⁶³ The Bukovinian German-language press had tended to sympathise with the Young-Ruthenians as long as they had aimed for equality and a sufficient number of Ruthenian priests to serve the communities they claimed as Ruthenian. Once the Young-Ruthenians attempted to gain supremacy and started to threaten the unity of the Church, this position shifted³⁶⁴ and allowed a Romanian nationalist like Dori Popovici to make the most of growing public compassion - and to weep some crocodile tears in the process - when he declared that 'with a broken heart and indescribable sorrow, the Romanians finally had to say to themselves that it would be better now if they paid for the gentleness and hospitality with

Diözesansprengel, innerhalb dessen die Diözesangehörigkeit lediglich durch die jeweilige nationale Gesinnung bestimmt ist, nicht nur eine Anomalie sondern auch nur geeignet wäre, die nationalen Differenzen er griechisch-orientalischen Glaubensgenossen der beiden Volksstämme für alle Zeiten rege zu erhalten und somit das angestrebte Ziel, der nationalen Frieden, gänzlich zu verfehlen". Marchet, Gustav (Minister für Kultus und Unterricht), *Alleruntertänigster Vortrag des treuehorsaamsten Ministers für Kultus und Unterricht Dr. Gustav Marchet betreffend das von den Reichsrats- und Landtagsabgeordneten Nikolaj Ritter von Wassilko und Hierotheus Pihuliak und Genossen in der Audienz vom 29. März 1906 überreichte Gesuch um Teilung der BUKOWINA'er griechisch-orientalischen Erzdiözese in eine rumänische und ruthenische Diözese sowie betreffend den alleruntertänigsten Bericht des griechisch-orientalischen Erzbischofs und Metropoliten der BUKOWINA und von DALMATIEN Dr. Vladimir von Repta über seine Eindrücke über die Frage dieser Teilung*, KUM 1687 ex 1907, Vienna, 28 May 1908, p. 3/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCÎ CXXIII, 10.

³⁶² Antonovici, Eusebie, *Editorial*, *Apărarea Națională*, 1, 03.01.1907, p. 1.

³⁶³ *Die gr.-or. Kirchenfrage*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 28.03.1912, p. 1.

³⁶⁴ *Die gr.-or. Kirchenfrage*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 05.10.1913, p. 1.

which they had treated the Ruthenians with their agreement to a separate Ruthenian episcopate, about which they felt so passionately'.³⁶⁵

Back in 1899, Governor Bourguignon and Metropolitan Czuperkowicz had already experienced to which extent the appointments of 'declared' Ruthenians could lead to the mobilisation of at least part of the active Romanian nationalists in Bukovina. Although even Romanian sources themselves had later disparaged the individuals involved in the anti-Czuperkowicz incident at Czernowitz railway station as 'some hotheads from among the Romanian students as they occur just anywhere',³⁶⁶ the concerns and the indignation surrounding the appointment of a new vicar-general in 1912 and 1913 clearly had stronger social reverberations. The vicar-general was traditionally the one to succeed the metropolitan eventually,³⁶⁷ so when it went public that a Ruthenian candidate would in all likelihood succeed the late Vicar General Călinescu, 'commotion, in some cases even exasperation' was reportedly the dominant reaction of 'the Romanians', according to Governor Meran. In May 1912, well-organised demonstrations against the impending doom of the Church took place in Suczawa, Radautz, Kimpolung, Gurahumora, Dornawatra and Storozynetz, while the governor estimated that around 10,000 people participated in a similar demonstration in Czernowitz. In his speech at the Czernowitz rally, Eudoxiu Hormuzachi focused on the intrinsic Moldavian (and thus Romanian) character of the Church and underlined now that the Austrian government had always respected these specifics.³⁶⁸ The demonstrations were all markedly patriotic, including distinct expressions of loyalty to Emperor and Empire and in Czernowitz. The governor was explicitly requested to convey the participants' loyalty to the authorities in Vienna.³⁶⁹ The organisers of the demonstrations, Eudoxiu Hormuzachi and Dori Popovici, had obviously followed a careful strategy: since appointments regarding the Bukovinian Orthodox Church hierarchy were ultimately decided upon by the Emperor, demonstrations against any upcoming decision could easily be understood as disloyalty to the Throne.

The Habsburg authorities, however, were disinclined to yield to the demonstrators' pleas. Alienating Bukovinian Ruthenians might make the latter susceptible to Russophile agitation and thus Vienna was adamant that a Ruthenian be appointed.³⁷⁰ Just like the Bukovinian Romanian protesters, the government proceeded with care and relied for its opinion-forming not only on its own local representatives, but also took into account the views of Philipp

³⁶⁵ Popovici, Dori, *Der Sturm der ruthenischen Eindringlinge auf unsere rumänische Kirche aus der Bukovina*, Landtäglicher rumänischer Nationalklub, Czernowitz, 25 March 1912/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCÎ CXXI/3.

³⁶⁶ 'einige Heißsporne aus dem Kreise der rumänischen Studentenschaft wie sie eben überall vorkommen', NN, *Die gr.-or. Kirchenfrage in der Bukowina und die Jungruthenen*, 1906, p. 90.

³⁶⁷ Turczynski 1993, p. 197.

³⁶⁸ *Die gr.-or. Kirchenfrage*, Bukowinaer Gebirgs-Journal, 28.03.1912, pp. 1-2.

³⁶⁹ Governor Meran, *Rumänische Protestmeeting in der gr.-or. Kirchenfrage*, Zl. 2289/Präs. 25 March 1912/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCÎ CXXI/3.

³⁷⁰ Hausleitner 2001, p. 65.

Menczel, editor at *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*. Menczel advised a cautious and benevolent approach of the Romanian religious issues, but in addition warned against a ‘deepening of the principle of national registers, which contained in itself all the dangers of degeneration of the sense of affiliation with the State’.³⁷¹ Putting forward a moderate Ruthenian candidate might therefore have served to restore calm while keeping the Bukovinian Orthodox Consistory intact. The Austrian Minister of Religion and Education put Metropolitan Repta under the necessary pressure to suggest a candidate, but Repta proved reluctant. After a meeting with Repta, Governor Meran had to report back to that the metropolitan ‘to his sincere regret and with the best will in the world had not been in a position to comply to the appeal addressed to him by the Minister, because the Romanian diocesans laid claim to the position of vicar-general with all tenacity, citing their historic rights, and that he would have acted not only against his conviction but would also have created a very difficult position for himself had he recommended a Ruthenian for this post’.³⁷² Meanwhile, the metropolitan had not shied away from sharing his views with the general public. After a delegation of participants had thanked him for his support at the end of the Czernowitz rally, Repta had appeared on the grand balcony of the metropolitan residence and had blessed the audience.³⁷³ Even though he was unable to change Viennese intentions, at least he had openly distanced himself from the eventual appointment of Artemon Manastyrski as vicar-general in 1913 and had thus escaped the scorn of Romanian nationalists which had been harassing his predecessor Cziperkowicz back in 1899. In an article mutilated by censor’s blanks (erasing even the title), *Viitoriul* bemoaned Manastyrski’s appointment and bitterly remarked that the metropolitan, ‘famous for his loyalty to the government and in every way all too correct in the political fora, would need to see that as a reward they had trodden over his will with a smile of disdain, the way you stumble over a stump while you go’.³⁷⁴

The initial caution regarding their loyalty to the Austrian state which Romanian nationalists in Bukovina had showed waned considerably after they had lost the battle over the contested appointment. Although the article in *Viitoriul* mentioned above was severely curtailed, at least it had been published. Other periodicals such as Romanian nationalist *Viața Nouă* and Old-

³⁷¹ “Die kirchlichen Fragen der Rumänen müssten mit Vorsicht und Wohlwollen behandelt werden. Für sie wie für die Ruthenen gilt aber die gleiche Maxime: Keine Vertiefung des Prinzipes der nationalen Kurie, welche in sich alle Gefahren des Herabsinkens des staatlichen Zugehörigkeitsgefühles unter die Schwelle des Bewusstseins birgt”. Präsidium des k.k. Ministeriums für Kultus und Unterricht, Ante repos. *Einsichtsakt des Ministerrats-Präsidiums betr. ein Promemoria des Redakteurs der ‘Czernowitzer Allgemeinen Zeitung’ Dr. Menczel in Angelegenheit der ruthen. und der rumänischen Frage in der Bukowina*, no. 937, 24 March 1912/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MCÎ I/7, p. 145.

³⁷² “Hierauf erklärte mir den Erzbischof, daß er zu seinem aufrichtigen Bedauern beim besten Willen nicht in der Lage sei, dem an ihn seitens Eurer Exzellenz gerichteten Apell nachzukommen, weil die rumänischen Diözesanen den Konsistorial-Archimandritenposten unter Berufung auf ihre historischen Rechte mit aller Zähigkeit für sich in Anspruch nähmen, und er nicht nur gegen seinen Ueberzeugung handeln sondern auch für sich eine äusserst schwierige Lage schaffen würde, wenn er für diese Stelle einen Ruthenen in Vorschlag brachte”. Governor Meran, *Schreiben an den Herrn Kultusminister*, 25 March 1912/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MCÎ CXXI/3.

³⁷³ *Die Kirchenfrage - das rumänische Meeting*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 27.03.1912, p. 2.

³⁷⁴ *Confiscat! [censored]*, *Viitoriul*, 18, 11.09.1913, p. 1.

Ruthenian *Russkaya Pravda* were confiscated altogether because of the way they had reported on the matter. In one of the seized issues, *Viața Nouă* had stated to ‘have lost faith in the leadership of this empire which has trampled all over our most sacred rights’.³⁷⁵ Then again, when *Bukowinaer Post* suggested that Romanian nationalists had taken their complaints to Bucharest, *Viitoriul* felt obliged to strike back, labeling the accusations ‘a stupidity originating from some pathological Ruthenian brains’ (*o stupiditate izvorită din niște creieri ruteni patalogici*). Its editors countered that so far there had been no accounts of Romanian spies, whereas stories about Russian spies assisted by Galician Ruthenians were abound.³⁷⁶ This way, the appointment of the new vicar-general degenerated into a public defamation contest between Ruthenian and Romanian nationalists, with the other’s alleged disloyalty to the Throne at stake. The argumentation by the Ruthenian side was further substantiated when in Romania, Nicolae Iorga and his ‘Liga Culturală’ saw the Manastyrski affair as an impetus to organise popular rallies in support of ‘the oppressed Bukovinian Romanians’ and quoted *Viitoriul* and *Viața Nouă* as their sources of information. The fact that these meetings ended with the yell ‘Down with the perfidious Austria!’ (*Jos perfida Austrie!*), did little to improve the loyal image of Romanian nationalists in Bukovina, either.³⁷⁷ Prominent Bukovinian Romanian politicians publicly distanced themselves from the ‘Liga Culturală’.³⁷⁸

In Bukovina, reactions to the Imperial decision from either side were predictable. Mykola Vasylo sent a telegram to the Emperor on behalf of the Bukovinian Orthodox Ruthenians, expressing their gratitude for Manastyrski’s appointment.³⁷⁹ Meanwhile, the outraged Romanian nationalists kept a close eye on the way ‘their’ politicians responded to the developments and did not hesitate to publicly reveal the names of those ‘reckless and irresponsible’ Romanians who were suspected of congratulating Manastyrski on his appointment. Maybe not entirely unrelated, parliamentary deputy Teofil Simionovici initiated a parliamentary interpellation³⁸⁰ about Manastyrski’s selection only a few weeks after *Viața Nouă* had suggested that Simionovici’s congratulatory telegram to the vicar-general had been rather long.³⁸¹

In the following months, the acrimonious debates quieted down. In the spring of 1914, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* bitterly referred to the affair in its Easter editorial, putting itself in the

³⁷⁵ In *Einsichtsbogen - Beschlagnahme von Bukowinaer Zeitungen*, Z. 1825/ 4 Präz, October 1913, the following newspapers are mentioned: *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 3 October 1913, *Viața Nouă*, no. 92, 4 October 1913; no. 94, 18 October 1913 (“... deși am pierdut încrederea în stăpânirea acestui imperiu care a călcat în picioare drepturile noastre cele mai sfinte...”) *Русская правда*, 10 October 1913/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MCÎ CXXXIII/8.

³⁷⁶ *Ținuta deamă și corectă a preoțimii noastre în afacerea bisericească*, *Viitoriul*, 19-20, 09.10.1913, p. 127.

³⁷⁷ *Die wahre Ursache*, *Bukowinaer Post*, 01.03.1914, pp. 1-2.

³⁷⁸ *Stimmen unserer Rumänen*, *Bukowinaer Post*, 05.04.1914, pp. 1-2.

³⁷⁹ *Die Dankesdepesche des ukrain. Verbandes an den Kaiser*, *Bukowinaer Post*, 21.10.1913, p. 1.

³⁸⁰ *Interpellation des Abgeordneten Simionovici und Genossen an Ihre Excellenzen den Herrn Ministerpräsidenten und den Herrn Minister für Kultus und Unterricht in der Angelegenheit der Regelung der griechisch-orientalischen Kirchenfrage in der Bukowina*, 28 october 1913, 166. Sitzung der XXI. Session/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MCÎ CXXI/3.

³⁸¹ *D. deputat Simionovici l-a felicitat pe A. Manastyrski?* *Viața Nouă*, 92, 21.09.1913, p. 17.

position of the Bukovinian peasantry: in spite of all the commotion over vested national rights, Romanian and Ruthenian peasants were still equally destitute.³⁸²

The entire matter of national conflict in the Bukovinian Orthodox Church ground to a final halt when the Habsburg heir to the throne and his wife were killed in Sarajevo in June 1914. The ensuing World War and Bukovina's subsequent incorporation in the centralist Kingdom of Romania brought about fundamental changes and canceled all Ruthenian/Ukrainian nationalist ambitions about their position in the Orthodox Church. *Păstorul*, a periodical dealing with Orthodox Church issues, depicted the situation unambiguously:

*The gangrene, from which our church organism suffers for a long time already, is the Ukrainian question. This disease, which until now has consumed most of our energy, should be healed as quickly and radically as possible. The Ukrainians who were favoured by petty Austrian politics for years tended not only to establish a separate Ukrainian church on the territory of our land, but also to put their hands on our Metropolis. Today however, now that our land is part of Greater-Romania, the essential national Romanian state, there is no longer room for such Ukrainian aspirations.*³⁸³

Village Priests and Nationalism

In 1905, the editors of the clerical periodical *Viitoriul* expressed their annoyance with the parliamentary activities of the Bukovinian Young-Ruthenian parliamentarians in Vienna:

*For a number of years, Ruthenians members of the Viennese Parliament have tried to create the impression that Ruthenians are still oppressed within the Orthodox Church of Bukovina and that they are exposed to the danger of being Romanised by the Church hierarchy. In a series of interpellations they have brought up all sorts of insignificant church matters in order to reach their goal, knowing that semper aliquid haeret (something always sticks). If a priest has quarreled with a parishioner, within days it is brought to the attention of Parliament in the form of an interpellation. If a Ruthenian student was not admitted to the seminary in time because the government has not issued an approval yet, out goes an interpellation. If in some parish a supporter of the present Ruthenian deputies has not managed to get the job, there should be at least an interpellation. And so on.*³⁸⁴

From the point of view of the Bukovinian Orthodox Church, which was closely involved in *Viitoriul*, the expressed irritation is easily imaginable since it was exactly this institution which was mostly targeted by Young-Ruthenian politicians. And, indeed, the activity of the latter was impressive. Under the leadership of Hierotheus Pihuliak, the first decade of the twentieth century witnessed a steady accumulation of Ruthenian protests in Vienna against what they regarded as an infringement of Ruthenian rights in the Church. The following

³⁸² "Ihr habt hüben Hallelujah, drüben Trauerchorale angestimmt, als ein Ruthene eine hohe kirchliche Würde erlangte. Monate sind seither ins Land gegangen und wir überwachten seither die Aufteilung der Güter der Nation, und siehe: Rumänen und Ruthenen nagen im gleichem Maße am Hungertuch, nicht um ein I-Tüpfelchen mehr oder weniger kam den 'rivalisierenden Stämmen' zu". *Gr.-or. Ostern - Eine nicht gehaltene Rede*, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 19.04.1914, p. 1.

³⁸³ *Noi și ucrainenii*, *Păstorul* - Organul pentru interesele bisericești, 03.02.1919, p. 3.

³⁸⁴ *Afacerile bisericeii în parlamentul din Viena*, *Viitoriul*, 13, 01.07.1905.

overview may serve as an illustration of the complaints received by the Austrian House of Representatives.

On 3 December 1903, an interpellation was submitted regarding scholarships to redeem the shortage of Ruthenian Orthodox priests. On 18 December 1905, another was launched to criticise high appointments in the Orthodox hierarchy. On 15 February 1906, Pihuliak and his fellow parliamentarians complained about a Romanian priest in Kuczurmare who was said to have forced school children to bring false accusations against a Ruthenian teacher, followed on 23 January 1907 by a protest against discrimination when out of nine newly appointed priests in Czernowitz, ‘only’ four of them were Ruthenians, then by an accusation of ‘persecution’ of Ruthenians by the Orthodox Consistory on 8 November of that year and on 21 December by a denunciation of ‘Romanisation activities’ allegedly deployed by the Consistory. On 23 June 1908 the Pihuliak group launched another claim of ‘persecution and discrimination’ of Ruthenian priests by the Consistory, a similar complaint followed on 23 April 1909. Yet another complaint about ‘persecution’ on 22 December 1909 actually dealt with the number of Ruthenians admitted to the seminary which the Pihuliak group deemed inadequate and on 6 May 1910, the charge of ‘persecution and discrimination’ was uttered once more.³⁸⁵

³⁸⁵ (3 December 1903) *Interpellation der Abgeordneten Pihuliak, Nikolaj Wassilko und Genossen an Seine Exzellenz den Herrn Minister für Cultus und Unterricht, Dr. Ritter v. Hartl, wegen der Creirung von Stipendien zum Zwecke der Beseitigung des Mangels an griechisch-orientalischen Priestern ruthenischer Nationalität*; (369. Sitzung, 18 December 1905) *Interpellation des Abgeordneten Pihuliak und Genossen an Seine Exzellenz den Herrn Leiter des k.k. Ministeriums für Kultus und Unterricht in Angelegenheit der jüngsten Ernennungen höherer kirchlicher Funktionäre in der orthodox-katholischen (sic) Kirche Diözese der Bukowina*; (381. Sitzung 15 February 1906) *Interpellation des Abgeordneten Pihuliak und Genossen an Seine Exzellenz den Herrn Leiter des k.k. Ministeriums für Kultus und Unterricht wegen demoralisierender Wirksamkeit nichtruthenischer griechisch-orthodoxer Priester auf die ruthenische Schuljugend*; (32. Sitzung der XVIII. Session, 8 November 1907) *Interpellation des Abgeordneten Pihuliak und Genossen an Seine Exzellenz den Herrn Leiter des k.k. Ministeriums für Kultus und Unterricht wegen Verfolgung der orthodox-katholischen Ruthenen seitens des orthodox-katholischen (sic) Konsistoriums in der Bukowina*; (55. Sitzung der XVIII. Session, 21 December 1907) *Interpellation des Abgeordneten Pihuliak und Genossen an Seine Exzellenz den Herrn Minister für Kultus und Unterricht wegen romanisatorischer Umtriebe des griechisch-orientalischen Konsistoriums in der Bukowinaer griechisch-orientalischen Diözese*; (481. Sitzung, 23 January 1907) *Interpellation des Abgeordneten Pihuliak und Genossen an Seine Exzellenz den Herrn Leiter des k.k. Ministeriums für Kultus und Unterricht wegen Zurücksetzung der Ruthenen bei der Aufnahme in das Klerikerseminar in Czernowitz*; (35. Sitzung der XIX. Session, 23 June 1908) *Interpellation des Abgeordneten Pihuliak und Genossen an Seine Exzellenz den Herrn Minister für Kultus und Unterricht wegen Verfolgungen und Zurücklegungen der griechisch-orientalischen Priester ruthenischer Nationalität seitens des Konsistoriums in der Bukowina*; (43. Sitzung der XX. Session, 23 April 1909) *Interpellation der Abgeordneten Pihuliak und Genossen an Seine Exzellenz den Herrn Minister für Kultus und Unterricht wegen Bedrückung und Verfolgung der Ruthenen in der griechisch-orientalischen Diözese in der Bukowina*; (20. Sitzung der XX. Session, 22 December 1909) *Interpellation der Abgeordneten Pihuliak, Spenul und Genossen an Seine Exzellenz den Herrn Leiter des k.k. Ministeriums für Kultus und Unterricht wegen Ruthenenverfolgungen seitens des griechisch-orientalischen Konsistoriums in Czernowitz*; (44. Sitzung der XX. Session, 6 May 1910) *Interpellation der Abgeordneten Pihuliak und Genossen an Seine Exzellenz den Herrn Minister für Kultus und Unterricht, betreffend die Verfolgung und Zurücksetzung der griechisch-orientalischen Geistlichkeit durch das romanisatorische Konsistorium in der Bukowina*/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MCÎ CXXXIII/1.

Whereas the intensity of (Romanian) nationalism within the higher echelons of the Bukovinian Orthodox Church was to a high extent dependent on the individuals in charge, the lower level of town and village priests is usually labeled as the key force behind nationalism in Bukovina. Again, it was mainly Romanian nationalism which was strongest identified with Orthodox Church. *Bukowinaer Rundschau* observed in 1887 that Romanians ‘had one of the most influential and effective cornerstones in the Orthodox Church of Bukovina, whose clergy considered it to be their job not only to preach the teachings of the Gospel but also to raise enthusiasm for the Romanian nationality in the heart of its communities’. The position of the clergy was seen as ‘peculiar’ (*eigenthümlich*) and compared to that of the Catholic clergy in Ireland.³⁸⁶ In order to maintain the peace, the Governor’s Office kept close contact with headquarters in Vienna to make sure that controversial parish appointments were avoided. In the case of the St. Paraschiva Church in Czernowitz, the Orthodox Consistory submitted three candidates. On one of them, priest Ivan Homiuca, Governor Goëss commented as follows:

Here in Bukovina, where all nationalities and religions are represented, where national and religious frictions are generally known to be nurtured mainly by Orthodox priests and are easily fueled and then travel just like waves through the land, here a person must be chosen who is capable first and foremost of being moderate in the national field and sufficiently unbiased with regard to religion. This, however, cannot be expected of priest Homiuca. His appointment as pastor in Czernowitz would no doubt bring him in his proper element and would provide him with an appropriate forum from which he would sow the seeds of national discord and incitement with his fists.

According to the governor, the only reason Hormiuca’s Romanian propaganda in his district had not been successful so far was the fact that he had picked the wrong audience: his Ruthenian-speaking parish had already developed a divergent national awareness.³⁸⁷ By 1907, Governor Regner-Bleyleben noted that ‘just like elsewhere, the waves of the national movements held all strata of the population in this land in their grip in those days and a pronounced national disposition was observed anywhere, especially with people who - as is common here with the local priests - had reached a relatively high social status while coming from modest backgrounds’. However, just like Metropolitan Repta, Regner-Bleyleben denied that relations between clergy and parish were strained ‘in every village’, but instead emphasised that incidents were exceptions and as such they were ‘opposed accordingly by the same Consistory held responsible for them and - as far as it fell within their competence- by

³⁸⁶ *Der Romanismus in der Bukowina – II*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 06.11.1887, p. 1.

³⁸⁷ “Hier, wo sämtliche Nationalitäten und Confessionen vertreten sind, wo nationale und confessionelle Reibungen, die bekanntlich in der Bucowina zumeist von gr.or. Priester genährt werden, leicht angefacht werden können, die sich eben wie Wellen im Lande fortpflanzen, hier muß eine Persönlichkeit gewählt werden, die in allererster Linie auf nationalem Gebiete sich Mäßigung aufzulegen und in confessioneller Hinsicht hinreichende Objectivität zu bewahren im Stande ist. Dies kann aber vom Pfarrer Homiuca nicht erwartet werden. Seine Ernennung zum Pfarrer in Czernowitz würde denselben außer Zweifel in sein richtiges Element bringen, würde ihm einen geeigneten Bock zuführen, auf dem er den Samen nationaler Zwietracht und Verhetzungen mit den Fäusten säen würde”. Governor Goëss, *Report to Minister for Culture and Education on priest appointment in Czernowitz*, Z. 4455 Präz, February 1896/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 6695.

the state authorities as well'.³⁸⁸ Especially when elections were taking place, interference with local politics was a common activity among nationalist clerics, although they were certainly not the only ones said to have disrupted the electoral process. On election day 28 April 1911, clerics, professors, court officers and teachers in Radautz, Sereth and Suczawa apparently disrupted the peace, with 'Father Berlinski attacking voters at the polling stations and Father Tarnavski, Court Intern Nastasi and the Orthodox theologian Hotinczan paying for votes with money'.³⁸⁹

Nationalism and its possible by-products like irrendentism and disloyalty to Empire and Emperor caused the Austrian authorities to watch nationalist manifestations vigilantly. As illustrated by the developments surrounding the appointment of Vicar General Manastyrski, accusations of disloyalty to the State and its institutions provided a powerful instrument for the incrimination of political foes. Applied in the political arena, they had the power to kill two birds with one stone: the plaintiff was able to distinguish himself as the oppressed party and to charge the inculcated with subversive activities at the same time.

Authors of an anonymous letter to Governor Alesani protested in 1886 against the appointment of Zaharia Voronca as pastor of the Czernowitz Orthodox Cathedral. Back in 1877, Voronca had been one of the suspects in the 'Arboroasa case'. 'Arboroasa', the Romanian association of theology students in Bukovina, had not joined in the 1875 centennial celebrations of the Austrian annexation of Bukovina, but instead its members had expressed their support for initiatives in Romania to publicly mourn the same event. Adding insult to injury, they had accepted a subsidy from the Ministry of Education in Bucharest. The Austrian authorities thereupon disbanded 'Arboroasa' and five of its members, including Voronca, received (mild) sentences.³⁹⁰

In the anonymous letter, the governor was reminded of the weeks Voronca had spent in prison as a result of his involvement in the Arboroasa case, of the fact that he had been expelled from the theological faculty and of his animosity towards Catholicism, the official religion of the Empire. Furthermore, Voronca was said to be the third of the five former students linked to

³⁸⁸ "Die Wogen der nationalen Bewegung haben heutzutage wie anderwärts so auch hierzulande alle Schichten der Bevölkerung ergriffen und kann man überall gerade bei Personen, die - wie dies bei den hierländigen Priestern häufig der Fall ist - aus beschränkten Verhältnissen zu einer relativ höheren sozialen Stellung gelangt sind, eine prononzierte nationale Gesinnung und dementsprechende Strebungen wahrnehmen. (...) Dass solche Zustände - wie dies im Memorandum behauptet wird - 'in jedem Dorfe' herrschen - kann nicht als zutreffend bezeichnet werden. Vielmehr kann ich in Uebereinstimmung mit den bezüglichen Ausführungen des Erzbischofs von Repta in dem von ihm an seine kaiserlich und königliche Majestät erstatteten Alleruntertänigsten Vortrage vom 15. November 1906 Zl. 192/Pr. behaupten, dass das Einvernehmen zwischen der hierländigen Bevölkerung und ihren Priestern im Allgemeinen ein gutes ist und Vorkommnisse wie die geschilderten zu den Ausnahmen gehören, denen gerade von dem hierfür verantwortlich gemachten Konsistorium und - soweit dies in deren Kompetenz fällt - auch von den Staatsbehörden entsprechend entgegengetreten wird". Governor Regner-Bleyleben, *Bericht and das k.k. Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht*, Zl. 2419 Präz, 26 June 1907, p. 7/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCÎ, CXXIII/10.

³⁸⁹ Präsidium des k.k. Ministeriums für Kultus und Unterricht, *Erläss*, Z. 5583 MI, 19 June 1911/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCÎ I/7.

³⁹⁰ For more on the Arboroasa case, see paragraph 3 of Part III: The Empire, the Nation and the Region: Competing Identifications in Bukovina/ 3.3: Cracks in the Layer of Loyalty.

the Arboroasa case to be appointed in Czernowitz. Yet, the letter continued with the complaint that many other candidates had successfully passed the test for the position now to be taken by Voronca, also the latter had allegedly been promoted without any relevant experience, while others applied ten to fifteen years in vain for a pastoral position in the smallest village as a result of the abundance of candidates.³⁹¹ The fact that the letter focused mainly on the frustration of unappointed priests suggests that it was these same priests who were behind it. The rather tumultuous past of Voronca had offered itself as a useful instrument in the battle for clerical positions. Incidentally, the Governor's Office was probably not too concerned about possible problems caused by Arboroasa veterans: in 1889, Governor Pino reported to Vienna that 'since the difficulties experienced by some theology students - who by then had been working as priests for years already - because of their participation years ago in the already dissolved 'Arboroasa' association, nothing had been detected among the seminarians to make a disparaging assessment appropriate'.³⁹²

In 1888, the Kotzman district captain was ordered by the Governor to verify a complaint by the Metropoly regarding teachers Atanasi, Popovych, Prodan and Pihuliak and financial clerk Tyminski. The Consistory had accused the men of 'political, national and confessional activities' (*politische, nationale und confessionelle Umtriebe*) in their speeches at the occasion of the inauguration of Ruthenian reading halls in the villages of in Witelowka, Laschkowka und Stawczan. However, after having concluded his 'unobtrusive, but most insistent inquiries' (*im unauffälligem Wege eindringlichst gepflogen Erhebungen*), the district captain had assessed the accusations unsubstantiated.

Just like when the Church requested information on unwelcome statements concerning church affairs, as shown by the case in the Kotzman district, government authorities asked for information from the Consistory when nationalist activity from the pulpit was suspected. In Bojan, debates were passionate during the municipal elections of 1895, and when a complaint about Bojan's assistant priest reached the Governor's Office, the Church was expected to conduct an investigation. The priest had been charged with having advised the parish to vote for 'someone decent from our village', which plaintiffs had interpreted as an endorsement for the Romanian candidate. The Consistory found the assistant priest not guilty, but reprimanded him for not choosing his words more carefully in a tense election period. The background of all commotion was said to be political with both major candidates trying to discredit the other. Remarkably, it proved to be a severe challenge for the Austrian authorities to convince the

³⁹¹ "Es giebt viel fähigere, verdienstvollere, makellose und loyale Cooperatore, die in einem entlegenen Dorfe den größten Entbehungen ausgesetzt, zwölf bis fünfzehn Jahren sich vergeblich um die kleinste Dorfsparre bei gegenwärtig vorhandener Überfüllung bewerben". Anonymous, *Letter to the Governor complaining about the upcoming appointment of Zaharia Voronca*, Czernowitz, December 1886/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 6, spr. 119.

³⁹² "Seit dem Anstande, welchen einzelnen bereits seit Jahren als Priester fungierende Studenten der Theologie wegen Theilnahme an dem bereits aufgelösten Vereine 'Arborosa' im Jahre hatten, ist bei den Seminaristen nichts wahrgenommen worden, was eine abfällige Beurtheilung hervorzurufen geeignet gewesen wäre". *Bericht des Landespräsidenten an den Minister für Cultus und Unterricht*, 482 Pr., Czernowitz, 27 March 1889/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCÎ, XCIII/9.

Consistory that an investigation was in order: initially, church authorities had simply replied that there was no case and had left it at that.³⁹³

In 1906, two Romanian priests took the initiative to present their personal experiences in *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* in an attempt to counter Pihuliak's allegation about tensions between Romanian-speaking priests and their Ruthenian-speaking flock. For a period of eight years, Tichon Hacman had been an assistant priest and teacher in the purely Ruthenian-speaking community of Werenczanka, and upon leaving his assignment, he had received a letter to thank him for his good works on behalf of the entire community.³⁹⁴ A similar letter was provided by Constantin Gramatowicz, who had served in the Ruthenian-speaking parish of Wasloutz for fifteen years until 1906.³⁹⁵ In Breaza, the matter of who was to succeed the deceased father Prelicz in 1908 was said to be an easy one, since the entire parish seemed to prefer Prelicz' assistant Father Agapi. A delegation of prominent Breazans asking for Agapi's appointment was even received in audience by both the governor and the metropolitan. According to *Bukowinaer Gebirgs-Journal*, a significant detail was that the delegation had consisted mainly of Ruthenians. Then, however, a new candidate had entered the stage and 'since the road of competence and fair competition was too unreliable', the generally loved and respected candidate was suddenly depicted as a Romanian chauvinist.³⁹⁶

In the House of Representatives, Young-Ruthenians headed by Pihuliak seemed to focus more on the quantity of their anti-Romanisation interpellations than on their convincibility. Whereas in Bojan the words from the pulpit had had at least some potential to be interpreted politically, the two samples from sermons held in 1913 by assistant priest Regusz in Hliboka only seemed silly and off the mark:

Orthodox Christians! I want to explain to you today what the Greek Uniates are, as you may believe that it is all one and the same, you speak Ruthenian too, and believe therefore that the Uniates are your brothers and that is why you have to be ashamed. For, although we also studied this subject, we do not understand the essence of the matter, so you can not understand it either! Amen! (...) Orthodox Christians! You go around in inns and due to alcoholism become as stupid as oxen, for the drunken man cannot assess his actions. For example, a married woman came to me and said her husband had gone with another woman under the influence of alcohol, because drunkards go completely crazy. Once our people, Romanians that is, emigrated to America and gave the local savages spirits to drink, and the consequence was that these savages died. Amen!

Young-Ruthenian deputies had intended to use these examples to highlight that Ruthenian Orthodox parishioners no longer went to church since the services were held in Romanian - which they were said not to understand - and that furthermore the asinine content of those

³⁹³ Orthodox Consistory, *Report to Governor's Office*, No. 3526, 11/23 September 1895/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 6191

³⁹⁴ *Zur Frage der Teilung der gr.-or Erzdiöcese*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 12.05.1906, p. 3.

³⁹⁵ *Zur Frage der Teilung der gr.-or. Diöcese*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 15.05.1906, p. 3.

³⁹⁶ *Um eine Pfarre*, Bukowinaer Gebirgs-Journal, Kimpolung, 15.02.1908, pp. 1-2.

services caused the churchgoers to stay away.³⁹⁷ However, the fact that the substance of the cleric's words bothered them would imply that they had less trouble with the Romanian language than the petitioners had aimed to convey. Other cases brought to the fore were short of a relation to the claimed Romanisation altogether, as is illustrated by the account of an unpleasant encounter in 1908 between Euphrosyne Kuruca from Gogolina and Father Cojocariu:

When he entered the room, he began to ask me questions and at the end he asked me this question about indecent things, which I am ashamed to repeat, and then he asked why I am without children. He added that I do not have the right husband. "If you had sexual intercourse with a man as clever as I", the priest said, "you would have children to inherit your property one day". I answered that it is a sin to say such things, let alone do them as I am lawfully married. But the priest replied: "I tell you before the holy images and the Lord is my witness that this is not a sin. By the way, I will answer for this." Then he approached me and wanted to rape me ...

According to the text of the interpellation, someone had walked in on the scene before anything else could occur, but the story spread fast and Cojocariu invoked the regional court in an attempt to force Kuruca to deny the events. When she refused, the priest was forced to withdraw his complaint. Interestingly, Pihuliak and his comrades introduced their interpellation in this matter as dealing with 'the annoying attitude of a Romanising Orthodox priest in Bukovina'.³⁹⁸

Similar activities were said to be deployed in 1910 by Father Adrian Bodnărescul, who allegedly assaulted a married woman in Hatna and in the end was scared away by a village girl who walked into the scene. Next, Bodnărescul was accused of attacking the wife of a fellow priest, but since she had proved to be stronger than him he had ran off. When Young Ruthenians filed an interpellation regarding these events, it was 'because of Romanising practices in Ruthenian parishes on behalf of the Romanising potentates in the Czernowitz Orthodox Consistory'.³⁹⁹

In May 1903, the number of Young-Ruthenian interventions had been numerous enough for Governor Hohenlohe to provide Vienna with a more generic report about the situation of

³⁹⁷ Ukrainische Abgeordneten, (Interpellationen betr. ukrainischer Sprache in den Pfarrgemeinden) 169. Sitzung der XXI. Session, 5 November 1913: *Interpellation der Abgeordneten Spenul und Genossen an Seine Exzellenz den Herrn Minister für Kultus und Unterricht, betreffend das Vorgehen des Kooperators Regusz in Hliboka (Bukowina) seinen Pfarrkindern ruthenischer Nation gegenüber/* ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCÎ CXXXIII/1.

³⁹⁸ Ukrainische Abgeordneten, (Interpellationen betr. ukrainischer Sprache in den Pfarrgemeinden) 98. Sitzung der XVIII. Session, 1 July 1908: *Interpellation der Abgeordneten Pihuliak, Spenul und Genossen an Seine Exzellenz den Herrn Minister für Kultus und Unterricht über die ärgerniserregende Haltung eines romanisatorischen griechisch-orientalischen Priesters in der Bukowina/* ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCÎ CXXXIII/1.

³⁹⁹ Ukrainische Abgeordneten, (Interpellationen betr. ukrainischer Sprache in den Pfarrgemeinden) 72. Sitzung der XX. Session, 2 December 1910: *Interpellation der Abgeordneten Pihuliak und Genossen an Seine Exzellenz den Herrn Minister für Kultus und Unterricht wegen der romanisatorischen Praktiken in den ruthenischen Pfarren seitens der romanisatorischen Machthaber im griechisch-orientalischen Konsistorium zu Czernowitz/* ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCÎ CXXXIII/1.

Ruthenian Orthodox believers in Bukovina.⁴⁰⁰ He stressed that there was no crisis-like aggravation of the situation of the Orthodox Ruthenians in Bukovina resulting from a hostile attitude of the Orthodox priesthood of Romanian nationality, but that instead, the relationship between Romanian pastors and their Ruthenian flock could generally be described as peaceful. According to Hohenlohe, Romanian priests in Ruthenian-speaking communities generally met the linguistic requirements. He admitted that there were exceptions, but that the regional government did not hesitate to intervene in these cases. Yet, the governor acknowledged tensions between the Consistory - largely under the influence of nationalist Romanians – and its Ruthenian-speaking parishioners. These differences were accentuated by the increasing number of Ruthenian reading halls and banking cooperatives. These institutions, Hohenlohe maintained, pursued not only cultural and economic but also social and national aspirations and in this way competed directly with the Orthodox Church as such and were met with hostility by the clergy. Consequently, this attitude ‘caused Ruthenian party leaders to lodge exaggerated complaints in the press, in meetings and in parliamentary representative bodies about Romanising actions by those priests and about their hostility towards the cultural aspirations of their Ruthenian flock, thereby exacerbating national differences between Romanian priests and their Ruthenian parish and jeopardising national peace’. Well aware of the shortage of Ruthenian priests, Hohenlohe still advised against the appointment of Romanian priests in Ruthenian-speaking communities.⁴⁰¹

Likewise, Hohenlohe’s successor Regner-Bleyleben took the opportunity to present a more general view on the situation when he was requested from Vienna to provide background information on a complaint from Pihuliak and his fellow Young-Ruthenians concerning a pastor from Russ-Moldawitz by the name of Bocancea. Bocancea was accused of keeping his registers in Romanian and of demanding money from his parishioners for services he was supposed to render free of charge. The Governor concluded that the complaint had not been submitted by a group of people, but only by one individual and had asserted that it was completely unfounded. The matter of the Romanian-language register was more complicated, since this ‘accusation’ was adequate. However, the community of Russ-Moldawitz was a Ruthenian language island amidst Romanian-speaking villages, and to charge Bocancea with Romanisation affinities because he had continued a tradition which he himself was not able to

⁴⁰⁰ Ukrainische Abgeordneten, (Interpellationen betr. ukrainischer Sprache in den Pfarrgemeinden) Sitzung, 14 March 1903: *Interpellation der Abgeordneten Pihuliak, Nikolaj v. Wassilko und Genossen an Seine Excellenz den Herrn Minister für Cultus und Unterricht wegen der notorischen Verkürzung und Schädigung der ruthenischen Gläubigen durch das griechisch-orientalische Consistorium in Czernowitz*/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MCÎ CXXXI/4.

⁴⁰¹ “Dies gibt den ruthenischen Parteiführern Anlass in der Presse, in Versammlungen und parlamentarischen Vertretungskörpern über ein romanisatorisches Vorgehen der in der Rede stehenden Priester, über deren feindselige den kulturellen Bestrebungen ihrer ruthenischen Parochianen hinderliche Haltung in übertriebener Weise Klage zu führen, hiedurch die nationalen Gegensätze zwischen rumänischen Priestern und ihren ruthenischen Pfarrlingen zu verschärfen und damit die Erhaltung des nationalen Friedens zu gefährden”. Governor Hohenlohe, *Bericht an das Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht*, Zl. 3344/ Präs., *Reply to “Interpellation der Abgeordneten Pihuliak, Nikolaj v. Wassilko und Genossen wegen der notorischen Verkürzung und Schädigung der ruthenischen Gläubigen durch das griechisch-orientalische Consistorium in Czernowitz”* dd. 14 May 1903 (Reichsrat Vienna), 23 June 1903/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MCÎ CXXXI/4.

change without instructions from above, struck the governor as ‘fairly reckless’ (*einigermassen gewagt*). Still, Regner-Bleyleben acknowledged the problem and reported to have taken the necessary measures to solve it. With regard to the overall situation as depicted by Pihuliak *cum suis*, the governor was clear:

*Moving on to the further inquiry regarding alleged Romanising activity by the non-Ruthenian Orthodox priests in Bukovina as linked to this subject by the Hon. Petitioner, I am able to reply only that I am fully aware of my responsibility to counter any possible interference in both national and other rights of the population within my sphere of influence. However, the Hon. Petitioner has not proven a violation of the interests of the Orthodox Ruthenians in Bukovina through alleged Romanising efforts by the non-Ruthenian clergy in this land in the field of ecclesiastical matters – as demonstrated by this recent case – to such extent that I see myself forced to take measures in this regard that go beyond the ones which have already been observed by the safeguarding of all related issues of equal treatment anyway.*⁴⁰²

Finally, a closer look on the nationalist instrumentalisation of minor local conflicts is provided by a set of two conflicting interpellations regarding an incident which took place in the village of Dzemini near Kimpolung on Saturday 4 October 1913. Triggered by a Young-Ruthenian interpellation on the issue, Bukovinian Romanian nationalists decided to submit an interpellation reflecting their own version of what had happened.

According to the Young-Ruthenian account, the head of the village school, Antoniuk, appeared at the doorstep of the village church, accompanied by his pupils in order to attend the mass honouring the name day of the Emperor. Arriving at 08.30, they found the Church closed. When Antoniuk sent one of the children to priest Popescul to ask why, he was told that High Mass has already been celebrated, upon which Antoniuk asked the priest why Mass had started at 08.00 instead of the habitual 08.30, whereupon the ‘Romanisator’ started yelling at him and asserted his right to celebrate Mass whenever he so desired. When Antoniuk asked Popescul how people were supposed to know when that was, he was thrown out.⁴⁰³

⁴⁰² “Auf die von den Herren Interpellanten an diesen Gegenstand geknüpfte weitere Anfrage bezüglich der angeblichen romanisatorischen Thätigkeit der nicht ruthenischen gr. or. Priester in der Bukowina im Allgemeinen übergehend, vermag ich nur zu erwidern, dass ich mir meiner Verpflichtung, allfälligen Eingriffen in die sei es nationalen, sei es andersweitigen Rechte der Bevölkerung innerhalb des mir zustehenden Wirkungskreises entgegenzutreten selbstverständlich vollauf bewusst bin, dass aber die Herren Interpellanten den Beweis einer Schädigung der Interessen der gr.or. Ruthenen in der Bukowina auf kirchlichem Gebiete durch angebliche romanisatorische Betreibungen des nicht ruthenischen Theiles der gr.or. Priesterschaft dieses Landes - wie dies der gegenwärtige Fall neuerdings dargethan hat - nicht in dem Masse erbracht haben, dass ich mich in die Lage versetzt sehen würde, in dieser Hinsicht weitergehende Massnahmen treffen zu sollen, als die mit Wahrnehmung der Interessen alle hiebei in Frage kommenden gleichberechtigten Faktoren ohnehin bereits geschehen ist”. Governor Regner-Bleyleben, *Bericht an den Minister für Kultus und Unterricht*, Zl. 2577 Präz; ex 1906, Zl. 2577 Präz; ex 1906, Vienna, 11.06.1907/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MCÎ CXXXIII/1.

⁴⁰³ Haus der Abgeordneten, *Interpellation des Abg. Spenul und Genossen an Seine Exzellenz den Herrn Minister für Kultus und Unterricht, betreffend das Vorgehen des griechisch-orientalischen Pfarrers Popescul in Džemeny*

As expected, the Romanian report of the events depicted Antoniuk as an ‘agitator and rabble-rouser’ (*Wühler und Hetzer*), whose main pastime was causing conflicts between people. Although he had been beaten up regularly in Dzemini and the surrounding villages, he had managed to hang on to his position. It was only logical that priests were his main targets. On 4 October, Father Popescul celebrated Mass which ended at 09.30. Subsequently, Antoniuk had appeared and had demanded that Mass be celebrated once again for him and his pupils. In the presence of many parishioners, Antoniuk had started to scream at Father Popescul. When Popescul, supported by the church community, had requested him to leave Antoniuk had had no choice but to comply. Of course, Antoniuk had filed a complaint, after which Spenul and his comrades had submitted their interpellation.⁴⁰⁴

When compared, only a few components of the two versions of the rather futile village incident remain: Antoniuk and his pupils arrived on Saturday morning and realised they had missed mass, teacher Antoniuk claimed Father Popescul had started mass too early and Father Popescul insisted that Antoniuk had been late. All the sabre-rattling language of ‘Romanisators’ and ‘agitators and rabble-rousers’ aside, this nationally framed account seems to entail only a conflict about punctuality.

The most tangible element in the struggle between Ruthenian and Romanian nationalists in the Orthodox Church was language. As discussed before, Moldavian/Romanian was the dominant language in the Archbishopric and later in the Metropoly. At the establishment of the Franz Joseph University in 1875, the only non-German instruction was provided in the theological faculty where the language of education was Romanian. During the years Metropolitan Morariu-Andrievici was in office, at the faculty neither the admission of Ruthenian-speaking students nor the use of the Ruthenian language was encouraged.⁴⁰⁵ In 1904, Governor Hohenlohe provided the Bukovinian Regional Diet with interesting percentages. While admitting that a number of Ruthenian-language parishes were still served by Romanian-speaking priests, he affirmed that ‘seventy-five percent of them were more than completely proficient in the Ruthenian language, more than twenty-one percent were so to a lesser extent, but still well enough to comply with their professional responsibilities in church

seinen Pfarrangehörigen ruthenischer Nation gegenüber, 1911-1914, XXIst Session, 170th Meeting, 4155/I, kaiserlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, Vienna 1914, pp. 17231-17232.

⁴⁰⁴ *Fünf Interpellationen des Abg. Sérbu – III*, Bukowinaer Gebirgs-Journal, 24.01.1914, p. 1. and Haus der Abgeordneten, *Interpellation des Abg. Serbu und Genossen an Seine Exzellenz den Herrn Minister für Kultur und Unterricht, betreffend die agitatorische Tätigkeit des Lehrers D. Antoniuk in der Gemeinde Gemene*, 1911-1914/ 21st Session, 187th Meeting 4568/I, Anhang III, kaiserlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, Vienna 1914, pp. 18581-18582.

⁴⁰⁵ “Was die Studierenden an der theologischen Fakultät anbelangt, welche im Seminartrakte der erzbischöflichen Residenz unterbracht sind, so gehören dieselben mit nur sehr geringer Ausnahme der rumänischen Nationalität an und befinden sich nur einige Ruthenen unter ihnen, weil der gegenwärtige Erzbischof und sein Consistorium vorwiegend das rumänische Element protegirt. Ihre Umgangssprache ist zumeist die rumänische, weil es der Erzbischof nicht gerne sieht, wenn sie eine andere Sprache sprechen”. *Bericht des Landespräsidenten an den Minister für Cultus und Unterricht*, 482 Pr., Czernowitz, 27 March 1889/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MCĬ, XCIII/9.

and in school... therefore more than ninety-seven percent of the priests of Romanian nationality working in Ruthenian communities met the language requirements'. Hohenlohe added that he acknowledged the existing shortage of Ruthenian native speakers in the clergy and assured that measures were being taken to guarantee a larger number of Ruthenian-speaking seminarists.⁴⁰⁶ In 1907, his successor Regner-Bleyleben wrote to the Ministry for Religion and Education that in all mixed-language communities in the crownland the priests were Romanian-speaking, but that with few exceptions all parishioners were bilingual. Both mass and sermon were held in Romanian, while 'the parishioners mostly agreed with this practice and did not want changes in this respect' and 'objections were raised almost exclusively by nationally conscious elements from outside'.⁴⁰⁷ The 'Orthodox Romanian priest' who responded to Young-Ruthenian assertions concerning the Orthodox Church implied that adjustment came from the local clergy rather than from his flock:

It is completely incorrect that priests belonging to the Romanian nationality and deployed in Ruthenian communities were tendentious Romanisators of the Ruthenian people. Although of Romanian descent, as a result of their long stay among Ruthenians they are so mild in national respect that they can only nominally and never nationally be reckoned among the Romanians. Quite a few might just as well be seen as Ruthenians because of their disposition and attitude, especially since their command of Ruthenian is at least as good that of Romanian language, indeed sometimes even better.

According to the author, there were also Ruthenian priests stationed in Romanian-language communities. Apparently, their poor command of Romanian was sometimes the butt of local jokes, but the author refrained from providing concrete examples.⁴⁰⁸

In January 1907, the Bukovinian Regional Diet and Metropolitan Repta received a complaint from Michailo Mandryk and others, insisting that the parish in Molodia had been taken over by a fanatic Romanian, Ioan Ianovici, who was said not to master Ruthenian and to perform all his duties in Romanian. Mandryk requested that the priest alternate languages on a weekly basis. Yet, according to the metropolitan, Ianovici already preached and prayed in Ruthenian and national tensions would have only aggravated if the existing situation had changed even more in favour of the Ruthenian language. The Archpriest of Czahor informed the Metropolis that the complaints against Ianovici had in no way been a collective Ruthenian initiative, but an individual action by 'chauvinist' schoolteacher Jakubowski.⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁶ *Aus dem Bukowiner Landtage*, Czernowitzer Zeitung, 4, 06.01.1904, p. 1.

⁴⁰⁷ "Die Pfarrlinge sind aber mit dieser Geflogenheit (...) meistens einverstanden und wird von denselben eine Aenderung in dieser Hinsicht nicht gewünscht. Ein Widerspruch dagegen wird fast nur von Seiten aussenstehender national bewusster Elemente erhoben". Landespräsident, *Bericht an das k.k. Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht*, Zl. 2419 Präz, 26 June 1907, p. 9/ ANR, Fond 'Guvenământul Bucovinei', MCÎ, CXXIII/10.

⁴⁰⁸ N.N., *Die gr.-or. Kirchenfrage in der Bukowina und die Jungruthenen (Kritische Beleuchtung der Brochure: "Beitrag zur kirchlichen Frage in der Bukowina. Zwei zeitgemäße Artikel vom Reichsratsabgeordneten Hierotheus Pihuliak und einem gr.-or. ruthenischen Priester")*, Bukowinaer Vereinsdruckerei, Czernowitz 1906, pp. 25-26.

⁴⁰⁹ Acting Governor, *Bericht der Bukowiner k.k. Landesregierung an das Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht betreffend die Beschwerde des Michailo Mandryk und Genossen wegen Nichtgebrauches der ruthenischen*

In another case, *Narodniy Holos* published an open letter dated 5 November 1911 said to have originated from hundred inhabitants of the village of Korczestie. The village had been without a priest for quite some time and substitute priest Breaban was said to speak only Romanian. According to the plaintiffs, a letter sent to this priest returned unread with the instruction either to write in German or to provide a German translation. Furthermore, Breaban had allegedly divided his parishioners in two leagues, the ‘Orthodox’ or ‘Vlachs’ and the ‘nationally conscious’ Ruthenians’ he was said to call ‘Uniates’. Since only the first group was provided with both Ruthenian and Romanian schools, Breaban was accused of creating a rift in Korczestie. The authors of the letter asked for a Ruthenian priest and mentioned presumed activities of a Romanian priest by the name of Bejan, who would go to Ruthenian villages to celebrate mass there and to ‘forge, together with the Romanian priests, Ruthenian Vlachs out of Ruthenians’ (*із Русинів Руских Волохів*).⁴¹⁰ The terminology and identification markers applied in the letter (Vlach, Romanian, Uniate, Rus’, Ruthenian and so on) must have been quite a challenge for the readers of *Narodniy Holos*. Predictably, the complaint was also brought to the attention of Vienna by the well-known instrument of the interpellation.⁴¹¹

In his explanatory notes, Governor Meran presented the problem as one of staffing rather than of nationalist indoctrination: the priest of Korczestie had indeed been ill, his replacement was old and frail himself, so the actual work had been left to an assistant priest who did not speak Ruthenian. However, in the meantime the Consistory had provided another substitute, one who had mastered Ruthenian, and according to the captain of the Storozynetz district, all parishioners were now satisfied.⁴¹²

The Young-Ruthenians of *Bukovyna* might have grumbled that it was outrageous that Ruthenians had to listen to Romanian sermons while there was no village where Romanians had to listen to Ruthenian,⁴¹³ but they were contradicted by one of their own: Daszkiewicz provided his audience with several illustrative examples of the opposite, showing how Romanian-language priests sometimes struggled with Ruthenian, mixing genders, mixing in Romanian words and making a hash of idiomatic expressions.⁴¹⁴ All in all, priests seem to

Sprache bei gottesdienstlichen Funktionen in der gr. or. Pfarre in Molodia, Z. 30989, 14 September 1908/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MCÎ CXXXIII/1.

⁴¹⁰ *Отверте письмо...*, Народный голос, 10.11.1911, pp. 1-3.

⁴¹¹ Haus der Abgeordneten, *Interpellation des Abg. Spenuł und Genossen an Seine Exzellenz den Herrn Minister für Kultus und Unterricht Dr. Max Ritter Hussarek v. Heinlein*, 1911-1914/ 21st Session, Anhang III, 956/I, kaiserlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, Vienna, 14 November 1911, pp. 5270-5271.

⁴¹² “Laut Berichtes der k.k. Bezirkshauptmannschaft in Storozynetz vom 7. März 1912, Zl. 84/A.V. erscheinen die gr. or. Glaubensgenossen von Korczestie - und zwar auch die ruthenischen - mit der Zuweisung des Hilfspriesters Tudan zufriedengestellt und hat sich gegen denselben bisher keine Mißstimmung bemerkbar gemacht”. Governor Meran, *Bericht an Seine Exzellenz den Herrn k.k. Minister für Kultus und Unterricht in Wien*, Zl. 2428 Präz, 20 June 1912/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MCÎ CXXXIII/1.

⁴¹³ *Волоска віра*, Буковина, 05.03.1909, p. 1.

⁴¹⁴ The examples and the mistakes they contained can only be partly translated into English since many of them are gender-related (which was no problem for the original translation into German). When this is the case, it is indicated between brackets. Daszkiewicz used a Polish transliteration for Ruthenian. This is maintained here. “Wyzlizła Isus na horu i stala rykaty” (Jesus [fem] crouched on the mountain and started to bawl); “Isus szczezła i zdymydła” (Jesus [fem] carried himself off and went up in smoke); “Cy choczyty wy ces pani, kotre berete sobi za zinku?” (Do You want this [masc] lady, which [neut] You take for yourself as woman?); “Prynesy

have made an effort and even in the case of Father Bocancea from Russ-Moldavitza - one of the clerics discussed previously and accused by Pihuliak of being a Romanisator - Governor Regner-Bleyleben assured the Viennese authorities that the inculcated celebrated mass and read his sermons exclusively in Ruthenian.⁴¹⁵

According to the comments of Metropolitan Repta in relation to a Young-Ruthenian interpellation, nationalist forces had quickly gained ground in the various Bukovinian parishes. Whereas Repta had dismissed a Young-Ruthenian demonstration at his doorstep in 1903 as orchestrated by Hierotheus Pihuliak, by 1912 he assessed the situation as significantly more serious and widespread:

*National disputes and conflicts about religious issues increase on a daily basis and already degenerated in acts of violence like in the mixed parishes of Korczestie, Czahor, Kamenka, Moldovan-Banilla and many others. The population demands only priests belonging to their own nationality, as Your Excellency may have learned from the appendices to the Consistorial report in reply to the interpellation regarding the situation in the Korczestie parish submitted by Imperial Council Deputy Spenul. They motivate their demands with the claim that a priest of foreign nationality can never be as replete with benevolence towards his parishioners as a priest of the same nationality. And this approach is not limited to immediate pastors, but is also extended to district priests, vicars-general and to the archbishop. Once they belong to a different nationality, these clerical figures are regarded as opposed to national aspirations from the outset and it is even believed that they are happy if progress in the field of culture and prosperity of those entrusted but not related to them is thwarted.*⁴¹⁶

As opposed to his position in 1903, the metropolitan now seemed to regard Young-Ruthenian protests as the legitimate *vox populi* of the Bukovinian Ruthenian Orthodox. Both the Bukovinian Orthodox leadership and the Austrian authorities deemed a language harmonisation policy a prerequisite for national peace. Then again, language matters and the

caruța, budu pojichatu na îngropaciune” (Carry caruța [Rom. carriage], I shall go to îngropaciune [Rom. funeral]); “Stereze nasza konsystor prawoslawie tak szczyro, jak polowyk kuriata” (Our ([fem] Consistory protects Orthodoxy as faithfully as the vulture the cookies!), Daszkiewicz 1891, p. 64.

⁴¹⁵ “Die hl. Messe wird vom Pfarfer Bocancea ausschliesslich in der ruthenischen bzw. kirchenslavischen Sprache gelesen, die Predigt ausschliesslich ruthenisch gesprochen”. Governor Regner-Bleyleben, *Bericht an den Minister für Kultus und Unterricht*, Zl. 2577 Präis; ex 1906, Zl. 2577 Präis; ex 1906, Vienna, 11.06.1907, p. 3/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MCÎ CXXXIII/1.

⁴¹⁶ “(...) die nationalen Streitigkeiten und Kämpfe auf dem kirchlichen Gebiete nehmen täglich zu und arten bereits in Tötlichkeiten aus, wie z.B. in den gemischten Pfarrgemeinden Korczestie, Czahor, Kamenka, Moldauisch-Banilla und in vielen anderen Orten. Die Bevölkerung verlangt, wie Eure Exzellenz auch aus den Beilagen des Konsistorialberichtes zwecks Beantwortung der vom Reichsratsabgeordneten Spenul eingebrachten Interpellation betreffend die kirchlichen Zustände in der Pfarre Korczestie entnehmen können, nur solche Priester, welche derselben Nationalität angehören. - Sie motiviert ihre Forderung mit der Behauptung, dass ein Priester fremder Nationalität nie von dem Wohlwollen gegen seine Pfarrlinge erfüllt sein könne, wie ein Priester derselben Nationalität. - Und diese Anschauung wird nicht nur auf den unmittelbaren Seelsorger beschränkt, sondern auch auf den Bezirkserpriester, auf die Konsistorialräte und auf den Erzbischof ausgedehnt. - In diesen geistlichen Personen sieht man, wenn sie einer anderen Nationalität angehören, von vornherein Gegner der nationalen Bestrebungen; ja man glaubt, dass sie sich sogar freuen, wenn dem Fortschritte auf dem Gebiete der Kultur und des Wohlstandes der ihnen nicht stammverwandten Pflegebefohlenen irgendwelche Hindernisse in den Weg gelegt werden”. Repta, Vladimir Mitropolit von, Schreiben an Seine Exzellenz den Kultusminister, 3/16 March 1912/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MCÎ CXXI/3.

contentment of the Orthodox parishioners did not always have priority on the agenda of the Austrian administration: when the Governor's Office had lost patience with the Russophile activities of assistant priest Kassian Bohatyretz, Metropolitan Repta was kindly requested to isolate the culprit by displacing him from Zastavna to a 'Romanian district'.⁴¹⁷

In 1888, the Bukovinian village of Rarancze rose to prominence when a substantial number of Orthodox believers went over to the Uniate Church. Similar phenomena took place in the surrounding villages, including Ispas and Toporoutz. According to *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, Orthodox Ruthenian peasants had attempted to establish a reading hall, but had been obstructed in their efforts by the local priest. As a result, they were said to have lost faith in their Romanian priests and had demanded clerics 'belonging to their nationality, who would proclaim the Word of God to them in their own language'. The Consistory 'in all its headliness' refused to concede, even raised the sulpice fees and in this way 'did everything within its powers to ensure a success for the [Uniate] Bishop of Stanislau'.⁴¹⁸ *Bukovyna* made a clear distinction between the behaviour of the virtuous reading hall members and that of the local Orthodox clerics. From Toporoutz, it was reported that drunken priests had left church with items clearly stolen from it while in Ispan, Father Fratzian was said to have greeted his flock in church 'with his fists'. Attempts by the Archbishop to settle matters in person in Ispas and Toporoutz had apparently failed and the converts refused to return to the Orthodox Church 'for the Consistory had offended the holiest of moral feelings of the Ruthenian peasant' (*світла консисторія кпнтя з ображених найсвятійших моральних чувств руского хлібороба*). Rumours had it that the Consistory planned to invoke the assistance of Old-Ruthenian prominent Hrihoriy Kupchanko to restore confidence, but the editors of *Bukovyna* assured that 'like the two-faced Pharisee', he would not receive a particularly warm welcome.⁴¹⁹ Meanwhile, the Orthodox Church in the villages concerned was accused of doing anything in its power to win back the apostates or at least make life as difficult for them as possible. In the cases presented to the governor, there was mention of intimidation and abuse, of forcibly collected contribution from members of the Uniate Church for the local Orthodox Church and of reluctance from Orthodox clerics to emit administrative declarations.⁴²⁰ Especially the latter was a major source of discontent, since most converts were still dependent on the Orthodox Church for duplicates of their birth certificates and other documents required for certain legal procedures. In the matter of intimidation and abuse, the only witness willing to testify against the alleged culprits was related to the claimed victim and his testimony was therefore dismissed. The allegation of extorted contributions from Uniate believers by Orthodox Church representatives could not be confirmed either. However,

⁴¹⁷ "Ich beehre mich daher Euer Exzellenz zu ersuchen, behufs der unbedingt erforderlichen Eindämmung der russophilen Propaganda im Zastawna'er Bezirke die Versetzung des genannten Hilfspriester in einen anderen Dienstort in einem rumänischen Bezirke verfügen und hierüber binnen 14 Tagen eine Mitteilung anher machen zu wollen". Governor Regner-Bleyleben, *An Seine des hochwürdigsten Herrn gr.or. Erzbischof und Metropolit Dr. Vladimir von Repta*, Zl. 6772 Präz, 15 December 1909/ DJAN Suceava, Fond 'Mitropolia Bucovinei', secția 14/1, dosar 56.

⁴¹⁸ *Kirchliches*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 15.04.1888, pp. 1-2.

⁴¹⁹ *Політика, а унія на Буковині*, Буковина, 01.08.1888, pp. 1-2.

⁴²⁰ Balasiewicz, Josef, *Appeal to Governor by a Greek-Catholic priest concerning the crisis in Rarancze*, Bojan, 24 March 1889/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 5311.

the district captain charged with the investigation into the reported grievances endorsed the complaints against priest Tarnawski from Rarancze, who was said to demand a conversion back to Orthodoxy before he would supply copies of register entries to Uniate converts.⁴²¹ Although its extent remains unclear, it is thus safe to say that there was pressure from the Orthodox Church to win back its strayed flock.

Years later, in 1912, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* opined that the Rarancze conversions had been a conscious first step by Ruthenian nationalists to enhance their influence; their clearly subordinate position in the Bukovinian Orthodox Church had seemingly rendered futile further attempts to solidify their grip within Orthodox hierarchy and therefore they had concluded they stood a better chance in the Uniate Church. The Orthodox Consistory, still under the Romanian nationalist control of Metropolitan Morariu-Andrievici, had thought it best to counter the conversions with all means.⁴²² Ironically, a massive outflow of Ruthenian speakers out of the Bukovinian Orthodox Church would have served later Romanian nationalists rather well once they saw themselves confronted with their skilful Ruthenian adversaries in the power struggle over supremacy in the Orthodox Church.

The same argument was used by the Young-Ruthenians themselves, who ridiculed 'Romanisation policies', since these would only chase Orthodox (Ruthenian) believers away from the Church because they 'wanted to hear a comprehensible Slavic word'.⁴²³ *Bukowinaer Post* laid the blame firmly on the Young-Ruthenians, who 'only brought discord into the peaceful sphere of the Church and even propagated apostasy if the Church refused to be their political accomplice'.⁴²⁴ When on one occasion Metropolitan Repta spoke with dissatisfied parishioners who threatened to convert to the Uniate Church if their priest was not transferred immediately, he reportedly replied:

I regret that you are so weak in the belief of your fathers that you want to convert to another faith because of a triviality. Still, if you are this determined, you can go right ahead, since the

⁴²¹ "Anbelangend die gegen den gr.ort. Pfarrer Theodor Tarnawski erhoben Anschuldigung, wienach derselbe die gr.kath. Pfarrlinge gelegentlich ihrer Petita um Ausfolgung der Familienauskünfte zum Rückübertritte zum gr.ort. Glauben auffordert, diese sogar zur Bedingung für die Ausfolgung der gedachten Familienauskünfte macht, erlaube ich mir ergebendst zu berichten, daß die Eingangsbezogen Beschwerde bezüglich dieses Beschwerdepunktes begründet ist, indem alle diesfalls einvernommenen Zeugen gegen den obgenannten Pfarrer betreffend deponirten, der Beschuldigte selbst diese Depositionen durch Seine Rechtfertigung keineswegs zu entkräften vermochte". *District captain's report to the Governor's Office regarding the alleged oppression of Greek-Catholics in Rarancze*, 2 May 1889/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 5311.

⁴²² *Die gr.-or. Kirchenfrage*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 28.03.1912, p. 1.

⁴²³ "Der priesterliche Agent der romanisatorischen Propaganda hat es endlich dahin gebracht, daß, wer vom Volke ein verständliches slawisches Wort hören will, der begibt sich nach Kimpolung in die griechisch-katholische Kirche!" Haus der Abgeordneten, *Interpellation des Abgeordneten Pihuliak und Genossen an Seine Exzellenz den Herrn Leiter des k.k. Ministeriums für Kultus und Unterricht wegen romanisatorischer Umtriebe des griechisch-orientalischen Konsistoriums in der Bukowina*, 13 December 1907, 47. Sitzung der XVIII Session/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCĬ CXXXIII/1.

⁴²⁴ *Zum Bischofseinzuge*, Bukowinaer Post, 03.05.1896, p.1.

*state laws allow anybody to choose the church of his liking and to leave his church if they do not like it. I on the other hand am prohibited by law to do what you ask.*⁴²⁵

It is doubtful, as the scene depicted above indicates, that conversions were a matter of national or linguistic ambitions. More often, they seem to have had a more practical background. It is equally disputable that the leadership of the Bukovinian Orthodox Church was as indifferent as the words attributed to Metropolitan Repta suggest. An earlier conversion affair sheds some light on these circumstances, since the case of the Rarancze conversions was not the first incident of its kind.

Thirty years before, in 1858, similar steps had been taken by villagers from nearby Bojan. From Czernowitz, the marshal had reported that Bojan's Orthodox parishioners were outraged to such extent by the burden of the suplice fees imposed on them by Orthodox priest Simon Andruckowicz that they demanded his transfer or else they would convert to the Uniate Church. However, Andruckowicz remained, whereupon Uniate priest Chlebowicki from Sadagora traveled to Bojan to register the dissatisfied in the Uniate Church without having informed their Orthodox priest as he was obliged to do. The Orthodox Consistory in turn lodged a complaint with the local authorities, which eventually resulted in Andruckowicz to be lifted from his duties after having been ordered to compensate the parishioners he had wrongfully overburdened. In the following official census, all formerly converted once again registered as Orthodox. As a countermove, the Lemberg Uniate Bishopric sent a delegate to duly consign the Uniate converts, to urge them to remain faithful to the Uniate Church and to ensure them they were protected by the local Austrian authorities if necessary. Soon thereafter, Orthodox Archimandrite Bendella preached in Bojan, assuring his audience that one could not be forced to stay loyal to the Uniates and that the oath they had taken was void. This overt bickering between the competing Churches led to general unrest and resulted in a mission to Vienna consisting of Bishop Hacman and a number of Bukovinian Orthodox noblemen in order to complain about the goings-on.⁴²⁶ Yet, Emperor Franz Joseph proved to be less than declined to curb Uniate activities: so far, Bukovinian Orthodox nobility had staunchly opposed any attempt by Vienna to enhance the dire position of Bukovinian peasants, which, logically, would reduce the power of large landowners. If peasants had discovered the powerful tool of religious conversion in order to improve their situation, the Emperor was not going to take this away from them.⁴²⁷

In spite of the considerable ground nationalists had gained over the years, close to the final stages of the nationalist struggles within the Bukovinian Orthodox Church, the Austrian

⁴²⁵ "Es tut mir leid, daß ihr so schwach in euerem väterlichen Glauben seid, daß ihr wegen einer Kleinigkeit zu einem anderen Glauben übertreten wollt. Seid ihr dazu aber entschlossen, so könnt ihr es freilich tun, denn die Staatsgesetze gestatten einem jeden, sich jene Kirche zu wählen, die ihm gefällt, und seine Kirche zu verlassen, wenn sie ihm nicht gefällt. Mir aber verbieten die Gesetze das zu tun, was ihr verlangt". N.N., *Die gr.-or. Kirchenfrage in der Bukowina und die Jungruthenen (Kritische Beleuchtung der Brochure: "Beitrag zur kirchlichen Frage in der Bukowina. Zwei zeitgemäße Artikel vom Reichsratabgeordneten Hierotheus Pihuliak und einem gr.-or. ruthenischen Priester")*, Bukowinaer Vereinsdruckerei, Czernowitz 1906, pp. 49-50.

⁴²⁶ Ministerium des Innern/ 4. Gendarmerie-Regiment, *Notiz 1379 Pr. II*, Vienna 1858/ ANR, Fond

'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MI, mapa 79/1.

⁴²⁷Turczynski 1993, p. 93.

authorities observed no shift in the rationale behind conversions compared to that of decades earlier. In 1913, Governor Meran noted that ‘conversions from one church to another usually occur for personal or physical reasons whereby a certain conservative sense and indolence play a more prominent role than only modestly existent religious consciousness’.⁴²⁸

⁴²⁸ “Uebertritte von einer Kirche zur anderen erfolgen zumeist aus persönlichen oder materiellen Gründen, wobei ein gewisser konservativer Sinn, eine gewisse Indolenz weit mehr als das im geringen Masse vorhandene konfessionelle Bewußtsein auch die erwähnten Motive nur verhältnismäßig selten zur Geltung kommen läßt”. Governor Meran, *file ‘unerledigte Präz. Akten’* no. Zl. 2361 Präz, 17 August 1913, p. 15/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MCÎ CXXIII/11.

3.1 Cultural Claims

In the debate on nationalities, their rights, accomplishments and influence, Bukovinians with roots in the German linguistic and cultural realm as well as those identifying with this realm took a position profoundly different from those discussed before. While Romanian and Ruthenian activists stressed their claims of 'indigeneity' once they mobilised their nationalisms in the political arena, in spite of how challenging it sometimes was to substantiate these claims, the majority of Jewish and non-Jewish German speakers had clearly entered the scene after – and because of – the Austrian occupation of the territory. The colonial aspect of their presence had positive connotations in the interpretation by Austrian and other pro-Habsburg sources of 'the civilising mission of German culture', but was despised by Romanian and Ruthenian nationalists and later by their own like-minded historians who explained the phenomenon in terms of 'foreign occupation' and its agents therefore as 'foreigners' or 'strangers'. When the competition between the Romanian and Ruthenian brands of nationalism in Bukovina intensified, the local German-language press depicted Jewish-German political and cultural forces as a buffer (*Isolierschichte*) between the two and deemed 'a neutral Jewish-German position' beneficial to all parties involved.⁴²⁹ Predictably, Ruthenian and Romanian factions questioned this neutrality. Ion Nistor accused Germans and Jews 'of having befriended the Ruthenians in order to wring political power from the hands of the Romanians'.⁴³⁰ However, competition was not exclusively a matter between Romanian and Ruthenian nationalists. 'Jewish-German forces' were not the monolith some periodicals liked to see in them, and once nationalism caused a rift in the representatives of German culture in Bukovina, it became a matter of political survival for Jewish and German nationalists to side with either of the 'indigenous' nationalist forces.

3.2 German-speaking Settlers

Small numbers of German speakers, often Jews, have reportedly lived in what was to become Bukovina from the fourteenth century onward. Jews were known to be native to Suczawa and Sereth as early as the fourteenth and fifteenth century,⁴³¹ and were presumed either, as Kassner claims, to have arrived from Palestine during the first century A.D. or to have come from the neighbouring areas in more recent times.⁴³² According to Wagner, German soldiers in the Austrian army introduced Germanity as a cultural factor 'in the Old-Austrian spirit',⁴³³ but the real influx of immigrants of mainly the southwestern German regions was the direct result of the Austrian policy of settling (*Peuplierung*). The Josephinist patents of 17

⁴²⁹ *Streiflichter – I*, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 11.06.1905, p. 1; *Fehlschritte*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 30.03.1906, p. 1.

⁴³⁰ Nistor 1915, p. 153.

⁴³¹ Kozak, Cornel and Fischer, Eduard, *Heimatskunde der Bukowina zum Gebrauche für Schulen und zum Selbstunterricht*, Pardini, Czernowitz 1900, pp. 45-46.

⁴³² Kassner 1917, pp. 8-11.

⁴³³ 'das Deutschtum im altösterreichischen Sinn', Wagner 1996, p. 36.

September 1781 had granted immigrants religious and other advantages.⁴³⁴ This policy was initially focused primarily on Galicia, but its unexpected success caused significant delays and land scarcity.⁴³⁵ Lemberg authorities were overwhelmed and undercapacitated and thus proposed to engage Bukovina as a 'pressure valve' for the surplus. Emperor Joseph II supported this solution,⁴³⁶ and although the military administration in Bukovina had proposed a colonisation policy in the first place, opinions on which groups were to be encouraged diverged in Vienna and Czernowitz.

Commander Enzenberg considered German-speaking settlers far too expensive and too dependent on state support: while regional settlers used to arrive with their personal belongings and basically took care of their personal needs, German-speaking immigrants expected and received considerable support and benefits from the state. Enzenberg feared that this kind of assistance would attract only the poor and destitute. The additional circumstance that a considerable number of candidates had spent their personal resources while waiting for proper allocation in Galicia had caused them to rely on state support entirely.⁴³⁷ In the end, Joseph II's high expectations of the 'civilising effect' of German immigration prevailed.⁴³⁸

State-organised colonisation proved to be a tiresome enterprise. Local immigrants remained loyal to their nomadic traditions and moved on once harvests failed, as was the case in 1785. Modest Magyar and Lippovan colonies were established, but newcomers from the German lands joined existing settlements such as Czernowitz, Rosch, Zuczka, Molodia and Mitoka-Dragomirna instead⁴³⁹ and so the Emperor's vision of a string of German colonies did not materialise.⁴⁴⁰ Balthasar Hacquet, who traveled around Bukovina shortly after the Habsburg occupation, reported that the first German settlers were twenty-two beggar families from the Banat region, who unsuccessfully settled close to Suczawa.⁴⁴¹ The presence of these families also indicated that not all German-speaking immigrants arrived directly from the German lands. Still, they were commonly known to Vienna as 'Bukovinian Swabians' (*Bukowiner Schwaben*), no matter whether they originated from the Palatinate, Hessen, Baden, Württemberg or Franconia.⁴⁴² By 1814, Baron Meidinger reported from Bukovina:

⁴³⁴ Scharr, Kurt, *Erfolg oder Misserfolg? Die Durchsetzung des modernen Territorialstaates am Beispiel des Ansiedlungswesens in der Bukowina von 1774-1826*, in: Maner, Hans-Christian (ed.), *Grenzregionen der Habsburgermonarchie im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert : ihre Bedeutung und Funktion aus der Perspektive Wiens* (Mainzer Beiträge zur Geschichte Osteuropas), Lit, Münster 2005, 51-87, p. 56.

⁴³⁵ Ibidem, p. 60.

⁴³⁶ Scharr 2010, pp. 186-187.

⁴³⁷ Scharr 2005, pp. 61-63.

⁴³⁸ Kaindl, Raimund Friedrich, *Das Ansiedlungswesen in der Bukowina seit der Besitzergreifung durch Österreich (Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte, Litteratur und Sprache Österreichs und seiner Kronländer vol. 8)*, Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitätsbuchhandlung, Innsbruck 1902, p. 11.

⁴³⁹ Ibid., p. 16.

⁴⁴⁰ Kapri 1974, p. 106.

⁴⁴¹ Bidermann 1875, p. 78.

⁴⁴² Kipper, Christian, *Die deutsche Minderheitenproblematik in Rumänien - Der Sonderweg der Bukowinadeutschen*, Der Südostdeutsche, München/Augsburg 1991, p. 8.

*Only very few Germans are present, and it is exactly these people who might make the country prosperous. The biggest mistake with such settlements is that most people who move to the area are either beggars or scallywags who did not get ahead in their native land. They may indeed contribute to a population increase, but not to the culture of the territory. Such colonists cost the government much while the area benefits from them little or not at all.*⁴⁴³

This description echoed the caveat of military commander Enzenberg, who had warned his superiors for 'destitute Germans who had mostly fled their homeland because of debauchery' and that of Hacquet, who depicted the German colonists as 'crippled and badly shaped' in Galicia and Bukovina alike.⁴⁴⁴ Summarily, state-ordered colonisation in Bukovina proceeded sluggishly and as far as German-speaking colonists were concerned, their spread was scattered and haphazard. By 1844, Kohl reported that German immigrants were mainly found in the cities and towns where they worked as merchants and mechanics.⁴⁴⁵ The tiresome colonisation process had certainly not satisfied the Imperial Court and once Bukovina was united with Galicia, settling policies were abandoned altogether.⁴⁴⁶

Images of German Colonists

Predictably, reported tensions between the newcomers and the long-time residents were a godsend for Romanian nationalist authors who intended to glorify the peaceful pre-colonial epoch. Iacobescu mentioned hostile reactions when immigrants infringed customary rights⁴⁴⁷ and Nistor recounted how German settlers caused outrage in Suczawa when they used bricks from demolished Orthodox churches to build houses for themselves. He also mentioned an incident in Satulmare near Radautz (which is likely to be the same referred to by Iacobescu) caused by settlers who had occupied land.⁴⁴⁸ Once again, a more detailed account was provided by Balthasar Hacquet:

Of course, the old inhabitants are not very happy with all these new plantations, since they can no longer let their fields lie fallow, and since these newcomers also too often arrogate to themselves what is not for them. This way I overheard people complain before the imperial commissioner one day about these settlers, whose number is not large at all, claiming that the latter had not only plundered their small gardens, but had also dared to infringe and curtail their ancient rights in different ways. The affronted have been satisfied, and the perturbators were told in private that their lives were in constant danger, for once they would be at odds with the Wallachians or Moldavians they may rest assured that even the unborn child would

⁴⁴³ Meidinger, K. Freyh. v., *Einige statistische und naturhistorische Bemerkungen über die Bukowina*, in: *Vaterländische Blätter*, 16 April 1814, 31, 181-184, p. 183.

⁴⁴⁴ Enzenberg in 1783 and Hacquet (Hacquet, Balthasar, *Neueste physikalisch-politische Reisen in den Jahren 1788 & 1789 dch. dacischen und sarmatischen od. nördlichen Karpathen*, Nuremberg 1790-1796, p. 192) as quoted by Scharr 2010, p. 190.

⁴⁴⁵ Kohl 1844, p. 426.

⁴⁴⁶ Scharr 2005, pp. 64-65.

⁴⁴⁷ Iacobescu 1991, p. 310.

⁴⁴⁸ Nistor 1991, pp. 22-23.

*not be spared and damages would not be remedied, because these people escape investigation and punishment all at once and may suddenly emigrate.*⁴⁴⁹

This unfavourable depiction of the 'savage, violent and nomadic' (Romanian-speaking) residents might explain that this more explicit source is not quoted by Romanian nationalist authors.

German colonists in Bukovina were widely respected for their orderliness. German ethno-nationalist Julius Platter maintained they could be recognised immediately, not so much by their features as by their decent presentation.⁴⁵⁰ Even Romanian nationalists, who reproached the Germans from the village of Illischestie for their alleged bargain purchase of land from the local population, admitted that the 'Swabians' were very talented and prosperous farmers.⁴⁵¹ Though they were said to stick together, they were also said to uphold the differences from the regions they came from originally.⁴⁵² The colonists showed little interest in social mobility and city life and, in spite of the bleak economic situation, were not inclined to leave their villages.⁴⁵³ Habsburg-era authors distinguished between what they considered 'real Germans' - the countryside colonists - and city dwellers with German as their mother tongue: The latter were said to be Jews, or Galicians who spoke more often Polish or French at home than German.⁴⁵⁴ Although Radautz was characterised as an exception and a real 'German town' by both Mischler and the British Foreign Office,⁴⁵⁵ Ion Sbiera in his memoirs insisted that the town had been 'completely Romanian' when he went to school there in 1845: Even Jews and Germans were said to communicate in Romanian.⁴⁵⁶

Conflicting views of the German presence in Habsburg Bukovina are not limited to the character of a town like Radautz. In her memoirs, Gudrun Windisch from the village of Molodia recounted that German colonists often had only limited contact with their Romanian- and Ruthenian-speaking workers and that weddings and funerals were only attended according to ethnicity.⁴⁵⁷ Adolf Katzenbeisser, who was born in Czudyn, confirmed that in his village Germans kept their distance from Romanian-speaking villagers and from Jews, but also maintained that marriages between members of these different groups were no exception.⁴⁵⁸ Philipp Menczel observed that German and Romanian speaking communities easily merged and that their settlements 'contrasted favourably' with those consisting purely of Romanian speakers and even more with those exclusively inhabited by Ruthenian speakers.

⁴⁴⁹ Hacquet as quoted in Wagner 1985, p. 179.

⁴⁵⁰ Platter 1878, p. 41.

⁴⁵¹ *Din Ilișești*, Apărarea Națională, 95, 22.12.1907, p. 5.

⁴⁵² Franzos 1901, p. 262.

⁴⁵³ Mischler 1893, p. 5.

⁴⁵⁴ See Mischler 1893, p. 5; Platter 1878, p. 41.

⁴⁵⁵ Mischler 1893, p. 9; British Foreign Office, *Bukovina Handbook prepared under the direction of the Historical Section of the British Foreign Office*, London 1919/ Fox, David (ed) Yizkor book Project - www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/bukovina/Bukovina.html - visited 11 January 2011.

⁴⁵⁶ Sbiera 1899, p. 92.

⁴⁵⁷ Windisch, Gudrun, *Molodia - Chronik eines Dorfes in der Bukowina*, Gudrun Windisch & Landsmannschaft der Buchenlanddeutschen, Augsburg 2006, p. 93.

⁴⁵⁸ Katzenbeisser 1993, p. 33.

Moreover, Menczel stated that in contrast to mixed Romanian-German speaking communities there were no Ruthenian-German speaking localities.⁴⁵⁹ Ion Nistor's ethnographic map of Bukovina,⁴⁶⁰ based on the - admittedly inadequate - 1910 census results, confirms this assessment.

Villagers' accounts in Romanian were generally positive about the interaction with German speakers. In Solka, Orthodox inhabitants praised forester Lugert, who had immaculately cleaned up the area around their church in spite of the fact that he was 'of another nation and denomination' (*de altă nație și lege*).⁴⁶¹ Dragoș Luchian from Alt-Fratautz recalled how Romanian and German speakers had lived peacefully together in the village for 150 years, recognising each other's talents. Mixed marriages were said to have been common and an elderly German woman had allegedly provided herbal medicine free of charge to both German and Romanian speakers. Another German had been known throughout the Radautz for his treatment of bone fractures and dislocations and later passed on these skills to his son.⁴⁶² In his account of the Magyar colonies of Bukovina, Tibor Csupor mentioned that the Magyars (Szeklers) had learnt about farming from the Germans and that 'communication with the Germans had been easy anyway because of the proximity of their villages, their shared Catholic religion - with its shared holidays - and their general view on things'.⁴⁶³ According to Adolf Katzenbeisser, in spite of confessional contradictions between Germans and Lippovans (Russian Old-Believers), general harmony had prevailed and in some communities both groups had even shared one chapel.⁴⁶⁴ Gudrun Windisch remembered how German women had mostly refrained from taking part in Romanian dances and had been mocked by their peers for dancing with a 'Vlach', but also underlined that well into the 1930s, occasional village brawls had never had the character of 'Germans vs. Romanians'.⁴⁶⁵

Luchian from Alt-Fratautz testified that 'German arrogance' had sometimes led to tensions.⁴⁶⁶ A principal cause of friction had been the Bukovinian German speakers' lack of knowledge of the local languages, although the picture painted by Olaru and Purici - who sustained that the Bukovinian Germans had not mastered any local languages while the other nationalities had all known German to a certain extent - is overdrawn.⁴⁶⁷ Still, Oscar Jászi's observation of the situation in the Czech lands, where German arrogance and consecutive refusal to learn the languages of their 'servants and lackeys' resulted in monolingualism, applies to some extent

⁴⁵⁹ Menczel 1932, p. 34. Menczel most likely referred to more or less exclusive, bilingual communities. As a previous example from the village of Hliboka illustrates, there were obviously settlements in which both German and Ruthenian speakers formed part of a larger, multilingual community.

⁴⁶⁰ *Harta etnografică a Bucovinei întocmită pe temeiul recensământului oficial din 1910, de istoricul I. Nistor*, Göbl-Rasidescu, Bucharest 1910.

⁴⁶¹ Străinul, *O faptă deamănă de laudă din Solca*, *Apărarea Națională*, 55, 04.07.1907, p. 3.

⁴⁶² Luchian, Dragoș, *Un sat de pe Valea Sucevei – Frătăuții-Vechi*, Editura Litera, Bucharest 1986, pp 81-81 and p. 135.

⁴⁶³ Csupor 1987, p. 85.

⁴⁶⁴ Katzenbeisser 1993, p. 34.

⁴⁶⁵ Windisch 2006, p. 97.

⁴⁶⁶ Luchian pp. 81-82.

⁴⁶⁷ Olaru and Purici 2002, p. 372.

to Habsburg Bukovina as well.⁴⁶⁸ Since Bukovinians were required to have a command of the crownland's three official languages in order to be employed by the local authorities, German-language Bukovinians had not done themselves a favour with their 'German-only' attitude. *Bukowinaer Post* commented that if government positions were either reserved for German-language non-Bukovinians or multi-lingual Bukovinians, German-language Bukovinians would not stand a chance.⁴⁶⁹

3.3 German Culture

In spite of the derogatory terminology devoted to German settlers in early reports, they were soon considered 'the yeast that brought growth and life to the formerly delapidated and completely uncultivated area', welcomed by a 'destitute and illiterate population all too willing to be led and taught by them'.⁴⁷⁰ German culture spread fast and was the connecting link between Vienna and Czernowitz - and many other cities in the Habsburg Empire. German-speaking immigrants, found mainly among soldiers, civil servants and teachers, proudly regarded themselves as 'vehicles of civilisation'.⁴⁷¹ Possibilities for social climbing in Bukovina were decided by one's degree of access to German culture. A considerable number of Jewish Bukovinians, Karl Emil Franzos being the most prominent, considered themselves 'cultural Germans'.⁴⁷²

When addressing Germanity in Bukovina, a clear distinction between German culture and German ethno-nationalism should be made. When nationalist voices became louder, the difference between the two quickly faded. *Bukowinaer Rundschau* emphasised in 1891 that the need for culture in the newly occupied territory had been obvious:

*We have not been Germanised, but German culture was inoculated into us to protect us against our uncultivated environment and this German culture is now a precious and inalienable peculiarity of Bukovina. We owe the rapid intellectual blossoming of our province to it, and today it weaves the intellectual threads that tie us to the civilised West, reaching over Galicia. But we are not in the least inclined to say that Bukovina belongs to the Germans.*⁴⁷³

There was indeed an affinity with the Habsburg-style German *Hochkultur* which was unrelated to German nationalism. Even if the Viennese authorities proclaimed a nationally neutral system of redistribution and welfare, their own identity reflected a set of social values which could not be kept out of the social sphere.⁴⁷⁴ More, a beneficial influence of German culture was actively pursued. Before nationalism became a political force in Bukovina,

⁴⁶⁸ Jászi 1929, p. 290.

⁴⁶⁹ Stekel, Moritz *Die Lehren aus dem Streiten*, *Bukowinaer Post*, 636, 09.01.1898.

⁴⁷⁰ Zach 1917, p. 202.

⁴⁷¹ Hofbauer and Viorel 1997, p. 35.

⁴⁷² Olaru 1997, pp. 400-401.

⁴⁷³ *Die wahren Fremdlinge*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 24.05.1891, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁷⁴ cf. Yael Tamir as quoted by Bishai, Linda S., *Forgetting Ourselves - Secession and the (Im)possibility of Territorial Identity*, Lexington Books, Lanham 2004, p. 86.

German culture - including the language - was not only dominant, it was the 'taken-for-granted' culture and, in the terminology of Brubaker, 'masked':⁴⁷⁵ its position and presence were obvious and thus not an endangered species eligible to fuel German nationalism. German speakers in Bukovina generally put the accent elsewhere. In the words of Christopher and Hugh Seton-Watson: "Many, perhaps most, German-speaking citizens of the monarchy did not consider themselves part of a German nation at all. They belonged to the German cultural world and were proud of it, but their political loyalty was given not to the German nation but to the monarchy and to its dynasty as the symbol of the monarchy: they were *kaisertreu*".⁴⁷⁶ This way, Austrian endeavours to assimilate Bukovinian Jews were not aimed at assimilating them into the ethnic Germans of Bukovina, but into the greater German cultural sphere (*Kulturnation*).⁴⁷⁷ Later, German nationalists in Bukovina refused to distinguish the two phenomena and regarded them as subsequent phases of one single process. They had seen the 'German mission' as twofold from the start, aimed both at bringing civilisation to the East and at protecting Germanity. As long as nationalism and those representing it had not yet spread equally among other groups, the first task had been easy. The centralist government had epitomised Germanity, but this was no longer self-evident. When German cultural superiority had ceased to be a given and German interference was met with hostility, German nationalists concluded that the only way to protect what they considered to be rightfully theirs was national autonomy (*völkische Selbstverwaltung*). They strongly supported the register system (the Bukovinian Compromise) which was introduced in the Bukovinian regional diet in 1911 and they encouraged its introduction on municipal and state levels.⁴⁷⁸

As such, German nationalists broke the mould of 'German mediation', which had become a truism in its pervasiveness and a key element of the 'Bukovinian myth'. The mediation element was generally directed at competing Romanian and Ruthenian factions and was so commonly referred to that in its mission statement, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* specifically mentioned its aspired 'mediating role, moderate and with German as the language of peace between two rival nationalities'.⁴⁷⁹ This hardly distinguished the periodical from its predecessors or competitors. When *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* tried to explain the difference between Galician and Bukovinian Ruthenian nationalism, it claimed that Ruthenian nationalists in Bukovina were more moderate because the use of German worked as a buffer between the competing forces, while in Galicia they were at the mercy of not only political, but also linguistic Polish dominance.⁴⁸⁰ This view was similar to the observations of Leon Kellner in the Viennese *Neue Freie Presse*. Kellner was a Galician-born Zionist university

⁴⁷⁵ Brubaker et al. 2006, p. 19.

⁴⁷⁶ Seton-Watson, Hugh and Christopher, *The making of a new Europe: R.W. Seton-Watson and the last years of Austria-Hungary*, Methuen, London 1981, p. 26.

⁴⁷⁷ Ciuciura, Theodore B. with Nahrebecky, Roman, *The Role of German Language and German Community in the Multi-Lingual Austrian Kronland of Bukovina (1775-1918)*, in: *Jahrbuch der Ukrainekunde*, 1982, 19, 88-101, p. 91.

⁴⁷⁸ Landwehr, Edwin von, *Die deutschvölkische Politik im Buchenlande*, Bukowinaer Nachrichten, 07.06.1914, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁷⁹ *Ein Jahr*, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 31.01.1904, p. 1.

⁴⁸⁰ *Galizische und Bukowiner Ruthenen*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 24.06.1909, p. 1.

professor who had come from Vienna to teach at Franz-Joseph University and his Bukovina-related contributions for *Neue Freie Presse* were reprinted in *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* 'since they reduced the prevailing prejudices':

*Romanian and Ruthenian in the flanks, German in the middle - Czernowitzers have conciliated themselves with it and have no cause to regret the centre position granted to the Germans. Not only Romanians and Slavs are comfortable with German culture, which in the East is synonymous with Austrian culture and to which Bukovina owes so much; all heterogeneous elements in the population of the aspiring province willingly join forces when German work ethic and German community spirit serve as the core of crystal formation.*⁴⁸¹

Karl-Emil Franzos set a lasting tone for the nostalgia which was to dominate pro-German historiography when he maintained that peace in Bukovina was held by the spirit of culture, 'or, in this case, Germanity'.⁴⁸² Within the boundaries of the Empire, only Bukovina had fulfilled Joseph II's dream of a state united by a common education: not a German nation state, but a German culture state.⁴⁸³ As mentioned in relation to the Bukovinian myth, Kapri had enthused in the post-Habsburg period that there had been 'only brothers in this land, older and younger, so to speak, with Germanity as *primus inter pares*'.⁴⁸⁴

Towards the end of the century, when political nationalism was given increasing prominence, opponents no longer distinguished German cultural influence from German nationalism. Whereas in 1890 Moritz Stekel had marveled at the absence of German associations in a city so obviously German-oriented as Czernowitz,⁴⁸⁵ by 1911 *Bukowinaer Gebirgs-Journal* warned German Bukovinians that 'the struggle of all nations against the Germans in Bukovina required men of proven grit and extensive knowledge' were they to stand a chance in the regional diet elections.⁴⁸⁶ Bukovinian German nationalism was a product of growing Romanian and Ruthenian nationalism rather than the result of an autonomous emancipation process. As long as German cultural dominance was taken for granted, such nationalism had seemed redundant.

The main accusation Habsburg authorities, and in the course of history, Bukovinian German nationalists faced was that of pursuing an active policy of 'Germanisation'. At first, and understandably, in the eyes of Bukovina's early visitor from Bremen, Johann Georg Kohl, 'Germanisation' had a positive ring when he had reported in relation to the local aristocracy that 'the influence of Vienna had at last begun to Germanise them a little', that they 'learned French and German, called themselves *Baron* and *Graf*, and dressed in the German fashion'.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸¹ Kellner, Leon, *Ein Friedensbruch?* Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 03.08.1905, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁸² '...die Kultur, oder was hier daselbe sagen will, das Deutschtum'. Franzos 1901, pp. 268-269.

⁴⁸³ Ibid., p. 270.

⁴⁸⁴ Kapri 1974, p. 124.

⁴⁸⁵ Stekel, M., *Czernowitzer Gesellschaft – III*, Bukowinaer Rundschau 1890, p. 1.

⁴⁸⁶ *Nationale Organisationen*, Bukowinaer Gebirgs-Journal, 04.01.1911, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁸⁷ Kohl 1844, p. 426.

In 1902, *Bukowinaer Journal* with its Romanian nationalist orientation downplayed the risk of German influence in relation to its own project, but simultaneously defined ‘Germanisation’ as a direct competitor of Romanian nationalism:

*The Romanians, who were always well-disposed towards the Germans, do not fear Germanisation, even though the German language is now prevalent in all offices which in turn are occupied by German officers. They [Romanians - HFD] readily acknowledge the cultural importance of the German language as a mediation language and know very well that the Germans do not aim for Germanisation, in other words denationalisation of the Romanians.*⁴⁸⁸

Post-Habsburg Romanian and Soviet/Ukrainian sources did not waste time on such subtleties and stated that the character of the administration was German and its goal had been Germanisation *tout court*.⁴⁸⁹

Within the context of Habsburg Bukovina, the Franz-Joseph University was seen by many as the most powerful symbol of Germanisation. When in 1868 regional Diet deputy Pompe unsuccessfully pleaded for the establishment of a law academy in Bukovina (the university was only established in 1875), he declared to do so because of the moral and linguistic ineptitude of Lemberg University: Pompe deemed Galician politics subversive and the planned languages of tuition - Polish and Ruthenian - inaccessible to most Bukovinians. He hastened to add that ‘he did not want to Polonise or Germanise Bukovina, but wanted it to have an appropriate blend and a functional combination of the German cultural element and national development’.⁴⁹⁰

Franz Joseph University dean Tomasciuc also invoked the threat of ‘Polonisation’⁴⁹¹ in a speech he held in Vienna in 1884. While he decried an alleged increase of Polish-Galician influence in Bukovina in only a few years’ time, he emphasised that during the previous hundred years of extensive German cultural influence not even one family in Bukovina had been Germanised.⁴⁹² By 1897, *Czernowitzer Presse* dismissed ‘those who had regarded the university as a mere bastion of Germanity’ as ‘just a few nationalist hotheads’ (*einige*

⁴⁸⁸ *Der neue Kurs*, Bukowinaer Journal, 22.06.1902, p. 1.

⁴⁸⁹ ‘See for instance Loghin, Constantin, *Istoria Literaturii Române din Bucovina 1775-1918 în legătură cu evoluția culturală și politică*, Editura Alexandru cel Bun, Cernăuți 1926/1996, p. 24, and Botushans’kyi 1980, p. 153.

⁴⁹⁰ ‘Ich will die Bukowina nicht polonisiren, ich will sie auch nicht germanisiren, sondern ich will ihr wünschen, daß das deutsche Culturelement mit der nationalen Entwicklung sich entsprechend verschmelze, sich zweckmäßig verknüpfe’. Bukowinaer Landtag, *Stenographisches Protokoll der XI. Sitzung des Bukowinaer Landtages, den 30. September 1868*, Stenographische Protokolle des Bukowinaer Landtags für die zweite Session der zweiten Wahlperiode, Eckhardt, Czernowitz 1868.

⁴⁹¹ The threatening vicinity of big, barbaric and Polish-dominated Galicia often served to justify Bukovina’s German character. In Pawlitschek’s regional novel, her protagonist Helene travelled through Galicia to Bukovina by train and ‘was struck by a feeling of homecoming when she saw the German element flame up again after traveling through such a piece of orient’ (Pawlitschek 1897, p. 52). Travel writer R. Julien had the same experience (R. Julien, *Aus der Bukowina*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 22.09.1906, p. 3).

⁴⁹² *Gegen den polnischen Einfluß auf die wirthschaftliche Entwicklung der Bukowina (eine Abwehr, kein Angriff) – III*, Bukowinaer Rundschau 1884, p. 1.

nationale Heißsporne).⁴⁹³ Influenced by the dire economic situation in and the large-scale emigration from Bukovina in the following decades, the university and therewith the beneficial influence of the German ‘culture injection’ began to lose prestige. Journalist Hermann Menkes concluded with dismay that ‘the forcibly transplanted German culture had produced neither the expected fruit, nor the organic compound’ while ‘the university was a factory of professional and intellectual proletarians, who had no inner relation to all the science taught by strangers’.⁴⁹⁴ The collapse of the Habsburg Empire also shut the doors of its German-language university in Czernowitz. Typically, Germanisation remained an issue until the very last moments when university dean Herzog addressed Franz Joseph University’s very last graduates:

*Ladies and gentlemen, do not believe it when the anti-German side assures you that this university was founded to Germanise the land or when they even claim it has had a Germanising effect. Apart from the fact that it would have been useless to endeavour the Germanisation of a land so far away and isolated from the German home land, you will notice that it is precisely the local leaders of the national movement [meant are the Romanian nationalist leaders], the leaders in battle who have almost all attended this German university. Do ask them if even the slightest attempt was made to influence their national sentiments. To us Germans, our national conviction is far too sacred to expand it to other peoples. If the university which was founded in this land had German as the language of administration and instruction, it was only for practical reasons (...).*⁴⁹⁵

Herzog aptly illustrated how Joseph II’s vision of the civilising mission of cultural Germanity was now retrospectively interpreted within the narrow boundaries of German ethno-nationalism. Moreover, in spite of the fact that Herzog congratulated the Romanians on their newly acquired power position, the cited fragment from his speech highlights the irony of the Franz Joseph University: established to emancipate and develop the most eastern section of the Empire and to involve it more closely in Austrian collectivity, it had turned out to be instrumental in the education of nationalists and the distribution of their ideas. Explicitly national associations had only emerged in Bukovina after the university had been founded.⁴⁹⁶

German Language

Clearly, the most obvious flagship of German cultural influence was the German language. Although Ruthenian, Romanian and German were the official languages of Habsburg Bukovina, its position of ‘state language’ (*Staatssprache*) clearly distinguished German from the other two and the ‘practical reasons’ of German-language tuition mentioned by dean Herzog in 1919 were a matter of course in the Habsburg Empire. *Czernowitzer Allgemeine*

⁴⁹³ *Das Tomaszczuk-Denkmal*, Czernowitzer Presse, 15.01.1897, p. 1.

⁴⁹⁴ Menkes, Hermann, *Die Bukowina*, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 24.12.1911, p. 1.

⁴⁹⁵ *Der Abschied der deutschen Universität Czernowitz*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung/Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 05.02.1919, pp. 1-2. For more on Herzog’s speech, see also Part III, 2.2: Franz Joseph University/ The Final Days.

⁴⁹⁶ Wagner 1981, p. 63.

Zeitung emphasised how German as the language of tuition transgressed national interests and had a function in Bukovina comparable with Latin. It enabled its university graduates to pursue careers outside of the crownland, which, in view of the abundance of graduates and the scarcity of available positions, would soon prove to be of vital importance.⁴⁹⁷ It had also helped to create a homogenous and cosmopolitan Bukovinian elite.⁴⁹⁸ Moreover, knowledge of German was status-enhancing, since a number of languages (German, Polish, Italian and Hungarian) had a higher social standard in the Empire than ‘developing languages’.⁴⁹⁹ By the end of the 1880s, *Bukowinaer Nachrichten* had presented the universally accepted German language as the ultimate Bukovinian defense against the different brands of nationalism which had gained ground in other Austrian crownlands, but even here, it had sounded more like the wish being father to the thought than like an accurate representation of the situation in Bukovina:

*Not the love for Mother Austria alone, at whose breasts they were nurtured, not just the enthusiasm for the Austrian state, which freed them from Turkish rule and guided them from barbarism to education and prosperity, but their own enlightened interests demand them to ignore the endeavour to replace a fully developed language which unites all with a myriad of others, including sublanguages [Sprachkinder], which still struggle to express themselves and which would be at a loss if the rich German thesaurus would not lend words and terminology to them.*⁵⁰⁰

The quotation presents the German language as more than an instrument of mediation and social advancement: just like German culture should function as a *Leitkultur* for lesser-developed cultures, German should show the way as *Leitsprache* to those languages still struggling with codification and vocabulary development.

A decent general knowledge of the language was a prerequisite were it to fulfill its envisaged mediating role in Bukovina adequately. It merits therefore taking a closer look at the local population’s knowledge of German - even though an educated guess is most likely the most one can do in order to assess the situation at the time. To this end, some observations will be made about the level on which German language knowledge with the lesser-educated classes, in school, court and in regional politics.

In this respect, the most enigmatic segment of the population is the peasantry. While general claims are made that all inhabitants of Bukovina knew German to a certain extent,⁵⁰¹ some reports from the Habsburg era suggest otherwise. The Romanian nationalist press wished for all ‘foreigners’ to speak Romanian, so that ‘the poor peasant’ could communicate with the

⁴⁹⁷ *Der Sturm gegen die Universität*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 04.11.1909, p. 1.

⁴⁹⁸ Corbea-Hoisie 2004, p. 21.

⁴⁹⁹ Stourzh, Gerald, *Der nationale Ausgleich in der Bukowina*, in: Slawinski, Ilona and Strelka, Joseph P. (ed), *Die Bukowina - Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Peter Lange, Bern 1995, 35-52, p. 37.

⁵⁰⁰ *Die Staatssprache und die Bukovina*, *Bukowinaer Nachrichten* 03.06.1888, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁰¹ Olaru and Purici 2002, p. 372.

‘chancery gentlemen’ in the ‘peasant’s language’ (*limba țăranului*).⁵⁰² A Bukowinaer Journal reporter who decried the way Bukovinian peasant was treated by Austrian officials fumed:

*When he wants some information, it is not granted in most cases, most likely because the acting official does not understand his language. When he wants to pay his taxes at the cash register, the ‘monolingual’ official cannot even tell him how much he has to pay.*⁵⁰³

Whereas it not unlikely that Romanian nationalist periodicals would exaggerate limited peasant knowledge of German for political reasons, this should not be automatically assumed: in 1915, Ruthenian nationalists proudly reported in *Narodniy Holos* how German soldiers had been pleasantly surprised by the good command of the German language they had found among the local (Ruthenian-speaking) population of Bukovina. When asked, children dressed in ‘village attire’ (*в сільській одежі*) told the soldiers how they had learned German in secondary school and at the seminary.⁵⁰⁴ Most likely, many village children first got acquainted with German in school. Folklorist Ion Sbiera recalled in his autobiography how, used to speaking only Romanian at home in the village of Horodnic de Jos, he was thrown in at the deep end when he went to school in nearby Radautz where he was addressed only in German.⁵⁰⁵ When a Romanian secondary school (Gymnasium) was founded in Kimpolung, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* welcomed its establishment, but deplored the decision to ban German from its curriculum since it would limit the possibilities for ambitious Romanian speakers. Next to their mother tongue, the students should learn German, ‘and to be sure, a competent, reliable exportable German, not this half-German, which only corrupted their own language without becoming something decent in its own right’.⁵⁰⁶ Apparently most children only started to really learn German once they went to school and the level of non-native German speakers in Bukovina was generally perceived as low. From the late nineteenth century, more and more teachers of German were of Bukovinian descent themselves. A result of this was, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* complained, that the quality of German language skills experienced an alarming decline and had deteriorated into ‘a bookish German acquired with difficulty by foreign-language teachers’, feared to ‘gradually degenerate and eventually stagnate without a live source’.⁵⁰⁷ Prominent Bukovinian Germanist Simiginowicz-Staufe on the other hand maintained that the language had developed one-on-one with written German since the different origins of the early German settlers had caused dialectal variety to disappear.⁵⁰⁸

In any case, the Board of the Bukovinian Branch of the General German Language Association (*Vorstand des Bukowiner Zweiges des Allgemeinen deutschen Sprachvereins*), which aimed to promote German language purity, did definitely not regard colloquial Bukovinian German as a suitable ‘live source’. The Board, presided by Theodor Gartner, had

⁵⁰² *Mea culpa*, Apărarea Națională, 22.12.1907, p. 3.

⁵⁰³ *Editorial*, Bukowinaer Journal, 35, 12.12.1901, p. 1.

⁵⁰⁴ *Що говорять про нас Німці*, Народний голос, 17.07.1915, p. 14.

⁵⁰⁵ Sbiera, Ion G., *Familia Sbiera, după tradițiune și istorie – Amintiri din viața autorului*, Eckhardt, Czernowitz 1899, p. 93.

⁵⁰⁶ *Unsere Jungen*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 14.07.1907, p. 1.

⁵⁰⁷ *Dies und das (Briefe in die Sommerfrische) – VI*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 11.08.1910, p. 1.

⁵⁰⁸ Simiginowicz-Staufe 1884, p. 167.

published a brochure on Bukovinian German in 1901. In it, the Board explained that German owed its position in Bukovina to the Austrian state rather than to its small German-language minority and should therefore be considered ‘a mixed language’, a ‘stranger’s German’ (*Mischsprache*, *Fremdendeutsch*), while Jews among themselves resorted to a ‘Jewish German’ (*Judendeutsch*), incomprehensible to other German speakers. The title of the brochure, *Bukovinian German - Errors and peculiarities in the common and written German language of Bukovina*, reveals that its authors had little patience with dialectal diversity: originating from a 1892 Viennese school conference, where the suggestion had been made to compile a dialect dictionary for each Austrian crownland, the brochure was meant to ensure that every Bukovinian German speaker would know how to distinguish ‘good’ Austrian German from his own dialect in order not to be considered a ‘Slav’ from outside of the crownland. Simultaneously it aimed to protect families of German-speaking officials and teachers from ‘Bukovinian speech defects’.⁵⁰⁹ Especially domestic servants were blamed for the introduction of words from other languages into Bukovinian German, a phenomenon deemed ‘unpleasant’ to the non-Bukovinian German ear.⁵¹⁰ In a review of the brochure, Max Reiner found it a very useful manual for Bukovinian schools and expected the authorities to introduce it in the official curriculum.⁵¹¹ Whether this eventually happened or not, the situation on site appears to have remained as before: by 1914, Heinrich Kipper still wholeheartedly recommended the brochure to his fellow-Bukovinians and hoped a revised edition would be printed.⁵¹²

Notwithstanding the official status of German, Ruthenian and Romanian in the crownland, in court German remained dominant. In *Apărarea Națională*, editor and lawyer Eusebie Antonovici scorned Romanian-language legal professionals for using German, a practice they apparently substantiated with the argument that they were unfamiliar with Romanian legal terminology because of their German-language education. Antonovici argued that they could easily and inexpensively have acquired the necessary books in the neighbouring Kingdom of Romania.⁵¹³ In his description of life in the Hungarian colonies of Bukovina, Mihály László emphasised that ‘Romanian and Ruthenian officials had a better command of German than of their own respective languages’.⁵¹⁴

Apărarea Națională also complained that for non-Bukovinian officials knowledge of only German sufficed, while native Bukovinians were expected to master all three official languages.⁵¹⁵ In practice, the intention to appoint only those natives with a command of all three official crownland languages had been too ambitious anyway: as early as 1864, the

⁵⁰⁹ Gartner, Theodor et al., *Bukowiner Deutsch. Fehler und Eigenthümlichkeiten in der deutschen Verkehrs und Schriftsprache der Bukowina*, Schulbücher-Verlag, Vienna 1901, pp. V-VI.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid., p. 17.

⁵¹¹ Reiner, Max, “*Bukowiner Deutsch*“ - *Schluß*, *Bukowinaer Post*, 25.07.1901, pp. 1-3.

⁵¹² Kipper, Heinrich, *Bukowiner Deutsch*, *Bukowinaer Nachrichten - Organ des ‘Deutschen Volksbundes in der Bukowina’*, 01.03.1914, pp. 1 and 3.

⁵¹³ Antonovici, Eusebie, *Editorial*, *Apărarea Națională*, 6, 24.01.1907, p. 1.

⁵¹⁴ László, Mihály, *Keleti testvéreink*, Franklin-Társulat, Budapest 1882, p. 9.

⁵¹⁵ *Editorial*, *Apărarea Națională*, 88/89, 01.12.1907, p. 2.

regional diet had had to admit it could not even find staff with these qualifications to fill its own ranks, since Romanian and Ruthenian speakers in general next to their respective native language only mastered German.⁵¹⁶ Whereas these sources confirm the position of German as the lingua franca, the cliché that most Bukovinians easily communicated in several languages should at least be reconsidered.

Regional diet deputies had the right to use Romanian and Ruthenian in debates. In practice they resorted to German, with the exception of the monolingual peasant deputies in the early years of Bukovinian autonomy.⁵¹⁷ This also implies that a command of all three languages was uncommon in Bukovinian high society. Even in 1919, when the Empire had ceased to exist and Romanian Minister Flondor gathered the political leaders of prewar Bukovina to discuss future arrangements, their meeting was held in German.⁵¹⁸

With the growing influence of nationalism, the German language was increasingly equated with German nationalism. Although few contradicted its usefulness in daily life, its status of 'alien element' (*Fremdkörper*) was well-remembered and instrumentalised by nationalists. Knowledge of the language not only represented possibilities, it also implied risks: in the early nineteenth century, Archbishop Andreas Aloys of Lemberg reported to Vienna that the obligatory learning of German created fear with both parents and priests that those having completed their education would be taken from their native villages and sent to far away locations within the Empire as Habsburg army recruits.⁵¹⁹ Throughout the existence of Habsburg Bukovina, the urgency to defend the position of German surfaced and over time intensified. When the position of German in Austria was put to a vote in the Austrian Parliament, *Bukowinaer Rundschau* felt obliged to recall that the German language was a 'condition of existence' (*Existenzbedingung*) for the young crownland and that without it, Slavisation and (re)unification with Galicia posed imminent threats. Not convinced that the Bukovinian deputies would support the position of German sufficiently, the newspaper assured them that siding with the Slavic fractions would not be rewarded in the next

⁵¹⁶ "Es ist in der That die Schwierigkeit, daß die Beamten sämtlicher Landessprachen, wenigstens der 3 Hauptsprachen, der romanischen, ruthenischen und deutschen in Wort und Schrift mächtig sind, in der gegenwärtigen Uebergangsperiode eine sehr große, denn es ist selbst dem Landesauschusse bei der geringen Zahl von Beamten, die er hat, nicht gelungen, Beamte anzustellen, die sämtlicher Landessprachen in Wort und Schrift mächtig sind, indem auch die Eingeborenen in der Regel nur der moldauischen und der deutschen, oder der ruthenischen und der deutschen Sprache in Wort und Schrift mächtig sind, so daß die dritte Landessprache die Schwierigkeit bildet". Bukowinaer Landtag, *Stenographisches Protokoll der dreiundzwanzigsten Sitzung der III. Session des Bukowinaer Landtages am 13. Mai 1864*, Stenografische Protokolle des Bukowinaer Landtags für die dritte Session, Eckhardt, Czernowitz 1864, p. 368.

⁵¹⁷ Hitchins 1973, p. 624; Ciuciura and Nahrebecky 1982, p. 94.

⁵¹⁸ *Eine Aktion Flondors zur Schaffung eines Beirats für die Bukowina*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 04.06.1919, p. 1.

⁵¹⁹ Iacobescu 1993, pp. 283-284.

elections.⁵²⁰ A benevolent position was expected especially from the Romanian nationalists in Parliament, who were known for cherishing German culture next to their own.⁵²¹

Indeed, to question the status of the state language was not unusual in Bukovinian nationalist circles. Ruthenian *Bukovyna* considered Romanian-language officials too lenient since the latter corresponded in German with the authorities because it was the state language. *Bukovyna* objected that in nearby Galicia, where Polish was the dominant language, nobody seemed to consider German the state language.⁵²² *Apărarea Națională* noticed a similar flexibility with Romanian speakers in general and accused them of relinquishing their right to address the authorities in Romanian only because they knew German themselves and because they did not want to upset anyone.⁵²³ In 1898, the editors of *Selyanin* even ventured to use their congratulatory editorial at the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Emperor's ascension to the throne to complain about the fact that Romanian and Ruthenian speakers in Bukovina could only correspond with the local authorities in German.⁵²⁴ Ten years later, *Apărarea Neamului* expressed outrage when Czernowitz schoolchildren were expected to sing songs in German to commemorate Franz Joseph's sixty years as Emperor, maintaining that children from the suburbs were in the main of Romanian and Ruthenian nationality.⁵²⁵

The Franz Joseph University had become a hothouse for nationalist confrontations. An incident with the German language as centre stage made painfully clear that nationalist circles no longer regarded German as the common language of mediation. Student associations in Czernowitz traditionally invited the academic board to their opening celebration of the academic year. Most of the time, the university dean himself would honour the invitation. The president of the association delivered a speech in praise of the alma mater, to which the dean replied with a word of thanks. In 1903, problems arose when a Romanian association addressed Dean Hörmann von Hörbach in Romanian, a language he did not master. The rector consequently abstained from attending similar occasions.⁵²⁶ While *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* expressed astonishment at the 'ungrateful' attitude of the students who should have realised that it was exactly the German tuition at the university which had enabled Romanian and Ruthenian speakers to enroll in official positions, it also considered it a matter of simple politeness to address a guest in a language he comprehended.⁵²⁷ This was in line with the reaction the Ministry of Culture and Education had been forced to give in response to an interpellation by Mykola Vasylo. Vasylo had blamed the appointments of radical nationalist German professors for the tensions at the university and had depicted the existing German character of the institute as a privilege the indigenous (Romanian and Ruthenian

⁵²⁰ *Ein Wink für die Bukowinaer Abgeordneten in der Staatssprachenfrage*, Bukowinaer Rundschau 1884, pp. 1-2.

⁵²¹ *Unnatürliche Allianzen*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 04.10.1885, p. 1.

⁵²² *Русини, Німці і Волохи – I*, Буковина, 1898, pp. 1-2.

⁵²³ *Mea culpa*, *Apărarea Națională*, 22.12.1907, p. 3.

⁵²⁴ *Юбилейный годъ 1898*, Селянинъ, 15.02.1898, p. 10.

⁵²⁵ *Cum ne bagă în samă străinii*, *Apărarea Neamului*, 24.05.1908, p. 41.

⁵²⁶ Kellner, Leon, *Ein Friedensbruch?* *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 03.08.1905, pp. 1-2 (originally published in the *Neue Freie Presse*).

⁵²⁷ *Eine Universitäts-Affäre*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 02.07.1905, p. 1.

speaking) population granted to a small national (German speaking) minority. In a draft reply, the Minister stipulated that first of all, he regarded participation in the ceremony in question a private affair and that second, it seemed a matter of common courtesy and tact to be resolved by the university staff and the students among themselves.⁵²⁸ Whether the obviously diminishing patience in Vienna with petty provincial quarrelling played a role here remains unclear, but a practical solution was swiftly found: Associations unwilling to deliver a speech in German could no longer expect a dean to attend their opening ceremony.⁵²⁹

Hostile behaviour towards the German language and its position in Bukovina had started at the university, but it spread beyond Czernowitz to other institutions like schools and municipalities. In Kostestie, the district captain started investigations when it was reported that ‘when schoolchildren appeared in school with German readers and confirmed their presence with the German ‘hier!’, their use of German was prohibited and they were told that German was the language of pigs with the teachers imitating the grunting of piglets and an old sow’.⁵³⁰ German nationalists accounted indignantly how a head teacher named Kosmiuk had stated at an international teachers’ conference how he loathed the German language.⁵³¹ In numerous municipalities, Ruthenian and Romanian nationalists succeeded in banning German from the local administration. When this happened in Southern-Bukovinian Kimpolung with its Romanian-speaking majority, *Bukowinaer Gebirgs-Journal* wondered where this sudden aversion originated: Aggression towards Ruthenians would have seemed more logical.⁵³² In Northern-Bukovinian Hliboka, the introduction of Ruthenian as the language of administration in 1911 was accompanied by the replacement of the German shield on the municipal office with a Ruthenian one with a smaller, German sign in second position. The offended German-language community in Hliboka tore off the new sign, carried it into the village inn and spat on it. The mayor then decided the only way to prevent further public outrage was by removing the new shield.⁵³³

⁵²⁸ “Vor allem glaube ich, daß die Beteiligung des Rektors an einem Kommerse überhaupt nicht dem Bereiche der Amtshandlung im eigentlichen Sinne angehört, sondern eine private Angelegenheit bildet, auf welche lediglich die für das soziale Leben überhaupt maßgebenden Usancen Anwendung zu finden haben. Dies vorausgesetzt, erscheint die Frage, in welcher Sprache ein zu einer festlichen Veranstaltung ausdrücklich eingeladenener, der Landessprachen nicht mächtiger Rektor als Vertreter der Alma Mater zu begrüßen sei, wohl zunächst als eine Frage der Courtoisie, deren Beantwortung sich am besten den Umständen des einzelnen Falles anzupassen hätte, sohin fallweise dem Takte der Studenten einerseits und der beteiligten akademischen Lehrer andererseits zu überlassen wäre”. *Interpellation des Abgeordneten Wassilkó und Genossen an Seine Exzellenz den Herrn Minister für Kultus und Unterricht Dr. v. Hartel/ Entwurf Antwort Z.1786/KUM*, 5 July 1905/ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MCÎ LXXXVII/12.

⁵²⁹ Kellner, Leon, *Ein Friedensbruch?* Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 03.08.1905, pp. 1-2 (originally published in the *Neue Freie Presse*).

⁵³⁰ *Kostestie- Merkwürdige Schulzustände (Korrespondenzen)*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 09.02.1907, p. 5.

⁵³¹ *Kann es so weitergehen?* Bukowinaer Nachrichten - Organ des ‘Deutschen Volksbundes in der Bukowina’, 13.06.1913, pp. 1-2.

⁵³² *Das Deutschtum und die Rumänen*, Bukowinaer Gebirgs-Journal, 13.04.1910.

⁵³³ *Як Німців коле руске письмо*, Народный голос, 16.02.1911, pp. 6-7.

3.4 German Nationalism

As Jászi has concluded, there was never a serious German irredentist movement in Austria, since the force of the dynasty, of the Army and of the Catholic Church were simply too strong.⁵³⁴ Still, intensifying ethnic tensions in the Habsburg Empire challenged German cultural supremacy in Cisleithania and created German-Austrian nationalism as a byproduct. Like its counterpart in the German Reich it envisaged an ethnic-cultural 'community of all Germans'. The goal was the strengthening of the German element in Austria-Hungary as a basis for German expansion in 'Central Europe'. These efforts received organisational support from the 'German National Movement' (*Deutschnationale Bewegung*), which was formed in 1879 under the leadership of Georg Ritter von Schönerer in response to the crisis of German-Austrian liberalism. Schönerer was one of the authors of the 'Linz Program' of 1882, the programmatic basis of the German national movement. In addition to social and economic demands, the program called for the strengthening of Germanity in the lands of the Dual Monarchy formerly belonging to the German Confederation. It also advocated the cession from Cisleithania of non-German areas like Dalmatia, Galicia and Bukovina, which were either be ceded to Hungary or be made autonomous. German was to become the sole official state language of the remaining 'rump Austria'. The German national movement split in 1885 after Schönerer had added an anti-Semitic paragraph to its program. By this time, his ideas had gone far beyond the 'Linz program'. He wanted the German-speaking areas of Austria to be incorporated into the German Reich and urged the German-Austrians to renounce Catholicism. He further recommended to oppose the Slavic population and promoted radical anti-Semitism. While the followers of Schönerer - united in the 'Pan-German Association' since 1901 - clashed irreconcilably with the Habsburg state because of their irredentist stance, the majority of German nationalists remained loyal to the Austro-Hungarian political system. Their goal continued to be a closer economic and political alliance with the German Reich as a precondition for the consolidation of Germanity in the Habsburg Monarchy and Central Europe.⁵³⁵

Logically, in Cisleithania with its German-speaking element of only 35.58% as opposed to 60.65% Slavic speakers,⁵³⁶ the argument of a 'Slavic threat' met with a positive response in a time of increasing nationalist sabre-rattling. With regard to the situation in Prague, Cohen concluded that 'the German-speaking middle and upper strata only transformed themselves into self-conscious German groups, distinguished by a sense of German ethnicity and

⁵³⁴ Jászi 1929, p. 384.

⁵³⁵ Walkenhorst, Peter, *Nation - Volk - Rasse. Radikaler Nationalismus im Deutschen Kaiserreich 1890-1914*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co, Göttingen 2007, 320-321; Roman, Eric, *Austria-Hungary and the Successor State: A Reference Guide from the Renaissance to the Present*, Facts On File, Inc., New York 2003, p. 512; Jelavich, Barbara, *Modern Austria : Empire and Republic, 1815-1986*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1987, p. 82.

⁵³⁶ Jászi 1929, p. 272.

exclusive social relations, in response to demands for power and status by insurgent Slavic elements'.⁵³⁷ Similar dynamics could be observed in Bukovina.

Here, with its rivaling Romanian and Ruthenian nationalists, the anti-Slavic overtone of German nationalism created a momentum of its own for the Romanians. They showed little hesitation when opportunities arose to capitalise on tensions between German and Ruthenian nationalist politicians. Such was the case when Ruthenian politicians objected to the use of the German tricolour in Bukovina as well as to German preparation courses in non-German secondary schools. Romanian nationalists prided themselves on the support they had rendered to the German side and stated:

*Only now the scales fell from the Germans' eyes and they recognised the role they were supposed to play (...): that of the Slavic train-bearer. The Germans have finally - if somewhat late - realised that their role was unworthy. They have recollected themselves, have reconsidered their national dignity and have prudently recognised that a nation on such a high cultural level, whose importance in Bukovina we fully recognise and appreciate should not serve its hereditary enemy (...).*⁵³⁸

As long as large landowners had represented the political voice of Bukovina, German-speakers had only enjoyed limited influence: by 1910, the majority of German-speaking colonists lived off small-scale agriculture. The first of them to enter the political stage was Anton Kral, who co-edited the 'Landespetition' of 1848 and thus supported the call for secession from Galicia. After 1848, German periodicals like *Sonntagsblatt* and *Buchenblätter* were strongly influenced by liberalism. The German Liberal Party (*Deutsch-Liberale Partei*) reflected this spirit and regarded itself as meeting place for all democratically-inclined forces. At the Franz Joseph University, founded in 1875, with the exception of theology, tuition was in German and resulted in the arrival of substantial numbers of German-language professors from the western part of the Monarchy. In turn, they introduced German nationalism in Bukovina.⁵³⁹ Marie Mischler's husband was among them and her worries that through assimilation, 'real' Germans would disappear in Bukovina altogether clearly reflected German ethno-nationalist thinking.⁵⁴⁰

German nationalist ideology also introduced a diversification between 'language Germans' (*Sprachdeutsche*) and 'ethnic Germans' (*Volksdeutsche*). In 1897, the 'Association of Christian Germans' (*Verein der Christlichen Deutschen*) was established with the obvious goal to exclude Jewish Bukovinians, whose social mobility was perceived as a threat.⁵⁴¹ In the Bukovinian press, hope was expressed that German nationalists would not use the 'Christian'

⁵³⁷ Cohen, Gary B., *The Politics of Ethnic Survival : Germans in Prague, 1861-1914*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 1981, p. 274.

⁵³⁸ *Editorial*, Bukowinaer Journal, 3, 29.09.1901, p. 2.

⁵³⁹ Hausleitner 2001, pp. 68-69.

⁵⁴⁰ Mischler 1893, pp. 5-6.

⁵⁴¹ Post-Habsburg German sources tried to embellish the anti-Semitic foundation of the association by claiming that, although censuses regarded Germans in Jews in Bukovina as one group, in fact Jewish Bukovinians had remained 'Orthodox, national (*eigenvölkisch*) and Zionist'. See Lang, Franz, *Buchenland - 150 Jahre Deutschum in der Bukowina*, Veröffentlichungen des Südostdeutschen Kulturwerkes, Munich 1961, p. 384. (and quoted in Wagner 1981, p. 64).

pretext in order to exclude the Jews,⁵⁴² but to no avail: in *Bukowiner Boten*, the Association encouraged the reader to place orders with Germans only.⁵⁴³ When both Bukovinian German-speaking parliamentary representatives decided to join the Association, German ethno-nationalism officially entered the political arena of the crownland, in turn this led to the establishment of a separate Jewish political association supported by deputy Benno Straucher.⁵⁴⁴

In 1907, German nationalist Josef Wiedmann warned that the Franz Joseph University should only appoint Aryan-German professors in order to avoid the loss of its German character. *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* typified the university as an ‘Austrian university with German as language of tuition’ and reminded Wiedmann that he had kept quiet when non-German professors were hired in the past; only when Jews were concerned, Wiedmann seemed to speak up. Earlier, the Viennese anti-Semitic *Deutsche Volksblatt* ‘had summarily eliminated the Czernowitz University from the range of German universities because its German-Aryan students constituted such a small fraction of the total number that there was no German body of students to speak of’.⁵⁴⁵ In a similar way, German nationalists tried to use religious arguments to segregate German and Jewish schools. The attempt was ridiculed by *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, because without Jews, the German number of pupils would be too small to keep any ‘purely’ German school in business.⁵⁴⁶

From German nationalists in Vienna little support was to be expected. As said, Schönerer’s German National Movement wanted to rid Austria of Bukovina altogether. When German Bukovinian deputy Arthur Skedl objected to this view in the Austrian Parliament on 11 December 1905, Schönerer’s party ally Franz Klein from Bohemia replied that ‘the vast majority of the population of Bukovina committed to the German community in those days consisted of Jews’ and that it should at last be clear to Skedl that

we, from our national and racial anti-Semitic point of view will never take under the wings of the great Pan-German idea those electors of his who give him their votes but who are not of

⁵⁴² *Frieden auf Erden*, Bukowinaer Post, 25.12.1897, p. 1.

⁵⁴³ Hausleitner 2001, pp. 69-70.

⁵⁴⁴ “Auch unter den Deutschen im Lande hat sich in letzter Zeit eine Dissonanz bemerkbar gemacht, indem der von einem Theile der bisherigen Mitglieder des Vereines der christlichen Deutschen unter Führung des Reichsrathsabgeordneten Dr. Skedl unternommenen Versuch die deutsch-fortschrittlich gesinnten Elemente ohne Rücksicht auf deren Confession in dem neu gegründeten deutsch-fortschrittlichen Vereine zu verschmelzen, von einer Fraktion der Juden, unter Mitwirkung des Reichsrathsabgeordneten Dr. Straucher mit der Gründung eines selbständigen jüdischen politischen Vereines beantwortet wurde”. Bourguignon-Baumberg, Friedrich, *Bericht an den Herrn k.k. Minister-Präsidenten als Leiter des k.k. Ministeriums des Innern hinsichtlich der derzeitigen politischen Situation im Lande*, Z. 5852 Präs., 2 October 1901/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MI, mapa 84/2.

⁵⁴⁵ *Der Charakter der Czernowitzer Universität*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 1172, 06.12.1907, p. 1.

⁵⁴⁶ *Die Folgen*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 2581, 31.08.1912, p. 1.

*our blood, and that in the economic, historical and national interest we will never, ever give up this demand just because there are some Jews who vote for professor Skedl.*⁵⁴⁷

The German nationalist politicians from Vienna practiced what they preached: invitations to visit the crownland sent by Bukovinian German activists to Austrian ministers Derschatta and Prade were not accepted and even remained unanswered.⁵⁴⁸ As things stood, German Christian nationalists in Bukovina risked to fall between two stools: they were seen as a lost lot by Schönerer's nationalists in Vienna, while their opponents in Bukovina dismissed of them as 'foreign' (*fremdländische*) Germans who wanted to prepare the ground for an alien nationalism based on intolerance and racial hatred'.⁵⁴⁹ The new Christian-Social movement led by Karl Lueger therefore provided a much-needed lifeboat.

In Austria, liberalism had become increasingly unpopular and was associated with capitalism, an 'atomised, selfish society' and Jewry, which in turn led to an upsurge of political anti-Semitism. Schönerer and his German National Association were products of this development, but whereas Schönerer's anti-Semitism ultimately failed to mobilise the masses, Karl Lueger's Christian-Social Party (*Christlichsoziale Partei*) succeeded. The Christian Socials' close connections to the Roman Catholic Church caused a rift between Lueger and the staunchly anti-Catholic Schönerer, who accused his rival of 'baptismal font anti-Semitism' (*Taufbechenantisemitismus*). In 1888, Schönerer disappeared from the political stage after a scandal and a subsequent prison sentence, thus paving the way for the Christian Socials. From the early 1900s, Lueger's party dominated the Austrian Parliament and spread beyond Vienna and Lower-Austria. It eventually became a political force throughout the Austrian crownlands. In the interest of the multi-ethnic Empire, the Christian Socials opposed the dual system of 1867 and demanded a federal restructuring.⁵⁵⁰

In early 1907, the Christian Socials started to prepare the ground for a Bukovinian branch of the party. The German-language Bukovinian press watched the visit by Christian-Social prominent Albert Gessmann like a hawk. *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* tried to play down the danger of the new party and declared that Bukovina had come a long way since the days of 'Semi-Asia' and therefore should be considered European enough to resist a Christian-Social hate campaign. Moreover, anti-Semitism was deemed unlikely to flourish in peaceful Bukovina, the same way Bukovinian-German nationalists were believed unlikely to embrace the new party since this would mean their complete isolation.⁵⁵¹ *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* ventilated more concerns, for the Christian Socials had a few powerful tricks up their sleeves: first, supportive Catholic priests had prepared the ground for them, and second, their appeal

⁵⁴⁷ Sutter, Berthold, *Die Deutschen/B: Die politische und rechtliche Stellung der Deutschen in Österreich 1848 bis 1918*, in: *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918, Band III, 1. Teil: Die Völker des Reiches*, Wandruszka & Urbanitsch, Vienna 1973, 154-339, pp. 268-269.

⁵⁴⁸ Wyslouzil, Josef, *Deutsche und Polen*, Bukowiner Volksblatt, 193, 04.07.1909, pp. 1-3.

⁵⁴⁹ *Um was es geht*, Bukowinaer Post, 10.07.1904, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁵⁰ Kriechbaumer, Robert, *Die großen Erzählungen der Politik. Politische Kultur und Parteien in Österreich von der Jahrhundertwende bis 1945*, Böhlau, Vienna/Cologne/Weimar 2001, pp. 243-251.

⁵⁵¹ *Das christlichsoziale Debut*, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 1199, 06.02.1907, p. 1.

was not limited to German nationalists alone, because not only Christian-Social anti-Semitism went down well with Romanian nationalists in Bukovina, but also a strong dislike of Budapest and its political manoeuvring - which for Romanian nationalists was strongly connected to the Magyar oppression of Romanian speakers in Transylvania. Gessmann's speeches in Bukovina were received so well that not only German but also Romanian speakers cheered him, and, confusingly, Magyar colonists from Hadikfalva. "Those in Budapest will be flabbergasted!" *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* marveled.⁵⁵² Both periodicals noticed that Gessmann had cunningly underplayed the usual anti-Semitic hysterics and had attacked the competing Bukovinian-German nationalists instead. The Bukovinian Ruthenian press declared that it regarded Christian-Social agitation as an internal matter of German nationalists and was only inclined to speak up when the latter trumped the 'Slavic danger' card.⁵⁵³

When in 1908 the Bukovinian branch of the Christian Social Party was established, Wiedmann's Association of Christian Germans had little choice but to join its ranks. The conciliatory tone of Gessmann's Bukovinian speeches had quickly evaporated and Christian-Social anti-Semitism showed its habitual venom. In the party's program, it was asserted that 'if anywhere, [the party] needed to solve a great and difficult task in Bukovina, where the Jewish element had become a fearful and imminent danger for the people'. The German political leaders were said 'to have been mostly been aiming for personal benefits so far under the hypocritical mask of benevolence, having abused the people as a means to achieve their selfish ambitions'. The fact that those local German leaders had cooperated with Jews was seen as their biggest crime.⁵⁵⁴ For the infighting Romanian nationalist factions in Bukovina, part of the appeal of the Christian-Social Party was its opposition to the cooperation between ethnicities in Bukovina (the 'coalition') and thus the Romanian nationalists united under the Christian-Social flag. They declared themselves loyal to Emperor and Empire and adopted the program of the Austrian mother party.⁵⁵⁵ *Bukowiner Volksblatt*, the newly-established German-language speaking mouthpiece of the Christian-Social Party, provided a solid contribution to the anti-Semitic propaganda in Bukovina.⁵⁵⁶ As a result of the Christian-Social affiliation of Bukovinian Romanian nationalists, *Apărarea Națională* and *Voința Poporului* struck the same aggressive and anti-Semitic note as *Bukowiner Volksblatt*.⁵⁵⁷ Christian-Social aggression was not reserved for Jews alone, but also for the Young-Ruthenians who cooperated with them. Germans were told to be thankful to Mykola Vasylo, 'the ultimate chauvinistic German-hater, together with his close friend [Jewish leader] Straucher, for the fact that it was increasingly difficult for German young men to get government jobs as well as for the fact that these positions now almost without exceptions benefited the Jews'.⁵⁵⁸ When at the municipal elections in February 1909 the anticipated victory failed to materialise, a small number of Christian-Social Romanian nationalists smashed the windows of Vasylo

⁵⁵² *Die christlich-soziale Invasion*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 05.02.1907, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁵³ *Християнсько-соціальна агітація на Буковині*, *Буковина*, 26.01.1907, p. 3.

⁵⁵⁴ *Erklärung der Parteileitung/Das Programm der christlich-sozialen Partei*, *Bukowiner Volks-Zeitung*, 26.03.1908, p. 1.

⁵⁵⁵ Nistor 1991, pp. 331-333.

⁵⁵⁶ *Die Volksverhetzung in der Bukowina*, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 20.12.1908, pp. 1-3.

⁵⁵⁷ *Editorial*, *Apărarea Națională*, 34, 10.05.1908, p. 1.

⁵⁵⁸ Wyslouzil, Josef, *Deutsche und Polen*, *Bukowiner Volksblatt*, 193, 04.07.1909, pp. 1-3.

and Diet President Wassilko because of their alleged pro-Jewish stance.⁵⁵⁹ Christian-Social gatherings took place on a regular basis and often had the character of a procession of a small group, culminating in a meeting dominated by anti-Semitic speeches. Those unaware of the nature of the meetings often mistook the motley crew of participants for a funeral procession. In general, the public reactions to the rallies were less than lukewarm.⁵⁶⁰ However, for a Christian-Social meeting in the Romanian National House in Czernowitz organised by *Bukowiner Volksblatt* editor Josef Wyslouzil and addressed by the converted Romanian Christian-Socialist Aurel Onciul, about four hundred participants were drummed up.⁵⁶¹

The Christian-Social movement in Bukovina was short-lived. As early as February 1909, the Romanian nationalists united in a 'National Party' led by Iancu Flondor and no longer called themselves 'Christian-Social'.⁵⁶² In the Empire at large, the movement's popularity waned after Lueger's demise and in Bukovina proper Wiedmann's reputation suffered as a result of both his attempts to defame German political opponents and the continuous paranoid ranting in *Bukowiner Volksblatt*. The combination of German nationalism and anti-Semitism seemed in certain cases highly unprofitable for Wiedmann's party: since the new system of national cadastres did not distinguish between Germans and Jews, some fanatic anti-Semitic German speakers requested to be registered as Romanians or Ruthenians just to avoid having to share their curia with the Jews. In the words of *Bukowinaer Gebirgs-Journal*, this unexpected 'success' risked turning Wiedmann into 'a commander without soldiers'.⁵⁶³ In May 1911, the Christian Socials failed to have even one candidate elected in Bukovina's regional diet, a result largely blamed on the personality of Wiedmann himself.⁵⁶⁴

After Schönerer's Pan-German nationalism which envisaged no role for Bukovina in the story of Germany and after Lueger's brand of Pan-Austrian, Catholic Christian-Socialism which had reserved a place for each crownland, a more confident, regionally oriented German nationalist movement seemed a logical next step. In 1911, Czernowitz university professor Raimund Friedrich Kaindl coined the collective term 'Carpathian Germans' (*Karpatendeutsche*) for the German-language population of Galicia, Bukovina, Hungary, Slavonia, Transylvania and Romania, assessing their total number around three million.⁵⁶⁵ His 'Carpathian German Movement' regarded the Carpathian Germans as a 'link in the chain from the Baltic to the Adriatic Sea' an 'outpost of the German people', destined to 'protect the motherland from the Pan-Slavic menace'. He called on the Germans from the west to support their fellow nationals by visiting this outpost, by financing investments there and by

⁵⁵⁹ "Wie erhoben wurde, handelt es sich hier um Demonstrationen christlich-sozialer Rumänen wegen der judenfreundlichen Haltung des Landeshauptmannes beziehungsweise des Abgeordneten von Wassilko bei der Gemeinderatswahl". Regner-Bleyleben, Oktavian, *Bericht*, Zl. 869 Präz., 10 February 1909/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MI, mapa 85/4.

⁵⁶⁰ *Gurahumora - Wüste Agitation (Korrespondenzen)*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 28.06.1909, p. 6.

⁵⁶¹ Regner-Bleyleben, Oktavian, *Bericht an Seine Excellenz den Herrn k.k. Minister des Innern*, Zl. 221 Präz., 13 January 1909/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MI, mapa 68/9.

⁵⁶² *Aus dem rumänischen Lager*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 1516, 02.02.1909, p. 1.

⁵⁶³ *Präludien*, Bukowinaer Gebirgs-Journal, 20.07.1910, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁶⁴ *Wahlreminiscenzen*, Bukowinaer Gebirgs-Journal, 13.05.1911, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁶⁵ Sutter 1973, p. 266.

bolstering the German-language press in the area. Especially in Hungary, Kaindl stressed, German-language periodicals were subjected to censorship and law suits.⁵⁶⁶ Like other German nationalists, Kaindl distinguished between Christian and non-Christian (i.e. Jewish) Germans and as such he used religious terminology to advocate racial politics. In line with this reasoning, he criticised the Austrian census system which differentiated according to 'language of conversation' (*Umgangssprache*) when according to Kaindl 'ethnicity' (*Volkszugehörigkeit*) should be decisive.⁵⁶⁷ The political climate in Bukovina, which was liberal compared to those of Hungary and Galicia, provided a convenient base for Kaindl's activities. From 1911 until 1914, the Movement held annual meetings in Czernowitz, Ruma (Slavonia), Vienna and Biała (Galicia) successively.⁵⁶⁸

Lastly, racist German nationalism in Bukovina had efficiently reduced its own support from the moment it had emerged. As prominent Jewish Bukovinians had predicted,⁵⁶⁹ anti-Semitism had ridded the potential electorate of German nationalists of the numerically dominant Jewish German speakers. The remaining 'Christian Germans' were divided between Schönerer's Pan-German Protestantism and Christian-Social Pan-Austrian Catholicism and bitterly polemicalised in the local press.⁵⁷⁰ Even when the German House (*Deutsches Haus*) in Czernowitz was finally inaugurated in 1910, the opening ceremony was tainted by the rift between Catholics and Protestants.⁵⁷¹

3.5 The Jewish Presence in Bukovina

The earliest travel account referring to Austrian Bukovina already mentioned Jewish residents - and not much else - in Czernowitz just after the military occupation, when Swiss captain Franz Joseph Sulzer noted that 'except for some very beautiful Jewish women, apparently nothing remarkable could be seen there'.⁵⁷² A few decades later, Scottish ministers Bonar and

⁵⁶⁶ Kaindl, Raimund Friedrich, *Deutsche Belange in den Karpatenländern - Ein Mahnwort an das deutsche Volk!* Bukowinaer Nachrichten - Organ des 'Deutschen Volksbundes in der Bukowina', 10.06.1914, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁶⁷ Pinwinkler, Alexander, Raimund Friedrich Kaindl (1866-1930) *Geschichte und Volkskunde im Spannungsfeld zwischen Wissenschaft und Politik*, in: Hruza, Karel (ed.), *Österreichische Historiker 1900-1945: Lebensläufe und Karrieren in Österreich, Deutschland und der Tschechoslowakei in wissenschaftsgeschichtlichen Porträts*, Böhlau Verlag, Vienna 2008 125- 154, pp. 138-139.

⁵⁶⁸ Sutter 1973, p. 267.

⁵⁶⁹ Franzos 1901, p. 232 (footnote); Ehrlich 1916, p. 30.

⁵⁷⁰ *Konfessioneller Hader*, Bukowinaer Nachrichten - Organ des 'Deutschen Volksbundes in der Bukowina', 29.01.1914, p. 1.

⁵⁷¹ Kipper, N.,(Landesregierung), *Relation des k.k. Landesregierungskonzipisten N. Kipper über den Verlauf der dem Reichsratsabgeordneten Anton Keschmann namens des deutschen Volksbundes für den 25. d.M. 8 Uhr abends im Saale des deutschen Hauses einberufenen Volksversammlung*, Radautz, 26 August 1910/ ANR, Fond Guvernământul Bucovinei, MI 69/10.

⁵⁷² "Außer einigen sehr schönen Judenweibern, soll hier gar nichts merkwürdiges zu sehen seyn (...)", Sulzer, Franz Josef, *Geschichte des transalpinischen Daciens, das ist: der Walachey, Moldau, Bessarabiens*, vol. 1, Rudolph Gräffer, Vienna, 1781, p. 429.

McCheyne reported that the Jews he had met in Bukovina ‘were not accustomed to be kindly spoken to by anyone not of their own nation’.⁵⁷³ The Scotsmen were not impressed by the level of education they found with Bukovinian Jews. They called them ‘very ignorant’, observed that young people were not taught to read, but only to understand Hebrew and that by their own account, the only Jew who spoke that language was the rabbi. Then again, Bonar and McCheyne also mentioned that many Jews sent their children to ‘public academies’ where they learned Latin and Greek.⁵⁷⁴

Solomon Kassner, member of the Jewish community council (*Kultusrat*) on Czernowitz was the first author to take it upon himself to write a volume on the history of Jews in Bukovina. Before that time, articles had been published by Johann Polek, Demeter Dan and Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, but these had been short and sketchy. Kaindl had simply stated that Jews should take it upon themselves to write their history.⁵⁷⁵ Although exact numbers cannot be given, there is enough written evidence delivered by such documents as acts of sale to counter assertions that Jews only came to the area after it had been incorporated by the Habsburgs.⁵⁷⁶ The number of Jews is estimated at 3,000 at the time of the Austrian occupation with Yiddish as their language of conversation and Hebrew as their language of worship.⁵⁷⁷ According to Germanist Peter Rychlo, next to two ‘indigenous’ ethnic groups - the Ruthenians and the Romanians - since the Middle Ages the Jews had been ‘more indigenous’ than the other inhabitants of the area.⁵⁷⁸ Splény, the first Austrian commander, noted that Wiznitz and Sadagora already had significant numbers of Jewish inhabitants before his arrival.⁵⁷⁹ Lawyer and journalist Salomon Kassner distinguished three groups of Jewish immigrants in chronological order: those who had been in Bukovina as long as people remembered, those who arrived after the Russian-Turkish War and, by far the largest group, those who had entered Bukovina after the Austrian occupation.⁵⁸⁰ Although Jewish communities in Bukovina did not have their own judiciary (*kahal*) like they traditionally had in Galicia, they did have their community judges in front of whom they pledged their loyalty oath to the Austrian Emperor in 1777. Once Austrian military rule was imposed, the military commanders actively interfered in the appointments of these judges.⁵⁸¹ According to Splény, Jewish judges also exercised jurisdiction over non-Jewish cases since Jews sometimes leased entire communities.

⁵⁷³ Bonar and McCheyne 1839, p. 428.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 481-482.

⁵⁷⁵ Kassner 1917, pp. 5-6.

⁵⁷⁶ See for instance Benjamin, Lya et al, *Izvoare și mărturii referitoare la evreii din România*, II/2, Hasefer, Bucharest 1990.

⁵⁷⁷ Broszat, Martin, *Von der Kulturnation zur Volksgruppe – Die nationale Stellung der Juden in der Bukowina im 19. Jahrhundert*, in: *Historische Zeitschrift*, Vol. 200 (Kienast, Walther & Schieder, Theodor, ed.), Oldenbourg, Munich 1965, 572-605, p. 573.

⁵⁷⁸ Rychlo 2006, p. 10.

⁵⁷⁹ (p. 52, Ab. 57): “Wischnitza ist ein nahe an Pokutien ohnlengst angelegtes Städtl, dermal nur aus einigen von Pohlen herüber gesiedelten Juden und Bauern bestehend”. (p. 54, Ab. 63): “Es ist dieser der Ort, allwo während letzten Krieg ein sicherer Baron Gartenberg die Rußische Münze und mit dieser eine neue Colonie von verschiedenen, meist protestantischen Handwerkern und Handlangern und zum Theil auch von Juden angelegt hat”. Splény in Grigorovici 1998.

⁵⁸⁰ Kassner 1917, pp. 10-11.

⁵⁸¹ Benjamin et al. 1990, p. 249.

Although Splény did not allow Jews to own villages as a whole, the practice continued to persist under his successor Enzenberg. Admittedly, Splény had complained of the number of Jews in the newly-occupied area, but this had not stopped him from encouraging Jewish immigration.⁵⁸² Enzenberg however, on behalf of Vienna as well as from his own conviction, sought to bring down the number of Jews to that of the pre-Austrian times, which was said to have been limited to 200 families. Hopefuls arriving from Galicia were thus forced to return and sporadic attempts to establish Jews as farmers were averted by settlement restraints and administrative reluctance.⁵⁸³ By 1786, Enzenberg reported a decline from 714 to 175 Jewish families during the preceding four years.⁵⁸⁴ On the other hand, the Austrians had to conclude that the Jews in their function as middle men were vital to both the farmers who needed to sell their produce and to the Austrian troops and functionaries who needed to be provided with nutrition.

However, albeit on a small scale, in the early years of the Austrian occupation Jewish farmers had been active. In the course of time they disappeared altogether. Information on Jewish agricultural activities remains sketchy: although their presence as landlords and landowners is undisputed, information on their occupation as ‘farm Jews’ (*Ackerjuden*) is contradictory. Lindner mentioned a number of 55 farmer families out of a total of 793 Jewish families in 1803.⁵⁸⁵ Joseph Rohrer, a professor of political science and statistic from Lemberg, had found ‘entire Jewish communities devoted to farming’ around Suczawa and Sereth, an estimate which was endorsed several decades later when Count Schirnding noted six- to sevenhundred Jewish farmer families in the same area.⁵⁸⁶ Rohrer deemed these communities ‘the most vivid example that the entire Jewish nation could be a farming nation, if only they abandoned their Talmudic principles of uncleanness which made them dread manure more than the Vlachs dreaded the plague’.⁵⁸⁷ Kassner later argued that rather than for religious reasons, Jewish farmers left Bukovina because of the suffocating policies of the Church Fund which, he claimed, hampered the possibilities for medium-size farmers.⁵⁸⁸ As mentioned before, Jewish immigrants with farmer ambitions were also seriously thwarted by the military administration. Platter observed in the 1880s that Jewish activity in Bukovinian agriculture was limited to usury; while ‘in Galicia as a rare exception there were a few Jewish farmer families actually working the land themselves, in Bukovina one would seek similar cases in vain’.⁵⁸⁹

In 1781, Joseph II had allowed Jews to lease arable land on the condition that they were long-term residents. Purchase of that land was possible after a lease period of twenty years and after the applicant had been baptised. Initially, Jews were not allowed to own real estate in the

⁵⁸² Kassner 1917, pp. 12-13.

⁵⁸³ Scharr 2010, p. 198.

⁵⁸⁴ Benjamin et al. 1990 p. 291.

⁵⁸⁵ Lindner 1808, p. 280.

⁵⁸⁶ Schirnding, Ferdinand, *Oesterreich im Jahre 1840: Staat und Staatsverwaltung, Verfassung und Cultur*, Volume 1, O. Wigand, Leipzig 1840, p. 52.

⁵⁸⁷ Rohrer, Joseph, *Versuch über die jüdischen Bewohner der österreichischen Monarchie*, Kunst und Industrie Comptoir, Vienna 1804, pp. 59-60.

⁵⁸⁸ Kassner 1917, pp. 32-33.

⁵⁸⁹ Platter 1878, p. 46.

cities.⁵⁹⁰ Family names were forcibly Germanised.⁵⁹¹ In 1789, the Emperor issued the Jewish Arrangement Edict (*Judenordnungspatent*) for Galicia and Bukovina, which allowed Jews to choose their professions freely. From 1812 settling restriction for Jews in Bukovina were lifted as long as the Jewish settlers applied for formal permission with the authorities.⁵⁹² In comparison to Russia and Galicia, Austrian Bukovina was an attractive destination: for artisans and tradespeople there was no competition to speak of, taxes and costs of living were significantly lower and Bukovinian Jews were exempt from compulsory military service. Consequently, the unification of Bukovina with Galicia in 1786 was not welcomed by the Jews, who rejected Lemberg's Polonisation politics and maintained a positive attitude towards Vienna throughout the turbulent times of the revolutionary year 1848.⁵⁹³

For efficiency reasons, Joseph II had replaced Latin with German as the administrative language in Austria and had founded German-Jewish schools, while a court decree of 1786 demanded a primary school diploma from every Jew who applied for a marriage license. From the early 19th century, a rabbi or a Jewish official who headed his community was obliged to know German. Similarly, Jewish tradespeople were decreed to keep their books in German.⁵⁹⁴ After the 1848, the last limitations to the freedom of movement for Jews were lifted. As a result, the Jewish share of the Bukovinian population grew from 3.8% (1850) to 11.8% (1880).⁵⁹⁵ Although compulsory labour had been abolished and farmhands could now earn a much better living, labourers, unwilling to work for their former oppressors, were hard to find. Many landowners sold or leased their property to Jews to secure at least part of their assets.⁵⁹⁶ 'Jewish speculators' were blamed for the miserable state of Bukovina's economy. They were said to be 'without decent jobs or professions' and their way of doing business 'dishonest'.⁵⁹⁷

Jews and the Local Economy

The arrival of large numbers of Jews in Bukovina brought economic stimulus, but also tensions which fuelled anti-Semitism. Between 1885 and 1894, 98% of the spirits trade was in Jewish hands as a result of the propination system: taverns and alcohol licences were usually

⁵⁹⁰ Turczynski 1993, p. 69.

⁵⁹¹ Targan, Edmund, *Czernowitz 1408- 2008. Eine Suche nach dem Mythos*, Books on Demand GmbH, Norderstedt 2008, p. 16.

⁵⁹² Hausleitner 2006 (*Eine wechselvolle Geschichte...*), p. 33.

⁵⁹³ Hausleitner 2001, p. 72; Maner, Hans-Christian, *Galizien: eine Grenzregion im Kalkül der Donaumonarchie im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, IGKS Verlag, Munich 2007, p. 248.

⁵⁹⁴ Heymann 2003, pp. 46-51.

⁵⁹⁵ Hausleitner 2001, p. 72.

⁵⁹⁶ "Weil nun Feld- und anderen Arbeiter schwer oder gar nicht zu bekommen sind, obgleich die Bezahlung derselben bei weitem der Werth der bestandenen Robot aufwiegt; so hat es mancher Gutsbesitzer vorgezogen, sein Gut entweder an - bekanntlich nur den eigenen Vorthail suchende - Israeliten zu verkaufen oder zu verpachten, um wenigstens einen Theil seines Vermögens zu retten (...)". Henniger-Seeberg, Adalberth, *Stimmungsbericht*, 31 December 1853/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MI 79/2.

⁵⁹⁷ St.N. *Die materiellen Zustände des Bukowiner Landmanns*, Sonntagsblatt der Bukowina, 10, 09.03.1862, pp. 79-80.

owned by the landlords and rented to tavern-keepers. The latter were mostly Jews, who had a mediating position this way between the landlord and the peasants.⁵⁹⁸ As a result, Jews were often blamed when peasants - but also wealthy landowners - lost their property because of alcohol abuse and related loans.⁵⁹⁹ When property restrictions for Jews were lifted in 1867 the number of Jews who now not only leased, but also owned large estates in Bukovina quickly rose. By 1910, Jews either owned or leased 85% of all Bukovinian estates. Romanian nationalists publicly denounced Jewish economic power, but at the same time both the Bukovinian (Romanian-oriented) nobility and the Church Fund leased and sold their assets to Jews and thus promoted Jewish influence on the local economy. In the towns, Jews usually lived from small trade and crafts. Bankers and German-language newspaper editors were exclusively Jewish-owned and managed. By 1912, of the 1402 small businesses in Czernowitz, 1269 had Jewish owners.⁶⁰⁰ The capital market in Bukovina was almost completely in private (Jewish) hands. A mutual savings bank (*Bukowiner Sparkasse*) was established only in 1860 and branches of Viennese banks in Czernowitz were more than cautious in giving out loans in the impoverished crownland.⁶⁰¹ As such, major investments and industrialisation did not materialise.

The growing number of secondary schools (*Gymnasien*) and the establishment of the university in 1875 allowed Jews to improve their social chances by means of education, an opportunity the overwhelming majority eagerly embraced. Before the 1848, Jews had refused to send their children to state schools for religious reasons. The fact that under Lemberg rule the language of tuition was Polish had not helped, either. Jews had paid the obligatory fees to the state schools, but had sent their offspring to Jewish schools (*Talmudei Torah* and *Hadarim*) instead. The first Jewish school, established in 1853, had more than 700 students by 1872. The German secondary school (*Gymnasium*) in Czernowitz only had non-Jewish students in its first years of existence.⁶⁰² However, by 1895, at the commercial college 90% and at the Czernowitz main *Gymnasium* 42% of the students was Jewish.⁶⁰³ The fixation on higher education, enhanced by the different nationalist factions who saw segregated schools as key vehicles to distribute their ideas, created additional problems in the economically underdeveloped region. *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* deplored the ever growing number of *Gymnasien* and observed that every thousandth Bukovinian was a student at the Franz Joseph University. The situation was worst with the Jews, who sent their children *en masse* to law school in spite of the huge surplus of trained legal professionals. This 'intellectual beggar's proletariat' (*geistiges Bettelproletariat*) was doomed to remain unemployed while the lack of trained craftsmen and farmers further undermined the crownland's economy.⁶⁰⁴ Prominent

⁵⁹⁸ Struve 2003, p. 105.

⁵⁹⁹ Platter 1878, p. 35.

⁶⁰⁰ Ministerul Lucrărilor Publice și Comunicațiilor, *Observațiuni și documentari făcute în vederea întocmirii planului de sistematizare a orașului Cernăuți*, Bucharest 1942/ ANR, Fond Ministerul Lucrărilor Publice și Comunicațiilor, Direcția de Arhitectură și Urbanism, dosar 702.

⁶⁰¹ Hausleitner 2001, p. 46.

⁶⁰² Targan 2008, p. 27.

⁶⁰³ Hausleitner 2001, pp. 73-74.

⁶⁰⁴ *Die Studierwut*, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 14.07.1903, p. 1.

Czernowitz law professor Eugen Ehrlich repeatedly addressed the problem and was supported by influential colleagues like Salomon Kassner.⁶⁰⁵

Insofar they existed in Bukovina, production facilities were also largely in Jewish hands: six out of the seven breweries, most of the distilleries, a button factory, a brush factory, some of the brick-works, cement works, construction companies, a tile factory, a large sugar factory, tanneries and so on.⁶⁰⁶ The political system which also allotted seats in the regional diet to representatives from the Chambers of Commerce converted the economic power position of Jewish business people into political weight.⁶⁰⁷ At the same time, there was a large Eastern Jewish proletariat living in a state of absolute poverty.⁶⁰⁸ The late 1800s were marred by a general economic crisis which had started in 1873. The completion of the railway line Lemberg-Czernowitz-Iași turned out to be disadvantageous for Bukovina, since its local industry could not compete with the influx of cheap consumer goods.⁶⁰⁹ The situation got worse when a customs war between the Habsburg Empire and Romania broke out in 1886. The prohibitive import duties imposed by Romania hit Bukovina hard and companies from the west which had previously produced for the Romanian market now became each other's competitors. Emigration rose steeply. Many Bukovinians, including Jews, left for the Americas.⁶¹⁰

Throughout the era of Habsburg Bukovina, the economic activities of its Jewish population were associated with spirits trade and usury and *mutatis mutandis* with alcoholism and poverty. Sources blaming Jewish inn-keepers for spreading alcoholism downplayed the fact that those inn-keepers (at least initially) were the agents of the non-Jewish landlords. Budai-Deleanu noted that in the early 1800s, landowners simply circumvented the ban on leasing alcohol permits to Jews by assigning these permits to a 'Christian' name. With the servitude system still in place, Jews were expected to inform landlords who were in need of manual labour but had exhausted their annual robot days about indebted serfs; these serfs were then made to work off their alcohol debit.⁶¹¹ Still, the situation was better than in Galicia, where serfs were even forced to buy off a minimum of the landlord's spirit production,⁶¹² but the system of money lending for the financing of alcohol consumption proved to be ravaging just the same. *Sonntagsblatt der Bukowina* wrote in 1862 that Jewish usury, in combination with

⁶⁰⁵ "Ja, glauben Sie, daß wirklich ein Volk durch Gymnasien groß wird oder groß werden kann? Ich bin nicht dieser Ansicht und möchte möglichst wenig von Gymnasien hören, die noch so sehr besucht sind und noch so viele Beamtenstellen für sich zu verschaffen trachten". Ehrlich 1916, p. 28; also Kassner 1917, p. 59.

⁶⁰⁶ Stambrook 2003, p. 6.

⁶⁰⁷ Ceaușu 2004, p. 140.

⁶⁰⁸ Ehrlich, Eugen, *Die Aufgaben der Sozialpolitik im österreichischen Osten (Juden- und Bauernfrage)*, Schriften des Sozialwissenschaftlichen Akademischen Vereins in Czernowitz – 1, Duncker & Humblot, München/Leipzig 1916, p. 34.

⁶⁰⁹ Hausleitner 2001, p. 44.

⁶¹⁰ Kassner 1917, pp. 25-26.

⁶¹¹ Budai-Deleanu in Grigorovici 1998, p. 418 (Ab. 53).

⁶¹² Raimund Friedrich Kaindl: *Das Entstehen und die Entwicklung der Lippowaner-Kolonien in der Bukowina*. Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 1896, p. 72; see for this minimum quota in Galicia (*przymus konsumpcji*) Stauter-Halsted, Keely, *The Nation in the Village : The Genesis of Peasant National Identity in Austrian Poland, 1848-1914*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca 2001, pp. 29-30.

alcoholism in the countryside, produced a growing caste of homeless beggar families.⁶¹³ That same year, Governor Martina reported to Vienna that the acquisition of property by Jews ‘at the expense of the non-Jewish population’ had reached such proportions that in time ‘public administration might need to interfere’.⁶¹⁴ Several years later, his successor noted that ‘regrettably, it became inevitable that the needy peasants were more than ever surrendered to the usurious hands of the Jews who exploited this good opportunity’.⁶¹⁵

This ‘good opportunity’ was another aspect largely ignored by those who held the Jews responsible for the deplorable state of affairs. Even Julius Platter, whose book on usury blamed the Jews for rural poverty and who was quoted in anti-Semitic pamphlets by Mihai Eminescu and others,⁶¹⁶ could not entirely exonerate the debtors from the misery in which they found themselves. He had to conclude that it was not ‘the borrowing itself, but only the reckless borrowing, the headless, aimless getting into debt’ that mattered, adding that, contrary to the peasant population, ‘Jews seldom or never ruined themselves only to parade at weddings and funerals’.⁶¹⁷ In 1917, Bukovinian Franz Zach endorsed Platters statements, and although he lamented how ‘forty-three years ago only, the Jew was merely tolerated in this land, a poor devil who established a measly liquor store somewhere outside a town or a small village’ while now ‘this Jew’ basically owned everything, he also asserted that Bukovinian peasants mainly borrowed in order to drink. Then again, Bukovinian peasants were ‘a bunch of big children (*ein Volk von großen Kindern*): credulous, naive, trusting and unfamiliar with the trickery of usurers’.⁶¹⁸ The Romanian nationalists from *Apărarea Națională* underlined that many of their nation's habits were good and had a specific history, habits they had to support and nurture since they distinguish them from other nations, but also admitted that it was equally true that the peasants practiced a lot of bad habits, which had to be wiped out (*trebuie scărpite*) before it was too late. Binge drinking and gambling were prominent among these vices.⁶¹⁹

It remained rare to hear Romanian nationalists criticise the landowning aristocracy who leased their property to Jews or hired them as mediators or to hear them condemn the local lifestyle: since a successful nationalist strategy required solidarity between the classes ‘of one nation’,

⁶¹³ St.N. *Die materiellen Zustände des Bukowiner Landmanns*, Sonntagsblatt der Bukowina, 10, 78-80, 09.03.1862, p. 80.

⁶¹⁴ “...erlaube ich mir (...) zu bemerken, daß diese Zustände, die sich zum Nachtheile der nicht jüdischen Bevölkerung jedenfalls progressiv auswirken müssen, seinerzeit die Staatsverwaltung beschäftigen dürften”. Martina, Wenzel, *Abschrift des an Se Excellenz den Herrn Polizeiminister erstatteten Volkstimmungsberichtes des Bukowinaer Landes*, 13 April 1862/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, mapa 86/3.

⁶¹⁵ “Leider läßt sich der bedauernden Thatsache nicht vorbeugen, daß das Landvolk in seiner Noth mehr denn je den Wucherhänden der die gute Gelegenheit ausnützenden Israeliten preisgegeben ist”. Amadei, Rudolf, *Bericht über die Volkstimmung I. Quartal*, 44 Pr., 28 April 1865/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MI 85/4.

⁶¹⁶ Hausleitner 2006 (*Eine wechselvolle Geschichte...*), p. 51.

⁶¹⁷ Platter 1878, p. 43.

⁶¹⁸ Zach 1917, pp. 205-208.

⁶¹⁹ *Constatări*, *Apărarea Națională*, 4, 18.01.1908, p. 2.

lords and peasants rather inveighed against the ‘other’, the ‘stranger’⁶²⁰ than questioned each other’s lines of action. Jewish innkeepers and moneylenders met the demand for strangers and scapegoats more than adequately. Even as recently as 1996, Romanian historian Grigorovici maintained that Jews ‘had caused much harm in the countryside as leasers, innkeepers and usurers’.⁶²¹

The Social Position of Bukovinian Jews

More than in competing nationalist versions of Habsburg Bukovina’s history, Vienna and the Empire are essential in Jewish historiography. In the words of British historian David Rechter, ‘the Habsburg state takes centre stage in the Jewish version of the Bukovina myth, and is lauded for its protective and even-handed engagement with Jewish concerns - an approach that shielded them [the Jews] from the excesses of anti-Semitism and the belligerent nationalism that grew apace among many of the Empire’s peoples in the second half of the nineteenth century’.⁶²² (...) When the young Emperor Franz Joseph visited the now autonomous crownland for the first time in 1851, Jews were prominently present with torah rolls and blessings to welcome him. Similar scenes could be observed during the Emperor’s visit in 1855. When the monarch’s arrival in Bukovina in 1880 coincided with the celebration of the Day of Atonement (*Yom Kippur*), religious Jews even interrupted their religious ceremony to hail him.⁶²³ In 1867, five future Jewish members of the municipal council of Seret requested the form of the inauguration oath to be adjusted for them, to which the governor agreed as long as the character of the oath remained intact.⁶²⁴ The Imperial decision of 1874 to establish a university in Czernowitz was emphatically supported by the Jewish congregation and its gratitude and loyalty were communicated to the Emperor.⁶²⁵ Of the 188 students who registered for the 1875/76 winter semester, 48 were Jewish.⁶²⁶ Throughout the years, the wishes of religious Jewish students were taken into account in a practical way: in spite of the already numerous holidays, in 1914 it was left to the discretion of lecturers to

⁶²⁰ More on nationalism and the otherness of Jews in East-Central Europe in : Baár, Monika, *Historians and Nationalism: East-Central Europe in the Nineteenth Century*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2010, pp. 264-270.

⁶²¹ Grigorovici 1996, p. 263

⁶²² Rechter 2008, p. 328.

⁶²³ Kassner 1917, pp. 21-22.

⁶²⁴ “Im Grunde hoher Weisung vom 2. d.M. Zl. 1008/Praes wird dem hohen k.k. Landtagspräsidium das Gutachten betreff der Modifikation der für Israeliten vorgeschriebenen Eidesformel, welches durch die hiesigen Israeliten Mendel, Steinberg, Isaak, Kapralik u. Benzion Landon im Protokolle [...] abgegeben wurde, mit dem ergebensten Bemerkten vorgelegt, daß nach dem unvergreiflichen Dafürhalten das Gefertigten nach der für Christen vorgezeichneten Formel abgeändert werden können, jedoch in die israelitische Eidesformel jedenfalls einzuschalten ware, daß der Schwörende den Eid ohne Doppelsinn und ohne Gemüthshinterhalt ablegt”. Amtsvorstand Seret, *Bericht des Sereter kk Bez Amtsvorstandes ddto. 4 Juli 1867 an Landespräsidium Czernowitz*, 1057 Praes, 4 July 1867/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 2982.

⁶²⁵ Alesani, Hieronymus, *Instruction to Governor’s Office*, 748, 19 December 1874/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 3966.

⁶²⁶ Franz Joseph University, *Statistische Uebersicht der im Winter-Semester 1875/6 an der Franz-Josephs-Universität zu Czernowitz inscribirten Hörer*, 1875/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 4070.

judge whether the number of Jewish students in their groups was large enough to observe the main Jewish holidays as well.⁶²⁷ From 1905 until 1907, Eduard Reiss was the first Jewish mayor of Czernowitz and from 1912 until 1914, Salo Weisselberger was the second Jew to hold this position.⁶²⁸ Both mayors were considered assimilated Jews and as such reflected the opinion widely held in Vienna that Jews in Bukovina were more integrated than those in Galicia.⁶²⁹

The history of Habsburg Bukovina's capital Czernowitz is inextricably connected to its largely Jewish character, which in turn showed ample diversity. As Rechter put it, 'Jewish society here was characterised by an uncommonly intense relationship between east and west, a familiarity born of proximity: small physical distances mitigated the effects of vast cultural differences'.⁶³⁰ Indeed, the assimilated, or at least integrated, Jewish bourgeoisie, the poorer Jews of the lower town and the Hasidic community in adjacent Sadagora all shared the same small space. Already in 1787, 90 of the 414 registered houses in the city had belonged to Jews.⁶³¹ Those propagating 'westernisation' of Bukovina's Jews such as Salomon Kassner underscored the striking variety - typically reduced to the 'east vs. west' dichotomy - and the cliché of the 'western oasis in Semi-Asia'. This way, they favourably compared the Czernowitz city Jew to his antipode in 'the miserable hamlet of Sadagora'.⁶³²

Czernowitz had the highest proportion of Jews compared to other Austrian cities. Prior to the First World War, their number of almost 30,000 made up approximately 33% of the city's residents. As such, it was the fourth-largest Jewish city in Austria after Vienna, Lemberg and Cracow.⁶³³ Czernowitz-born Israeli historian Zvi Javetz maintained that by 1918, Jews accounted for no less than 47% of Czernowitz.⁶³⁴ While Orthodox Jews resisted Germanisation and modernisation policies, the beneficial conditions in Bukovina attracted more and more Jewish hopefuls from outside the crownland. Czernowitz emancipated from a provincial backwater into a commercially and culturally bustling centre. Unlike West and Central European cities, it lacked a traditional Christian bourgeois upper class. This void was

⁶²⁷ Frisch, Rector, *Schreiben an k.k. Landesregierung*, Zl. 21, Czernowitz, 15 February 1914/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCĬ LXXXVII/7.

⁶²⁸ See for instance Cornis-Pope Marcel and Neubauer, John, *History of the Literary Cultures of East-Central Europe: Junctures and Disjunctures in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam 2006, p. 63; Stambrook 2003, p. 11; also Kühn, Franka, *Dr. Eduard Reiss - Der erste jüdische Bürgermeister von Czernowitz 1905-1907*, Hartung-Gorre Verlag, Konstanz 2004.

⁶²⁹ Maner 2007, p. 250.

⁶³⁰ Rechter, David, *A Jewish El Dorado? Myth and Politics in Habsburg Czernowitz*, in: Cohen et. al., Richard I. (ed.), *Insiders and Outsiders: Dilemmas of East European Jewry*, The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, Portland 2010, 207-220, p. 212.

⁶³¹ Benjamin 1990, p. 325.

⁶³² Kassner 1917, p. 45.

⁶³³ Rechter 2010, p. 213.

⁶³⁴ Yavetz, Zvi, *Erinnerungen an Czernowitz - Wo Menschen und Bücher lebten*, C.H. Beck o.H.G, Munich 2007, p. 15.

filled by the Jews.⁶³⁵ Their integration into society is aptly illustrated by the fact that the first stone for the new Czernowitz synagogue was laid by Chief Rabbi Lazar Igel and the second by Orthodox Metropolitan Eugenie Hacman. Apart from two Jewish mayors, the city's university also had several Jewish deans.⁶³⁶

According to Ukrainian Germanist Rychlo, the large number of Czernowitz Jews was the reason they were never ghettoised before the Second World War, while their social stratification assured they were spread all over the city.⁶³⁷ However, the lower town with its poor housing, unsafe drinking water and unhealthy living conditions was largely inhabited by proletarian Jews.⁶³⁸ Even if the neighbourhood was not a ghetto in the official sense of the word, it was often referred to as one. In 1942, the Romanian Ministry of Public Works and Communication described how in 1866, the 'Jewish neighbourhood' had been completely ruined by fire and how 'its miserable and dirty wooden houses had been destroyed in such a way that the Jewish ghetto appearance of the commercial district had been altered, thus giving way to the creation of straighter and better-aligned streets'.⁶³⁹ In 1902, Czernowitz mayor Kochanowski, confronted with resistance from the Jewish side when it was rumoured that a police force reform was directed against the Jews, condemned the rabble-rousers and expressed his regret 'that the suggestive power of the slogans had not been used in the better and nobler sense of bringing education and awareness where needed and of eliminating the partially still-existing ghetto'.⁶⁴⁰

Whereas Czernowitz proper was often considered a byword for Jewish modernisation, assimilation and emancipation, its orthodox eastern mirror image could literally be found at its doorstep in the town (and later suburb) of Sadagora, where the Hasidic Friedman dynasty held court. The majority of the educated Czernowitz Jews could be seen as 'progressive', influenced by the Jewish Enlightenment (*Haskalah*/השכלה), and as such strongly integrated in the German cultural realm. Another side of the Jewish spectrum was embodied by the followers of the 'wonder rabbi' or 'righteous one' (*tzadik*/צדיק) of Sadagora. The first rabbi of the Ruzhyn dynasty (named after its original hometown of Ruzhyn in present-day Ukraine) was Israel Friedman, who had fled from the Russians and had found refuge in the Habsburg

⁶³⁵ Corbea-Hoisie 2003, pp. 32-33.

⁶³⁶ Stambrook 2003, p. 2.

⁶³⁷ Rychlo 2006, p. 10.

⁶³⁸ Stambrook 2003, p. 3.

⁶³⁹ "În același an cartierul evreesc a fost mistuit complet de incendiu. Casele din lemn sărăcăcioase și murdare au fost distruse, așa că înfățișarea veche de ghetto evreesc al cartierului comercial s'a schimbat, dând astfel posibilitatea de a se croi străzi noi mai drepte și mai bine aliniate". Ministerul Lucrărilor Publice și Comunicațiilor, *Observațiuni și documentari făcute în vederea întocmirii planului de sistematizare a orașului Cernăuți*, Bucharest 1942/ ANR, Fond Ministerul Lucrărilor Publice și Comunicațiilor, Direcția de Arhitectură și Urbanism, dosar 702.

⁶⁴⁰ "Ich bedauere nur, dass die suggestive Kraft der Schlagworte nicht in dem besseren und edleren Sinne gebraucht wird, unter die jüdische Bevölkerung dort, wo es vonnöthen ist, Bildung und Aufklärung zu bringen und das theilweise noch bestehende Ghetto zu beseitigen (...)". Kochanowski, Anton, *Die Polizeidirection und unsere jüdischen Mitbürger*, Bukowinaer Journal, 53, 28.01.1902, p. 1.

Empire. According to Austrian emigration law, any person possessing a minimum sum of ‘ten thousand silver coins’ could obtain a residence permit. Friedman had been able to meet this requirement. After lengthy deliberations, the Emperor signed the decision that ‘the foreign Jew Israel Friedman be permitted to stay on in Sadagora as long as there was no reason to the contrary’. Although the Austrian authorities had ordained Friedman to settle near the Galician town of Kolomea, Friedman himself had meanwhile purchased property from Baron Mustatza in Bukovina and stubbornly refused to leave from there. According to a Viennese memorandum, this solution satisfied the authorities as well, since they reckoned that ‘Friedman would presumably have little lasting influence on the Jews of Bukovina, who were more educated than those of Galicia, where there were more ignorant, superstitious Jews’.⁶⁴¹ Salomon Kassner shared this view, stating that Bukovinian Jews could not be classified as Eastern Jews because, unlike in Galicia, the power of the rabbis had always been limited in Bukovina.⁶⁴² Some Jewish circles had expected the rabbi to adopt a more moderate way of life in Austria after the problems he had encountered in Russia,⁶⁴³ but this proved to be wishful thinking.

Although dressed in traditional caftans, the Hasidim (חסידים) were known to worship in a cheerful way and loved to sing and dance.⁶⁴⁴ Rabbi Israel Friedman, who died in 1850, believed that an aristocratic, luxurious lifestyle was necessary in order to instill pride in his followers to impress the non-Jewish populace; his son Abraham Jakob respected this tradition and built a new, splendid palace.⁶⁴⁵ In 1776, there were only 186 registered Jews in Sadagora; by 1873, there were 3,591.⁶⁴⁶ The lavish luxury of the Sadagora Court as well as the large number of pilgrims it attracted soon became widely known. In its *Monthly Record*, the Free Church of Scotland provided a vivid description of the situation in Sadagora in 1866:

*In the streets nearly all the people you meet are dressed in long caftans, with Polish hair caps. They wear their hair long and curled, and their faces are almost all red and inflamed by the abuse of alcoholic drinks. Nevertheless, this town, obscure and nasty as it is, exercises over the Jewish population of that province and the surrounding country, an attraction as powerful as the most celebrated places of pilgrimage in Italy once exercised over the Polish population of that peninsula. Its prestige is due to this: that there dwells there a family of which, as the Jews of that region believe, the Messiah is destined to be born. (...) Sadagora has become for the Jews of Poland, Russia, Bukovina, Moldavia and Wallachia, the favourite place of pilgrimage.*⁶⁴⁷

⁶⁴¹ Assaf, David, *The Regal Way: The Life and Times of Rabbi Israel of Ruzhin*, Stanford University Press, Stanford 2002, p. 140-149.

⁶⁴² Kassner 1917, p. 45.

⁶⁴³ “Die eigenthümliche (mehr fürstliche als rebbische) pompose Lebensweise dieses Mannes, sein chassidischer Hofstaat und die Größe seiner ihm willenlos gehorchenden Umgebung, hat für ihn und die Seinigen in Rußland die unheilvollsten Ereignisse herbeigeführt (...). Auf österreichischem Gebiete wird er wahrscheinlich eine andere Lebensweise ergreifen”. Barasch, Julius, *Wanderungen durch das Krakau'sche Galizien, Bukowina, Moldau und Wallachei*, in: *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, Leipzig, 36, 02.09.1844, p. 511.

⁶⁴⁴ Turczynski 1993, p. 108.

⁶⁴⁵ Stambrook 2003, p. 4.

⁶⁴⁶ Assaf 2002, p. 152.

⁶⁴⁷ *A Messianic Family*, in: *The Free Church of Scotland Monthly Record*, 51. 01.10.1866, pp. 12-13.

Within Orthodox Jewish circles, the excessive life-style of some Hasidic leaders and in particular that of those affiliated with the Sadagora dynasty led to a struggle in 1868 which caused the split of the Hasidic community into two opposing factions: the Hasidim of Neu-Sandez (Galicia) and those of Sadagora.⁶⁴⁸ Although the Sadagora dynasty proved to be the stronger one,⁶⁴⁹ a succession conflict within the Friedman family led to the establishment of a second Hasidic court in Bojan in 1883.⁶⁵⁰ Years earlier already, a Hasidic Court had been established in Wiznitz by Menachem Mendel, a son of the Kosów *tzadik* from Galicia,⁶⁵¹ thus bringing the total of Hasidic courts in Bukovina to three. Sadagora thus lost its exclusive control and its influence gradually declined.⁶⁵² Still, it remained the most powerful Hasidic force and *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* commented in 1906 how family matters in the Friedman household affected Orthodox Eastern Jewry as a whole.⁶⁵³

The Sadagora Court and its *tzadikim* had been controversial from the start. The correspondent from the Free Church of Scotland had described the town as ‘small and excessively dirty’ and the ‘wonder rabbi’ (presumably Israel Friedman’s son) as a ‘wretched idiot’:

*In the brain under his white hair there is no intelligence; in his look and in his mind there is nothing which announces mental life or suggests a thinking human being. Although not yet by any means old, he cannot walk without being supported, neither can he utter anything but inarticulate sounds, intelligible only to the members of his family and his secretaries. Everything about him, in short, indicates a state of complete idiocy.*⁶⁵⁴

The authors of the 1882 *Illustrated Guide to the Eastern Carpathians, Hungary, Galicia, Bukovina and Romania* were equally abhorred by the Sadagora rabbis, who were ‘unfortunately tolerated by the authorities, exploiting the poor superstitious Hasidic people in the most shameless way and enjoying almost divine veneration’. The *Illustrated Guide* expressed indignation that ‘such things were tolerated in the nineteenth century’.⁶⁵⁵ In 1918, Russian Jewish historian Simon Dubnow regarded the Sadagora dynasty ‘a serious handicap to modern progress’.⁶⁵⁶ *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* criticised the squandering of money at the Court, but also underlined how much of the wealth brought to Sadagora by the pilgrims was spent on charity and on providing room and board for needy visitors.⁶⁵⁷ According to Austrian Jewish feminist Bertha Pappenheim, not all *tzadikim* were necessarily ‘swindlers’,

⁶⁴⁸ Lehmann, Rosa, *Symbiosis and Ambivalence: Poles and Jews in a Small Galician Town*, Berghahn Books, New York, 2001, p. 92.

⁶⁴⁹ Šafran 1939, p. 171.

⁶⁵⁰ Mintz, Jerome R., *Hasidic People: A Place in the New World*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge (Mass), London 1994, pp. 13-14.

⁶⁵¹ McCagg Jr., William O., *A History of Habsburg Jews, 1670–1918*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington 1989, p. 172.

⁶⁵² Stambrook 2003, p. 4.

⁶⁵³ *Rabbi Friedman*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 04.10.1906, p. 4.

⁶⁵⁴ *A Messianic Family*, The Free Church of Scotland Monthly Record, 51. 01.10.1866 pp. 12-13.

⁶⁵⁵ Heksch, Alexander and Kowszewicz, Wladimir, *Illustrierter Führer durch die ungarischen Ostkarpathen, Galizien, Bukowina und Rumänien*, A. Hartleben's Verlag, Vienna/Pest/Leipzig 1882, pp. 144-145.

⁶⁵⁶ Dubnow, Simon M., *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, Vol. 2, The Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia 1918, p. 259.

⁶⁵⁷ *Rabbi Friedman*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 04.10.1906, p. 4.

but she charged that some, including the Sadagora *tzadik*, exploited the ‘superstition and limited intelligence’ of their followers in order to amass personal riches and even political influence. She demystified the so-called ‘miracles’ these leaders performed, claiming they ‘were usually advice in business, medical or legal matters, whose efficacy [could] be explained by the rabbi’s experience in assessing the circumstances, or by psychological or suggestive influences.’⁶⁵⁸

Due to Sadagora’s mystic attraction and its large number of visitors it is not surprising that the phenomenon appeared in the memoirs of prominent authors. Galician author Leopold von Sacher-Masoch visited Sadagora in 1857 and although he recalled ‘narrow streets full of filth, streets with dark recesses that the sun’s rays never entered’, he also described the rabbi as a ‘miraculous man’.⁶⁵⁹ During the late 1800s, Galician-born Martin Buber, in later life an important Jewish religious philosopher, spent the summers of his childhood in Bukovina and recalled visits to the ‘dirty village of Sadagora’ as well as the ‘dark’ Hasidic crowd. The showy splendour of the rabbi’s palace repelled him, but he was at the same time impressed by ‘the genuine community and genuine leadership’ he witnessed there.⁶⁶⁰ The appeal of the Hasidic presence in Bukovina was not limited to Jews and those with a particular interest in Jewish life. Just like in Galicia,⁶⁶¹ Hasidic specifics provided attraction to any curious visitor. In her 1893 *Social and Economic Sketches from Bukovina*, Marie Mischler provided four chapters on the towns, craft, trade and usury but then surprisingly added a fifth chapter on Hasidic Jews, a step which can only be explained by the author’s personal fascination. With the same enticement in mind, the local Czernowitz tourist association tried to lure its target group to Bukovina with brochures containing lengthy descriptions of the Sadagora Hasidic palace.⁶⁶² The *Vossische Zeitung* from Berlin opened its Bukovina travel account with a romantic description of Wiznitz, ‘where on Fridays the peaceful glow of Sabbath lights still shone from the windows of low cottages and on workdays earnest men go around in caftans and with earlocks at their temples’.

Opposition to Jewish Enlightenment was not confined to Hasidic heartland alone: Czernowitz had its own internal struggle between those in favour, the Maskilim (יְלִי־מַשְׁכּ) and those opposing it, the Orthodox Misnagdim (מִתְנַגְדִּים).⁶⁶³ Their power struggle intensified after 1848, when the crownland status of Bukovina attracted a new wave of Maskilim immigrants from Lemberg. It escalated when the Maskilim managed to hire a rabbi of their choice, the reform-minded Eliezer Igel, who was also from Lemberg.⁶⁶⁴ The style of Igel’s sermons, his

⁶⁵⁸ Loentz, Elizabeth, *Let Me Continue to Speak the Truth: Bertha Pappenheim as Author and Activist*, Hebrew Union College Press, Cincinnati 2007, p. 145.

⁶⁵⁹ Sacher-Masoch as quoted in: Wolff, Larry, *The Idea of Galicia: History and Fantasy in Habsburg Political Culture*, Stanford University Press, Stanford 2010, p. 208.

⁶⁶⁰ Steele, David Ramsay and Mommer, Kerri (eds), *Genius: In Their Own Words - The Intellectual Journeys of Seven Great 20th-century Thinkers*, Open Court Publishing, Chicago 2002, p. 78.

⁶⁶¹ Hüchtner 2002, p. 82.

⁶⁶² *Dies und das – VIII*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 21.08.1910, p. 1.

⁶⁶³ The Hebrew word *misnagdim* literally means ‘opponents’ and unlike the impression created here, the misnagdim opposed the Hasidim rather than the Maskilim.

⁶⁶⁴ Spector, Sheila A., *Byron and the Jews*, Wayne State University Press, Detroit 2010, pp. 69-70.

approach of education and, later, the fact that he had started to preach in German further alienated the Orthodox members of the Jewish religious community.⁶⁶⁵ In 1872, these tensions led to a schism and the establishment of two Jewish religious communities,⁶⁶⁶ but the existence of two such entities in the same city was against Austrian law and the parties were forced to reconcile. They lived together in an uneasy truce thereafter.⁶⁶⁷

Although their numbers were lower than in Czernowitz or other towns, the number of Jews in rural areas was still impressive. Jewish demographer Jacob Lestschinsky noted that ‘Galicia was the only land in the whole world where such a large percentage of Jews lived in the villages, except for Bukovina’.⁶⁶⁸ In 1880, there were only eleven villages without a Jewish community in the crownland.⁶⁶⁹ Jews in rural Bukovina were mainly orthodox. Not only in the Hasidic strongholds Sadagora, Bojan and Wiznitz, they generally resisted secularisation and in turn were kept at bay by their Christian neighbours.⁶⁷⁰ Jewish Rosa Zuckermann (1908-2002), who still remembered Habsburg Bukovina from her childhood, confirmed the fact that village Jews differed ‘in every aspect’ from the fashionable city Jews, especially from those from Czernowitz.⁶⁷¹

Memoirs from Jews who experienced Austrian Bukovina first-hand tend to be nostalgic, for they inescapably compare those years to the hard times and the atrocities which were to follow in the post-Austrian years.⁶⁷² Therefore, it is hard to value statements like ‘before 1914, there was no anti-Semitism’, or ‘everybody was on friendly terms with each other’. Whereas American historian Keely Stauter-Halsted stated that ‘the Jewish presence in Galician villages was probably the strongest single source of ethnic tension’⁶⁷³, this was probably less overtly true for Bukovina and its (even) more diverse population. Still, as has been argued in connection with usury and spirits trade, such tensions did exist. Whether they were ‘ethnic’ is another question. Since the non-Jewish population mainly lived from farm work and the Jews from trade, there was more than just religion to create a barrier. ‘Living alongside of each other’ might in many cases have been a more adequate description than ‘living with each other’, as the memoirs of Adolf Katzenbeisser from the village Czudyn implied. At the same time, Katzenbeisser asserted that marriages between Jews and Catholics

⁶⁶⁵ Targan, Edmund, *Czernowitz 1408- 2008. Eine Suche nach dem Mythos*, Books on Demand GmbH, Norderstedt 2008, p. 28.

⁶⁶⁶ Rüthers, Monica and Schwara, Desanka, *Regionen im Porträt*, in: Haumann, Heiko (ed.), *Luftmenschen und rebellische Töchter: zum Wandel ostjüdischer Lebenswelten im 19. Jahrhundert*, Böhlau Verlag, Cologne/Weimar 2003, p. 67.

⁶⁶⁷ Stambrook 2003, p. 3.

⁶⁶⁸ As quoted in Himka 1988, p. 155.

⁶⁶⁹ Hofbauer 1997, p. 35.

⁶⁷⁰ Hausleitner 2001, p. 75.

⁶⁷¹ Coldewey 1999, p. 18.

⁶⁷² Stambrook 2003, p. 12; Rechter 2008, p. 328.

⁶⁷³ Stauter-Halsted, Keely, *The Nation in the Village: The Genesis of Peasant National Identity in Austrian Poland, 1848-1914*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca 2001, p.38.

were not uncommon.⁶⁷⁴ Rosa Zuckermann had different recollections from the town of Wiznitz, which was for more than ninety percent Jewish. A local Jewish general practitioner who had married a non-Jewish woman was the talk of the town and his marriage was considered scandalous.⁶⁷⁵ Folklorist Ion Sbiera, who went to school in Radautz in 1845, claimed that the town was ‘completely Romanian’ at that time and that Jews adjusted to the use of the Romanian language in public.⁶⁷⁶ Then again, Sbiera focused on the language used for doing business and did not hint on any social relations between Jews and other groups. In 1912, *Viața Nouă* complained that there was no such thing in Suczawa as a vibrant Romanian social life and that families and social classes lived to isolated from each other but that by contrast ‘almost only the Jews had ‘a true social life, lively and organic’.⁶⁷⁷ In his monography of the town of Sereth, Bukovinian theology professor Simeon Reli quoted an old man, Vasile Siretean, who claimed that bit by bit the town had been taken over by Jews and that the ‘Romanian element’, which had been in the majority until 1850, had been evicted to the edges of town by poverty and Jewish usury. From 1873, more and more property had been leased ‘to Jewish and other strangers’ according to Reli, whose clearly Romanian nationalist approach does not encourage the reader to take his observations at face value.⁶⁷⁸ German linguist Gustav Weigand visited Sereth in the early 1900s and noted the town was ‘completely flooded’ (*ganz überschwemmt*) by Jews.⁶⁷⁹

Jewish Lydia Harnik, who was a contemporary and a friend of the earlier quoted Rosa Zuckermann, was from Sereth herself. Her memoirs of Habsburg Sereth are rosier and speak of harmonious interethnic relations. Jews, Harnik recalled, sent their children to the local secondary schools and then off to either Czernowitz or Brünn to continue their studies at university. According to Harnik, even a town as provincial as Sereth had ‘a distinct intellectual character’ (*eine ausgesprochen geistige Prägung*).⁶⁸⁰ Rosa Zuckermann had witnessed a similar development in Wiznitz, where she knew ‘people who had studied, even abroad’.⁶⁸¹ Apart from the fact that these last two ‘eye witnesses’ knew each other well and might have influenced each other’s memories, it should be noted that it was clearly the ‘assimilated’, German-oriented among the Jews who brought this sort of development to the rural areas. Indeed, the Jewish physician, pharmacist, lawyer and so on played a pivotal role in the modernisation of small-town Bukovina.⁶⁸² The role of these smaller towns has so far been neglected by modern scholarship, which has regarded the history of Bukovina so far as one of ‘Czernowitz et le désert bucovinien’.

⁶⁷⁴ Katzenbeisser 1993, p. 33.

⁶⁷⁵ “Ach, was gab das für Gerede. Alle empörten sich. ‘Er leibt mit a Goje!’, sagten sie”. Coldewey 1999, p. 17.

⁶⁷⁶ Sbiera 1899, p. 92.

⁶⁷⁷ “(...) aice viața socială adevărată, vie, organică au aproape numai Jidani”. *Din Suceava (Corespondențe)*, *Viața Nouă*, 02.03.1912, p. 2.

⁶⁷⁸ Reli, Simeon, *Orașul Siret în vremuri de demult - Din trecutul unei vechi capitale a Moldovei*, Glasul Bucovinei, Cernăuți 1927, p. 135.

⁶⁷⁹ Weigand 1904, p. 14.

⁶⁸⁰ Lichtblau, Albert, *Als hätten wir dazugehört*, Böhlau Verlag, Vienna 1999, pp. 262-263.

⁶⁸¹ Coldewey 1999, p. 18.

⁶⁸² Hofbauer 1997, p. 35.

3.6 Jewish Nationalism in Bukovina

Jewish identification with German-Austrian culture gradually shifted from functional adjustment to acculturation. Apart from the clear refusal to join this development shown by the - often small-town based - Orthodox Jewish communities, there were no obvious alternatives for Bukovinian Jews until the 1890s.⁶⁸³ A more assertive approach was offered first by Mayer Ebner and Philipp Menczel who headed the Zionist movement in Bukovina. The movement was particularly popular with the younger generation of well-to-do urban bourgeoisie.⁶⁸⁴ Ebner focused on strengthening Jewish identity, establishing Hebrew schools and preparing for emigration to Palestine because, with the massive unemployment among educated Jews, he insisted there was no future for them in Bukovina.⁶⁸⁵ The Bund, the Federation of Jewish Workers of Poland, Russia and Lithuania, had been established in Russia in 1897 to spread social values to Jewish workers. It also extended its influence to Bukovina. With similar agendas, the associations Poalei-Zion (Workers of Zion) and the Jewish Workers' Association (*Jüdische Arbeiterbund*) emerged in Bukovina in the early 1900s.⁶⁸⁶ When the Austrian Social Democrats separated into national or ethnic divisions, their Bukovinian Jewish affiliates called themselves the *Bund* from 1908. In 1911 they associated with the Galician *Bund*.⁶⁸⁷

Still, the undisputed key figure of Jewish politics in Bukovina was Benno Straucher. In 1888 he became a member of the *Kultusgemeinde*, in 1903 its vice-president and in 1904 its president. He tried to raise the political consciousness of Bukovinian Jews and played an instrumental role in the founding of the Jewish National House and the Jewish orphanage.⁶⁸⁸ Straucher's brand of populism was successful mainly among the masses with a religiously orthodox and socio-politically conservative view.⁶⁸⁹ *Bukowiner Nachrichten* dismissed Straucher's followers as 'his electorate from Sadagora', 'the army of helots' (*das Heer seiner Hörigen*), 'the poor devils from the Jewish alley' (*die armen Teufel aus der Judengasse*) who were all said to be 'at his beck and call'.⁶⁹⁰ Not only was Straucher the unchallenged leader of the *Kultusgemeinde*, he also was a deputy in both the regional diet and the Austrian parliament. Straucher could not be bothered by ideologist debates and concentrated his views and campaigns on the central idea of a Jewish nation (*Volk*) and its proclaimed collective rights.⁶⁹¹ He initially worked together with the German nationalists and as such, his views represented an exotic mix of German liberalism and Jewish nationalism.⁶⁹² Anti-Semitism in Bukovina - for which he blamed the influence of nationalist professors attracted by the University of Czernowitz - and the resulting separatist Christian German movement ended

⁶⁸³ Hausleitner 2001, pp. 74-75.

⁶⁸⁴ Leslie 1991, p. 118.

⁶⁸⁵ Hausleitner 2001, p. 76.

⁶⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 77; Corbea-Hoisie 2004, p. 58.

⁶⁸⁷ Stambrook 2003, p. 10.

⁶⁸⁸ Kassner 1917, pp. 40-41.

⁶⁸⁹ Stambrook 2003, pp. 9-10.

⁶⁹⁰ *Eine Straucherversammlung*, *Bukowiner Nachrichten*, 6595, 2610.1910, p. 3.

⁶⁹¹ Rechter 2010, p. 217.

⁶⁹² Heymann 2003, p. 207.

Straucher's cooperation with representatives of German politics and helped to define his brand of Jewish nationalism. In the regional diet he declared in 1905:

*We are unconditional supporters of German culture, but we will not be merged into the Christian-German camp. We do not forget that the university unfortunately brought us this Graz colony. The gentlemen from Graz brought an institution into the land which was alien to us so far. I do not direct hatred, passion and jealousy towards the German people. What we Jews are fighting, however, is anti-Semitism which is spreading among Christian Germans.*⁶⁹³

Straucher was certainly the most prominent Jewish politician in Bukovina, but his struggle for recognition of the Jewish nationality was by no means supported throughout the entire Jewish community. A large segment of Bukovinian Jews preferred complete assimilation into German culture⁶⁹⁴ while others ridiculed the very concept of Jewish nationalism since there was no one-on-one relation between Jewish nationalism and a 'Jewish language'. If Jewish nationalists wanted to declare war on the German nationalists, they reasoned, it would be impossible to remain faithful to the language of the enemy.⁶⁹⁵ This obsession with language was not illogical: since the Austrian authorities desperately tried to keep Pandora's box of nationalities closed, they refused to acknowledge nationalities as legal entities. Consequently, censuses only worked with the denominator 'language of conversation', and since Yiddish was not recognised as a real language, Jews were not accepted as a nationality.⁶⁹⁶ Jewish nationalists attempted to solve this problem by embracing *yiddishkeit*, or, in the words of historians Lichtblau and John: "As the destabilising effects of the German host culture on their own identity became obvious in the wake of the mutually agreed-upon segregation, secularly acculturated Jews of Bukovina sought a new mainstay on which to base their Jewish nationality".⁶⁹⁷ Yet, this segregation was not 'mutually agreed-upon': in his report to Vienna, Governor Bourguignon presented Straucher's Jewish nationalism as a product of Skedl's anti-Semitism.⁶⁹⁸ To complicate matters further, Straucher's Jewish nationalism was not focused on the official recognition of the Yiddish language; he rather advocated expansion of Jewish minority schools with German as the medium of instruction.⁶⁹⁹

⁶⁹³ (Straucher, Benno), *Bukowiner Landtag*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 03.06.1905, p. 1.

⁶⁹⁴ Kassner 1917, p. 52.

⁶⁹⁵ *Die Neue Aera - Juden und Deutsche*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung 20.10.1905, p. 1.

⁶⁹⁶ Kohn, J., *Jüdisch oder Deutsch*, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 10.02.1911, p. 1.

⁶⁹⁷ Lichtblau, Albert and John, Michael, *Jewries in Galicia and Bukovina, in Lemberg and Czernowitz: Two Divergent Examples of Jewish communities in the Far East of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy*, in: Gilman, Sander L. and Shain, Milton (ed.), *Jewries at the Frontier: Accommodation, Identity, Conflict*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana 1999, 29-66, p. 56.

⁶⁹⁸ "Auch unter den Deutschen im Lande hat sich in letzter Zeit eine Dissonanz bemerkbar gemacht, indem der von einem Theile der bisherigen Mitglieder des Vereines der christlichen Deutschen unter Führung des Reichrathsabgeordneten Dr. Skedl unternommenen Versuch die deutsch-fortschrittlich gesinnten Elemente ohne Rücksicht auf deren Confession in dem neu gegründeten deutsch-fortschrittlichen Vereine zu verschmelzen, von einer Fraktion der Juden, unter Mitwirkung des Reichsrathsabgeordneten Dr. Straucher mit der Gründung eines selbständigen jüdischen politischen Vereines beantwortet wurde". Bourguignon, Friedrich, *Bericht an den Herrn k.k. Minister-Präsidenten als Leiter des k.k. Ministeriums des Innern hinsichtlich der derzeitigen politischen Situation im Lande*, 5852 Präz, 2 October 1901/ ANR, Fond , 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MI, mapa 84/2.

⁶⁹⁹ Hausleitner 2001, p. 78.

Nuances aside, *yiddishkeit* was the core element of diaspora or *galut* (גלות, literally: exile) nationalism, a tendency widely neglected because of the general acceptance of the contrariness between assimilation and Zionism. The concept was developed and promoted by Nathan Birnbaum, a thinker and journalist from Vienna. Having been a Zionist first, Birnbaum came to Czernowitz after a conflict with Theodor Herzl. Instead of looking down on Yiddish as a mere dialect (*Jargon*), he actively promoted its official status and maintained that if Jews wanted to appear in Austrian census results, they would have to indicate 'Jewish' as their language of communication: Austrian censuses were conducted exclusively along linguistic lines, so this was the only way the put Jews on the map as a 'nationality'.⁷⁰⁰ Whereas Eastern Jews had so far been broadly regarded as the impersonation of backwardness and hampering development by non-Jews and Jewish assimilationists, Birnbaum saw them as the stronghold of Jewish cultural integrity. With the central position of Eastern Jews as well as the status of Yiddish at the core of his program, Birnbaum irritated both assimilationists and Zionists.⁷⁰¹ In socialist circles, however, he met with a positive response: Bundists, in spite of their international perspective and their opposition to all sorts of nationalism, had adopted a national position which rejected Zionism as a bourgeois attempt to deflect Jewish workers from their class interest but insisted that Jews in Russia had the right to national cultural autonomy.⁷⁰² Members of 'Poalei-Zion' and the Jewish Workers' Association actively promoted Yiddish, not in the least because this was the easiest way for them to reach the Jewish working class.⁷⁰³ Karl Emil Franzos did not live to see this development. He had only witnessed its first signs, which he had denounced since he saw a separate Jewish nationality as a weakening of the German position in Bukovina. For the same reason, he had disapproved of the seclusion of Christian Germans and had characterised German anti-Semitism as 'suicide' for the German position in Bukovina.⁷⁰⁴

Birnbaum's ideas found a more than sympathetic ear in Czernowitz, where the young lawyer Max Diamant became a prominent defender of the *galut* cause. According to Diamant, the Jewish tribe (*Volksstamm*) was as much an entity as the Czechs, Polish, Germans or Ruthenians and Yiddish was as much a customary (*landesüblich*) language as the recognised languages of Bukovina, i.e. German, Romanian and Ruthenian.⁷⁰⁵ Together with Birnbaum, Diamant organised in Czernowitz the first-ever conference on the Yiddish language in 1908. The event attracted major authors from Galicia and Russia.⁷⁰⁶ Tellingly, opposition from the side of Bukovinian Zionists prevented the organisers from holding the conference in the Jewish House, so that - in true Bukovinian style - the first international gathering of

⁷⁰⁰ Stourzh, Gerald, *From Vienna to Chicago and Back. Essays on Intellectual History and Political Thought in Europe and America*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago 2007, pp. 190-194.

⁷⁰¹ Wistrich, Robert S., *Laboratory for World Destruction: Germans and Jews in Central Europe*, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln 2007, pp. 140-141.

⁷⁰² Baskin, Judith R. and Seeskin, Kenneth, *The Cambridge Guide to Jewish History, Religion, and Culture*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2010, p. 197.

⁷⁰³ Hausleitner 2001, p. 77.

⁷⁰⁴ Kassner 1917, pp. 49-50.

⁷⁰⁵ Stourzh 2007, p. 197.

⁷⁰⁶ Hausleitner 2001, p. 76.

Yiddishists was held in the Ruthenian House.⁷⁰⁷ Although a number of technical issues like grammar, theatre and press featured on the agenda, the conference would be remembered for the last agenda item, 'Recognition for the Yiddish Language'.⁷⁰⁸ This caused controversy, also between delegates who espoused Hebrew as the only Jewish national language and those who considered Yiddish the living Jewish language and Hebrew the language of prayer and the past. The assembly found a solution by proclaiming Yiddish *a* (not *the*) national language of the Jews and demanded its political, cultural and social equality to other languages.⁷⁰⁹ Diamant carried on in the spirit of the Conference and in 1909 he caused a stir when his demonstrative application for the establishment of a Jewish Theatre Association in Czernowitz, written in Yiddish in the Hebrew script, was rejected by the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Vienna. The judge had reasoned that the Jews were a religious group and not a 'nation' (*Volksstamm*) and furthermore, that Yiddish was a 'local dialect' (*Dialekt lokalen Characters*) and not a national language.⁷¹⁰ The Austrian authorities started to monitor Diamant and his activities closely: when the Theatre Association held its meetings in Yiddish, it was warned by the police in February 1910 that if this practice continued, the association would be dismantled. The Czernowitz police substantiated the warning not only by the fact that Yiddish did not have official status, but also with the more practical reason that the police was not able to overhear the contents of the discussions once they were held in Yiddish.⁷¹¹ This ban provoked an immediate reaction from Diamant and Birnbaum, who organised a meeting on 'the ban of the use of the Jewish languages at meetings', which attracted three- to four hundred attendees, including several women. At the meeting they lashed out at Bukovinian Jewish politicians, whom they accused of only going after mandates without having any understanding for the daily needs of the Jewish people. Local politicians were said to be ashamed of Yiddish and these politicians as well as Jewish intellectuals and students were deemed 'slackers'. The police reasoning that they would not be able to understand what was said at the meetings was considered inaccurate, 'since all inhabitants of Bukovina spoke

⁷⁰⁷ Yavetz 2007, p. 151.

⁷⁰⁸ King, Robert D., *The Czernowitz Conference in Retrospect*, in: Kerler, Dov-Ber (ed.), *Politics of Yiddish: Studies in Language, Literature, and Society*, Rowman Altamira, Walnut Creek/London/New Delhi 1998, 41-49 pp. 41-42.

⁷⁰⁹ Klingenstein, Susanne, *Enlarging America: The Cultural Work of Jewish Literary Scholars, 1930-1990*, Syracuse University Press, Syracuse 1998, 306-307.

⁷¹⁰ Hausleitner 2001, p. 77.

⁷¹¹ "Es ist die Wahrnehmung gemacht worden, dass bei den Versammlungen des Vereines die Redner in jüdischer Sprache beziehungsweise in Jargon referierten. Da diese Sprache nicht gesetzliche Amtssprache der mit der Ausübung des staatlichen Aufsichtsrechtes betrauten Vereinbehörde I. Instanz, diesfalls der k.k. Polizeidirektion ist, somit der Gebrauch derselben das der Vereinsbehörde gesetzlich zukommende Aufsichtsrecht illusorisch machen würde, wird der geehrte Verein aufmerksam gemacht, das im Falle des Gebrauches der bezeichneten Sprache bei Vereinsversammlungen mit der Auflösung der betreffenden Versammlung vorgegangen werden müsste". *Abschrift eines Berichtes des Präsidiums der k.k. Polizeidirektion in Czernowitz an den geehrten Verein 'Jüdisches Theater' zu Händen des Obmannes Herrn Dr. Max Diamant*, Zl. 1635 Präz, 26 February 1910/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MI 69/10.

better Yiddish than the Jewish leaders, because Bukovinian German was basically bad Yiddish'.⁷¹²

Whether the frustrations of the meeting's participants were justified or not, the complaint that Jewish students in Czernowitz were passive in the Jewish nationality question was certainly unsubstantiated. In 1905 and 1906, several cases were reported of violent clashes between members of Jewish-nationalist or Zionist student associations and their fellow Jewish students who belonged to one of the a-national associations Austria and Alemania.⁷¹³ A similar radicalisation and growing tension between Jewish and other students inspired Zionist organisations to call upon their student members to demand to be registered as Jews in the university administration.⁷¹⁴ In an official letter to the senate, Jewish students insisted on being registered this way for the 1905/1906 semester. They underlined their hope for a peaceful solution while recognising the German character of the university as well the position of the German language in the academic world. As a compromise they asked to be allowed to register as Jewish/German. If not, so they warned, indignant Jewish students just might register as 'Ruthenian' or 'Romanian' to avenge the infringement of their national pride.⁷¹⁵ This creative form of blackmail failed to impress Governor Regner-Bleyleben, who, when asked by the University Senate how respond to the demand, stated that it should be ignored 'since a Jewish nationality was out of the question', and left it at that.⁷¹⁶ By 1912, Max Diamant addressed the issue once more. He called it outrageous that students whose mothers hardly spoke any German were obliged to indicate the language as their 'mother tongue' and that as such the authorities forced students to submit incorrect data.⁷¹⁷ Eventually,

⁷¹² "Die Argumentation der k.k. Polizeidirektion, dass die Beamten nicht jüdisch verstehen, ist eine unrichtige, weil alle Bewohner der Bukowina besser jüdisch sprechen als die jüdischen Führer. Schliesslich ist ja das Bukowinaer Deutsch ein schlechtes Jüdisch". Hammer, Samuel, *Abschrift der Relation über den Verlauf der von Dr. Max Diamant für den 6. März um 6 Uhr abends im Saale des kaufm. Hauses mit der Tagesordnung 'Das Verbot des Gebrauches der jüdischen Sprache in Versammlungen' abgehalten jüdischen Volksversammlung*, ad Präs.Zl. 1483 ex 1910, 6 March 1910/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MI 69/10.

⁷¹³ Tarnewski, Prorektor, *Bericht des Rektorates der k.k. Franz-Josephs-Universität in Czernowitz an das k.k. Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht betreffend die Gewährung der Einsicht in die Disciplinarakten*, Zl. 825/ Zl. 837/Zl. 14136, Czernowitz, Zl. 825/ Zl. 837/Zl. 14136/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCÎ XCIII/8.

⁷¹⁴ Turczynski 1993, p. 196.

⁷¹⁵ "Die Vertreter der jüd. Studentenschaft glauben das Augenmerk des hohen Senates auf den Umstand lenken zu müssen, dass bei der letzten Inskription eine beträchtliche Anzahl jüd. Hörer als Muttersprache 'ruthenisch' oder 'rumänisch' angaben, weil sie die Zurückweisung ihrer mit 'jüdisch' als Muttersprache ausgefüllten Nationale als Verletzung ihres Nationalgefühls empfanden. Es besteht die Gefahr, dass dieses Beispiel in dem grössten Teile der jüd. Studentenschaft Nachahmung finden wird, wenn der hohe Senat in dieser Frage einen intransigenten Standpunkt einnehmen würde". Jüdische Studentenschaft, *Schreiben an den Universitätssanat*, 23993 ab, Wintersemester 1905/1906 (no date)/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCÎ XCIII/5.

⁷¹⁶ "Mit Beziehung auf den Erlass (...) betreffend das Gesuch der jüdischen Studentenverbindungen um Einschaltung der Rubrik 'Nationalität' in das Nationale, beehrt sich die k.k. Landesregierung unter Wiedervorlage des bezeichneten Gesuches und des bezüglichen Rektoratsberichtes zu bemerken, dass auf Wunsch der genannten Studentenschaft nicht einzugehen wäre, da von einer jüdischen Nationalität wohl nicht die Rede sein kann". Regner-Bleyleben, Oktavian, *Bericht an das KUM*, Zl. 2773, Czernowitz, 12 June 1906/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCÎ XCIII/5.

⁷¹⁷ Diamant, Max, *Rekurs gegen das Disziplinarerkenntniss der akademischen Senates Czernowitz vom 15/3 1912*, Zl. 596, Zl. 720, Czernowitz, 1912/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCÎ XCIII/8.

the nationalist student lobby proved to be a unique success: among all institutions in Cisleithania, only at the Franz Joseph University students were allowed to register as 'Jewish nationals' from the 1912-1913 semester onwards.⁷¹⁸

Other initiatives aimed at the recognition of a Jewish nationality and the Yiddish language remained fruitless. The 1910 general census with its much-debated 'language of conversation' criterion caused unrest in Jewish Bukovina after the Viennese authorities had once again rejected the inclusion of Yiddish in its list of recognised languages. Nationalist Jews, but also Zionists and Bundists launched the initiative for a private committee for the recognition of the Yiddish language at a meeting in December 1910, but the nervous Ministry of Home Affairs quickly prohibited any follow-up gatherings. A protest rally in Wiznitz with 3000 participants could not be forestalled, but did not lead to any government policy alteration.⁷¹⁹

More urgent and fundamental for the recognition of the 'Jewish nationality' than the 1910 census were the complicated negotiations for a Bukovinian Compromise which was largely inspired by its 1905 Moravian precursor. The Compromise was designed to guarantee representation for each interest group in both the regional diet and the Austrian parliament. As such, an early draft presented by Aurel Onciul, Alexandru Hurmuzaki and Mykola Vasylo⁷²⁰ had proposed to divide diet seats among Ruthenian, Romanian, German, Jewish and Polish nationalists, while assuring representation also to large landowners, Greek-Orthodox monasteries, the Greek-Orthodox Archbishop, the Rector of the University of Czernowitz and the Czernowitz Chamber of Commerce. Local nationalist forces had supported the Jewish plea, even if only to limit the Jewish influence in their own respective registers-to-be.⁷²¹ However, since Vienna staunchly refused to acknowledge a 'Jewish nationality', a pragmatic solution was found by means of a compensation system of 'electoral geometry'. In other words, gerrymandering Bukovinian voting districts was to guarantee that at least eight of the fourteen seats within the German register would go to Jewish representatives. For this reason, Austrian constitutional historian Gerald Stourzh later called the Bukovinian Compromise 'the most subtle work under the old Austrian Nationality Law'.⁷²² Although this way out of the stalemate between Vienna and the Bukovinian Jewish nationalist could optimistically be regarded as a 'de facto recognition of Jews as a national group',⁷²³ the lobby of the likes of Straucher and Diamant had not produced the aspired result. Logically, most of the ensuing criticism came from Jewish and German nationalists, who now found themselves involuntarily tied to each other.⁷²⁴ Assimilated Jews in Vienna and Galicia (the so-called 'Jewish Poles') on the other hand heaved a sigh of relief, since they had traditionally found themselves in a less advantaged position than the Bukovinian Jews and had feared that the

⁷¹⁸ Hausleitner 2001, p.78.

⁷¹⁹ Ibid.

⁷²⁰ Corbea-Hoisie 2004, p. 64.

⁷²¹ Leslie 1991, p. 127; See also Torouțiu 1916, part 1.

⁷²² Rachamimov, Alon, *Provincial Compromises and State Patriotism in fin-de-siècle Austria-Hungary*, in: Zuckermann, Moshe (ed.), *Ethnizität, Moderne und Enttraditionalisierung*, Wallstein Verlag, Göttingen 2002, 116-128 pp. 123-124.

⁷²³ Stambrook 2004, p. 199.

⁷²⁴ Leslie 1991, p. 130; Stourzh 2007, p. 200.

official recognition of a separate Jewish nationality would annihilate the bitterly-fought equality between the Jews and other Austrian citizens.⁷²⁵ This sense of relief was shared by other Cisleithanian parliament deputies who badly needed the Jewish vote to support a precarious minority in their area, such as, for example, the Germans in the Czech lands and the Polish club in Galicia.⁷²⁶

The failure of Jewish nationality recognition weakened Straucher's political position in Bukovina. In 1910, Zionists Mayer Ebner and Leon Kellner established the Jewish Popular Council (*Jüdischer Volksrat*) and tried to break Straucher's 'political dictatorship' while criticising his failed national mission. With regional diet elections still providing ten Jewish deputies, the now fragmented Bukovinian Jewish electorate managed to put only one Jewish deputy in the Austrian Parliament: Straucher, who had cunningly ran for the Hasidic Sadagora district of the Czernowitz constituency and therefore had been sure of his victory.⁷²⁷ Modest as this result may seem, the fact remains that Straucher was elected within the German register, on the specific ticket of the Jewish National Party. As such, he was the only 'official' Jewish deputy in the entire Parliament and a unique phenomenon in the western world as a whole.⁷²⁸ Staying true to his cause, he continued to appeal in parliament for recognition of the Jewish nationality until shortly before the collapse of the Habsburg Empire.⁷²⁹

A central question remains why Vienna so stubbornly persisted in refusing to grant Jewish nationalists their much-desired recognition. Historians tend to question the official motivation that the Fundamental Laws of Cisleithania defined the Jewish population of Austria as a 'religious group'.⁷³⁰ In 1916, Romanian nationalist Ilie Torouțiu had already considered the official government position a mere excuse to use the Jewish electorate as a Machiavellian trump card which could be glued to any national group in order to weaken another. Naturally, Torouțiu feared that Romanian speakers in Bukovina would be the principal victims.⁷³¹ Rather than suspecting constitutional cautiousness or cynical calculation, British historian Leslie and his Romanian colleague Corbea-Hoisie tended to follow the opinions expressed by Mykola Vasyenko in the regional diet in 1909. Vasyenko had suggested that it was not so much anti-Semitism which explained the official position, but rather the opposite: a fear that the Jewish nationalist ambitions might play into the hands of the anti-Semites who would thus obtain their pursued racial segregation free of charge.⁷³² According to Austrian historian Gerald

⁷²⁵ Kassner 1917, p. 54; Leslie 1991, p. 128.

⁷²⁶ Everett, Leila P., *The Rise of Jewish National Politics in Galicia, 1905-1907*, in: Markovits, Andrei S. and Sysyn, Frank E. (eds), *Nationbuilding and the Politics of Nationalism, Essays on Austrian Galicia*, Harvard University Press, Harvard 1982, 149-177, p. 162.

⁷²⁷ Kassner 1917, p. 55; Hausleitner 2001, p. 76.

⁷²⁸ Ceașu 2004, p. 220; Heymann 2003, p. 39.

⁷²⁹ *Das Schicksal der Bukowina*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung/Czernowitzer Tagblatt (Gemeinsame Kriegsausgabe), 02.12.1917, pp. 2-3.

⁷³⁰ Stourzh 1995, p. 48; Rachamimov 2002, pp. 123-124.

⁷³¹ "... ca nu este popor, pe care jidovimea din Bucovina să-l urască mai mult decât poporul românesc" [... since there is no nation that the Jewry of Bukovina hates more than the Romanian nation]. Torouțiu 1916, part 1.

⁷³² Leslie 1991; Corbea-Hoisie 2004, p. 65.

Stourzh, the official position was additionally motivated by the desire for further assimilation of the Empire's Jews and by the reluctance to incommode Vienna's traditional allies, the Galician Poles.⁷³³

Hard enough as it was to have a transparent debate on the complicated issue, the at times clumsy performance of local Austrian authorities was less than helpful. In his memoirs, former Bukovinian Governor Regner-Bleyleben complacently recalled how he had defended Vienna's position in the regional diet. He decided to confront Jewish nationalists with a quote by Karl-Emil Franzos

*who must be definitely close to you, and who wrote only thirty years ago: "The Jewish nation in the East is - I have to confess to my embarrassment - still a proper nation with its own habits, languages and customs". And now you want this government to petrify a situation which has been characterised as disgraceful by Jews themselves?*⁷³⁴

The governor's brave attempt to present to Jewish nationalists the 'assimilationist incarnate' Franzos as one of theirs betrayed, to say the least, a rather undeveloped understanding of the local disputes and sensibilities. However, Jewish nationalists found more obstacles on their path than ignorance alone. For Max Diamant, securing collective rights for Jews was the principal target. To this end, he had to apply the Austrian constitutional concepts of a 'nationality' (*Volksstamm*) with its own distinctive language. Both the concepts of the 'Jewish nation' and Yiddish as its 'national language' presented fundamental difficulties, which clearly came to the fore when Diamant defended his case before the Imperial Court (*Reichsrat*) in Vienna.

The most obvious stumbling block in the Jewish nationality debate was the fact that Jews had always been regarded as a religious community; another one was the question of assimilation. Could an assimilated and maybe even baptised Jew still be considered a Jew? Diamant tried to solve this matter by differentiating between Western and Eastern Jews. Only the latter, he argued, could claim nationality status in view of their compact settlement, their cultural traditions and their language. Even when, like in Galicia, Jews identified with Polish culture, they remained Jews 'because of their particular character', Diamant claimed.⁷³⁵ This line of argumentation was clearly flimsy, as *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* pointed out, since 'one could hardly recognise the Jews of Bukovina as a nation and treat the Jews of Lower Austria as a religion'. The newspaper agreed that there were reasons to regard Judaism as a 'national religion', but this did not mean that religion and nation were one and the same. The number of practical impossibilities would be manifold if Jews obtained nationality status. Would non-religious Jews still be registered as national Jews? Would a German who converted to Judaism stop being a German? Would Jews who assimilated generations ago be labeled Jews again against their will? A Romanian would always be a Romanian, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* sustained, no matter if he remained loyal to his religion or not.⁷³⁶ Similar arguments

⁷³³ Stourzh 1995, pp. 46-47; Stourzh 2007, p. 201.

⁷³⁴ Cordon and Kusdat 2002, p. 25.

⁷³⁵ Stourzh 2007, pp. 198-199.

⁷³⁶ *Der nationale Kataster - II/ Von besonderer Seite*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 10.08.1909, pp. 1-2.

Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung was aware of the problems posed by the absence of a definition of 'nationality'

were invoked by Interior Minister Haerdtl when he sent home a Jewish nationalist delegation from Bukovina in October 1909 because ‘he could not meet the wish for the creation of a Jewish register since it could be seen as an act of hostility against the Jews, as if the government wanted to make the political rights of the Jews dependent on their religious affiliation, contradictory to the Constitution’.⁷³⁷

The language problem was equally complex. Diamant persuasively argued that Yiddish was well-represented in modern literature, the press, political parties and the theatre, but he fell short of convincibility when it came to defend Yiddish as ‘the common language of one nationality’. Imperial Council member Count Piniński highlighted that there was not simply one Jewish language, since for instance ‘Zionists in the West’ spoke Hebrew. He also called Yiddish ‘a vernacular, spoken by the lower strata of the population’,⁷³⁸ and thus confronted Diamant with yet an additional, socially determined division next to the east-west partition which Diamant had conveniently applied himself. Indeed, the assimilated Bukovinian educated middle-class associated Yiddish with a part of society they did not consider themselves part of. Poet Rose Ausländer later recalled how Jewish parents made sure that their offspring did not mix Yiddish elements into their German (*jiddeln*).⁷³⁹

In short, the Austrian authorities were not inclined to experiment with the categories of ‘nationality’ and ‘religion’. Neither did they tend to attribute national language status to what they perceived as a local dialect. Political reasons may well have played a role in this decision, but the lengthy debates between Jewish nationalists and Austrian officials plainly showed that practical obstacles were more than merely disguised government reluctance.

3.7 Anti-Semitism and Bukovina: Attacks and Vindications

Historians generally agree that anti-Semitism was relatively weak in Habsburg Bukovina. The obvious lack of parameters has compelled authors to nuance to their conclusions. It is stated that religious and racial anti-Semitism as well as the opinion that Jewish creditors and businessmen were to blame for peasant misery only spread to the Bukovinian peasantry in the 1930s,⁷⁴⁰ while Ezra Mendelsohn maintained that ‘so long as Habsburg rule was maintained, relations between Jews and non-Jews were as good as anywhere else in Eastern Europe, and

and a law which only applied the language argument. Still, while most of the dilemmas presented here were justified, the simplicity of the statement ‘a Romanian will always be a Romanian’ was surely helpful in the debate on the Jewish nationality problem, but largely ignored the complexity of the nationality issue at large. As has been argued before, it was exactly the one-on-one linkage of language and nationality which hampered an adequate understanding of identifications and loyalties in the Empire. As such, the system did not only fail to adequately register a Jew, but proved equally insufficient in offering the mentioned ‘Romanian’ the tools to register his adherence(s).

⁷³⁷ *Freiherr v. Haerdtl über die jüdische Wahlkurie in der Bukowina*, Neue Freie Presse, 06.10.1909, p. 7.

⁷³⁸ Stourzh 2007, pp. 190-202.

⁷³⁹ Silbermann, Edith, *Deutsch - die Muttersprache der meisten Bukowiner Juden*, in: Cordon and Kusdat 2002, 39-44, p. 40.

⁷⁴⁰ Hausleitner 2001, p. 346.

probably better'.⁷⁴¹ Regional comparisons often lead to the conclusion that Bukovina was 'largely spared the strong anti-Semitism of surrounding territories',⁷⁴² while it is also claimed that anti-Semitism only trickled in during the last years of the crownland's existence, 'influenced by the west'.⁷⁴³ These views largely reflect opinions held in Bukovinian circles during the Austrian years. The image of interethnic harmony was carefully guarded, although a slip of the tongue (or pen, in this case) sometimes proved to be revealing: when Metropolitan Silvestru-Morariu had deplored the tensions in Bukovina in his 1889 *Apologie*, he had insisted that 'formerly in Bukovina, Greeks, Catholics, Protestants, Armenians, Lippovans and *even* [emph. mine] Jews lived side by side in peace and harmony'.⁷⁴⁴

The large number of Jews in Bukovina and their success in Bukovinian society were the inspiration for a range of epithets for the crownland, each of them interpreted both positively and negatively. Biderman observed in 1875 that 'if the number of Ruthenians in Bukovina had grown considerably during the previous hundred years, the same was true to much greater extent for the Jews who had reason to worship the land as a second Canaan'.⁷⁴⁵ An anonymous author only identified as 'Christian Social' complained in the anti-Semitic Viennese *Reichspost* that Bukovinian deputy Salomon Kassner had proudly addressed the Eight Zionist Congress in The Hague in 1907 with the comment that 'one encountered a distinct Jewish nationalism in Bukovina, providing the land with a Jewish imprint which had given the land the nicknames 'Little Jerusalem on the Pruth' or 'Austria's Jewish Eldorado'. Whereas the author presented the case as if Kassner had seen those nicknames as compliments or at least as recognition for Jewish achievements in Bukovina,⁷⁴⁶ Kassner himself provided the opposite interpretation of the very same statement in his book *The Jews in Bukovina* (*Die Juden in der Bukowina*) almost ten years later:

*In spite of everything, unlikely as it may sound, we have always been confronted with a strong nationalism among Bukovinian Jews, which has provided the land with a peculiar imprint, repeatedly emphasised by anti-Semitic authors with the mocking epitheton 'Little Jerusalem on the Pruth' or 'Austria's Jewish Eldorado'.*⁷⁴⁷

This ambivalence has prevailed in the historical interpretations of the Habsburg-era appellations attributed to Bukovina. German Historian Hausleitner qualified Czernowitz' nickname of 'Little Jerusalem on the Pruth' as an anti-Semitic invention by German nationalists,⁷⁴⁸ while more recent historiography generally tended to regard the

⁷⁴¹ Mendelsohn, Ezra, *The Jews of East-Central Europe Between the World Wars*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington 1983, p. 176.

⁷⁴² Leslie 1991, p. 118.

⁷⁴³ Turczynski 1993, pp. 160, 176 and 205.

⁷⁴⁴ Silvestru Morariu 1889, p. 58.

⁷⁴⁵ Bidermann 1875, p. 68.

⁷⁴⁶ *Trezirea Bucovinei*, Voința Poporului, 24.05.1908, p. 5 (a translation from a previously published article in *Reichspost*).

⁷⁴⁷ Kassner 1917, p. 46.

⁷⁴⁸ Hausleitner 2006 (*Eine wechselvolle Geschichte...*), p. 40.

aforementioned labels more positively.⁷⁴⁹ Then again, as historian David Rechter concluded, the distorting mirror of the often unhappy post-Habsburg era has been at work for émigrés and historians alike, merging nostalgia with a touch of tunnel vision.⁷⁵⁰

In 1902, Bukowinaer Journal quoted an anonymous ‘distinguished public figure’ (*eine hervorragende, im öffentlichen Leben stehende Persönlichkeit*) who put forth:

*Our small homeland is a strange place: with its conglomeration of nationalities and denominations it is innately fertile ground for degenerations (...) because all these conflicting movements bitterly collide in this small space and neutralise each other. For the same reasons, a religious anti-Semitic movement of the kind that celebrates orgies in the ‘enlightened’ and ‘advanced’ West could not develop here and with a little caution it would not be difficult to save Bukovina from this disease entirely since it is also on the wane in the West.*⁷⁵¹

Czernowitzer Tagblatt sustained in 1906 that the spirit of ‘liberalism’ (*Freisinn*) would keep the Viennese anti-Semites from the Christian-Social Party at bay,⁷⁵² but a year later *Bukowinaer Post* admitted that anti-Semitism had now entered Bukovinian politics as well and blamed the activities of Catholic priests for this.⁷⁵³ Against the backdrop of the Romanian nationalists’ adherence to the anti-Semitic Christian Socials, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* emphasised even in 1909 that ‘the Jews had always been living in good friendship with the Romanians in Bukovina’, that ‘the liberal sentiments of the largely Romanian priesthood were proverbial’ and that ‘the Romanian peasant was still no anti-Semite at this point’.⁷⁵⁴ Zionist politician Mayer Ebner came to a similar conclusion in when he upheld ‘that the Romanian and Ruthenian peasantry was almost free of anti-Semitism, that the clerics of these nations were highly liberal, that a friendly, cozy coexistence of all nationalities with the Jews was a good Bukovinian tradition and that only the imported high culture (university) from the West and some immigrants from Galicia had promoted anti-Semitism, not even methodically and purposefully (*plan- und zielgemäß*) but in the way one cherished a custom from the homeland in the farthest corner of the earth’.⁷⁵⁵

Again, it is impossible to measure degrees of anti-Semitism. Pogroms and other larger-scale outbursts of violence against Jews were unknown in the crownland, but anti-Semitic

⁷⁴⁹ See for instance Johnson, George, *Strange beauty: Murray Gell-Mann and the Revolution in Twentieth-Century Physics*, Vintage Books, New York 2000, p. 24; Goldsmith, Emanuel S., *Modern Yiddish Culture: The Story of the Yiddish Language Movement*, Fordham University Press, New York 2000, p. 185; Siegel, Björn, *Österreichisches Judentum zwischen Ost und West: Die Israelitische Allianz zu Wien 1873-1938*, Campus Verlag, Frankfurt 2010, p. 158.

⁷⁵⁰ Rechter, David, *Geography is Destiny - Region, Nation and Empire in Habsburg Jewish Bukovina*, in: *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, 7/3, November 2008, 325-337, p. 328.

⁷⁵¹ *Antisemitismus um jeden Preis*, Bukowinaer Journal, 58, 19.02.1902, p. 4.

⁷⁵² *Ungebetene Gäste*, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 02.02.1906, p. 1.

⁷⁵³ *Zur Verständigung*, Bukowinaer Post, 07.02.1907, pp. 1-2.

⁷⁵⁴ *Rumänen und Juden*, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 21.01.1909, pp. 1-2.

⁷⁵⁵ *Der Antisemitismus in der Bukowina*, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 14.02.1909, pp. 1-2.

sentiments among the population were not. Stambrook already wondered if the picture was ‘quite as rosy’ as is usually painted. He found numerous examples of day-to-day anti-Semitism, but concluded that there seems to have been little overt anti-Semitism among adults and suggested that passivity could legitimately be seen as a characteristic of Bukovina’s peasant population. As will be argued further on, anti-Semitism was at times more overt and Bukovina’s peasants were less passive in this respect than Stambrook proposed.⁷⁵⁶

Anti-Semitism had never been completely absent in the crownland’s administration and would, as the influence of nationalism intensified, become more and more prominent in regional politics. Throughout the centuries, discriminatory laws had hindered Jews in Europe access to the majority of professions. They were therefore limited to some occupations which were generally deemed amoral and led to a profound popular mistrust from which ‘modern anti-Semitism’ would greatly benefit later on.⁷⁵⁷ Thus, forms of state anti-Semitism in fact existed already before the Habsburg occupation. According to traditional Moldavian law, Jews (and Armenians) were not allowed to own slaughterhouses, inns, bakeries or land; they were allowed to lease land only, not to own it.⁷⁵⁸ The second Austrian military commander, Enzenberg, had complained that Jews had leased entire villages and possessed almost all liquor licenses as well. He had vowed to do anything to prevent the rise of ‘that insect’ and had been horrified to learn that Christians worked as servants for Jews.⁷⁵⁹ As late as 1853, Jews were confronted by a Bukovinian regulation forbidding them to hire Christian servants.⁷⁶⁰ Special ‘kosher taxes’ doubled meat prices and forced poorer Jews to abstain from meat consumption altogether.⁷⁶¹

Bukovinian National Movements and Anti-Semitism

As national movements in Bukovina developed, German, the Romanian and the Ruthenian nationalists all dealt with the accompanying anti-Semitic tendencies in their own way. Each of these *modi operandi* were determined by developments in Austria proper, by German, Romanian and Ruthenian nationalist movements outside of Bukovina and by certain crownland specifics. In a time of growing ethno-nationalism, the strongest anti-Semitic trends were found with German nationalists. This was true of many parts of Europe where a strong Jewish presence identified with German language and culture, but makes Habsburg Bukovina a particularly interesting case. For a start, Ruthenian and Romanian nationalists were able to

⁷⁵⁶ Stambrook, Fred, *The Golden Age of the Jews of Bukovina, 1880-1914*, in: CAS Working Papers, October 2003, Vol. 03-2, Center for Austrian Studies at the University of Minnesota, p. 12.

⁷⁵⁷ Lichtblau 1999, p. 92.

⁷⁵⁸ Dan, Dimitrie, *Die orientalischen Armenier in der Bukowina (Die Völkerschaften der Bukowina No. 2)*, Morariu-Andriewicz, Czernowitz 1890, p. 11.

⁷⁵⁹ Bidermann 1875, p. 69.

⁷⁶⁰ “Die erneuerte Verordnung der hiesigen Landesstelle: daß die israelitische Bevölkerung keine christliche Dienstbothen halten darf, hat unter den Juden kein besonderes Wohlbehagen erregt”. Czernowitz Police, *Hohes Praesidium der k.k. obersten Polizey-Behörde!* 31 December 1853/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MI 79/2.

⁷⁶¹ Şafran 1939, p. 114.

embark on their respective quests from the comfort zone of language: no matter how hard it was to tell, say, a Bukovinian Romanian peasant from a Bukovinian Ruthenian one, language duly served as a stepping stone to elaborate on cultural differences and separate ‘national destinies’. Bukovinian German ethno-nationalists lacked this luxury position since they shared their German linguistic and cultural identification with an overwhelmingly larger Jewish population segment. In order to establish a nationalist agenda persuasive enough to compete with Romanian and Ruthenian forces and their respective language advantages, German nationalists had to resort to another divisive tool. Religion seemed to serve this purpose. From the moment Bukovinian German nationalists qualified themselves as ‘Christian’, this terminology implied ethnic exclusion (of Jews) rather than religious inclusion (of Christians). The image of the ‘Jewish intruder’ appealed to the general imagination, and even Bukovinian teacher and author Simiginowicz-Staufe, who claimed to ‘have tried to treat each ethnic group with equal respect and equal patriotism’⁷⁶² in his ethnography of Bukovina and thus duly highlighted Jewish achievements in and for the crownland, maintained that ‘in Bukovina, the Jew tried to assimilate into Germanity’, and assessed this effort ‘certainly a very relative gain for the latter’.⁷⁶³ Some German nationalist leaders in Bukovina foresaw the possibly disastrous numeric outcome of the exclusion of the large Jewish electorate from their ranks. One of them, Arthur Skedl, stated in 1900:

*In the question of nationality as well as in the matter of religion my principle is: tolerance. The same way I ask for respect for my church as a good Catholic, I pay full respect to any other religion. In particular, all Germans in Bukovina, both Christians and Jews, should go hand in hand with mutual respect for each other's religions in order to maintain their common culture and language.*⁷⁶⁴

After Skedl had his ears boxed in Vienna in 1905 by Schönerer's party for as much as wanting to be elected by Jews, the last bit of fertile soil for an integrative German-Jewish political union disappeared. Skedl swiftly joined the Christian Germans himself.⁷⁶⁵ In the eyes of German nationalists in Bukovina there was only one enemy, so they saw ‘absolutely no reason to intervene disturbingly in the healthy national development of the other Christian nations’, as Christian-Social *Bukowiner Volksblatt* put it.⁷⁶⁶

Romanian nationalists in Bukovina primarily focused on the Ruthenian enemy, but by the end of the 1800s anti-Semitism became a prominent addition to their program. The establishment

⁷⁶² Simiginowicz-Staufe 1884, p. 198.

⁷⁶³ Ibid., p. 190.

⁷⁶⁴ “Wie in der Frage der Nationalität so ist auch in der Frage der Confession mein Grundsatz: die Toleranz. Wie ich als guter Katholik Achtung für meine Kirche verlange, so zolle ich auch volle Achtung jeder anderen Religion. Insbesondere müssen alle Deutschen in der Bukowina, sowohl Christen als Israeliten bei gegenseitiger Respectirung ihrer religiösen Ansichten Hand in Hand gehen, um ihre gemeinsame Cultur und Sprache zu erhalten”. Skedl, Arthur, *Wahlaufruf*, ad 1542 – 1900, 16 March 1900/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MI, mapa 106/3.

⁷⁶⁵ Broszat 1965, p. 591.

⁷⁶⁶ *Deutsche und Polen*, Bukowiner Volksblatt - Deutsche christlichsoziale Zeitung, 193, 04.07.1909, pp. 1-3.

of the Franz Joseph University in 1875 had enabled many Bukovinian Jews to provide their sons with an academic education. In turn, these social climbers, often with a good command of several languages, proved to be tough competition for other Romanian graduates who sought to find employment as lawyers, professors or civil servants. Jews were also held responsible for the deplorable state of the peasantry.⁷⁶⁷ Peasant misery was often connected to alcohol abuse and debts, and since Jews were prominently active as innkeepers and moneylenders, anti-alcohol campaigns often had an anti-Semitic character. These ingredients made Romanian nationalism an explosive cocktail at times. In 1894, Governor Göess received a report from the police captain in the southern town of Gurahumora about the ill-treatment of a Jewish innkeeper's family in the village of Berkischestie by farmers from nearby Kapukimpolui, in which the author directly linked the anti-alcohol campaign, anti-Semitism and the (Romanian) national movement. He argued that 'the existence of an anti-Semitic movement was worrisome in any land, most of all in Bukovina, because with its low level of culture the population immediately drew the most extreme consequences, meaning they proceeded directly to raw violence'. Apart from unrest and occasional violence, some anti-Semitic abstention activists also turned against Empire and Emperor. Göess reported that one of the troublemakers had stated that 'in Romania they had better laws than in Austria, because in Romania a man who served in the army received land and a liquor license while in Austria everything was in the hands of the Jews, because His Majesty the Emperor loved a Jewish woman and gave all the rights to the Jews and the Germans and Romanians were oppressed this way'. The man had added that 'this had happened to the estate in Mardzina, which Romanians wanted to lease, but Jews had obtained it, because His Majesty loved the Jewesses'.⁷⁶⁸ The local authorities in Bukovina found themselves in a tricky position: once they acted against the subversive nationalist elements of the sobriety movement, its Romanian leaders would accuse the authorities of sabotaging their virtuous mission as such. And indeed, the alcohol problem in Bukovina was beyond question.⁷⁶⁹ Romanian nationalist periodical *Deșteptarea* played an instrumental role in the anti-alcohol campaign and tried to enthuse its readers with success stories of villagers who, abstaining from alcohol consumption, had thrown the local Jews out of employment and who had thus regained control of what was 'rightfully theirs':

Since our Romanians from Kotul-Ostritz have abandoned alcohol one by one, they are doing pretty well. The many Jews - since so many were born here, one could almost say this place was Jewish - are becoming more and more rare. Because they have no more business here, they sell their possessions and take to the road. Bon voyage to those patrons and good riddance. However, our Romanians bought the land off of these Jews. (...) Well done brothers!

⁷⁶⁷ Hausleitner 2001, pp. 55-56.

⁷⁶⁸ The philo-Semitic image of the Emperor as a reason for anti-Semitism in Bukovina is also found with one of historical anthropologist Florence Heymann's (Jewish) respondents, Nelly S.: "Il existait un antisémitisme féroce, parce que François-Joseph avait protégé et favorisé les Juifs". Heymann 2003, p. 39.

⁷⁶⁹ Göess, Leopold, *Bericht an MI*, 4603 PräS, 26 December 1894 (Brandakte)/ StOe, AVA, Ministerium des Inneren, Präsidiale Reihe, Karton 45, No. 4500/1894, Bukowina 1871-99.

*Do all you can to reclaim the ancient estates, which have fallen into foreign hands because of the booze.*⁷⁷⁰

In the 1890s, occasional traces of the times preceding anti-Semitism in Romanian nationalism were still present in press sources. In 1893, Nicholas Mustatza, candidate for the Austrian Parliament (and the same Mustatza who would cause such indignation a few years later when he confessed to his German upbringing in front of the King of Romania), had publicly declared himself to be a candidate for all Bukovinians and ‘a stranger to all kinds of racial hatred, including anti-Semitism’.⁷⁷¹ In 1897, *Patria* expressed the conviction that once the Jews would understand that the anti-Semitic German nationalists were the wrong allies, they would automatically turn to the Romanian camp.⁷⁷² A few years later, such views had disappeared from the Romanian nationalist press of Bukovina altogether. The editors of *Deșteptarea* did not limit their anti-Semitism to the sobriety campaign, but steadily provided their readers with rants against the Bukovinian Jews, ‘whose name alone filled them with disgust and bitterness (*‘ne umple de scârbă și de amărăciune*’) and who were accused of ‘not being people like all people who live from labour and from the sweat of their faces, their livelihood being only the fleecing of people and fraud, the goal of their lives being feud and the destruction of Christian peoples’.⁷⁷³ Even the entertainment section of the paper hissed at the Jews with a fake dialogue between a Jew speaking broken Romanian and a Romanian peasant - smartened by having read *Deșteptarea* - who no longer believed the mischievous ways of the Jews.⁷⁷⁴ Anti-Semitism was not confined to *Deșteptarea*, but became a common feature in all Romanian nationalist periodicals in Bukovina. In 1907, *Apărarea Națională* fumed about the mayor of Alt-Fratautz, who had apparently set up a lucrative business with three other men sending migrant workers from his village to Moldavia, where they worked the land of the boyars. A significant part of the earnings was split between the mayor and his partners. “If Jews had done something like this”, the paper continued, “we would understand, because everybody knows that they live off our backs, but that even the chief of the village resorts to such thing is a major source of shame for the village as a whole”. Evidently, opportunities for anti-Semitic defamation were found even where there was no Jew in sight.⁷⁷⁵

Once Romanian nationalists turned to Lueger’s Christian-Social Party in 1908, both *Apărarea Națională* and its opponent *Voința Poporului* followed suit. Before that time, some Romanian nationalists criticised their own target group as well for not doing enough to strengthen the Romanian position in Bukovina. Especially Aurel Onciul, who blamed his conservative rivals in the Romanian nationalist camp for being blinded by nationalist symbolism such as the right to wave the Romanian tricolour, had called upon the readers of his *Voința Poporului* not to cry foul but to work if they wanted to be more than ‘the laughingstock of the world’

⁷⁷⁰ *O vestă bună (Sciri mărunt)*, *Deșteptarea*, 01.04.1895, pp. 58-59.

⁷⁷¹ Mustatza, Nicholas, *Erklärung*, *Bukowinaer Post*, 23.10.1893, p. 1.

⁷⁷² *Editorial*, *Patria*, 57, 12.11.1897, p. 1.

⁷⁷³ *Necazul Jidovilor*, *Deșteptarea*, 17, 01.09.1896, p. 130.

⁷⁷⁴ “Froim: Dimita, badi Vasili, eară cu Displitare (*Deșteptarea* - HFD) la mună? Tare stricat dimita de când cetit Displitaru cel blăstămat. Lasă dracului Displitare, pentru chi ea face la dimita sânge rău pi jîdov și jîdov nu di vină așa cum spune gazeta vostru. (...)” *Froim și Vasile*, *Deșteptarea*, 01.02.1896, pp. 23-24.

⁷⁷⁵ *Din Frățăuții-vechi*, *Apărarea Națională*, 62/63, 01.09.1907, p. 4.

(*batjocura lumii*). “Jews do not get entangled in tricolour playgame,” *Voința Poporului* had warned in 1904, “instead, they pursue material results with iron perseverance”.⁷⁷⁶

The turn to the Christian-Social movement by Romanian nationalist forces in Bukovina replaced former self-criticism with rants against Jews and ‘external dangers’.⁷⁷⁷ *Apărarea Neamului*, a short-lived pamphlet and a product of the Romanian nationalist fling with the Christian-Socials focused solely on the Jews as the source of all evil. When a fire had started in a Jewish home in the village of Kostina which also destroyed several non-Jewish houses, *Apărarea Neamului* appealed to the regional authorities ‘with the request that in order to avert disasters like the one in Kostina, they order the district captains to prohibit Jews to settle among villagers and to send them to edge of the village like the gypsies instead’.⁷⁷⁸ In order to exist, Romanian nationalist organisations and publications relied heavily on financial support from Romania.⁷⁷⁹ With this assistance also came a steady flow of anti-Semitic propaganda. Prominent Romanians such as Nicolae Iorga and Mihai Eminescu produced a constant stream of pamphlets in which they blamed Vienna for the Jewish power position in Bukovina and the Jews themselves for the dire straits of the Bukovinian peasantry. Romania, known for infringing the rights of Jews, was presented as an example country for protecting its citizens from evil Jewish influences. On top of this, Iorga and his ‘Liga Culturală’ advocated the inclusion of Bukovina in the Romanian Kingdom. The Austrian authorities were obviously not eager to have Iorga visit the crownland.⁷⁸⁰ However, pushy interference from Romania was not always appreciated by Romanian nationalists in Bukovina, either. In 1908, Iorga’s periodical *Neamul Românesc* pointed its arrows at Metropolitan Repta, who was accused of ‘flirting everywhere with the Bukovinian Jews’, since Jews habitually took part in welcoming ceremonies for the metropolitan on his visits in Bukovinian towns and would bring the torah with them on these occasions. To the taste of *Neamul Românesc*, Repta had been too cordial towards this gesture. *Viitoriul*, the mouthpiece of the Bukovinian Orthodox Church loudly objected to Iorga’s allegations and stated that the events only showed how well respected Repta was among the other confessions in Bukovina. *Neamul Românesc* and Transylvanian *Tribuna*, which had also published the article, were reproached for their lack of knowledge and were requested to leave the Metropolitan in peace.⁷⁸¹ When Iorga’s visit to Bukovina was cancelled in 1909, Bukovina’s freshly-launched Christian-Social newspaper *Românul* claimed that it had been the Jews who had conspired against the trip. However, according to *Bukowinaer Gebirgs-Journal*, it had been ‘influential Romanians’ (*einflußreiche Rumänen*) from Bukovina who had asked Iorga to stay away ‘since he might have caused the local loyal-minded Romanians unpleasant embarrassment with his temperamental nature and his well-

⁷⁷⁶ *Serbarea trîndăviei de 25 ani*, *Voința Poporului*, 7, 27.02.1904, p. 7.

⁷⁷⁷ Editorial, *Apărarea Națională*, 34, 10.05.1908, p. 1.

⁷⁷⁸ *Apucături jidovești*, *Apărarea Neamului*, 3, 16.05.1908, p. 30.

⁷⁷⁹ Hausleitner 2001, p. 57.

⁷⁸⁰ Stiehler, Heinrich, *Interkulturalität und literarische Mehrsprachigkeit in Südosteuropa - Das Beispiel Rumäniens im 20. Jahrhundert*, Edition Praesens, Vienna 2000, p. 16.

⁷⁸¹ *Spre orientare*, *Viitoriul*, 19, 01.10.1908, pp. 141-142. Metropolitan Repta lived up to the good reputation he enjoyed with the Jewish community when he safeguarded the Torah and other holy texts from the main Czernowitz synagogue during the Russian invasion in 1914. Stambrook 2003, p. 13.

known anti-Austrian inclination'.⁷⁸² In the end, it became clear that pressure from the Austrian authorities in the person of parliamentary deputy for Kimpolung, Count Franz Bellegarde, had caused the association 'Școala Română' to revoke Iorga's invitation.⁷⁸³ This made no difference to the local anti-Semitic press like *Bukowiner Lehrerzeitung*, which now exclaimed in its headlines: 'Count Bellegarde - a Protector of the Jews'.⁷⁸⁴

District captain Count Bellegarde, who was originally from Ischl (Upper-Austria) but represented the Southern-Bukovinian district of Kimpolung in Vienna, had found himself increasingly at odds with the newly-found Romanian nationalist unity under the Christian-Social flag. Although he was popular with his Romanian-language peasant electorate and had to remain on speaking terms with the Romanian nationalists, the anti-Semitic direction the nationalists had chosen was uncomfortable for him, and not for him alone.⁷⁸⁵ The Bukovinian Orthodox Church, which had traditionally maintained good relations with the Jewish community as Iorga's criticism of Metropolitan Repta had aptly illustrated, was equally forced to perform a political balancing act in order not to alienate the significant number Romanian nationalists among its flock. To this end, *Viitoriul*, mouthpiece of the Church, cooked up the following language:

*The new party, being anti-Semitic, has declared outright war against the Jews. Although we priests will join this party, we can not commit to such an outright battle. Our calling is to preach peace and not war and hatred. We should continue what we have done so far, which is to hold sermons against drunkenness, against land sale, against unlimited debts, against borrowing money from usurers and so on, but these sermons should not be diatribes against those who caused the sad state our land is in, they should not be dominated by hatred against the Jews, because this might have harmful effects. We believe that if we seek by word and deed to guard our people from inns, moneylenders, land sales and so on, we work entirely in line with the Christian-Social Party (...).*⁷⁸⁶

This cunning declaration killed two birds with one stone: first, by issuing it in name of the priests, church leaders had been kept out of the matter and second, Jews were clearly blamed as 'those who caused the sad state the land was in', but would not be specifically mentioned.

Lueger's party seemed an appropriate vehicle at the time to unite the divided Bukovinian Romanian factions,⁷⁸⁷ since its anti-Semitism was conveniently consistent with the zeitgeist and with the dominant voices from Transylvania and Romania. On the other hand, as Jewish politician Mayer Ebner underlined, the Christian-Social movement was a rather ill-fitting shoe for Bukovinian Romanians: first, as a minuscule national minority their interest in Viennese power politics was very limited. Second, the newly-adopted anti-Semitic line would estrange them from the Jews and thus - since Romanian-Ruthenian cooperation was an obvious

⁷⁸² *Professor Jorga (Chronik)*, Bukowinaer Gebirgs-Journal, 16.01.1909, p. 3.

⁷⁸³ *Graf Bellegarde und Jorga - Ein Brief Bellegardes an Jorga*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 1511, 27.01.1909, p. 5.

⁷⁸⁴ *Die Christlich-Sozialen und Graf Bellegarde*, Bukowinaer Gebirgs-Journal, 20.01.1909, pp. 1-2.

⁷⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸⁶ *Un partid nou în țara noastră*, Viitoriul, 8/9, 23.04.1908, p. 64.

⁷⁸⁷ Hitchins 1994, p. 235.

impossibility - leave them isolated in the Bukovinian regional politics which was dependent on coalitions. Third, Ebner remained utterly unconvinced of Romanian anti-Semitism at the grassroots level and maintained that relations between (Romanian-speaking) peasants and Jews had always been good.⁷⁸⁸ Indeed, uniting all Romanian nationalists of Bukovina was not easy. Especially democratic leader Aurel Onciul had in the past readily cooperated with Jewish politicians in the *Freisinniger Verband* and was therefore mistrusted by the others.⁷⁸⁹ Onciul's position towards the Jews remained nebulous. In an essay in *Voința Poporului* in January 1908, he stated that Jews had proven their animosity towards the Romanian people by meddling in Romanian nationalists' internal political affairs, but mostly they had done so by declaring themselves a nation instead of a religion; by doing so, they had automatically joined the ranks of competing nationalities in Bukovina and were therefore seen as enemies.⁷⁹⁰ At a Christian-Social meeting a year later, however, Onciul seemed to have forgotten his theory of 'competing nations' and based his anti-Semitism on the differences between 'the Christian and the Jewish doctrines'.⁷⁹¹ When the municipal elections of early 1909 provided a disappointing result for the Christian-Socials led by German nationalist Wiedmann and Romanian nationalist Flondor, the (Jewish) liberals of *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* did not hide their contempt for the movement and its leaders who had mistakenly counted on the popular appeal of their anti-Semitic program:

*The Christian-Social program of the two champions of yesterday did not draw a Romanian cat from the woodwork, let alone a Romanian voter. The few dozen votes, which yesterday were seized in the true sense of the word come from those suburban craftsmen and cottagers which can also be found on the outskirts of the city and whose nationality is just as unclear and confused as their German language mixed with Slavicisms, Romanisms and Judaisms. They are usually people who for two strong drinks and a few sholent⁷⁹² leftovers light the fire for the neighbouring orthodox Jews on Sabbath - commonly known as 'Sabbath goyim', and have some moral kinship with Wiedmann, who in the liberal era begged the Jews for votes. These people have never reflected a political conviction.*⁷⁹³

The electoral defeat instantly ended the Romanian Christian-Social adventure. Iancu Flondor became the leader of the united Romanian Party. The hope expressed by Arnold Schwartz in *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* that the Romanian nationalists would break with anti-Semitism as well⁷⁹⁴ proved to be vain: after the scandal following the refusal to let Nicolae Iorga enter Bukovina, the Habsburg authorities were not keen on creating new martyrs for the

⁷⁸⁸ Ebner, Mayer, *Rumänen und Juden*, 1791, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 21.01.1909, pp. 1-2.

⁷⁸⁹ Olaru, Marian, *Activitatea politică a lui Aurel Onciul*, in: *Analele Bucovinei*, 1995, II/2, 275-289, p. 279.

⁷⁹⁰ Onciul, Aurel, *Evreii*, *Voința Poporului*, 05.01.1908, p. 2.

⁷⁹¹ "Hierauf besprach der Abgeordnete Sr. Aurel Ritter von Onciul, ausgehend von dem Unterschiede der christlichen und jüdischen Lehre, den auf der Macht des Geldes und der Presse basierenden grossen Einfluss der Juden in der Politik, dem auch Parlament und Regierung unterworfen seien". Regner-Bleyleben, Oktavian, *Bericht an Seine Excellenz den Herrn k.k. Minister des Innern*, Zl. 221 Präs., Czernowitz, 13 January 1909/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MI, mapa 68/9.

⁷⁹² A traditional Sabbath meal for religious Jews; it typically simmers in the oven from Friday night onwards in order not to violate the rule of no cooking on the day of Sabbath.

⁷⁹³ *Die gestrige Wahl*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1512, 28.01.1909, p. 1.

⁷⁹⁴ Schwarz, Arnold, *Aus dem rumänischen Lager*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1516, 02.02.1909, p. 1.

Romanian nationalist cause. This basically gave the Romanian nationalist movement a free hand in the distribution of anti-Semitism.⁷⁹⁵ Interestingly, one of the congratulatory messages to Flondor - of the few found in his private correspondence - upon his appointment as the leader of the the Romanian Party came from Jewish Aron Theiler. Theiler, who lived on Flondor's estate of Storozynetz, welcomed the appointment 'with great joy and gladness', deemed it 'of great importance and most important concern not only for his [Flondor's] own nation, but for all inhabitants of the crownland'.⁷⁹⁶ The question remains if the author only wheedled to remain on good terms with his landlord or if Flondor was less of an anti-Semite in daily life than his political reputation suggested.

In contrast to its Romanian equivalent, Ruthenian nationalist rhetoric in Bukovina showed ambivalence towards anti-Semitism. According to Hausleitner, xenophobia was a rare phenomenon among Bukovinian Ruthenian nationalists, since the Ruthenian politicians had to cooperate with their German and Jewish colleagues in order to hold their own against Romanian dominance.⁷⁹⁷ This appears to have been only partly the case, since this cooperation did not consolidate before the early 1900s, and then exclusively between Ruthenian and Jewish factions. This coalition had been the prequel of the short-lived supra-national framework of the 'Freethinking Alliance' and had lived on as an association by default once the increasingly anti-Semitic Romanian nationalists (who obviously could not side with the Ruthenians either) had joined the equally anti-Semitic German nationalists, the only viable option for Ruthenians and Jews was to join forces. Before coalition politics had made anti-Semitic strategies a risky enterprise for Ruthenian politicians, it had been an element of Ruthenian Bukovinian nationalism as well.

Nationalism was an imported commodity in Bukovina (the German variety imported from Vienna, the Romanian one from the Kingdom and Transylvania, the Ruthenian one from or at least through Galicia) and, as has been argued in the German and Romanian cases, the established routes transported blossoming anti-Semitism as well. Attacks against Jewish usurers and innkeepers had found their way into the Ruthenian press in Galicia⁷⁹⁸ and these sentiments were only enhanced by the fact that Jewish politicians in Galicia often made pacts

⁷⁹⁵ Hausleitner 2001, pp. 58-59.

⁷⁹⁶ "Die freudige Nachricht, dass Eu. Hochwolgeb. zum Chef der neuorganisirten rumänischen Vereinigung auserkoren wurden, erfüllte unsere Herzen mit grossem Jubel & Freude. Denn nicht blos für die eigene Nation, sondern auch für sämtliche Einwohner dieses Landes ist von grösster Bedeutung und wichtigstem Belang, einem Mann von so hoher Geistesgesinnung und herrlichster Weisheit an der Spitze des hiezulande sehr achtbaren Volkes zu wissen. Zumal es uns gegönnt ist, Eu. Hochwolgeb. auch hierorts als Grossgrundbesitzer zu haben. (...) Möge es Eu. Hochwolgeb. beschieden sein viele Jahre mit segenreichem Wirken die gesamte rum. Nation zu beglücken, zum Heile des ganzen Landes". Theiler, Aron, *Congratulatory Letter*, 4 February 1909/ ANR, Fondul Familial 'Iancu Flondor', 5/307.

⁷⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 68.

⁷⁹⁸ Himka, John-Paul, *Confessional Relations in Galicia*, in: Hann, Christopher and Magocsi, Paul Robert (ed.), *Galicia: A Multicultural Land*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto 2005, 22-34, p. 29.

with the Poles and thus were seen by the Ruthenian nationalists as siding with the oppressors.⁷⁹⁹

In Bukovina, the establishments of Young-Ruthenians were generally seen as clearing houses for anti-Semitism. In 1893, Isak Dörfler and a number of his co-villagers in Luzan complained to the crownland administration that in the local Ruthenian reading room inflammatory speeches were held, encouraging the audience to violently rid themselves of their Jewish, Romanian and German neighbours. Dörfler claimed some Jews (*mosaische Leute*) had already been mistreated by incited peasants.⁸⁰⁰ In 1897, *Bukowinaer Post* accused the Young-Ruthenians of introducing racial hatred in Bukovina and of ‘seeking to divide the Ruthenians, to destroy their cohesion with the native Romanians and to incite against the land’s children and inhabitants of other denominations, the Jews’.⁸⁰¹

The Bukovinian Young-Ruthenians denied being anti-Semites, but simultaneously blamed the Jews for ‘having ripped bare almost all Ruthenian villages by means of usury and swindle’ (*лихвою і шахрайством*). Ruthenians could therefore not be expected to ‘kiss the hands of their robbers and burglars’, who ‘did not want to live among the nationalities than as parasites’. The situation in Galicia ‘where Poles had vainly tried to turn Jews into ‘Polish citizens of the mosaic confession’ (*polskich obywateli mojżeszowego wyznania*) was said to have led to disappointment and intensified anti-Semitism. *Bukovyna* accused Bukovinian Jews of bonding with Old-Ruthenians and Romanian nationalists by scaring them with alleged Polish-Ruthenian plans to reincorporate Bukovina into Galicia. At the same time Jews were held responsible for creating divisions within both the Ruthenian and the Romanian camps. *Bukovyna* threatened that ‘unless the Jews adjusted, anti-Semitism among Ruthenians would spread like fire’.⁸⁰² This aside, Young-Ruthenians claimed to oppose a unification of Galicia and Bukovina: since they expected the large Jewish share of the Bukovinians to side with the Polish in case of such unification, they did not envisage a significant improvement in the situation of Ruthenian speakers.⁸⁰³

When Young-Ruthenian leader Mykola Vasylo and Jewish nationalist Benno Straucher decided in 1903 to join forces - Vasylo would even refer to Straucher as ‘my personal and political friend’⁸⁰⁴ - this development naturally met with suspicion in certain Bukovinian Jewish circles. It was less than helpful that the Ruthenian nationalist network of ‘Sich’ (*Ciu*) associations with its uniforms and anti-Semitic reputation⁸⁰⁵ had spread from Galicia to

⁷⁹⁹ Dawidowicz, Lucy S., *The Golden Tradition: Jewish Life and Thought in Eastern Europe*, Syracuse University Press, Syracuse 1996, p. 70.

⁸⁰⁰ Dörfler, Isak et al., *Luzan inhabitants on Ruthenian agitation*, 1893/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 5992.

⁸⁰¹ *Frieden auf Erden*, Bukowinaer Post, 25.12.1897, pp. 1-2.

⁸⁰² *Буковинські жиди*, Буковина, 08.06.1897, pp. 1-2.

⁸⁰³ *Русини, Німці і Волохи – II*, Буковина, 16.01.1898, pp. 1-2.

⁸⁰⁴ Stambrook 2003, p. 13.

⁸⁰⁵ The anti-Semitic reputation of Bukovinian ‘Sich’ associations seems to have been undeserved at least in some cases. Regarding the opening of a new ‘Sich’ association in Waschkoutz in 1903, Ruthenian sources mention: “At the Ruthenian celebration there also appeared a delegation of the Jewish Zionist Association, whose speaker

Bukovina. *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* grumbled that ‘the Jews had been forced out of their hitherto impartial position into a party which for many years had been practicing unbridled anti-Semitic propaganda on the plains and which of late organised its anti-Jewish rallying points in the ‘Sich’ clubs which had sprung up like mushrooms’.⁸⁰⁶ In 1905, it still deemed the decision a ‘wrong track’ (*Irrweg*), claimed that ‘the pact between some individual Jews and the Young-Ruthenian leaders had never been sanctioned by the Jewish people’⁸⁰⁷ and maintained that Young-Ruthenians ‘swallowed anti-Semitism with their mother’s milk’.⁸⁰⁸ The Young-Ruthenians of *Bukovyna* had their own reasons to be unhappy with the blossoming friendship. Although they had come to terms with the arrangement as such because they valued a front against the anti-Semitic Romanian-German coalition, they were outraged when in 1908 they met with Jewish resistance against their lobby for a Ruthenian-language Gymnasium in Wiznitz. They fumed about the despicable Jewish solidarity with the German language and culture in spite of rampant German anti-Semitism, wondered if the Jews did not realise they were ‘dependent on the assistance and benevolence of the Ruthenians’ (*здані на поміч і ласку Русинів*) and asked how, under these circumstances, Ruthenian politicians could possibly explain to their peasant electorate that the Jews were not their enemies.⁸⁰⁹

One of the more remarkable results of the decision by Jewish and Young-Ruthenian politicians to join forces was their united representation in *Bukowinaer Post*, the same newspaper which a few years earlier had blamed the Young-Ruthenians for basically everything wrong in Bukovina. This co-dependency soon proved to be uncomfortable and when Straucher established his own Jewish-national organ *Volkswehr* in 1909, Governor Regner-Bleyleben observed that this decision was partly inspired by the wish to gradually free Jewish politics in Bukovina from Ruthenian influences. “The Jewish National Party”, he wrote to Vienna, “was and still is closely tied to the Ruthenian National Party in Bukovina, while the parties share the locally appearing periodical *Bukowinaer Post* as their journalistic institution. As a result, the leaders of the Jewish people even had to adhere to the Ruthenians when their own interests might have dictated a different approach”.⁸¹⁰

emphasised the necessity of national reconciliation and was energetically applauded by those present”.

Kugelmass, Jack, *Jews, Sports, and the Rites of Citizenship*, University of Illinois Press, Champaign 2007, p. 93.

⁸⁰⁶ *Wo hinaus?* Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 82, 07.04.1904, p. 1.

⁸⁰⁷ *Koalitionen*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 20.09.1905, p. 1.

⁸⁰⁸ *Die Neue Aera - Juden und Deutsche*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 20.10.1905, pp. 1-2.

⁸⁰⁹ *Mu i Жиди*, Буковина, 05.08.1908, p. 1.

⁸¹⁰ “Vertraulichen Information zu folge soll dieses Blatt aber auch die Tendenz verfolgen, die jüdische Politik in der Bukowina vom ruthenischen Einfluss allmählig zu befreien. Die jüdische Nationalpartei stand und steht nämlich noch heute mit der ruthenischen Nationalpartei in der Bukowina in enger Fühlung und hatten beide Parteien ihr publizistisches Organ in der hierorts erscheinenden periodischen Druckschrift ‘Bukowinaer Post’. Infolgedessen mussten die Führer des jüdischen Volkes auch in jenen Fällen mit den Ruthenen gehen, wo ihre Interessen vielleicht ein anderes Vorgehen diktiert hätten”. Regner-Bleyleben, Oktavian, *Bericht an Seine Exzellenz den Herrn k.k. Minister des Innern*, Zl. 7117 Präs., 11 December 1909/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MI, mapa 75/1.

Logically, increasingly politicised anti-Semitism provoked angry reactions from the Jewish side. The dominant Jewish position in the German-language press of Bukovina assured the necessary attention for cases of obvious and less obvious anti-Semitism. The authorities did not always appreciate Jewish criticism in this respect. In 1890, *Bukowinaer Rundschau* fell victim to the censorship authorities when it accused the jury trial system of being prejudiced against Jews.⁸¹¹ *Rundschau* substantiated its claim with the case of a peasant who had robbed a Jew and was nonetheless acquitted by his Christian jurors. Ironically, the public prosecution department accused *Bukowinaer Rundschau* of exactly the evil the newspaper had tried to expose: inciting racial hatred between Christians and Jews.⁸¹² Irrespective of the accuracy of the mutual accusations, issues related to anti-Semitism had now officially reached the Bukovinian public sphere.

Jews spoke up at political meetings of others, such as when in 1898 George Popovici campaigned for his Romanian National Party and ‘a Jew from Radautz named Kaswan’ stood up and declared that the Romanian periodical *Deșteptarea* ‘would not leave the Jews alone, and if they did not change their ways, the Jews would no longer stand by the Romanians’.⁸¹³ Romanian anti-Semitism was also countered by the German-language press. When *Gazeta Bucovinei* blamed the Jews for ruining the countryside with their trade practices, *Bukowinaer Nachrichten* fulminated that the authors were apparently unaware of the fact that most Jews lived in the cities, that their trade activities mostly took place among themselves and that whoever wanted to accuse the Jews of getting rich at the expense of others should first of all acknowledge that the overwhelming majority of Bukovinian Jews lived in poverty.⁸¹⁴ In 1901, the Jewish religious community in Czernowitz publicly thanked ‘the liberal press’ in Bukovina and more specifically *Bukowinaer Nachrichten* for opposing the defamatory articles and verbal assaults uttered by ‘some of the locally published non-German language newspapers’ and encouraged the editors to continue in this way.⁸¹⁵ With the establishment of the Bukovinian branch of the Christian-Social Party and its party organ *Bukowinaer Volksblatt*, defamation flourished to such extent that, supported by his Young-Ruthenian allies, Benno Straucher felt obliged to launch an official protest against the visit to Bukovina of Christian-Social Minister Albert Gessman, whom he held accountable for the wave of anti-Semitism which had hit the crownland after Romanian and German nationalists had joined the Christian-Social ranks and their newspapers *Bukowinaer Volksblatt*, *Apărarea Neamului* and

⁸¹¹ *Stimmen des Vorurtheiles*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 881, 21.09.1890, p. 1.

⁸¹² “Daß in dem beanständeten Artikel eben der Raßenhaß, den der Verfaßer bekämpfen zu wollen vorschützt, gepredigt, daß durch eine derartige feindliche Gegenüberstellung der christlichen und jüdischen Geschworenenen, aber diese beiden Volksstämmen beziehungsweise Religionsgemeinschaften zu Feindseligkeiten gegen einander aufgefordert und zu verleiten gesucht werden, ist aufliegend”. Staatsanwaltschaft, *Note an das löbliche k.k. Landes-Präsidium*, Zl. 4415, 23 December 1890/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 5787.

⁸¹³ “Și un jidov din Rădăuț anume Chasvan a fost la adunare și s’a deplâns, că gazeta noastră ‘Deșteptarea’ nu li dă jidanilor pace și că cât ‘Deșteptarea’ nu li-a da jidanilor pace, n’or ține ei cu Români”. *Dr. George Popovici în Rădăuț*, *Deșteptarea*, 6, 15.03.1898, p. 47.

⁸¹⁴ *Also doch!* *Bukowinaer Nachrichten*, 18.08.1898, pp. 1-2.

⁸¹⁵ *Letter to the editor*, *Bukowiner Nachrichten*, 3672, 03.01.1901, p. 3.

Voința Poporului acted as Christian-Social mouthpieces.⁸¹⁶ A few months later, appalled by both the content of the publications and the lax attitude of the Habsburg authorities, Straucher addressed another interpellation⁸¹⁷ to the Austrian parliament in which he implicated ‘some Romanian-language newspapers’ but mainly the German-language *Volksblatt*. Straucher’s initiative was backed by an impressive number of quotations from *Volksblatt*: Jews had been dubbed ‘snakes, destroyers of nations, crown and altar, enemies of the Imperial House, infidel, dirty, a misfortune for the crownland’. Anti-Semitism and the persecution of Jews were condoned as ‘manifestations of the struggle for existence’. *Volksblatt* had tried to convince the public that ‘this plague-spot needed to be removed with a sharp cut from the life of the Christian nations’ and that ‘the locusts that ravaged and polluted the land had to be exterminated root and branch’. Russian anti-Semitic policies were presented as a shining example and sterilisation as an adequate way to rid the world of the Jews.⁸¹⁸

At a meeting attended by four hundred people, Straucher appealed to the Jewish community in Bukovina to remain alert and unified. At the same time he expressed astonishment that the Germans, who were closest to the Jews, now had turned into their worst enemies.⁸¹⁹ Jewish social-democrats in Bukovina also gathered to discuss the Christian-Social threat and declared the gap between exploited workers and exploiting bourgeoisie bigger than the one between different nationalities.⁸²⁰ Some regarded the tense situation as an opportunity for Jewish politicians like Straucher. *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, not a big fan of Straucher’s, saw yet another downside to anti-Semitic agitation and blamed Wiedmann and his Christian-Social campaign for ‘driving the Jews by force into the Straucher camp from which they had already yearned to escape for many a year’ and wondered ‘why, of all things, anti-Semitism should have been the answer, this hostility towards a category of citizens who through hard work had turned Czernowitz into a city and who themselves were suffering under the terror of its so-called leader’.⁸²¹

⁸¹⁶ *Interpellation des Abgeordneten Dr. Straucher und genossen an Seine Exzellenz dem Herrn Ministerpräsidenten Freiherrn v. Beck Haus der Abgeordneten – 107. Sitzung der XVIII. Session am 15. Juli 1908*, Haus der Abgeordneten, Vienna, 15 July 1908 (Interpellationen betr. Antisemitismus)/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MI 86/14.

⁸¹⁷ Further on Straucher’s parliamentary activities against anti-Semitism in Falter, Matthias and Stachowitsch, Saskia: “Denn für uns Juden erhebt sich keine Stimme!” *Parlamentarische Praxis des Jüdischen Klubs im Abgeordnetenhaus 1907 bis 1911*, in: Hecht, Dieter/Zentrum für Jüdische Kulturgeschichte der Universität Salzburg (Ed.): *Die Jüdischnationale Partei in Österreich 1906 bis 1938*, Chilufim - Zeitschrift für jüdische Kulturgeschichte, Vol. 7, 2009, pp. 43-66.

⁸¹⁸ Straucher, Benno et al. *Die Volksverhetzung in der Bukowina*, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 20.12.1908, pp. 1-3.

⁸¹⁹ Hammer, Dr. S., *Relation des k.k. Polizeikonzeptspraktikanten Dr. Hammer über den Verlauf der vom jüd. Nationalvereine am 28. Juni l.J. um 5 Uhr Nachmittag im jüd. Nationalhause abgehaltenen Vereinsversammlung*, Czernowitz, 29 June 1908/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MI 69/9.

⁸²⁰ Jasienicki, Johann, *Relation über den Verlauf der am 31. Oktober stattgefundenen öffentlichen Vereinsversammlung des politischen Vereines ‘Vorwärts’*, Ad Zl. 5754 Präsi., Czernowitz, 3 November 1908/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MI, mapa 68/9.

⁸²¹ *Falschmeldungen*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 07.02.1909, p. 1.

The fact that political anti-Semitism had obviously been imported to Bukovina does not mean that anti-Semitism as such was a novelty among the population. In 1839, Scottish priests Bonar and McCheney had already noted how Jews told him they were not being treated well by non-Jews.⁸²² The Czernowitz Casino, founded in the 1840s, had apparently fallen apart swiftly after some of its members objected to membership for Jews.⁸²³ During the tumultuous days of 1848, when cash had become a scarce commodity in Czernowitz, speculators trading in cash money and Jews in particular were the object of popular outrage.⁸²⁴ At the occasion of Crown Prince Rudolph's visit to Bukovina in 1887, the usual requests from the population also contained a letter from an under-aged brother and sister from the southern Kimpolung district, who affirmed to be 'Romanian by nationality' (*de națiune Români*) and asked the Crown Prince for financial aid since 'Jews had robbed them blind and left them poor'.⁸²⁵ In 1892 a group of emigrating peasants from the Habsburg Monarchy heading for Russia were held by the Russian border guards. Some of them turned out to be from the northern Bukovinian border village of Onut. The reason for their emigration, they declared, was 'the way they were fleeced by the Jews without being protected by the authorities'.⁸²⁶ István Fazekas, a descendant of Bukovinian Széklers, recalled how his grandmother told a story in which a Jewish salesman was blamed for bringing cholera to the community (there were cholera epidemics in Bukovina in 1848 and 1866):

From Czernowitz came a Jewish traveling salesman, selling little things from door to door: needles, threads, colored tape, peacock feathers, beads. He went around the village for three days and in the evenings he returned to shopkeeper Herskovich's stable to sleep. After three days he moved on to Andrásfalva or Istensegits. On Sunday however, Léti, the shopkeeper's

⁸²² Bonar 1839, pp. 428 and 482.

⁸²³ Allgemeine Theaterzeitung, Wien, no. 183 (1845), p. 736) as quoted in Corbea-Hoisie 2004, p. 50.

⁸²⁴ "Die Not an Silbergeld ist hier auf das höchste gestiegen und man weiß im Publikum sehr wohl, wo ganze Säcke von Zwanzigern Lagern und in Fässer verpackt versendet werden. Daher die gereizte Stimmung des großen Haufens gegen solche Personen und besonders gegen jene, die im Rufe stehen, mit Zwanzigern zu handeln. Wirklich wurden vor 3 Tagen mehreren der Letzteren Katzenmusiken gebracht und dabei alle Fenster eingeschlagen. Die Nationalgarde (meist noch unbewaffnet) rückte zwar aus, kam aber zu spät und konnte nur einige Nachzügler jener Konzertisten verhaften. Am zweiten Tage morgens aber nahm die Sache eine ernstere Wendung, denn 200-300 Gesellen und Arbeiter versammelten sich schon um 8 Uhr vor dem neuen Rathaus, wo die Verhafteten saßen und beehrten unter drohendem Geschrei und Gebrülle die Freilassung der Verhafteten, wobei es an heftigen Verwünschungen gegen die Juden nicht fehlte". Farkas, Alexander, *Bericht aus Czernowitz*, Dokumente zu den Revolutionsjahren 1848/49, Ser.no. 3185, 19 October 1848/ DJAN Suceava, Colecția de documente, pachet XII, dosar 51 (typed copy from Nationalbibliothek Wien, Handschriftensammlung).

⁸²⁵ "(...) că sîntem copii sërmani, din cauza că neau jupit Ovreei, și neau lăsat sërmani casa și puțin loc ce avem lângă casă stă în vîndări și în puțină vreme vor să ne vîndă gospodăria și să ne scotă pe drum (...)" Erhan, Veniamin and Paraschiva, *Letter to Crown Prince Rudolph (via Governor of Bukovina)*, Sadova 1887/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 5059.

⁸²⁶ "Unter diesen Auswanderern sollen sich auch einige kaiserliche Familien aus der Gemeinde Onut in der Bucowina befinden (...). Die Auswanderer selbst führen als Ursache ihrer Auswanderung die Uibervortheilung, die sie in Oesterreich seitens der Juden, ohne von den Behörden beschützt worden zu sein, an". Tarangul, Bezirkshauptmann, *Report on emigration to Russia*, Nowosielitza, 11 October 1892/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 5986.

*only daughter, fell ill. (...) A few days later, the girl died. (...) Some days after the departure of the Jewish traveling salesman, he was found dead near the neighbouring village of Fratautz. The people took him for the importer of the infection and established that he was Satan's emissary, for his face looked devilish too.*⁸²⁷

Tales of superstition made it well into the 1900s. The 'blood tale' (*Blutmärchen*), which claimed that religious Jews needed Christian blood to prepare their Passover matzos was found throughout Europe and at times it had ignited pogroms. It surfaced in Czernowitz in 1905, when a maidservant maintained that she had seen how a Christian boy's blood had been pressed from his finger in a matzos bakery under the supervision of a rabbi. The police was called to trace the originator of the rumour.⁸²⁸ At the local soupkitchen however, the poor did not seem to mind sharing table and food with Jews, *Bukowinaer Post* observed in the heydays of Christian-Social agitation. Even more, the *Post* bitterly added, the overwhelming majority of donations necessary to keep the soupkitchen in business originated from Jewish charity.⁸²⁹

Anti-Semitism was not confined to the lesser educated. Lite Olszewska, wife of the painter Karl Olszewski, wrote to her brother-in-law how her husband in his student days had made a portrait of university professor Adler. Later, a conflict arose on whether the artist's work had been paid for or not. In her personal letter, Olszewska claimed that 'the baptised Jew' had refused to buy the painting since it had come out too well and clearly revealed the ethnicity of portrait's subject. As the conflict dragged on and more people were involved, the anti-Semitic argumentation brought forward by Olszewska faded into the background.⁸³⁰

Shortly before Easter 1907, panic struck in the mountain area around Putilla, which was mainly inhabited by Hutsuls and Jews. Rumours claiming that 'peasants would slaughter the Jews at Easter' caused a number of Jewish families to flee from their homes. Although the authorities believed most of the uproar was only caused by hearsay, they promised representatives of the Bukovinian Jewish community to send extra troops to the region. Four fearmongers were arrested.⁸³¹ The news also reached the Viennese Press.⁸³² Ruthenian leader Mykola Vasylyko urged Hutsul peasants to refrain from violence, but simultaneously blamed police officers for spreading the rumours in order to vilify the Ruthenian 'Sich'

⁸²⁷ Fazekas 2005, p. 48. This tale is consistent with the distinction made by Polish cultural anthropologist Ludwik Stomma between *orbis interior* and *orbis exterior* in peasants' worldviews, according to which Jews were seen as mediators between these two spheres and also as representatives of the devil. (Stomma, Ludwik, *Antropologia kultury wsi polskiej XIX w.*, Pax, Warsaw 1986, as quoted in relation to the Galician peasantry by Struve, Kai, *Gentry, Jews, and Peasants - Jews as Others in the Formation of the Modern Polish Nation in Rural Galicia during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century*, in: Wingfield, Nancy M. (ed), *Creating the Other: Ethnic Conflict and Nationalism in Habsburg Central Europe*, Berghahn Books, New York 2003, 103-126, p. 106.

⁸²⁸ *Vor Ostern*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 25.03.1905, p. 4.

⁸²⁹ *Was auch eint*, Bukowinaer Post, 20.08.1908, p. 1.

⁸³⁰ "Das Bild wurde gut, nur zu gut, und der Typ des Herrn Professor Adler (als getaufter Jude) war famos getroffen. Das war aber gerade der Fehler, die zu grosse Aufrichtigkeit". Olszewska, Lite, *Brief der Frau Lite des akademischen Malers Karl (Lolo) Olszewski an dessen Bruder Finanz-Offizial in Czernowitz Otto Olszewski*, 20 March 1913/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCÎ LXXXVIII/11.

⁸³¹ *Die befürchteten Bauernunruhen im ruthenischen Gebirge*, Bukowiner Volks-Zeitung, 05.05.1907, p. 3.

⁸³² *Besorgnisse wegen drohender Exzesse*, Neue Freie Presse, 30.04.1907, p. 5.

associations.⁸³³ Governor Bleyleben concluded after a number of investigations that the Jewish community had responded ‘with the usual anxiety’ to empty threats by a handful of farmers and should be reassured, while on the other hand, they should be told not to ‘provoke’. Clearly visible police presence and Sunday rest for inns should do the rest. A delegation of 120 peasants led by a priest thereafter visited the district captain to reassure him that nothing would happen. Matters then quietened down,⁸³⁴ but anti-Semitic sentiments remained. When farmer Malayko used a Ruthenian gathering in Waschkoutz in 1908 to address the ‘corrupting ado of the Jewish element of the population’, the audience ‘expressed their consent by stormy heckling directed against the Jews’.⁸³⁵ In December 1912, Governor Meran reported to Vienna that ‘alleged anti-Semitic and contemptuous remarks by two Orthodox theologians’ at the funeral of the popular Czernowitz rabbi Benjamin Weiss caused such commotion among the 10,000 attendees that security guards had to interfere in order to protect the two from the angry crowd.⁸³⁶

In 1913, Governor Meran sent an analysis to his superiors in Vienna in which he linked the persistent popular anti-Semitism in northern Bukovina to the general economic malaise and the pro-Russian agitation in Bukovina. According to Meran, peasants found the large percentage of Jews in the local administration and the lower military personnel ‘unpleasant’. These complaints were uttered more often: a few years earlier, clerical *Viitoriul* had portrayed court cases with peasants as passive objects waiting for the verdict in court rooms dominated by Jewish judges, clerks and lawyers.⁸³⁷ In the Wiznitz district, several times ‘vigorous interventions’ had been required against individuals who had incited against Jews. A farmer and a lower cleric were sentenced to three months in prison for anti-Austrian remarks since they had claimed that ‘under Russian rule, the Jews would soon be chased away’.⁸³⁸ A priest

⁸³³ *Die judenfeindliche Bewegung im ruthenischen Gebirge*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 05.05.1907, p. 5.

⁸³⁴ Regner-Bleyleben, Oktavian, *Antisemitische Ausschreitungen in Putilla*, May 1907/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MI 86/14.

⁸³⁵ Regner-Bleyleben, Oktavian, *Bericht über eine vom k.k. Bezirksrichter in Waschkoutz Lisiniecki einberufene ruthenische Volksversammlung*, Zl. 4034 Präs., 7 August 1908/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MI, mapa 68/9.

⁸³⁶ “Beim Begräbnisse des hiesigen Rabbiners Benjamin Weiss, an dem zirka 10.000 Personen teilnahmen, entstand unter den Teilnehmern wegen angeblicher antisemitischer und verächtlicher Ausrufe zweier gr.or. Theologen eine so bedeutende Aufregung, daß die Sicherheitswache einschreiten mußte, um die beiden Theologen vor der aufgeregten Menge zu schützen”. Meran, Rudolf, *Ruhestörung anlässlich eines Leichenbegängnisses*, Bericht an KUM, Zl.10.006 Präs, 21 December 1912/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MCÎ XCIII/8.

⁸³⁷ *Correspondențe*, Viitoriul, 22, 15.11.1908, p. 169.

⁸³⁸ “Der große Prozentsatz der Juden in der Beamtenschaft des Landes und in den unteren militärischen Chargen wird vielfach von den Bauern unangenehm empfunden. So mußte insbesondere im Wiznitzer Bezirke wiederholt gegen Personen die gegen Juden aufreizten, energisch eingeschritten werden (...) In diesem Zusammenhange wären auch die Bestrafungen eines Bauern im Bezirke Seletin und eines Beigeordneten in Slobodzia-Rarancze des Czernowitzer Bezirkes zu erwähnen, die im Zustande der Trunkenheit militär- und österreichfeindliche Aeüßerungen fallen ließen und deshalb zu je drei Monaten Arrest verurteilt wurden. Charakteristisch ist die beiden Uebertretern gemeinsame Aeüßerung, daß unter russischer Herrschaft die Juden bald vertrieben sein

named Vasili Welehorski was arrested in an inn in Kotzman in January 1913 for ranting against the Empire and the Jews. Welehorski repeated in court that he regarded the Austrian government 'a Jewish affair (*eine jüdische Wirtschaft*) which would swiftly end once the Russians had marched in' and that he considered the government influenced by the Jewish press. In the end the man only received a mild sentence for public intoxication. In the matter of Welehorski's anti-Semitism, Governor Meran informed the Orthodox Consistory of the accused's statements, emphasising 'that these may lead on the one hand to strongly questioning his loyalty as an Austrian citizen, but on the other hand, through its provocative content, to a justified charge of intolerance towards people of another religion and especially against the Jewish nationality'. Meran declared Welehorski's behaviour 'degrading to the whole priesthood' and, without specifically giving orders, the governor made clear that he expected the Consistory to act in the matter and to report back to him afterwards.⁸³⁹

Nationalist, irredentist phantasies about the 'brother nation' moving in to remove the Jews were not limited to pro-Russian Bukovinians from the northern section of the crownland. Once the war had started, prisoner of war Artemie Bran wrote to his brother Mihaiu in southern Bukovinian Uidestie, wishing for 'God [to] help our Romanian brothers, that they free us from the Hungarian and Jewish yoke'.⁸⁴⁰ Still, the number of recorded incidents of popular anti-Semitic unrest was higher in the northern, predominantly Ruthenian-speaking areas of Bukovina. This might have had a demographic reason: in the northern area there were a large number of villages with a population of Jews and Ruthenian speakers (mostly Hutsuls). In the south, communities of almost exclusively Jews and Romanian speakers were as good as unknown.⁸⁴¹ Tensions of a specific anti-Semitic nature on the local level were therefore less likely to occur in the southern part of Bukovina. In 1898, *Bukovyna* assessed

würden". Meran, Rudolph an k.k. Minister des Innern, *Russophile Bewegung - Stand im 1. Quartal 1913*, Zl. 380/7 Prä.s., Czernowitz, 22 April 1913/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCÎ I/7, p. 166v.

⁸³⁹ "Pfarrer Wasili Welehorski hat dadurch, daß er in der Nacht vom 9. auf den 10. Jänner 1913 in einem öffentlichen Lokale in Kotzman, im Beisein mehrerer Personen, im trunkenen Zustande sich zu Aeußerungen hatte hinreißen lassen, welche geeignet waren, einerseits seine Loyalität als österreichischer Staatsbürger insbesondere aber als Priester stark in Frage zu stellen, andererseits aber durch deren aufreizenden Inhalt den gegründeten Vorwurf von Intoleranz gegen Andersgläubige speziell gegen die jüdische Nation auf sich zu laden - ein derartiges den ganzen Priesterstand entwürdigendes Benehmen an den Tag gelegt und hiedurch allgemeines Aergeris erregt, daß derselbe gegen Uebertretung des § 1 des Trunkenheitsgesetzes strafgerichtlich zu 5 Tagen Arrest unter Umwandlung in eine Geldstrafe von 50 K rechtskräftig verurteilt wurde. (...) Was endlich den von Pfarrer Welehorski in seinen incriminierten Aeußerungen so unverhohlen an den Tag gelegten Antisemitismus anbetrifft, wird es selbstverständlich dem hochwürdigen Konsistorium überlassen, dortseits das Entsprechende zu veranlassen und über das Verfügte anher Bericht zu erstatten". Meran, Rudolf, *Letter to the Orthodox Consistory in Czernowitz (copy)*, *Welehorski Wasili, gr. or. Pfarrer, Disziplinarangelegenheit*, Zl. 2755/3 Prä.s., 7 November 1913/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCÎ I/7, pp. 189-189v. With regard to Vienna's consistent refusal in to grant the Jews the status of 'nationality', Meran's invocation of 'intolerance towards the Jewish nation' is remarkable here.

⁸⁴⁰ "...Gott helfe unseren rum: Brüder, dass sie uns vom ungarischen und jüdischen Joch befreien..." Bran, Artemie, *Letter*, Taggia, 2 October 1916 (sent) to Mihaiu Bran in Uidestie, Bukow./ Referat XVIII/Monatsbericht über die Zeit v. 16. II – 30 IV. 1917: Die rumänische Frage/ Vienna, Kriegsarchiv/Armeeoberkommando/ Gemeinsames Zentralnachweisbüro (AOK/GZNB) Zensurstelle 'D'.

⁸⁴¹ Nistor, Ion, *Harta etnografică a Bucovinei întocmită pe temeiul recensământului oficial din 1910, de istoricul I. Nistor. Scara 1: 300.000*, Göbl-Rasidescu, Bucharest 1910.

that of a total number of 82,717 Bukovinian Jews, 63,894, dwelled in ‘purely Ruthenian or in mixed districts’ and only 18,823 in ‘purely Romanian districts’.⁸⁴² The north-south divergence may also be explained by the Ruthenian-Jewish cooperation on a political level and the subsequent absence of anti-Semitism in the Bukovinian Ruthenian press: since anti-Jewish frustrations were no longer ‘channeled’ by the nationalist movement, they surfaced on the village level.

It was not always possible to identify anti-Semitic instigators, since intimidation also came in the shape of anonymous pamphlets. In January 1882, two identical leaflets were left at ‘The Golden Lamb’ restaurant and in front of the Roman-Catholic church in Czernowitz, summoning Christians to annihilate the Jews and predicting that ‘the hardworking peasant would not be rewarded for his diligence before the last Jew had gone up in smoke and flames’. The notes announced a campaign on 10 February and claimed similar notes had been distributed to all parishes in the suburbs of Czernowitz. Police investigations in other towns only resulted in confirmative responses from Rosch and Sereth however, while in Suczawa, Storozynetz, Wiznitz and Kimpolung no such threats had appeared.⁸⁴³ In 1908, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* reported a similar incident from the German colonist town of Jakobeny where leaflets were spread among Jewish residents, prompting them to leave the town within fourteen days ‘in order to avoid bloodshed’. The newspaper received originals of the pamphlet from many anxious readers, but concluded that it was either a ‘knavery’ (*Bubenstreich*) or ‘the product of a sick mind’ (*der Ausfluß eines krankhaft überspannten Gehirns*). Nevertheless, it underlined the risk of such incitement amidst ‘narrow-minded and uneducated villagers’ and blamed both the hateful language of the Christian-Social press and the passive attitude of the local authorities.⁸⁴⁴ In January 1909, peasants in Southern Bukovinian Suczawa received pamphlets with the title ‘Towards salvation - Some words to the Romanian villagers’ (*Spre mântuire - Câteva povețe pentru sătenii români*), encouraging them to battle the Jews economically in every possible way. This time, readers were not called to arms. The district captain in Suczawa did not detect either anxiety among the local Jews or an anti-Semitic mood among the targeted villagers. The public prosecutor in Suczawa refrained from taking legal measures, ‘since threats were uttered all too often and once the intimidated party had calmed down, it usually realised the threats had been meaningless’.⁸⁴⁵ Some time before, Jewish deputy Benno Straucher had called Governor Regner-Bleyleben’s

⁸⁴² Русини, Нїмці і Волохи – I, Буковина, 14.01.1898, p. 2.

⁸⁴³ “(...) Und nicht eher wird der Landmann, der kämpfend mit der Natur im Schweiß seines Angesichtes dem kargen Boden mit harter Mühe das Leben abgewinnt – für seinen Händefleiß gelohnt, bis nicht der letzte Jude in Rauch und Flamme aufgegangen ist!” Police Czernowitz, *Notification of an anti-Semitic threat*, report no. 34, 2 January 1882/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 4626.

⁸⁴⁴ *Eine 'Organisation'*, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 13.12.1908, p. 1.

⁸⁴⁵ “(...) dass den gemachten Wahrnehmungen zufolge Bedrohungen unter der ländlichen Bevölkerung als Ausfluss momentaner Aufwallung nur zu oft auftreten und bei der Hauptverhandlung, sobald sich die durch übertriebene Aengstlichkeit des Betroffenen hervorgerufene Aufregung gelegt hat, von letzteren selbst als nichtssagende Auesserungen dargestellt werden”. Regner-Bleyleben, Oktavian, *Bericht an Seine Excellenz des Herrn k.k. Minister des Innern*, 26 January 1909/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MI 86/14.

attention to similar agitation in the Kimpolung district. Indeed, in the villages of Stulpikany, Dorothea-Plotonitza and Negrilassa brochures had surfaced but, again, since these had failed to excite the Jews as well as their envisaged assailants, charges had only been filed for ‘unauthorised book-peddling’ (*unbefugte Kolportage*). Still, the governor hastened to add that he would remain alert to ‘the more and more radical forms of anti-Semitic disturbances’ in the crownland and that he would take action whenever necessary.⁸⁴⁶ In short, the ‘passive attitude’ regarding anti-Semitic threats for which *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* had criticised the local authorities in the case of the Jakobenys pamphlets was indeed government policy: as long as Jews did not feel too seriously threatened and peasants did not really respond to (anonymous) instigators, incidents were largely ignored.

The end of the war brought no end to anti-Semitic incidents. When Austria-Hungary recognised the sovereignty of the Ukrainian People’s Republic in February 1918, festivities were organised in Wiznitz. It came to a confrontation between the housekeeper of Baroness Wassilko and a number of peasant women who shouted at the man that at these celebrations they would not be commanded by a Jew.⁸⁴⁷ In June 1918, Governor Ezdorf reported ‘a strong current’ among peasants against Jews because the latter did not work the fields. When food was distributed among those in need in northern Bukovinian Kadobestie, the mayor had also handed out corn to a Jewish repatriate. A bystander then snatched it away and encouraged the crowd to rally against the Jews.⁸⁴⁸ Similar resentful sentiments are reflected in the posthumously published memoirs of Ion Nandriș from the village of Mahala close to Czernowitz:

It is maybe not uninteresting to recall that the hatred and enmity of the villagers toward strangers, sometimes accompanied by violence, was quickly felt. The intruders (venetici) who had seized fields and farms in a dishonest way realised it was healthier to sell their loot to the

⁸⁴⁶ “(...) dass ich der hierlands auftretenden, allerdings immer radikalere Formen annehmenden antisemitischen Agitation nach wie vor volle Aufmersamkeit zuwende und in jedem einzelnen zu meiner Kenntnis gelangenden Falle einer angeblich ungesetzlichen Betätigung dieser Agitation ungesäumt Erhebungen einleite und die nach dem Ergebnisse derselben geeignet scheinenden Verfügungen treffe”. Ibid.

⁸⁴⁷ “Das Komitee der Veranstaltung behauptet, daß der Wirtschaftler der Baronin Wassilko Jakob Landwehr einer Bäuerin einen Stoß versetzt haben soll, worauf die Bäuerinnen erregt wurden und ihn und Buraczynski beschimpften, indem sie sich bei dieser Feier nicht von einem Juden kommandieren lassen wollten”. Landespräsident, *Festveranstaltung anlässlich des Friedensschlusses mit der ukrainischen Volksrepublik in Wiznitz*, Zl. 5234/ R präs., 25 April 1918/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MI, mapa 84/3.

⁸⁴⁸ “Starke Strömung unter den Bauern gegen die jüdische Bevölkerung, welche hauptsächlich darin ihren Grund sucht, daß die Juden keine Feldarbeiten leisten.- über Einzelfälle: Bei Beteiligung er Bedürftigen in Kadobestie mit Brotfrucht, hat am 16. Juni der Bürgermeister einem jüdischen Repatriierten ebenfalls Brot zugewiesen, worauf der in Urlaub befindliche Landsturmmann Sandek Fediuk das Getreide entriß und die angesammelte Menge gegen die Juden aufreizte. Der Bürgermeister stellte die Getreideverteilung ein und wurde dieselbe am darauffolgenden Tage unter Anwesenheit eines Beamten der Bezirkshauptmannschaft Zastawna in Ruhe und Ordnung vollzogen. Getroffene Maßnahmen: Sandek Fediuk wurde sofort beim Etappenbezirkskommando in Zastawna angezeigt”. Ezdorf, Joseph, *Monatsbericht über staatspolizeilich relevante Vorfälle in der Bukowina in der Zeit vom 21. Mai bis 20. Juni 1918*, z. ZL. 8086/R Präs., Czernowitz, June 1918/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MI, dosar 86/6.

*villagers and go than to face the risk of defying an entire village. At the end of the First World War only one Jewish family remained in the village.*⁸⁴⁹

⁸⁴⁹ Nandriș, Ion, *Satul nostru Mahala din Bucovina*, Tribuna, Sibiu 2001, pp. 177-78.

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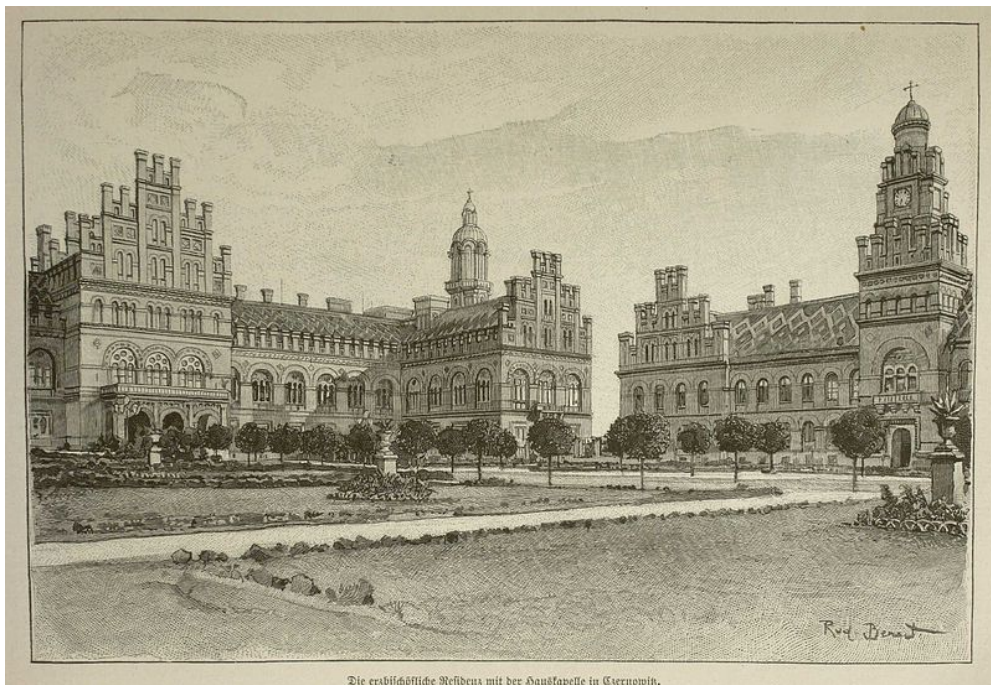
werden und sind eine Petition an den Landtag zu
 unterzeichnen. Ich verhoffe ~~es~~ ich werde
 werden können, daß schon viele daß ich ab,
 benachteiligt ganz abgesehen ganz gehen um
 für Aufst. gehen mehr zusammenfassen. —
 wir haben sehr für den Fall der Zusammen-
 schau, und das ist, in irgend einem
 der Hand, der Zusammenfassung unterlegen sel-
 ten. — In dieser Petition wollen wir auch
 ausdrücklich daß die Bekanntheit zur Notizen
 geben, für zusammenfassen sich kann mit dem Er-
 neuterer Zusammenfassen kann, so sehr
 der Zusammenfassung mit diesen den Zusammen-
 zusammenfassen können. —
 daß schon ein und für zusammenfassen
 E. Brüder, durch den Zusammenfassen Notizen
 zusammenfassen kann ich nicht und also für den
 gab ich für in dem Land. —
 Man am 30ten August 1818.

Herr Bollmann
 Lybich und Kitzman
 Herr Korte
 Lybich und Kitzman
 Lybich und Kitzman

Four of Bukovina's peasant deputies, including Lukyan Kobylitsia, request the authorities in 1848 to keep Bukovina as a part of Galicia.



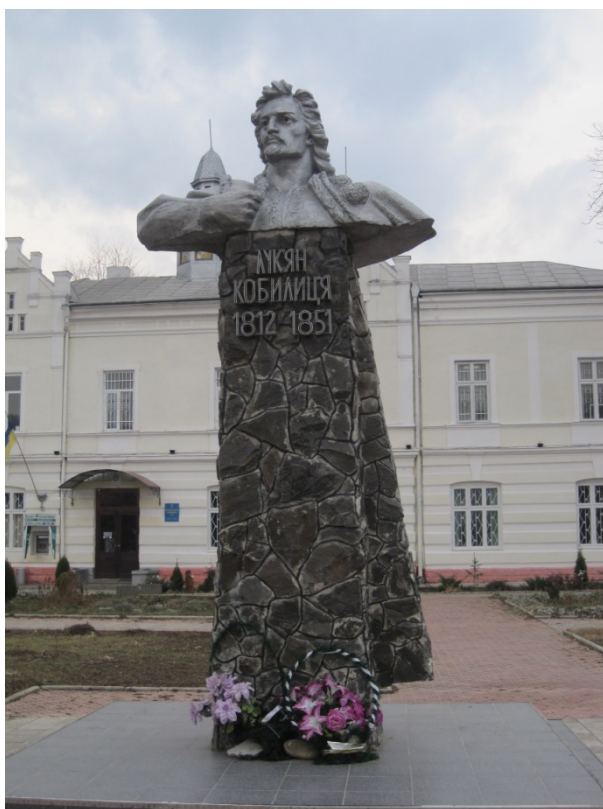
The Putna monastery, burial place of Stephen the Great, early 1900s.



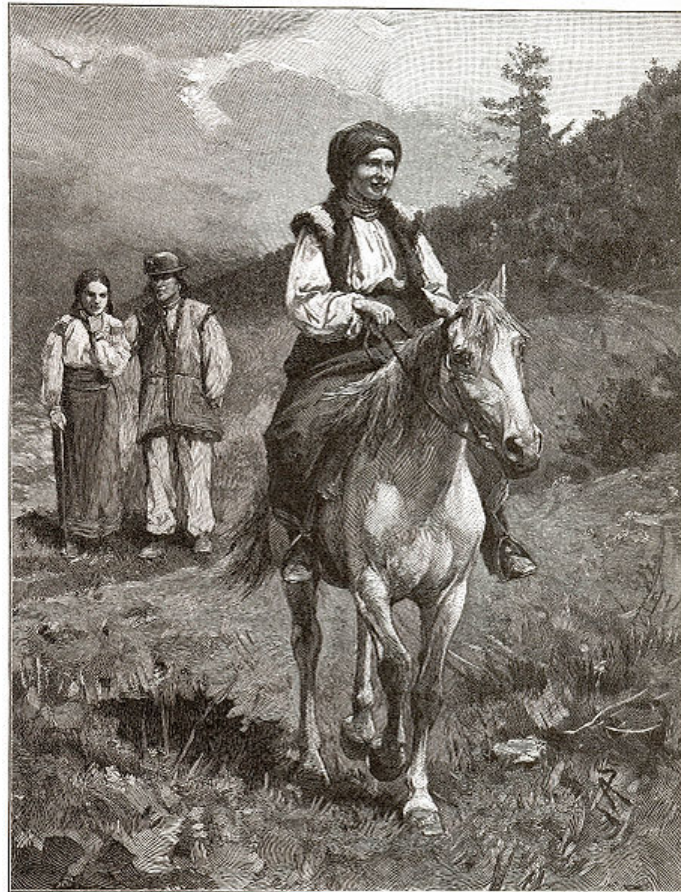
The See of the Bukovinian Orthodox Metropolitan (now the central building of Chernivtsi's university).



Left: Monument to Constantin Tomasciuc (1840-1889) in Czernowitz. Right: Eudoxius Hurmuzaki (1812-1874).



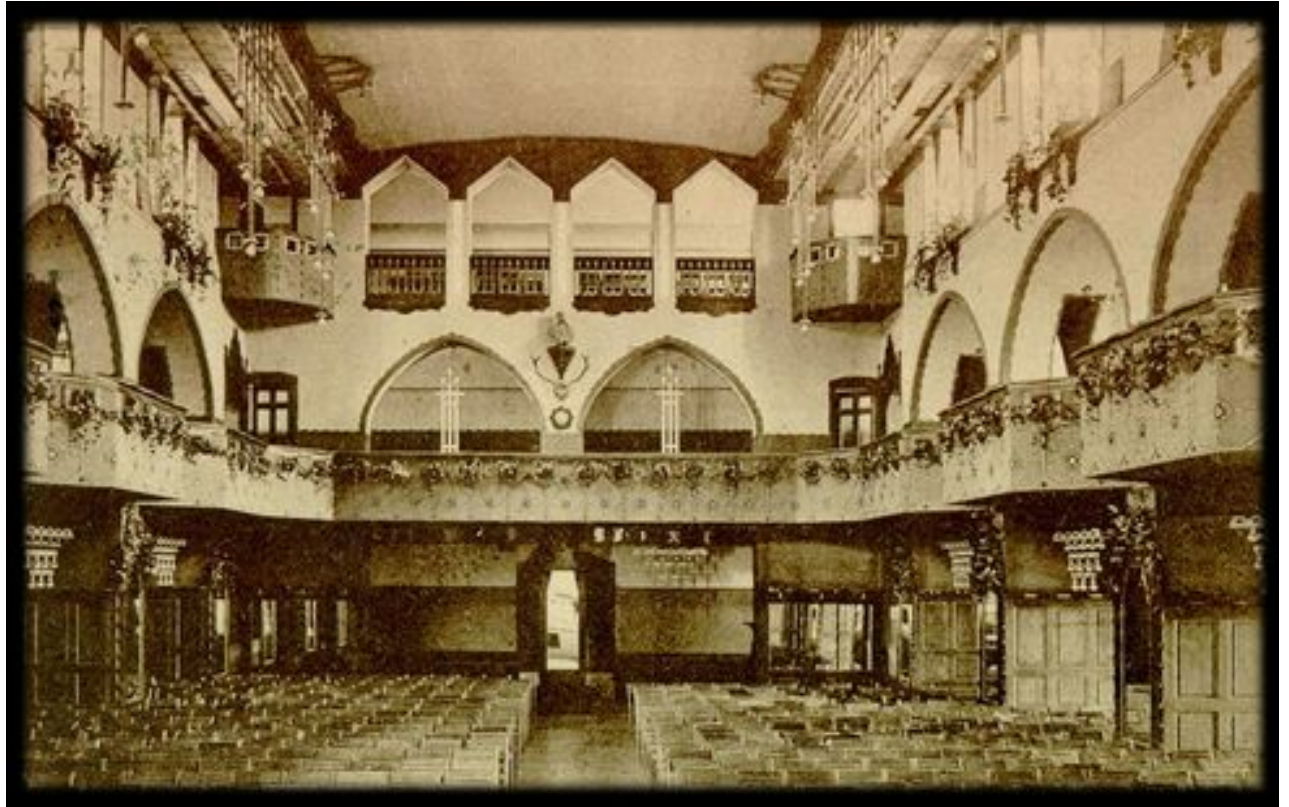
Left: Monument to Hutsul/Ukrainian hero Lukyan Kobylitsia in present-day Vyzhnytsia (Вижниця), named Wiznitz in Habsburg days. Right: Kasyan Bohatyretz, Old-Ruthenian/Russophile activist.



A romanticised image of Hutsul country life in Bukovina.



Postcard image of 'Ruthenians'.



Ballroom of the German House in Czernowitz, early 1900s.



Karl Lueger (1844-1910), Viennese mayor between 1897 and 1910, father of Christian-Social anti-Semitism.



Remnants of the dominance of the German language in present-day Chernivtsi. Above, a bilingual (German-Romanian) sign in the staircase of an apartment building, below, the faded signpost of a bakery shop and a manhole cover.





Left: The Palace of Sadagora's 'wonder rabbi' in the early 1900s. Right: The ruins of the Palace in 2008.



Reb Burech trinkt Lechaim.

71450 Verlag Simon Gross, Czernowitz, Hauptstrasse 35.



Left: Jewish folklore card from Czernowitz, 1900; right: Anti-Semitism in a newspaper ad: Barber Ursu in Czernowitz declares to be 'Christian'.



The Storozhynetz slaughterhouse in 1905, with a clearly visible Jewish presence.



Participants at the Czernowitz Yiddish Language Conference in 1908.



Left: the Jewish-owned Pardini bookstore in Radautz, end of the 19th century.
Right: Lawyer and Yiddish activist Max Diamant.

PART III: ELEMENTS OF REGIONAL IDENTIFICATION: INSTITUTIONS, COMPETING LOYALTIES, IMAGES AND EVENTS

1 Introduction and Structure

1.1 Introduction

In the previous section alternatives were offered to the commonly applied notions of ‘multi-ethnic Bukovina’ and groupist ethno-centric thinking - the idea that society was strictly divided along ethno-national lines and, on top of this, that each member of these groups identified themselves to an equal extent with this nationality. The spotlight was put on views different from the nationalist kind, which so far have taken up all available space in historiography. As such, it was a ‘negative’ approach with the aim to bring forward what identification processes in Habsburg Bukovina had *not* produced: a universally accepted and strictly applied division according to nationality, each with their distinct languages and cultures. This was necessary to pave the way for a closer look at the ‘positive’ indicators of Habsburg Bukovinian identification: if nationalism’s claim to exclusivity cannot be upheld, other identifications need to be found and addressed. The focus will be on ‘Bukovinian’ and ‘Bukovinianness’ and on how these notions surfaced between 1848 and 1918. From the 1880s, the local press actively instrumentalised Bukovinian identity as an antidote against the backwardness they believed was caused by political fragmentation and nationalist infighting. Sometimes this identification appeared as historical treasure now replaced by nationalism, sometimes the other way around: as the sensible alternative once the nationalist phase had passed.¹

Once Austrian Bukovina had ceased to exist, Greater-Romania with its centralist ambitions saw itself confronted with more regional particularity than it had bargained for. Iancu Flondor, born in Bukovina and for a while responsible for Bukovinian affairs in the government of united Romania, wrote in 1922 to his fellow-nationalist Dimitrie Bogos, a born Bessarabian assigned by Bucharest to deal with Bessarabian matters:

*Romania currently passes through a critical phase, for it is made up of four lands - although all populated by the same people but separated from each other for centuries - which have all developed in such a way that at the moment of their unification these four branches of our people do not represent a united culture as one would wish for in a homogeneous nation-state.*²

¹ See for instance *Die Bukowina und die Bukowiner*, Bukowinaer Nachrichten, 08.05.1892, pp. 1-2; *Ostern 1910*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 27.03.1910, p. 1.

² “România, integrită din patru țări, deși toate populate de acelaș neam, despărțiți însă prin secolii unii de alții, cari s’au dezvoltat, fiecare în parte, astfel, că în momentul unirii lor aceste patru ramuri ale neamului nostru nu reprezintă o cultură unitară cum ar fi de dorit pentru populația unui stat național omogen, trece actualmente printr’o fază critică.” Flondor, Iancu, *Letter to Dimitrie Bogos*, Bucharest, 28 November 1922/ ANR, Fondul Familial ‘Iancu Flondor’, dosar 5, fasc. 25.

One only needs to think of the more obvious things Bukovinians had to abandon once the Austro-Hungary Dual Monarchy had collapsed to be able to imagine what Flondor had referred to in his letter: loyalty to the previous Emperor and Empire; the privileged position of the German language and its strongest symbol, the Franz Joseph University; a regional diet as well as regional representation in the capital. These elements, previously dominant in Bukovinian culture (and thus, to use a term coined by Brubaker, 'masked'),³ were no longer taken for granted and suddenly seemed to represent cornerstones of a vanished - or vanishing - society and deserve a more detailed analysis. Naturally, it was not only their existence per se that made them into cornerstones of Habsburg Bukovinian society: the academic and political dynamism they provided enabled crucial actors to take the scene, who in turn had a major influence on developments in the crownland.

Then there is the issue of multiple loyalties and multi-faceted identifications. Ruling out ethno-nationalism as the sole focus of identification in Bukovina cannot imply that it should be dismissed altogether: its presence must be acknowledged and seen in combination with other perceived identification factors.

Coming to the heart of the matter, after having looked into the relative but dominant presence of nationalism, the competing identifications among which the 'Bukovinian' one emerges as well, and after having zoomed in on institutions which - different from for example the Bukovinian Orthodox Church - were established during the years of existence of the autonomous crownland and which have played a decisive role in the development of crownland identification, the elements of the 'Bukovinian regional discourse' must be examined. Imagology might provide the necessary tools here, although the case of Bukovina poses some challenges to the 'classical' imagologist approach. To name the more obvious: imagology works primarily on literary representations and in this respect the source material on and from Austrian Bukovina is minimal. In order to extrapolate imagined characterisations and attributes with reference to Bukovina, researchers will find it more rewarding to consult the abundantly available press sources from the Habsburg era, particularly those from Bukovina proper. Voluminous as these sources may be compared to the modest size of Austrian Bukovina, one does encounter another limitation: that of the *longue-durée*: Strictly speaking, autonomous Bukovina existed only from 1848 until 1918 - one may even argue only from 1861 until 1914 - and as such offers a meager source of information where the formulation, perpetuation and dissemination of stereotypes is concerned. However, the systematic and frequent occurrence of the characteristics concerned justify an approach so far mostly connected to the study of national stereotypes.⁴

Furthermore, it merits bringing into focus which dynamics were at work once Bukovinians were actively encouraged to present an image of their region and its inhabitants. At a time when parades, exhibitions, memorials and mass events had become important instruments of *Selbstdarstellung*, organising committees - naturally within the limits of what higher

³ Brubaker et al. 2006, p. 19.

⁴ See Leerssen on imagology methods in Beller, Manfred and Leerssen, Joep, *Imagology. The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters; a Critical Survey*, Rodopi, Amsterdam 2007, pp. 26-30.

authorities deemed acceptable or suitable - had sets of existing ideas, stereotypes and expectations at their disposal, ready to be combined with elements promoting the image they wanted to convey.

1.2 Structure

In paragraph 2.1, an analysis of specifically Habsburg Bukovinian institutions logically starts at the very symbol of Bukovinian autonomy: its regional diet and, more indirectly, at Bukovina's political representation in the Austrian parliament. Bukovinian political culture produced two phenomena which are consistently presented as the almost logical results of 'inter-ethnic peaceful cooperation': the multi-nationalist Freethinking Alliance and the Bukovinian Compromise. After the very matter of the notion of results of 'inter-ethnic peaceful cooperation' was questioned in Part II, it now becomes relevant to discuss what the actual intentions and significance of these initiatives were and why, in relation to them, Bukovina politicians never really managed to join forces in Vienna. A description of the institution therefore largely overlaps with a historical overview of political milestones.

Paragraph 2.2 will then look into the most powerful symbol the Austrian authorities established in Bukovina, the German-language Franz-Josef University of Czernowitz. As is the case with a number of strongholds related to the 'Bukovinian myth', the university has often been depicted as a centre of civilisation, tolerance and cordiality. This paragraph will highlight the interplay between pride and shame, between the university's mission as a beacon of German culture and its inadequacy to be respected as a fully developed academic institution, between its role as an educator of peasants and a creator of an intellectual proletariat, between its image of multi-ethnic oasis and that of an importer and producer of nationalist fanaticism.

In the following paragraphs 3.1 to 3.5, Bukovinian loyalties will be further explored. Whereas Part II has dealt with nationalist and religious adherences, this section will examine how Bukovinians regarded their relations to the Austrian state, and, more prominently, the ruling Habsburg dynasty. The towering figure of Emperor Franz Joseph, whose reign overlapped almost exactly with the existence of autonomous Habsburg Bukovina, takes centre stage here. Cases of treason and the question of compatibility between loyalty to Empire and Emperor on the one hand and the different brands of nationalism on the other will be addressed here as well. Consequently, the relation between national(ist) and regional attachment will be scrutinised before the attention will be diverted to 'Bukoviniannes' exclusively: the concept of 'a Bukovinian people' and the priority some gave to the (political) regional agenda.

From paragraph 4 to 5.6, perceived characteristics of what was considered 'typically Bukovinian' will be investigated. First, the various elements of the 'Bukovinian myth', 'Bukovinism' and *homo bucovinensis* will be addressed. Then, in spite of the fact that many stereotypical elements mostly appeared in all sorts of combinations, an effort will be made to separate and list them and to take a closer look at when and by whom they were put to use. There were feelings of pride, but many of the attributes referred to insecurity and inferiority,

more generally towards ‘the West’ and more specifically towards Vienna and neighbouring Galicia. As a result of political developments these were increasingly combined with a defensive and protective attitude.

Those imagined perceptions of ‘Bukoviniannes’ were seldom as clearly accentuated as during highly profiled events which called for a Bukovinian representation. In paragraph 6.1 to 6.5, a number of anniversaries, exhibitions and other festivities will be discussed with a focus on the ‘Bukovinian’ elements which have so far been analysed: the myths, the competing identities, the stereotypes and attributes and the way the organisers of the respective occasions tried to either avoid or include those factors in the over-all image of Bukovina they attempted to create.

2 Key Institutions of Habsburg Bukovina – *Landtag* and Franz Joseph University

2.1 *Landtag*: Bukovinian Political Representation in Czernowitz and Vienna

Once Bukovina had obtained its status of autonomous crownland, it was entitled to have its own regional diet (*Landtag*). A committee of local landowners, presided by Bishop Hacman, was appointed to design the new crownland's constitution and electoral law. The new body was to consist of forty-eight deputies and was to represent the entire population by dividing deputies into three groups: rural communities and small landowners were to deliver sixteen deputies, large landowners equally sixteen, while the bourgeoisie was entitled to bring in six intellectuals and ten representatives of commerce and industry. There was a price tag attached to the right to vote: those in rural communities were to pay two guilders in order to participate, those from Czernowitz four guilders and in order to vote with the large landowners, at least twenty-five guilders had to be brought on. The Bukovinian Diet was to elect a president, a vice-president and an executive council (*Landesausschuss*). The Diet was declared competent in matters regarding local culture, public buildings erected using provincial funds, charitable establishments, assessing provincial budget revenues, profits resulting from provincial possessions and contributions from residents as well as the settlement of ordinary and extraordinary expenditures of the crownland. Moreover, the Diet was responsible for municipal, church and school affairs, for public transport, for the housing and board of military troops, 'and for all those provisions which, were to be assigned by imperial law to provincial autonomy in the future'.

However, the neoabsolutist forces declared the newly-written crownland constitution - together with the other new and liberal crownland constitutions - null and void by Imperial Patent on 31 December 1851. The new arrangement entered into force as late as 26 February 1861, when the Imperial Constitution was finally accepted. In the end, the number of diet seats was to be thirty: ten for the large land owners, seven for the cities and the chamber of commerce, twelve for the curia of rural communities and small landowners and one fixed - the so-called 'virilist'- seat for the Orthodox Metropolitan. Every rural community had to elect one 'elector' for each 500 voters, who then voted for a diet deputy on their behalf. The diet president was also the president of the Executive Council. The diet elected council members - one for each curia plus one extra - from their midst. Similarly, it elected the Bukovinian deputies for the Austrian Parliament from its own ranks, which logically resulted in a Romanian-speaking majority.⁵ The Galician Gubernium had tried to maintain at least a slice of its previous influence by claiming seats for the Catholic and Uniate bishops from Lemberg at the expense of the large-landowner curia, but had failed to see its wish granted.⁶ The same year, the diet convened for the first time chaired by its president, Bishop Hacman.⁷ Throughout the existence of the diet, its president was always a member of the Romanian

⁵ Ceașu 2004, p. 165.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 74-105.

⁷ Kapri 1975, p. 102.

caucus - with the exception of Polish-speaking Anton Kochanowski between 1874 and 1883 - which caused frustration among Ruthenian nationalists.⁸

Major local issues under discussion were the improvement of the state of agriculture with financial means and the closely connected matter of developing a decent infrastructure.⁹ Draft legislation was discussed in plenary sessions and after all modifications had been added, projects were voted upon. Once draft laws had obtained an absolute majority, they were forwarded to the governor, who mediated between the diet and Vienna. After the Minister of Internal Affairs had approved the concept, it was to be signed by the Emperor. As such, the Emperor himself decided on Bukovinian legislative projects. Protocols of diet sessions were published annually in Czernowitz, while newly-approved laws were published in the provincial law gazette (*Gesetz- und Verordnungs-Blatt für das Herzogthum Bukowina*) which appeared in German, Romanian and Ruthenian.

The languages used in the diet mirrored both the complexity of Bukovinian society as well as its practical approach in sensitive matters. Next to German, of which the leading strata of the crownland had an excellent command and which Governor Von Göetz characterised in 1896 as 'a perfectly neutral medium of communication', Romanian and Ruthenian were equally admitted as customary languages of debate. This was primarily important in the early years of autonomy to enable illiterate Romanian and Ruthenian-speaking peasants to address the house.¹⁰ The executive committee communicated in German, but used Romanian and Ruthenian when corresponding with small-town municipalities or political parties.¹¹ In 1869, language policy was debated once more when Romanian nationalists demanded that the protocols of diet sessions not only be published in German, but in Romanian as well. The issue was intensely discussed by 'autonomist-federalists' in favour and 'constitutionalist-centralists' against. Eventually, a compromise stipulated that protocols only were to contain a Romanian version in case the intervention in question had originally been in that language. A similar provision was made for the use of Ruthenian,¹² although some Ukrainian sources later claimed that Ruthenian only received this status well after it had been granted to Romanian.¹³ The debate on the official diet languages obviously had a distinctly symbolical value, since the use of German was a matter of course for Bukovinian intellectuals and it surely enhanced the effectiveness of diet practices to have discussions without the interference of translations.

The electoral laws of Bukovina with its curiae - contrary to those regarding the Imperial Parliament in Vienna - did not serve to assure a majority for the German-speaking bourgeoisie. Instead, they aimed at reflecting Bukovinian society in all its linguistic and religious diversity. Nevertheless, it proved to be the perfect platform for nationalist politicians

⁸ Wagner 1996, p. 402; Ceașu 2004, p. 137.

⁹ Ceașu 2004, pp. 151-152.

¹⁰ Ciuciura 1982, pp. 94-95.

¹¹ Bihl 1973, p. 570.

¹² Ceașu 2004, pp. 68-69.

¹³ See for example Nowosiwsky 1970, pp. 70-71.

as pioneering Romanian nationalists were the first to reap the benefits of the available opportunities.¹⁴ From the start, Romanian speakers were well-represented in the diet. They dominated Bukovinian nobility which in turn formed the majority of diet deputies.¹⁵ While Romanian nationalist sources preferred to see the preponderance of those aristocratic diet members as the logical result of national dominance,¹⁶ it was actually a reflection of the socio-economic conditions of the time: the continuous influence of the nobility in Habsburg Bukovina was a direct consequence of its rural-pre-industrial character. Some noble families such as the Hurmuzakis, Wassilkos, Flondors and Stârceas became true political dynasties. Aristocrats not only entered the diet through the large-landowner curia, but also through those of the cities, the chamber of commerce and the rural communities. From the second half of the nineteenth century, they also found their way to bourgeois circles. A similar development was seen with seats initially occupied by peasant deputies: their number diminished once smaller landowners, small-town intellectuals and government officials grew in number and claimed diet representation. This trend had been encouraged by the Diet itself: by 1864, influenced by the liberal ideals of enlarging the social basis of the electorate, the electoral law accepted not only those who paid to come to the ballot box, but also admitted individuals 'who had earned their merits in society'. This way, both Christian and Jewish men of the cloth from rural areas as well as reserve officers, physicians, graduates from Austrian universities, school directors, professors and honorary citizens were invited to participate in local politics. When the Franz Joseph University was established in 1875, a second 'virilist' seat was reserved for its rector, bringing the total number of diet seats to thirty-one. From this moment onwards, diet regulations would remain unchanged until the important reform of 1910 known as the Compromise (*Ausgleich*).¹⁷

The diet was able to produce useful pieces of legislation like the provincial and municipal electoral laws, the communal law and the education law. It also had the task of supervising the administration committee of the Orthodox Church Fund.¹⁸ The most striking initiative with respect to the development of specific crownland identity may well have been the law on the establishment of the university.¹⁹ It had also been the diet which succeeded in convincing the authorities of the need for a combined Imperial visit to Bukovina once it had been decided that Franz Joseph would visit neighbouring Galicia in 1880.

Coalition Politics

In 1888, Constantin Tomasciuc, who was a deputy in both the Imperial parliament and the Bukovinian Diet, argued that the political contradictions in the diet were not so much of a national nature, but shaped along the traditional lines of right and left: the right wing was composed of fifteen large landowners, the Metropolitan, a member of the urban curia and a

¹⁴ Turczynski 1993, pp. 143-144.

¹⁵ Hurmuzaki, Eudoxius von, *Fragmente zur Geschichte der Rumänen, Vol. 1*, Sicecu & Teclu, Bucharest 1878, p. vi.

¹⁶ Iacobescu 1993, p. 124.

¹⁷ Ceașu 2004, pp. 105-134

¹⁸ Șafran 1939, p. 57.

¹⁹ Wagner 1979, p. 56.

member of the rural one. A middle faction had been formed by five civil servants, while a left wing consisted of two urban curia members; the two deputies from the chamber of commerce, one from the rural curia plus - most of the time - the university rector. Tomasciuc criticised the right wing for not openly declaring itself a landowner party, as similar parties in other Austrian crownlands had done. By hiding behind the shield of general conservatism, he claimed, the faction could gain even more votes and benefit from those 'inexperienced enthusiasts' who attributed a national character to it.²⁰ However, those enthusiasts quickly acquired the necessary experience to turn Bukovinian local politics into a battle of conflicting national interests. When a Romanian-German-Armeno-Polish majority took over from a German-Polish-Ruthenian coalition in 1903, *Bukowinaer Journal* rejoiced:

*Today we are ready to create out of our own free will an even more than amicable agreement between the three most prominent nationalities of Bukovina without any recourse to force. The expectation is fully justified that this amicable agreement will be of long duration and untroubled existence. There is no collision of interests between these three parties. The Romanians, who were always friendly disposed towards the Germans, do not fear Germanisation, although today the German language is prevalent in all offices and many German civil servants are deployed here. They readily acknowledge the cultural importance of the German language as a language of mediation, and know very well that the Germans do not intend to Germanise, that is to denationalise the Romanians. Romanians and Germans have opposite interests, so misunderstandings and frictions will be quite impossible since the Romanians are not aiming for a Romanisation of Bukovina. They want the unhampered cultural development of their co-nationals, but not at the expense of the other nationalities.*²¹

However, the 'long duration and untroubled existence' of such coalitions was debatable in Bukovina. As Aurel Onciul's newspaper *Privitorul* had stated in 1902:

*In the short interval of just one decade from the four parties in the diet, namely the Romanians, Ruthenians, Armenians and Germans, all mathematical combinations possible with four elements were formed in the following alliances: Romanians-Ruthenians, Romanians-Armenians, Romanians-Germans, Ruthenians-Armenians, Ruthenians-Germans, Armenians-Germans, Romanians-Ruthenians-Armenians, Romanians-Armenians-Germans and Ruthenians-Armenians-Germans. From the mathematical point of view the Bukovinian Diet works systematically, processing all possible combinations; however, from the political point of view the game is childish and shows a complete lack of seriousness. For it is impossible for it to change this radically every year that it requires yet another regrouping of the afore-mentioned national parties.*²²

As such, Bukovina did not just have 'national parties': here, nationalities often *were* political parties. The exceptional number of 'nationalities' in Bukovina had the additional value of putting the 'matter of life and death' discourse - which ever so often dominated in regions where only two national movements competed with each other - into the perspective of everyday political bickering. Not only were the different factions in Bukovina left little choice but to cooperate; they were also well aware of the relativity of national demands and the limited

²⁰ *Die Wählerversammlung*, Bukowinaer Nachrichten, 18.09.1888, p. 1.

²¹ *Der neue Kurs*, Bukowinaer Journal, 113, 22.06.1903, p. 1.

²² Vrânceanu, A., *Dieta Bucovinei*, Privitorul, 7, 01.08.1902, p. 2.

prospects of success. When *Bukowinaer Rundschau* took on the anti-Semitic German nationalists for freezing out the Jews, it recommended to the Bukovinian Jews ‘to become a party’ (*‘Die Juden des Landes sollen Partei werden’*).²³ *Rundschau* suggested a similar approach for large landowners of Armenian descent. They had fruitfully cooperated with Romanian-speaking large landowners until the latter ‘remembered that in the land a Romanian nation existed which they could turn into their cat’s-paw in order to do better’. The newspaper advised the ‘Armenians’, who all were landowners and had no popular power base, to ‘either join the Jewish large landowners in order to hit the Romanians on the head or [to] revive a seemingly dead nation on offer in the land in order to affiliate themselves as allies’ if they did not want to ‘sink into the political underworld’.²⁴ By 1912, when Russian agitation and its Old-Ruthenian supporters opposed the newly-branded Ukrainians, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* zoomed in on the murky nationalist foundations of both sides as well as on their different views of loyalty towards Austria and gave the article the title ‘Nation or Party?’²⁵ The same notion had even entered Bukovina-themed fiction in the description by Michael Sawka of a conversation between a group of Bukovinian university students in Vienna in his 1905 novel:

“Today one of us has denied his narrow homeland”, he replied dully. “You were here in the café. The auditor asked Antoniewski if he is also a Bukovinian. Do you know what the man responded? “I am a Pole!” Was he asked about his nationality? Have you answered: I am a German? Or Hercules: a Ruthenian? Or the archaeologist: a Romanian? First the land and then the party - that’s how we’ve always done it!”²⁶

And indeed, as is the case with parties, the observation made by *Privitorul* on ever-changing coalitions made sense in the Bukovinian political arena. In 1902, *Bukowinaer Journal* applauded the coalition between Romanian, German and Polish nationalists for showing ‘what a nice agreement one can reach if one does not have the desire to win advantages for themselves at the expense of other nationalities, if one wants to express oneself nationally, without narrowing the conditions of existence of another nation or by trying to undermine it at the same time’. Ruthenians however were declared to remain the Romanians’ hereditary enemies.²⁷

A split occurred in 1891 between the different national factions and the Romanian nationalists,²⁸ when the conflict between the latter and Governor Pace erupted over the Church Congress and the underlying question of the position of Romanian and Ruthenian

²³ *Deutsche und Juden*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 21.02.1897, p. 1.

²⁴ *Die Großgrundbesitzer - II*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 01.02.1897, p. 1.

²⁵ *Volk oder Partei?* Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 14.04.1912, p. 1.

²⁶ Sawka, Michael, *Herbst... Eine Geschichte aus der Bukowina*, Czernowitzer Buchdruckerei-Gesellschaft, Czernowitz 1905, p. 4.

²⁷ *Die Slavisierung der Bukowina*, Bukowinaer Journal, 1902, 25, 12.1902, p. 1.

²⁸ Sociologist Dumitru Drăghicescu, who worked for the Romanian post-World War territorial lobby from Paris, claimed that Bukovinian Diet elections had continuously been influenced by the administrative authorities and this way supported and favoured ‘the German-Jewish-Ruthenian coalition’ against the Romanians. Draghicescu, Dumitru, *Les problèmes nationaux de l’Autriche-Hongrie. Les Roumains (Transylvanie, Bucovine, Banat)*, Éditions Bossard, Paris 1918, p. 200.

speakers within the Orthodox church of Bukovina. Pace and the Romanian nationalists had already been at odds since Pace had attempted to acknowledge the increasing influence of Ruthenian nationalists by granting the Kotzmann, Zastavna and Czernowitz districts to Ruthenian candidates at the 1890 elections.²⁹ When the Romanian nationalists asked for his dismissal, the liberal (Jewish), Armeno-Polish and Ruthenian factions gathered behind the governor. Since their political isolation united the different Romanian nationalist groups, their clout was strong enough to make new elections necessary. The Romanian campaign centered on the alleged threat against the Orthodox Church and the Romanian nation by Governor Pace and all competing political groups in the crownland. The resulting electoral victory for the Romanian nationalists meant the end of Pace's position as governor.³⁰

The Freethinking Alliance

Bukovina's tradition of aristocratic dominance in the political sphere took a blow when the early 1900s saw a shift towards a new generation of politicians focusing on social reforms and modernisation. Like in Austria at large as well as beyond, this agenda was pushed mainly by the social-democratic movement. Although a social-democratic party was also established in Bukovina in the 1890s, it never developed into a force to be reckoned with because of the pre-industrial character of the crownland and was mainly supported by a small number of German-language workers from the western part of the Monarchy. It tried to broaden its base by attacking the powerful position of large landowners in Bukovina. Although the social-democrats in Austria had started out as a supra-national movement, the daily realities of political life in the Empire soon forced them to allow party sections segregated by nationality. This way, the Bukovinian social democrats soon split into German, Jewish, Romanian and Ruthenian sections, each with their own periodical.³¹

More important than the social-democrat movement was the divide of the 'young' and the 'old' in the different national factions of Bukovinian politics. The Leader of the 'Young-Romanian' democrats was Aurel Onciul, who first presented his agenda of social reforms together with Florea Lupu in the Democratic Rural Party (*Partidul Țărănesc Democrat*) in 1900. In their periodical *Voința Poporului* they demanded lease of land owned by the Church Fund to small farmers and a reform of the Municipal Code. On top of that, they promoted electoral reforms in order to limit the power of the large landowners.³² Onciul soon expanded his ambitions in an effort to unite the Romanian-speaking peasantry and bourgeoisie in Bukovina with his bi-monthly political journal *Privitorul*, initially published in Brünn (Brno) where he held the position of bank manager. He was initially backed by teachers and Czernowitz university students but quickly gained support among Bukovinian peasants. In 1902, Onciul founded the political association 'Unirea' from which his Romanian Democratic

²⁹ Ceașu 2004, p. 137.

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 305-320.

³¹ Ceașu 2004, pp. 355-356, Rușindilar, Petru, *George Grigorovici și social-democrația în Bucovina*, Editura 'Constantin-Titel Petrescu', Bucharest 1998, p. 35.

³² Hausleitner 2001, p. 57.

Party would evolve. With an increasingly literate rural population, Onciul attracted a large audience with his program which first of all focused on social and electoral reforms and only then on national claims. A central element in his program was the establishment of a regional state bank (*Landesbank*) which was to enable peasants to take out honest loans. Furthermore, influenced by the ideas of inter-ethnic tolerance - published in Raoul Chélaré's book in 1894 and readily supported by the Imperial government - Onciul stated his willingness to cooperate with the other Bukovinian national groups. He was definitely a novelty in his days when he acknowledged equal rights for both Romanian and Ruthenian Bukovinians, recognizing both ethnicities as the 'historical inhabitants' of the territory.³³ In general, Onciul's party acknowledged the right of each nationality to pursue its proper rights and wishes.³⁴ The principle of nationalities deciding their own fates (*Selbstbestimmungsrecht*) lay at the core of his electoral reform ambitions.³⁵ Naturally, respecting the rights of his 'rival nations' also had practical aspects: in order to gather enough political capital as well as a majority for his electoral reform plans, Onciul was badly in need of fellow combatants outside of the Romanian nationalist realm who would enable him to break the staunch opposition against his plans from the side of the boyars.³⁶

Some Ruthenian circles had noticed the initiatives by Onciul and Lupu with impatience and envy. They regarded Romanian nationalist teachers, who formed the core of the new movement, as 'more progressive' than their Ruthenian colleagues.³⁷ The balance was quickly restored when Onciul found an ally in Mykola Vasylyko, who had been at odds with the conservative Ruthenian nationalists for some time.³⁸ Within the Bukovinian Diet, the ever-controversial Vasylyko raised eyebrows when he interfered with the way diet members of other national factions stood up for their respective constituencies. *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, already fully conditioned in reasoning along the lines of national registers, wondered why Vasylyko bothered to criticise German or Romanian colleagues instead of leaving this to their German and Romanian voters.³⁹ In any case, Vasylyko's ability to distinguish himself as a cross-national politician, combined with his cordial cooperation with Benno Straucher from the recently formed Jewish nationalist party, made him a crucial partner in a future collaboration between Bukovina's competing national parties. Arthur Skedl, who led the German liberals primarily rooted in the urban regions, also realised the benefits of a closer cooperation: the rise of anti-Semitism in German nationalist circles and the subsequent split between German and Jewish nationalists threatened to marginalise his constituency and the German language as a whole.⁴⁰ Together with the progressive Armeno-Polish Stefan Stefanowicz, Onciul, Vasylyko, Skedl and Straucher found each other in their shared ambition to reform and

³³ Ceașu 2004, pp. 247-248, Chélaré, Raoul, *L'Autriche contemporaine*, Leon Chailly, Paris 1894, Onciul 1999, p. 9.

³⁴ Hitchins 1973, p. 617.

³⁵ Onciul 1999, p. 35.

³⁶ Nistor 1991, p. 322.

³⁷ Русини і Румуни на Буковині, Приятель, 08.02.1903, p. 3.

³⁸ Політична ситуація на Буковині а виборова реформа (Письмо із села), Рародна Рада, 17.11.1906, pp. 1-3.

³⁹ *Deplazirte Rivalität*, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 17.05.1903, p. 1.

⁴⁰ *Um was es geht*, Bukowinaer Post, 10.07.1904, pp. 1-2.

democratise the Bukovinian electoral system. Each national group retained the right to pursue its specific national goals, however,⁴¹ while the clear state loyalty and Austria-mindedness of Onciul's Democratic Party was a stable starting-point for negotiations on cooperation.⁴² In view of different 'national priorities', audacious visions of a united democratic party were quickly dismissed. Instead, an association was formed, consisting of national clubs. Every question regarded 'national' by those clubs was to be treated as such.⁴³

The so-called 'Freethinking Alliance' (*Freisinniger Verband*)⁴⁴ directly opposed the conservative forces within each nationalist group, the Romanian National Party of Iancu Flondor, the Old-Ruthenians and the Christian nationalists,⁴⁵ who took every opportunity to accuse the Alliance's members of 'betraying their own nationalities'. Onciul was said to put Bukovinian interests first and Romanian interests second.⁴⁶ The figureheads of the Alliance used every opportunity to refute such allegations, like Vasylo during a 1903 diet session:

*What is our organisation, gentlemen? Do you think that Dr. Aurel Onciul [...] is a fiber less Romanian than any of you? Do you think that [Ruthenian] Mr Stotsky and Mr Pihuliak, these two sons of farmers, have given up even a bit of their national program only for Onciul's sake, that they feel even a bit less national? Do you think that Dr. Benno Straucher would tolerate even the slightest insult or the slightest bad thought against the Jews, in order to have the honour to be part of our association? Nothing, gentlemen, have we given up, but we connected on the basis of liberalism (Freisinn).*⁴⁷

They were not afraid to lash back at their opponents with a well-aimed *tu quoque*, as Onciul proved in *Voința poporului*:

The peasant needs are not national; they are neither Ruthenian nor Moldavian. Needs are needs and you combat them together with whomever you can. This is how the sly boyars do it. They would cozy up to the devil if this would help them to keep the stove burning. Here is some proof. Why have Romanian deputies joined Ruthenian deputy Tyminsky? Maybe this was national treason, too! Why have Romanian deputies joined Polish boyar deputies: Abrahamowicz, Bogdanowicz, Bohosiewicz and Wiesolowsky? Is this not national treason? Yes, everything boyars do is always national, popular and Orthodox. Only when the farmers' deputies use boyar slyness for peasant benefit, then the boyar gang and their minions yell: "To arms! Nation, church and people perish!" It is not true, you scoundrels. It is not the nation, the church or the people that perish, but only the boyars' dealings and kickbacks. It is high time that all rural deputies who have a heart for the peasants stick together to defeat the

⁴¹ Onciul 1999, p. 38.

⁴² Turczynski 1993, p. 204.

⁴³ Onciul 1999, pp. 40-41.

⁴⁴ While in Ruthenian/Ukrainian the name of the Alliance (*Вільнодумний союз*), corresponds with the German, in Romanian, *Freisinniger Verband* is often translated as *tovărășie țărănească*, 'Rural Alliance'.

⁴⁵ Turczynski 1993, p. 204.

⁴⁶ Olaru 1995, p. 278.

⁴⁷ Wagner 1979, p. 51.

plague of this land in brotherly union, the boyar clique which has been mercilessly sucking and hollowing it for half a century.⁴⁸

It was not only Onciul and his Freethinking Alliance which jeopardised the comfortable power position enjoyed by the local aristocratic conservatives. On 3 April 1903, Prince Conrad Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst was appointed Governor of Bukovina. Apart from the local excitement that such a high-ranking nobleman had been sent to faraway, little-known Bukovina,⁴⁹ Hohenlohe brought with him the reputation of being a 'red prince' and was, unlike his predecessors, inclined to take reforms seriously. Instead of discreetly supporting the conservative elements, the new governor sought close cooperation with the Freethinking Alliance - ordered to do so by his superiors in Vienna, as Bukovinian newspaper editor Philipp Menczel later claimed Hohenlohe had confessed to him.⁵⁰ In Viennese circles, it was said, the argumentation went as follows:

*If three or even four nations come together in a single alliance, mutually respecting each other's national rights, why should the government [do] not support such an endeavour? An attempt might as well be made, and Bukovina is exactly the appropriate province for it.*⁵¹

Hohenlohe's successor Regner von Bleyleben maintained in his memoirs how Hohenlohe had 'simply allowed Onciul and Vasylo to break up the longstanding conservative majority in contrast to his predecessors, who had influenced all elections'.⁵² Progressive newspapers like *Bukowinaer Post* praised both the Freethinking Alliance and the new governor and a year after Hohenlohe had assumed his position, the *Post* lamented that 'the land still made no attempt to make good use of him'.⁵³ However, Hohenlohe's energy was said to see through the complacent attitude of the incumbent deputies, who readily paid lip service to reform ideas but were not in a hurry to implement them. The *Post* even insisted that 'the national question' had not been raised in the diet anymore once Hohenlohe had assumed office.⁵⁴

By June 1904, discussions in the diet between conservatives and democrats about legislative projects regarding electoral reforms and land redistribution had come to a complete stalemate. The diet was dissolved by imperial decree and new elections were called for July. Just like in the rest of Austria, the main theme of the 1904 elections in Bukovina was the election reform. The two blocks formalised their previously informal alliances and so the Freethinking Alliance officially participated in the race: 'Young-Romanians' and 'Young-Ruthenians' promised to campaign together and to divide the twelve seats available for the rural curia between them. The bitter election battle between 'democrats' and 'conservatives' focused on loyalty to the state and on irredentism. The 'democrats' readily adopted this theme since one

⁴⁸ *Clubul deputaţilor ţărăneşti în dieta ţerii*, *Voinţa Poporului*, 24, 10.11.1903, p. 20.

⁴⁹ *Die 'schöne Bukowina'*, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 24.04.1904, p. 1.

⁵⁰ Menczel 1932, pp. 65-68.

⁵¹ *Versuchskaninchen*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 12.09.1909, p. 1.

⁵² Regner von Bleyleben 2002, p. 26.

⁵³ *Wach' auf Bukowina!* *Bukowinaer Post*, 03.04.1904, p. 1.

⁵⁴ *Pfingsten 1904*, *Bukowinaer Post*, 22.05.1904, pp.1-2.

of the prominents at the conservative side, Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki, was the principal organiser of the controversial Stephen the Great commemoration of the Romanian nationalists that same year. The elections ended in victory for the Alliance. The Romanian National Party had not managed to obtain any of the seats and was disbanded soon after. The Freethinking Alliance got a majority of votes in both the rural and the urban curiae as well as from the chamber of commerce and entered the Bukovinian Diet with seventeen of the thirty-one available seats. The Young-Ruthenian victory over their Russophile/Old-Ruthenian opponents had even been more convincing than Onciul's over the conservatives in the Romanian nationalist camp. For the seats obtained from the chamber of commerce, the Alliance had to thank the liberal German and Jewish nationalist votes.⁵⁵

The wind of change brought about by the progressive governor and the victory of the reform-minded new coalition lifted the spirits in Bukovina, urging columnist Conrad Pekelmann to exclaim his 'delight to be Bukovinian, with such a diet'.⁵⁶ Notwithstanding its aura of bourgeois reformists, however, the new diet members were large landowners just like the conservatives they had been eager to replace.⁵⁷ The appointment of Romanian nationalist George Wassilko as diet president and Ruthenian Stepan Smal'-Stotsky as his deputy served to reflect the dominance of the two major nationalist factions in the crownland.⁵⁸

Once the Alliance had obtained its diet majority, it started to work on the realisation of its program: the establishment of a regional state bank, the recovery of the land's finances, a municipal code and electoral reform and a pay rise for teachers. With its seventeen diet seats, the Alliance lacked the two-third majority necessary to amend the provincial constitutional law and was thus forced to negotiate a compromise with the conservative diet minority. This resulted in the creation of a fourth 'general' curia consisting of all male citizens over twenty-four residing in Bukovina for at least a year. The total number of delegates was enlarged from thirty-one to fifty-five. The project was a rush job - even Onciul underscored that the draft was only a step towards the ultimate goal of a general and equal electoral law - and was supported neither by Straucher nor by the social-democratic delegate and the deputies from the chamber of commerce. Meanwhile, the political attention in Austria and Bukovina had shifted to the issue of the introduction of general, direct and secret suffrage in the Imperial Parliament. Especially Straucher, Vasylo and Skedl insisted that such new rules should not only apply to the Imperial Parliament but to Austria's regional diets as well. Straucher also used the opportunity to campaign for the recognition of a Jewish nationality.⁵⁹

The Alliance had started to split primary schools, teacher-training colleges as well as the school inspectorate into German, Romanian and Ruthenian divisions. Nationalists from all three directions had reasons to be satisfied with the results of the negotiations: Ruthenian lobbyists obtained a Ruthenian-language Gymnasium for the first time; their Romanian adversaries celebrated the promotion of Romanian-language parallel classes at the Czernowitz

⁵⁵ Ceașu 2004, pp. 352- 358.

⁵⁶ Corbea-Hoisie 2003, p. 120.

⁵⁷ Regner von Bleyleben 2002, p. 26.

⁵⁸ Ceașu 2004, p. 363.

⁵⁹ Leslie 1991, pp. 120-122.

Gymnasium into a full-fledged Romanian-language Gymnasium while a second Romanian-language Gymnasium was established in Kimpolung. German colonists could now send their offspring to a German-language Gymnasium in Gurahumora.⁶⁰ *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* praised the new system, since pupils were expected to receive a better and swifter education now that they did not have to spend their hours in class with classmates who spoke a different mother tongue.⁶¹ Indeed, illiteracy in Bukovina dropped from 79.47% in 1890 to 53.8% in 1910. Still, the crownland remained one of the least literate provinces of the Monarchy.⁶²

In spite of the energetic way political milestones were reached, the Freethinking Alliance was a fragile construction. The days surrounding the election victory had been euphoric. *Voința Poporului* reported how not only six hundred of his own followers had carried Onciul on their shoulders to a train taking him to Brünn (Brno), but that for the occasion, Vasytko had ordered a folk ensemble from Focșani (Romania) to play the revolutionary song ‘Awaken thee, Romanian!’ (*Deșteaptă-te Române!*) upon Onciul’s departure.⁶³ Soon, however, personal envy and competition prevailed. As Aurel Onciul’s memoirs reveal, the leading personalities in the Alliance tended to clash. Onciul claimed that Vasytko’s bossy attitude was accepted by his fellow-Ruthenians, but not by Onciul’s Romanians. Especially between Lupu and Vasytko the chemistry was said to be bad. According to Onciul, Vasytko tried to take his position as the Alliance’s leader, which Onciul insisted he would have accepted only if Vasytko’s personality had been less divisive and if Onciul’s Romanian fellowmen had allowed such a shift. Furthermore, Onciul felt frozen out by Vasytko’s and Straucher’s personal friendship and maintained to have persevered in order not to jeopardise his ultimate political goals. Smal’-Stotsky was reportedly only capable of seeing matters from the viewpoint of a Ruthenian peasant and as such even tried to block roads repairs in the capital and pay rises for teachers, municipal secretaries and physicians.⁶⁴ Onciul himself was perceived as a successful initiator of the new program, but a less than efficacious implementer. His dominant and bullying nature estranged him from those whom his course of action had initially enthused.⁶⁵ Onciul himself accused his Jewish and Ruthenian allies of willfully disturbing the harmony.⁶⁶ The local press regarded the Alliance as dominated by the Young-Ruthenians and wondered what Jewish and German nationalists possibly gained by their membership.⁶⁷

⁶⁰ Nistor 1991, p. 323-324.

⁶¹ *Trennung der Kinder an den kommunalen Volksschulen nach der Muttersprache*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 10.01.1905, p. 3.

⁶² Ceaușu 2004, p. 156.

⁶³ *Ovațiuni pentru deputatul Dr. Aurel Onciul*, *Voința Poporului*, 46, 12.11.1904, pp. 11-12.

⁶⁴ Onciul 1999, pp. 39-44.

⁶⁵ *Die Bilanz der Aera Onciul*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 05.09.1906, p. 1.

⁶⁶ Onciul 1999, p. 53.

⁶⁷ *Die Neue Aera - Juden und Deutsche*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 20.10.1905, p. 1.

In the short time the Alliance enjoyed its majority diet sessions were overshadowed by unpleasant bickering over favours, positions and salaries.⁶⁸ The cracks already visible when Romanian and Ruthenian nationalists fought over prominent positions in the Orthodox Church widened when positions needed to be filled in the new regional bank. The original concept stipulated that its president be from the Romanian camp while his deputy be appointed by the Ruthenian faction. Since the Romanian Democrats had supported Smal'-Stotsky's candidacy for diet vice-president, they now demanded Florea Lupu to be appointed bank president for life. Vasylo's Ruthenians refused since they believed that this way, only Romanian national interests would be served and suggested the president be re-elected every six years.⁶⁹ Onciul's Democrats refused and the Alliance thus met an untimely end. *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* complained that the failure of the Alliance had not been a matter of nationalist politics, but purely a case of personal issues and concluded that this general feature of Bukovinian politics had to be eradicated first of all.⁷⁰ *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* did not pretend to be sorry, reminded its readers how it had deemed the Alliance a monstrosity from day one and pointed at the inconsistencies which had plagued it:

The genius Mr Aurel Onciul could not have contrived a more cunning plan of campaign to set the Young-Ruthenians in the saddle, even though he repeatedly emphasised that he is a national Romanian. The elections came with their battle cries and before you knew it, Dr. Smal'-Stotsky was deputy to the diet president and, with respect to the given conditions, the autonomous administrator of the entire land. It goes without saying that the Young-Ruthenians happily complied with this plan, both in their own interest and in the interest of their Young-Ruthenian electorate.

Furthermore, the newspaper regarded Onciul not a selfish, but rather an 'amateurish' (*stümperhaft*) politician, who managed to be accused of nepotism - Lupu was his brother-in-law - on the first occasion he actually had to defend Romanian national interests. *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* predicted a future for Bukovinian politics largely based on pre-Onciul traditions:

Now, the politics of the land will return to the track leading to true national equality and continuous economic development - but only after many battles still to be argued out. Our diet is based on the principle of representing interests. The large landowners will eliminate the clearly nationalist element from their ranks and gradually switch to a generous agricultural policy which only takes into account the national element insofar as it is necessary to prevent abuse. Jews and Germans will establish an urban faction together, which will represent the economic interests of business and trade professionals as well as the German cultural element while the peasants' interests will be embodied nationally and economically in a Romanian and a Ruthenian Diet club.⁷¹

However, such scenarios disregarded the developments in Austria's electoral reform discussions: what had seemed revolutionary in Bukovina in 1904 when the first reforms

⁶⁸ *Bukowiner Landtag*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 03.06.1905, p. 1.

⁶⁹ Ceașu 2004, pp. 365-366.

⁷⁰ *Personen und Sachen – II*, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 20.09.1905, p. 1.

⁷¹ *Abgewirtschaftet*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 24.05.1905, p. 1.

had led to an additional curia seemed overhauled by the Moravian Compromise of 1905. The Moravian system provided completely separate registers for Czechs and Germans, requiring lists or registers according to nationality. A predetermined number of delegates were elected for each nationality.⁷² The new system caused excitement in progressive Bukovinian circles and seemed compatible with the philosophy the Freethinking Alliance had already applied in the Bukovinian school system: national conflicts should be solved by ‘unbundling’ (*Entflechtung*) and separation, as former governor Regner von Bleyleben - whose entire term in office from 1904 until 1911 had been dominated by the Bukovinian electoral reform debate - had described the concept.⁷³

After the Collapse of the Freethinking Alliance

With the failure of the Alliance, Onciul’s Democrats and the Romanian conservatives found each other once more. In Onciul’s view, it was this rapprochement as well as the successful implementation of the planned reforms which had now made the Freethinking Alliance redundant. He claimed that it was not the cooperation with Vasylo and Straucher that had been his leading motive, but only the ‘national principle’ and the national right to self-determination: once his conservative fellow-nationalist had recognised this, reunification had been the only logical step.⁷⁴

With regard to this confession, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* certainly had a point with the observation that the ‘struggle against the boyars’, which had been the focus of the Democrats’ campaign, seemed little more than a pretext. It explained why for the so-called a-national Democrats in predominantly Ruthenian-speaking districts only Ruthenian nationalists had run, while by analogy the same method was applied in largely Romanian-speaking districts while, as the newspaper claimed, Jewish electors had been pushed to vote for anti-Semitic candidates for the sake of the Alliance’s victory. ‘The proper flag should declare what goods are being shipped’, *Allgemeine* concluded.⁷⁵

The new developments created a new majority in the diet, consisting of six Romanian conservatives, five Romanian Democrats from the now defunct Alliance, four Armeno-Polish conservatives, two German delegates and the two ‘virilists’, Metropolitan Repta and university rector Herzberg-Fränk. After long debates, the new majority managed to have Lupu installed as regional state bank president.

In October 1905, Onciul achieved another significant political success once Gheorghe Popovici had died. Popovici had represented the religiously and linguistically mixed central Bukovinian district in the Imperial Parliament. Onciul ran a successful campaign at the local

⁷² Leslie 1991, p. 122.

⁷³ Regner von Bleyleben 2002, p. 24.

⁷⁴ Onciul 1999, p. 47.

⁷⁵ *Unter eigene Flagge*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 08.06.1905.

by-election against the Ruthenian-speaking Uniate Arthur Malyk,⁷⁶ albeit a messy one: on 13 August 1905, Titus Onciul came to the village of Bahrinestie to talk about the regional bank. Instead, Ruthenian newspaper *Ruska Rada* argued, Onciul had warned his Ruthenian-speaking audience not to vote for Malyk 'or else they could forget about getting money from the regional bank, since Lupu, a friend of the Onciuls, was its president'.⁷⁷ In Hadikfalva, Hungarian-speaking peasants disrupted one of Onciul's rallies with pro-Malyk cheering which eventually led to a brawl with Onciul's supporters. Similar unrest was reported from Sereth, where larger groups of followers of Onciul's and Malyk's came to blows.⁷⁸ Onciul balanced his act carefully and made sure that he conveyed the right message to the motley crew of voters by maintaining that in parliament, he would first and foremost defend his a-national agenda of economic reforms and peasant emancipation.⁷⁹ He furthermore exploited the notion of 'true Bukovinianness' which he skillfully contrasted with 'that spirit of discord and national and religious incitement invading us from abroad'. Without mentioning anyone in particular, it was obvious he meant his Uniate and Galician-born opponent Malyk. As soon as he was sure of his victory, he also chose to ignore the failure his Freethinking Alliance had been on the local level and declared:

*Once again, the new coalition of Romanians, Ruthenians, Germans and Jews which unifies all indigenous, honest elements has shown that it is strong enough to secure a brilliant victory despite all the mostly very unfair means argued against them.*⁸⁰

Once Onciul had secured his seat in parliament, it was only a matter of time before his political adversaries in Vienna found out that his reputation at home was tarnished by rumours of nepotism, corruption and stealth and subsequently put this knowledge to use. In Bukovina, his supporters and his adversaries at least agreed that the unrest surrounding Onciul's doings and dealing damaged the crownland's reputation.⁸¹ According to the Romanian nationalists of *Apărarea Națională*, it cost Bukovinian Romanians the respect of their fellow nationalities and the trust of their fellow Romanians outside Bukovina.⁸²

The Bukovinian Compromise

Onciul's parliamentary ambitions had temporarily steered away the attention from the unfinished Bukovinian electoral reform, but in 1907, Vienna returned the 1904 draft to the

⁷⁶ Rus, Ionas Aurelian, *Variables Affecting Nation-Building: The Impact of the Ethnic Basis, the Educational System, Industrialization and Sudden Shocks*, dissertation, Rutgers University, New Brunswick 2008, p. 60.

⁷⁷ *Агітація Волохів*, *Руска Рада*, 14.08.1905, pp. 261-262.

⁷⁸ Regner von Bleyleben, Oktavian, *An den Herrn Minister des Innern*, Zl. 4955 Präs., Czernowitz 12 September 1905/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MI, 86/1; *Sereth – Wählerversammlung (Korrespondenzen)*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 07.09.1905, p. 5.

⁷⁹ *Zur Reichsratsergänzungswahl*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 06.09.1905, p. 2.

⁸⁰ *Sieg des echten Bukowinaertums! Dr. Onciul - gewählt!* *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 11.10.1905, p. 1; *Братья!* *Народна Рада*, 23.08.1905, p. 1.

⁸¹ *Die Affäre Onciul*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 21.10.1906, p. 1; *Unser guter Ruf*, *Bukowinaer Post*, 25.10.1906, pp. 1-2.

⁸² *Programul nostru - V: Pe terenul pur național*, *Apărarea Națională*, 16, 19.11.1906, p. 1.

Bukovinian Diet for some minor alterations. In order to avoid lengthy deliberations, the issue was postponed until the 1908 session. When the conservative majority - supported by Governor Regner von Bleyleben who feared the entire reform was at risk - tried to have the original version approved without further debate, they encountered resistance from the German nationalist diet delegates. The German nationalist electorate was spread all over the crownland and as such they felt underrepresented in the revised electoral law which, like its predecessor, was based on geographical district voting. Vienna decided thereupon that the draft had to be discussed once more on diet level, while taking into account the German nationalist objections. Aurel Onciul, encouraged by the high participation rate at the 1907 parliamentary elections,⁸³ then proposed a completely new draft based on the Moravian Compromise of 1905, introducing separate voter registers for different national groups. *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* needed little time to recognise its old Freethinking adversaries with their crypto-nationalist agendas and issued strong warnings against the register concept which it feared would lead to 'the rupture of the peasant class, the destruction of the bourgeoisie which is struggling to survive and the division and atomisation of the cities, of the land and indirectly of the State as a whole'. The newspaper also questioned the government's position in the matter:

*What is forcing the government now to carelessly abandon the territorial principle, which - as far as the national demarcation is concerned - was maintained at the elections for the Imperial Parliament, and to put in its place a personality principle which tears apart all sense of unity, opens the door to national radicalism, intolerance and ethnic hatred and helps to build dangerous states within the State?*⁸⁴

Since Onciul favoured separate registers for Germans and Jews as well, he had found Straucher and Skedl at his side. Although the diet's conservative forces tried to ignore the initiative and continued their attempt to have the initial 1904 draft approved, the governor informed them they would not stand a chance to meet with supreme approval once they neglected the wishes of an entire national faction. On 15 October 1908, they finally gave up resistance and Vasyenko joined Straucher and Skedl in their ambition to completely revise the reformed draft law. The permanent committee had its first meeting on 25 July 1909 and decided 'that a national register with a proportional allocation of seats according to the number of voters be introduced'. This system required the voter to decide to which nationality he belonged and to register himself accordingly. From then on, he could only vote for candidates within his own national group. The basic idea was to recognise different peoples or nationalities in a crownland as 'having equal status as members of the state's population'. Another central idea was the principle of national self-government, not related to a territory but to individuals. This 'personal autonomy' implied that every ethnic group, no matter how big or small, should be entitled to solve its particular cultural and national issues.

⁸³ Ceașu 2004, p. 372.

⁸⁴ *Versuchskaninchen*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 12.09.1909, p. 1.

It was clear from the start that the register system for Bukovina would be significantly more complicated than the one for Moravia: whereas in the latter only two - a German and a Czech - registers had been created, in Bukovina no less than five were planned. And yet this number failed to correspond with the religious and linguistic reality of the land, as the Russian speakers from Lippovan settlements were listed in the Ruthenian register and the Magyar speakers from the villages around Radautz in the Romanian one.⁸⁵ *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* mocked that 'the Lippovans' beards should be shaved off in order for them to fit better into the Ruthenian register, and the pants of the Magyars from Hadikfalva should be narrowed and their hat brims widened in order for them not to swim around in the Romanian register as some alien element'.⁸⁶

Then there was the Jewish question. Although the permanent committee proposed to include a Jewish national register, Vienna refused to recognise a Jewish national identity. The matter proved to be a major stumbling block on the way to approval of the new system and was finally resolved by having Jews and Germans share one register in such a way that a fixed number of Jewish delegates would be - more or less - guaranteed. Furthermore, the new order was not consistently national, for the large landowners secured the continued existence of their landowner curiae and blocked a truly democratic reform: class suffrage, related to tax payments and registered property was perpetuated.

Once deliberations were finished and the Emperor had approved the new communal law in March 1909, universal suffrage for all males older than twenty-four and with more than two years of residency within their respective communities was introduced.⁸⁷ The six Bukovinian curiae now looked as follows: The first (landowner) curia consisted of eight deputies and included the 'virilist' Metropolitan, a representative of consistory and monasteries, a Romanian plus a Ruthenian high-ranking cleric and four Romanian large landowners. The second (landowner) curia equally had eight members: four Armeno-Polish large landowners, two large landowners of other nationalities and four Polish delegates, two from the rural areas and two from the general register. The third one was the Romanian curia numbering sixteen representatives from the rural areas and the general register and the fourth a similar Ruthenian curia of sixteen. The fifth curia was German with the university rector as 'virilist', four deputies from electoral districts with a German majority plus three from district with a German minority. Finally, the sixth was officially named the curia for cities and chambers of commerce, but was actually the - officially discarded - Jewish curia and consisted of two members of the chamber of commerce and five urban delegates.⁸⁸ The very complicated system had caused the number of mandates to increase from thirty-one to sixty-three, while universal and class suffrage had been combined.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ Leslie 1991, pp. 123-125; Kotzian, Ortfried, *Rumänien - viele Völker, eine politische Kultur?* in: Rill, Bernd, *Deutschland und seine Partner im Osten - Gemeinsame Kulturarbeit im erweiterten Europa*, Hans-Seidel Stiftung e.V., Munich 2004, p. 120.

⁸⁶ *Der Kataster*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 04.06.1910, p. 1.

⁸⁷ Ceașu 2004, p. 374.

⁸⁸ Kotzian 2004, pp. 120-121.

⁸⁹ Ceașu 2004, p. 116.

In Bukovina proper, the electoral reform was not univocally cheered. Apart from German and Jewish nationalists who remained deeply unhappy about their forced cohabitation, university rector Adler voted against because he found the system unfit for Bukovina altogether. He explained his position in the Diet:

*Where is the national register at home? Where did it originate? It was created in Moravia, where two nations are facing each other ready for combat, where the tide of nationality hatred threatened to break all dams and where it was about reducing the friction between Germans and Czechs, about creating a separation between those two warring nations and keeping them apart at all costs. Are the conditions in this land that bad? (...) I do not think so! My view is rather that, in spite of some amusing vigorous heckling in this hall, in spite of all family disputes, all parties have the large home country and our native land in common, and deep in their heart do not foster lasting enmity.*⁹⁰

The ‘urban element’, therefore mostly German-Jewish circles, felt wronged by the meager two seats the new system allocated to them and blamed - not incorrectly - Onciul’s lobby for rural emancipation for this. *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* held the leaders of the diverse national factions in Bukovina responsible for the ‘register fuss’ (*Katasterrummel*) and for the ‘import of national hatred’.⁹¹ The newspaper concluded that ‘the register had been cut from the Bukovinian body so thoroughly that there were national lists, but no homeland’. It predicted that ‘those elected would move into the diet armed to the teeth and take up their positions’ after which ‘the battle would be terrible, in a bloodily-grotesque way distorted by direct contact and cramped space’. It foresaw a future of only ten years at most for the new system, enough for the masterminds of the scheme to leave the political stage ‘together with their devastating and corrupting influence’.⁹² *Bukowinaer Post* lamented how the spirit of the Freethinking Alliance with its focus on common Bukovinian interests had been abandoned and how nationalist agendas dominated the spectrum once more. The *Post* expressed uncertainty about the outcome of the new system, noting how ‘every nation was separate and for its vested rights had put up the picket fence of the national register while no one could foresee nor predict yet how things would take shape in the new diet’. It also expressed hope that, in due time, the planned segregation would neutralise nationalist preoccupations:

*The national idea has been strengthened, in a sense a mighty fortress (eine feste Burg) was created for it. First, it must feel at home there and then allow the consideration that this way the beautiful land of Bukovina does not cease to be the common homeland of all (...).*⁹³

Czernowitzer Tagblatt on the other hand cheered recent negotiations between Romanian and Ruthenian nationalists in Vienna, regarding these ‘as proof for the clarifying effect of the much-maligned separation’ and in a rather self-contradictory way concluded that ‘in

⁹⁰ *Die Landtagswahlreform*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 21.11.1909, pp. 1-2.

⁹¹ *Der Jammer dieser Stadt*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 10.02.1910, p. 1.

⁹² *Der Kataster*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 04.06.1910, p. 1.

⁹³ *Der Landesgedanke*, *Bukowinaer Post*, 27.03.1910, pp. 1-2.

Bukovina, as it were, natural boundaries between the Romanian and Ruthenian neighbours had been drawn'.⁹⁴

The 1911 elections were held as the first ballot under the register system. A major change was the prominent presence of the Ruthenian vote with seventeen mandates.⁹⁵ The results also showed that, after the Romanian and Ruthenian nationalists, the Jews were now the biggest political force in Bukovina. Within the Ruthenian camp, the Old-Ruthenians were effectively eradicated.⁹⁶ *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* expressed its satisfaction with the way 'the national dynamite had been eliminated', while *Bukowinaer Post* reported from the opening session of the new diet:

*The separation by nationality in the new regional election regulations aimed at eliminating existing frictions and the removal of many points of conflict: to each nation its own. This was fulfilled. The desire for peace will now have to be the common, unifying bond with imprinted on its bright national colours the shibboleth of all those who cherish a sense of homeland: Bukovina.*⁹⁷

Then again, complications swiftly came to the fore: first of all, like Straucher, Skedl and others had predicted, the cleverly designed 'hidden' Jewish mandates within the German-speaking register were not that steady and instead of the planned nine seats, the Jewish faction had won ten. This caused a renewed lobby for a separate Jewish register, supported by all Bukovinian national groups. Second, the envisaged calm with every national group safely in its own 'fortress' failed to materialise because the nationalities involved - Romanian, Ruthenian, German and Jewish - soon found themselves torn between competing forces in their own ranks which severely frustrated the performance of the national clubs within the diet.⁹⁸ In this respect, the predictions of *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* were not far off the mark:

*The shadowy and rather unsubstantial national register, which provides the regional structure, seems to us the cause rather than the conqueror of the national disputes, and since the register principle lacks consistency due to the paucity of completeness and symmetry, it will not be beneficial to the national-cultural and economic development of the land.*⁹⁹

While Austrian patriots hoped that the new order would neutralise nationalist agitation, nationalists themselves regarded it to be the first step towards complete segregation. On the verge of the outbreak of the World War, Bukovina's Christian Germans - claiming a 'German ethnicity' and thus implicitly excluding Jewish German speakers - accepted the decline of

⁹⁴ *Friedensakkorde*, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 31.10.1909, p. 1.

⁹⁵ Ceaușu, p. 139.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 383-388.

⁹⁷ *Bukowina*, *Bukowinaer Post*, 02.07.1911, pp. 1-2.

⁹⁸ Leslie 1991, pp. 134-135; Ceaușu 2004, p. 396.

⁹⁹ *Ostern 1911*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 16.04.1911, p. 1.

German cultural influence in Bukovina as the natural course of events and focused on ‘the development of their own nationality’ exclusively. As they saw it, politically the register system was to be expanded to local and parliamentary elections and economically to the cooperative banks.¹⁰⁰ The last pre-war years of the regional Bukovinian Diet were marred by numerous scandals featuring the names of both prominent Romanian and Ruthenian deputies and kept politicians from dealing with the urgent economic problems in the crownland.¹⁰¹

The Diet and its Local Reputation

The Bukovinian Diet, once hailed as symbol of independence from Galicia and recognition by Vienna, gradually lost its shine in the course of its existence. In 1887, *Czernowitzer Presse* still eulogised the ‘peaceful picture’ of the diet, while it rejoiced in ‘the true joy of seeing the majority of representatives agree on all matters concerning the land’.¹⁰² Over the years, however, that soothing majority had done little to liven up political debates in Bukovinian society. From the beginning, the Romanian-language large landowners had managed to assure themselves of a steady diet majority. The handful of peasant deputies, often without any knowledge of German and therefore unable to follow the debates, had simply been told to stand up or keep sitting by their leaders.¹⁰³ Still, by 1888, this did not keep the editors of *Bukowinaer Nachrichten* from cherishing memories of a livelier debate in older days:

People spoke in detail of the expectations they had of the diet and ventilated already in detail and in advance the possible topics of discussion. No matter the political views of the parties, all without distinction of colour engaged with interest in the issue and they all anticipated with growing excitement the opening of the counsel hall, in which they were certain to hear the effective voices of men driven by enthusiasm for freedom, progress and the welfare of the people.

Although *Nachrichten* added that many of these representatives were decent and reliable, it still deemed the situation ‘unhealthy’.¹⁰⁴ In 1900, *Bukowinaer Post* also expressed worries about the faltering relationship between the local political elite and its electorate, but blamed this on an overly loyal attitude towards Vienna by Bukovina’s politicians. These politicians, with their ‘orgies of servility and careerism’, were accused of having only one priority: faithful obedience to any government. Instead of regarding diet mandates as ‘honourable signs of trust’ from their electorate like before, they apparently saw these mandates now as ‘gifts of grace’ from the Governor’s Office, ‘surrendering them to absolutism while claiming a mandate as a miserable reward (*Schandlohn*) in return’.¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, the *Post* also voiced concern over the politically uneducated masses in Bukovina, who were in no way in contact with their diet representatives and whose wishes, needs and complaints therefore also

¹⁰⁰ *Die deutschvölkische Politik im Buchenlande*, Bukowinaer Nachrichten, 07.06.1914, pp. 1-2.

¹⁰¹ Ceaușu 2004, p. 397.

¹⁰² *Der Bukowiner Landtag*, Czernowitzer Presse, 01.12.1887, p. 1.

¹⁰³ *Adel und Bürgerthum in der Bukowina*, Sonntagsblatt der Bukowina, 16.03.1862, p. 85.

¹⁰⁴ *Unser Landtag*, Bukowinaer Nachrichten, 10.06.1888, pp. 1-2.

¹⁰⁵ *Es dämmert*, Bukowinaer Post, 1070, 11.11.1900, p. 1.

remained unnoticed in the Imperial Parliament.¹⁰⁶ These observations did not change over the years and voter apathy and ignorance continued to be a theme during Bukovina's final election year 1911.¹⁰⁷

When the 1907 diet session closed in October 1907, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* did little to hide its contempt for the institution, maintaining that 'as far as the population was interested in the political processes in the land, it breathed a sigh of relief when it heard that the famous legislative body of the duchy of Bukovina had dispersed for what was hopefully a considerable period of time'. As a matter of fact, the depreciative tone of the *Allgemeine* quickly zoomed in on the person of Aurel Onciul and the way he was said to have intoxicated the diet as a whole with his accusations and rude behaviour. Clearly, the newspaper had always rallied against the Freethinking Alliance in general and against Onciul in particular, so this criticism was not surprising.¹⁰⁸ The style of the new generation of politicians in Bukovina, most prominently represented by Onciul, Vasytko and Straucher obviously contrasted with the complacency of their predecessors the local press had ranted against before. Onciul had repeatedly pleaded for a more active and dynamic Bukovinian diet¹⁰⁹ and had indisputably contributed to more turbulent and raucous diet sessions. In the early days of the Alliance, as illustrated by columnist Pekelmann's exclamations on the 'delightfulness' of the diet and by Vasytko's musical tribute to Onciul at the Czernowitz railway station, the turbulence was of a by and large cheerful nature. Diet debates were marked by bravado, good spirits and laughs. Mykola (Koko) Vasytko's speeches were famously witty. Although he was too young to have actually remembered the occasions, author and actor Georg Drozdowski wrote:

*Back then it was amusing in the diet, and Koko earned tumultuous applause from the listening audience, which was happy that there were only 'silk worries' (sadene zores), and no evil otherwise. Wasn't that a happy time?*¹¹⁰

The new dynamics also provided less favourable images, as first of all the Alliance's conservative opponents experienced. In a debate on alleged misbehaviour by Conservative Romanian nationalist Iancu Flondor, the participants were repeatedly reproached for referring to each other as 'worms', 'crooks' or for wishing for the other 'to have been put behind bars a long time ago'.¹¹¹ When in 1908 Pihuliak's Young-Ruthenians tried to block the election of Onciul - now the head of the diet's Christian-Social club¹¹² - as chairman of the diet's executive committee, the latter responded with 'verbal injuries' and threats to have Pihuliak

¹⁰⁶ *Auch eine Auferstehung*, Bukowinaer Post, 07.04.1901, pp. 1-2.

¹⁰⁷ *Der große Wahltag*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 02.04.1911, p. 1.

¹⁰⁸ *Bukowiner Landtag*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 09.10.1907, p. 1.

¹⁰⁹ Olaru 1995, p. 280.

¹¹⁰ Drozdowski, Georg, *Damals in Czernowitz und rundum: Erinnerungen eines Altösterreicherers*, Verlag der Kleinen Zeitung, Klagenfurt 1984, p. 38.

¹¹¹ *Die Affaire Dr. Janku v. Flondor vor dem landtäglichen Mißbilligungsausschusse (supplement to 'Bukowinaer Journal' no. 323)*, Bukowinaer Vereinsdruckerei, Czernowitz 1903.

¹¹² *Bukowiner Landtag*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 06.10.1908, p. 1.

removed by the diet usher.¹¹³ Onciul did not stop at attacking his opponents verbally: *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* reported in 1914 how Onciul came to blows with his Romanian nationalist colleague Zurkan from the executive committee whom he had accused of irredentism. Onciul had used a chair, a water glass and an ink blotter as 'the key points for his argumentation'. The ink blotter had left Zurkan with a black eye and *Tagblatt* conceded 'to have stopped being outraged and to reckon with the well-known fact that the politics of this Democrat leader had nothing in common with societal respectability (*Salonfähigkeit*)'.¹¹⁴

The Illusion of a Bukovinian Parliamentary Club

With the traditional complaint - voiced by the entire spectrum of the Bukovinian press - that Vienna neglected Bukovina in its economic misery, the big question was why there was no effective Bukovinian lobby in the Habsburg capital. The obvious platform for this was the Austrian Parliament (*Reichsrat*), where the humble size of the most eastern crownland of the Empire was reflected by its number of representatives, but where its voice could be heard nevertheless. In general, in the early 1890s the Bukovinian press was less than impressed with the crownland representation in Vienna:

When we think of our parliamentary deputies, a feeling of pity for beautiful Bukovina always comes over us regarding the way they behave towards each other. Bukovina has very specific interests which assigns a very special position to its appointed representatives among the parties. (...) In other provinces, parliamentarians always bring something home to their voters for the holidays, some proof that they have thought of them in Vienna and that they have exploited their party connections to the benefit of those voters. In Bukovina, we consider this a beautiful fairy tale of the kind that takes place somewhere else. Here we are supposed to be overjoyed if a welter of petitions causes our imperial envoys to stand up for what we would get anyway.

The main problem, however, was the absence of a unified Bukovinian voice. With only nine Bukovinians in a parliament of 353 members, that voice was necessarily not the loudest, but, as *Bukowinaer Rundschau* insisted, this number would suffice 'to be the factor which tips the scales, courted by all parties, while doing not badly for themselves in the process'. Moreover, *Rundschau* maintained, this goal was within reach 'since differences between parties were hardly noticeable in Bukovina anyway'.¹¹⁵ There were firm expectations that the situation of 'the nations of Bukovina, living together peacefully and all equally depressed by the bad

¹¹³ "In der ersten Sitzung dieses Ausschusses - die am 6. Okt. stattfand, protestierte er Abg. Prof Pihiliak (sic) gegen die Art der Vornahme der Wahl Onciuls zum Obmanne, da die dem Schulausschusse angehörende Abg. der ruthenischen Nationalität dieser Wahl nicht zustimmen wollen. Anlässlich der Behandlung dieses Protestes fielen Verbalinjurien seitens des Abg. Onciul, indem dieser dem Abg. Pihuliak mit Hinauswurf durch den Diener drohte. (...)". Ministerium des Innern, *Einsichtsstück des Präsidiums des Ministeriums des Innern betreffend die Vorgänge in der Eröffnungssitzung des Bukowiner Landtages vom 5. Oktober*, No. 2849, Vienna, October 1905/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCÎ, I/10.

¹¹⁴ *Treffsichere Argumente*, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 14.06.1914, p. 1.

¹¹⁵ *Einigkeit ist Macht!* *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 03.04.1890, pp. 1-2.

times and the miserable employment conditions' would make Bukovinian deputies realise that they had 'high and sacred obligations, much higher and more sacred than people's representatives had ever had', transcending 'the mostly superficial satisfaction of national vanities'.¹¹⁶ A year later, in 1891, *Rundschau* had to conclude that initiatives by Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki to unite the Bukovinian deputies 'had foundered on the lack of responsiveness of the others' but was still convinced the project would succeed since 'Bukovina's common interests were purely economical and not political'.¹¹⁷ By 1895, there was still no unification in sight and *Bukowinaer Post* had to concede that only 'personal sensitivities and jealousy (*persönliche Empfinderei und Eifersüchtelei*) were to blame'.¹¹⁸ As the situation stagnated during the following years, Bukovinian politicians became subject to even harsher criticism. They were said to be 'flatheads' who lacked 'the right, fresh, entrepreneurial and organising spirit' necessary to unite 'the most reluctant elements'. After years of work in Vienna, Bukovina's representatives decided to form a block against the Romanian Club in parliament, thus only enlarging discord instead of promoting unity. *Bukowinaer Rundschau* had only one word for this attitude: 'anti-Bukovinian'.¹¹⁹

In Vienna, hardened and numbed as it was by the all-encompassing nationalist bickering in- and outside the walls of parliament, the possibility of parliamentary cooperation on crownland level was simply brushed aside as 'a political lie, aimed at providing instruments of power to some individual and selfish politicians who hoped for a leading role in the Club'. Vienna's *Neue Freie Presse* denied the existence of common crownland interests altogether and claimed that interests were formulated along the lines of nationality, profession and religion. Moreover, no economic interest could be regarded separately from political, national, social and local issues. National questions were basically economic ones, and for no nation economical goals were the same.¹²⁰ In *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, one of the most ardent advocates of a Bukovinian parliamentary club, the response to yet another example of Viennese disdain was immediate and furious: in Vienna they apparently knew more about Siberia than about Bukovina and the author of the article had obviously been unaware of the fact that nationalism in Bukovina had not reached the toxic levels of that in other crownlands. No matter how skeptical the Bukovinian press had been about Bukovina's own deputies, the fact that similar criticism now came from the Habsburg capital did not go down well and *Rundschau* declared 'not to be blind to the faults of some of the deputies but to resolutely reject that the entire lot was accused of having such a low mentality'.¹²¹

The absence of a Bukovinian Club had practical disadvantages as well: only official parliamentary clubs could participate in the annual budget debate. Since not every Bukovinian deputy belonged to one of the existing national or political clubs, some of them were

¹¹⁶ *Einigkeit ist Macht – II*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 10.04.1890, pp. 1-2.

¹¹⁷ *Bukowinaer, seid einig!* *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 15.03.1891, pp. 1-2.

¹¹⁸ *Warme Tage*, *Bukowinaer Post*, 14.04.1895, pp. 1-2.

¹¹⁹ *Anti-Bukowinaerisch*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 31.10.1899, p. 1.

¹²⁰ *Der Bukowinaer Club*, *Neue Freie Presse*, 24.10.1900, p. 3.

¹²¹ *Der Bukowinaer Club*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 26.10.1900, pp. 1-2.

automatically excluded from those debates.¹²² Even though such practical arguments did not lead to the formation of a Bukovinian Club, the local press would not let go and insisted that even though a club was evidently not within reach, 'it was clear that all deputies, irrespective of nationality and party status emphatically represented either together or separately the economic and cultural interests of their crownland, both in parliament and to a certain extent confidentially to the individual departmental ministers'.¹²³ In 1902, the situation had not really changed and although some Bukovinian deputies joined the Romanian Club, the Ruthenian Club and the German Progressives while others had remained autonomous, for a while there was at least an informal coalition called the 'Bukovinian Association' (*Bukowiner Vereinigung*). According to *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* it was nothing more than an attempt 'to hide the break from the public and to give in to the insistence of the press to take notice of what has become the dictum of 'Bukovinianness', a 'let-me-have-my-cake-and-eat-it-too'-thing which had never really existed'. The reasons behind the non-appearance of a formal Bukovinian Club equally kept the loose 'Association' from being effective: whenever some sort of success was achieved, it was the result of individual deputies joining forces, just like it had always been. For the rest, the Bukovinians seem to have spent their time and energy telling off non-Bukovinian deputies for mingling in Bukovinian affairs, even when that mingling was in the crownland's best interests. When the uninspired 'Association' collapsed within a few months, the *Tagblatt* commented bitterly:

*One can learn only one thing from the accounts of the sequence of events: the gentlemen have transferred their personal squabbles, their rivalry and their mutual envy to the 'Association' - which led only a pseudo-life to begin with - and now they argue about the question of who brought the poor creature from a situation of pseudo-life into one of apparent death.*¹²⁴

Nationalism had been the main stumbling block, however. Personal rivalry aside, the idea behind a united Bukovinian lobby in parliament was a neutralisation of nationalist activism for the benefit of the economic development of the crownland. *Bukowinaer Rundschau* concluded that it had been exactly this lack of goodwill, 'this canker, this bacillus', which had infected the 'Association': Bukovinian deputies had simply brought along their nationalist agendas, 'very often not even real, but pretended because it was so fashionable in those days'. Bukovinians simply wanted their deputies to defend Bukovinian interests, the *Rundschau* continued, 'and for all they cared, the nationality of those deputies might as well have been Chinese'. The verdict was clear:

*The dissolution of the 'Bukovinian Association' was unavoidable simply because our representatives are not what they ought to be, because they are Bukovinians not in the first, but only in the last place.*¹²⁵

¹²² Editorial, *Bukowinaer Journal*, 17, 31.10.1901, p. 1.

¹²³ *Die Bukowinaer Abgeordneten im Reichsrat*, *Bukowinaer Journal*, 148, 14.09. 1902, p. 1.

¹²⁴ *Die 'Bukowiner Vereinigung'*, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 25.02.1903, p. 1.

¹²⁵ *Die Auflösung der Bukowinaer Vereinigung*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 21.02.1903, pp. 1-2.

The failed experiment did not dash all hopes for the future. For as long as the Habsburg Empire existed, calls for Bukovinian unity in Vienna continued to be heard, especially since electoral reforms in 1907 ensured three extra parliamentary seats for Bukovina. Reassurances from the existing national clubs had not brought any results, as *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* implied:

*Do not give us that from their respective national clubs, our deputies join forces in matters of crownland interests. We will not be fobbed off every time with a deputation welded together for the occasion.*¹²⁶

The unanswered appeals for a joint Bukovinian representation on state level and the one half-hearted attempt in that direction thus failed partly because of personal ambitions and vanities, but mainly because of the continuing electoral appeal of nationalism. The Bukovinian press may well have been right about the less toxic relations between nationalist politicians in Bukovina compared to those in other Austrian crownlands, but nationalist politics prevailed here nevertheless.¹²⁷ The fact that *Neue Freie Presse* regarded common policy based on nationality, religion or profession, but excluded this possibility based on regional or provincial interests aptly illustrates the dominant position of nationalism in the political discourse of the time.

Later Analysis

It is remarkable how the confusion surrounding the Freethinking Alliance, its political program and its figureheads inspired generally positive appreciations in recent decades. Most studies refer to the initiative as the undisputed highlight of a specific Bukovinian brand of political dynamism. Some praised the open-mindedness of the Freethinkers who were flexible enough not to side automatically with their co-nationals in the diet factions.¹²⁸ To others, the Alliance represents a home-grown ‘reconciliatory Bukovinism’¹²⁹ in which nationalism was ‘neither ignored nor neglected, not treated as an end in itself, but as a component of social mechanisms’.¹³⁰ Yet another speaks of ‘a multi-ethnic majority with a common political agenda’¹³¹ rather than of an occasional coalition aimed at national segregation. Onciul himself

¹²⁶ *Klubsorgen*, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 02.06.1907, p. 1.

¹²⁷ It is puzzling how Canadian historian Fred Stambrook, referring to parliamentary relations, regarded ‘a mostly Bukovinian tendency among Bukovina’s Ruthenian population’. As underlined earlier, ‘population’ and ‘politicians’ should not be automatically grouped together; more importantly, the fact that Bukovinian Ruthenians maintained a Bukovinian identity within the Ruthenian parliamentary club - which Stambrook used here to substantiate his view - was purely a matter of fending off Galician dominance within that same group. As such, this ‘Bukovinian tendency’ should be regarded within the strict confinements of the Ruthenian context, as a Bukovinian-Ruthenian subset. It says little or nothing about ‘the Bukovinian identity’ of Bukovinian Ruthenian politicians in general, let alone about any ‘tendency among Bukovina’s Ruthenian population’ as a whole. Stambrook 2004, p. 199.

¹²⁸ Wagner 1979, p. 52.

¹²⁹ Corbea-Hoisie 2005, p. 101.

¹³⁰ Corbea-Hoisie 2004, p. 60.

¹³¹ Ceașu 2004, p. 357.

had admitted that 'neutralising' nationalism by confining 'national issues' to the respective 'national communities' had failed in daily reality; national clubs creatively found ways to broaden the national sphere of influence and labeled more and more political topics 'matters of national interest'.¹³²

Perhaps Onciul's massive lack of popularity in Romanian nationalist historiography¹³³ - his assertion that Ruthenians in Bukovina had the same national rights as Romanians was enough to accomplish this - made him and the Alliance look a-national and tolerant in comparison. Philipp Menczel was the editor-in-chief of *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* in the years of the Alliance and the Compromise. His newspaper had been univocally negative regarding both and in his memoirs he provided his own concise and critical analysis of what the Freethinking Alliance had achieved:

*The Alliance prepared the ground for national professionalism: occupational Ruthenians, Romanians, Germans and professional Jews soon monopolised the debates in the diet and exerted a hitherto unknown negative influence on the administration of the land. The Alliance fell apart after less than two years, but the atmosphere it had created remained, an atmosphere of petty-bourgeois nationalist covetousness and rivalry. Cultural bridges were threatened with destruction, and time and again I had to climb to the Austrian ramparts erected in my paper to mitigate the effect of the sling stones coming from national catapults.*¹³⁴

Menczel's conclusion, although formulated emotionally rather than academically, implied what Austrian historian Gerald Stourzh later saw as part of a tendency he called 'the ethnicising of Austrian politics': the organisation of ethnic groups for purposes of provincial and imperial elections, including the construction of double or (in Bukovina) multiple networks of constituencies along ethnic lines and the drawing up of ethnically or linguistically separate voters' registers.¹³⁵

In the tale of Habsburg Bukovina, the Compromise and its impact remain the ultimate cliffhanger. Scholars widely agree that the scanty three years between 1911 and 1914 were clearly inadequate to provide a decent assessment. The phenomenon is seen as 'only one link in the chain of many compromises, necessary for democracy and pluralist parliamentarism',¹³⁶ or proof that 'in order to avoid blockages at the national level, solutions could be found within the framework of the land'.¹³⁷ This last assertion remains unsubstantiated, however.

Analysts in the Romanian realm closely link the Compromise with the state of the Habsburg Empire: they acknowledge the insufficient span of time, but also maintain that the Compromise had been the work of the 'skilful, but not very wise' Austrian government which

¹³² Onciul 1999, pp. 48-51.

¹³³ See for example Iorga 1905/2006, pp. 57-58.

¹³⁴ Menczel 1932, pp. 67-68. Also referred to in Corbea-Hoisie 2004, p. 66.

¹³⁵ Stourzh, Gerald, *The Multinational Empire Revisited. Reflections on Late Imperial Austria (Robert A. Kann Memorial Lecture - 1989)*, in: *Austrian History Yearbook*, 23, 1992, 1-22, p. 18.

¹³⁶ Turczynski 1979, p. 17.

¹³⁷ Michel 1995, p. 130.

had allegedly attempted to lower the pressure of *inter*-ethnic conflicts by turning them into *intra*-ethnic ones.¹³⁸ Others ignore the pro-Austrian attitude of Onciul and his fellow Freethinkers and assert that ‘the separation along ethnic lines of educational institutions, the Orthodox Church and other denominations, of cultural and student societies, political parties, of voters in times of local and parliamentary elections, was in fact a peaceful process to reduce the influence of the Austrian authorities on Bukovina, but also on other provinces with a non-German majority, ultimately precipitating the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy’.¹³⁹

Some historians generally paint a positive picture of the Bukovinian Compromise which they regard a clever and locally conceived way out of the pervasive nationalist turmoil. As such, the Compromise is seen as having ‘formally institutionalised the vastly improved patterns of inter-ethnic relations’¹⁴⁰ or as a ‘masterpiece of political culture’ successful in ‘largely channeling national disputes’ with ‘the high level of education of the political elites as one of the factors facilitating a balance of interests between the four largest national groups and the five religious communities’.¹⁴¹ Furthermore, it is argued that the conflict between Romanians and Ruthenians in Bukovina had made the Compromise necessary and that in the span of its existence the construct had been effective. In this line of thinking, ‘any compromise required political will and tolerance with all groups involved’ and thus the conclusion is that this had been the case with the Bukovinian population around 1910.¹⁴² The reshaped diet is said to have ‘proved to be able to function’¹⁴³ and even that ‘Bukovina in the last years of peace presented a somewhat utopian model for peaceful coexistence of different nationalities in a limited settlement area’.¹⁴⁴

In spite of the praise, most analysts recognise fundamental difficulties. They generally object to the way the state interfered in the personal sphere of its citizens by forcing them to adhere to one nationality in order to be able to vote in a designated register. Apart from the practical absurdities created by this requirement (Jews and Germans were clustered in one register although all nationalist factions in Bukovina opposed this, while Russian-speaking Old-Believers or Lippovans were relabeled Ruthenians and Hungarian speakers were to vote in the Romanian register), the nationality criterion was hard to apply in Bukovina anyway. Both Leslie and Kotzian quote the eloquent conclusion of *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*:

*To imprint on everyone in Czernowitz a national stamp is not as easy a task as it might appear at first sight, especially since those to be imprinted on often do not even know to which stamp they are likely to be more entitled.*¹⁴⁵

¹³⁸ Grigorovici 1996, pp. 266-267.

¹³⁹ Ungureanu, Constantin, *Bucovina în perioada stăpânirii austriece 1774-1918*, Civitas, Chişinău 2003, p. 231.

¹⁴⁰ Ciuciura and Nahrebecky 1982, p. 98.

¹⁴¹ Turczynski 2003, p. 206; Kotzian 2004, p. 119.

¹⁴² Kotzian 2004, pp. 119-122.

¹⁴³ Kusdat 2002, p. 25.

¹⁴⁴ Leslie 1991, p. 136.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*; Kotzian p. 122.

The fact that the Bukovinian Compromise had followed its Moravian example also imported an ugly side effect. In Moravia, voters not only had the right to claim they had been entered in the wrong national register, but were furthermore entitled to denounce other voters. As such, Czech nationalist ‘Trojan horses’ deliberately registered as Germans in order to ‘out’ others in the group as Czechs and thus to enlarge the Czech national electorate. Similar cases occurred later in Bukovina, although it remains unclear how these cases were handled and if they influenced the election results.¹⁴⁶ Two thousand complaints regarding national voter registration were reported.¹⁴⁷

On top of all this, ‘nationality’ was now allotted the status of legal entity with the right to ‘autonomous development’, although a clear notion of what ‘nationality’ really meant was utterly lacking. From the lengthy debates on the recognition of a Jewish nationality, one may digest that having a proper language was the decisive argument for Vienna. However, there was no legal basis to substantiate this and it was clear that the authorities had no intention to change that situation. The Austrian constitutional law expert Herrnritt had voiced his concerns at the time of the Moravian and Bukovinian Compromises that creating peace through isolation and separation eventually led to mutual alienation and consequently to erosion of the concept of an integrated state (*einheitlicher Staatsgedanke*).¹⁴⁸ So, what Herrnritt had considered a threat, decades later, historian Ungureanu from the Republic of Moldova labeled a ‘peaceful process’ aimed at undermining the Austrian state.

In addition to the institutional and practical problems presented by research and analysis, arguments in defense of the ‘Bukovinian solution’ are not very convincing. When statements like ‘necessary for democracy and pluralist parliamentarism’, ‘capable of finding solutions within the framework of the land’ or a mere ‘proved to be able to function’ are not backed by argumentation or illustrative examples, they are not helpful. Assigning to Austria a central role in trying to reshape interethnic into intra-ethnic conflicts largely ignores the decidedly local initiative which eventually led to the introduction of the register system. By seeing the register system as a conscious attempt to diminish and gradually eliminate Austrian state power, the Austrophile mindset of its spiritual fathers is not taken into account. Assertions that the system ‘institutionalised patterns of inter-ethnic relations’, ‘channeled national disputes’ or ‘presented a model for peaceful coexistence of different nationalities’ first of all fail to make a distinction between nationalist politicians and the population at large; furthermore, they imply that the notion of ‘national differences’ was as firmly entrenched in the consciousness of the electorate as nationalist propagandists wanted their audiences to believe. The same can be argued where ‘the political will and tolerance within the Bukovinian population around 1910’ is held responsible for the political compromise.

In conclusion, it should be noted that the political fencing-in of nationalist bickering on diet level did little to appease nationalists outside these confinements: Romanian and Ruthenian

¹⁴⁶ Stourzh 1995, p. 39.

¹⁴⁷ Leslie 1991, p. 136.

¹⁴⁸ Leslie 1991, pp. 131-133, Corbea-Hoisie 2004, p. 66.

activists moved all their weight to the issue of the Orthodox church split, while anti-Slavic and anti-Semitic rhetoric grew even louder.

2.2 Franz Joseph University

Establishment

In 1890, fifteen years after the Franz Joseph University in Czernowitz was established, *Czernowitzer Presse* stated that at that time, ‘education in Bukovina had progressed to such a degree that the land could obtain its own university (...) and as such Bukovina and especially Czernowitz belonged to the so-called civilised world so that the author from Czortków who meanwhile had been promoted to ‘Berliner’ had quite a bit to rectify in his cultural images ‘from Semi-Asia’. Apart from the obvious sneer at the address of the now Berlin-based Karl Emil Franzos, *Presse* also simplified the underlying motives for the university establishment.¹⁴⁹ After Lemberg university (as well as Cracow university) had been Polonised in 1871, the language barrier had made that education centre virtually inaccessible to most Bukovinian students. In the Hungarian part of the Monarchy, nationalist policies had been intensified after the 1867 Compromise, one of the results being the Magyarisation of the university of Hermannstadt (Hungarian: Nagyszeben, Romanian: Sibiu) and the exclusion of Romanian-language education at the university of Klausenburg (Hung: Kolozsvár, Rom: Cluj). According to an idea attributed to Austrian culture minister Stremayr, a German-language university between Galicia and Transylvania would offer Romanian-language students an alternative and could appease Romanian nationalists at the same time.¹⁵⁰

In 1868, regional diet deputy Joseph Pompe had already brought the proposal for the founding of a proper Bukovinian law school to a vote with the argument that Polonised Lemberg was no longer fit to educate young Bukovinians. Apart even from the language issue, Pompe had insisted that students from constitutionally loyal (*verfassungstreu*) Bukovina could not be expected to attend university in a crownland with a diet aiming for nothing less than ‘the destruction of the Empire’ (*die Zertrümmerung des Reiches*). Since sending their offspring all the way to Vienna was financially not feasible for most Bukovinian parents, all possibilities were basically exhausted. Pompe insisted that he ‘did not want to Polonise or Germanise Bukovina, but hoped that the German cultural element would merge appropriately with national development’. In spite of these assurances, the proposal was almost unanimously turned down: only Pompe himself voted in favour.¹⁵¹ Still, the image of a clearly Austrian education facility in a time when universities increasingly adopted a nationalist and linguistic identity must have appealed to Vienna. When Bukovinian deputy Constantin Tomasciuc attempted to convince the Viennese parliament of the necessity of a Bukovinian university in March 1875, he used the exact same argumentation.¹⁵² Within the Austrian constellation of

¹⁴⁹ *Die Completirung der Czernowitzer Universität*, *Czernowitzer Presse*, 01.04.1890, pp. 1-2.

¹⁵⁰ Turczynski 1993, p. 149; Wagner 1996, p. 217; Hofbauer 1997, p. 43; Nistor 1991, p. 217.

¹⁵¹ “Ich will die Bukowina nicht polonisiren, ich will sie auch nicht germanisiren, sondern ich will ihr wünschen, daß das deutsche Culturelement mit der nationalen Entwicklung sich entsprechend verschmelze, sich zweckmäßig verknüpfe”. Bukowinaer Landtag, *Stenographisches Protokoll der XI. Sitzung des Bukowinaer Landtages, den 30. September 1868*, in: *Stenographische Protokolle des Bukowinaer Landtags für die zweite Session der zweiten Wahlperiode*, Eckhardt, Czernowitz 1868.

¹⁵² Lechner 2001, p. 1.

nationalist competition, the allocation of a university to Czernowitz was not a matter of course: Italians demanded a university in the south of the Empire, Slovenians wanted one in Laibach (Ljubljana), in Bohemia it was acknowledged that the oldest German university - in Prague - could not simply be Czechified, but Czech nationalists demanded compensation for this. Then there were provincial claims: Salzburg wanted a university because Innsbruck had one; wealthy Moravia with its many inhabitants had its proper ambitions, just like Olmütz (Olomouc) with its longstanding academic tradition.¹⁵³

Next to his centralist motivation, Tomasciuc also emphasised that German science had a claim to universality and that therefore non-German Bukovinians equally sought a German education. He praised the favourable conditions Bukovina offered for such an ambitious project: here, State, Church and nationalities had harmoniously worked together for the modernisation of the crownland. Furthermore, Bukovinian achievements boasted an efficient and respected seminary and a well-equipped theology institute, both financed by the wealthy Church Fund. The local nobility and the intellectual upper class assured that the substantial regional library (*Landesbibliothek*) was kept up to date.¹⁵⁴

The initiative for the application came neither from Vienna, nor specifically from German-speaking Bukovinians. The document Tomasciuc submitted was a collective request of the regional diet, endorsed by diet president Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki¹⁵⁵ - represented a broad spectrum of Bukovinian names and groups:¹⁵⁶ German, Romanian and Ruthenian nationalist politicians had been equally involved in the lobby.¹⁵⁷

Locally, the idea had provoked enthusiasm in wide circles: the Kimpolung city council addressed an ardent endorsement letter to the Viennese parliament in January 1873 in which it highlighted the necessity of a proper Bukovinian university once more, adding that ‘considering this was a matter of serious interests for a land hitherto not remembered too handsomely from the Empire’s resources, [Parliament] was kindly asked to devote the well-deserved attention to the desire of the entire population of Bukovina as expressed by the diet’.¹⁵⁸ Once the decision had been taken on the highest level, Governor Alesani informed

¹⁵³ *Die Gründung der Universität Czernowitz*, (Linzer) Tages-Post, 05.10.1875, p. 1.

¹⁵⁴ Turczynski, Emanuel, *Czernowitz, eine vom Bildungsbürgertum errungene Universität im Dienst staatlicher Bildungs- und Wissenschaftsförderung*, in: Wörster, Peter (ed.), *Universitäten im östlichen Mitteleuropa - Zwischen Kirche, Staat und Nation - Sozialgeschichtliche und politische Entwicklungen*, Oldenbourg, Munich 2008, 109-226, pp. 213-215.

¹⁵⁵ “Welchen hohen Werth unser Landtag auf die Verbreitung der wissenschaftlichen Ausbildung in unserer Heimath legte, leuchtet aus seinem an die hohe Regierung gestellten Ansinnen hervor, dass die Errichtung einer Universität in Czernowitz angeordnet werden möge”. *Schlussrede des Landeshauptmannes Eudoxius Freiherr von Hormuzaki in der XIII. Sitzung vom 9. December 1872*, in: Luceac, Ilie, *Discursurile lui Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki in Dieta Bucovinei - Din viața parlamentară a Bucovinei în cea de a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea*, Institutul Cultural Român, Bucharest 2007, p. 334.

¹⁵⁶ Wagner 1996, p. 219.

¹⁵⁷ Turczynski 1979, p. 8.

¹⁵⁸ “(...) daß es sich hier um sicher wiegende Interessen eines bisher aus Reichsquellen nur spärlich bedachten Landes handelt, dem von der Landesvertretung zum Ausdruck gebrachten Verlangen der Gesamtbevölkerung Bukowinas auf Errichtung einer Universität in Czernowitz, die verdiente Würdigung angedeihen zu lassen”.

the Imperial administration that a wide range of local organisations had specifically requested him to convey their gratitude to the Throne: the Society for the Advancement of Science Education, the Chamber of Commerce, the Archbishop's Consistory, the Jewish Community Board and the Ruthenian 'Rada Ruska' society.¹⁵⁹

In the Imperial Foundation Charter of the 'Czernowitz Imperial and Royal Franz Joseph University', the Emperor outlined that the founding was to be regarded as the culmination of the educational reforms Joseph II had commenced a century earlier. The charter specifically noted that the request had originated from Bukovina proper and that the new institution was expected to benefit not only the Duchy, but also the surrounding territories. Furthermore, it was to consist of an Orthodox theology department next to law and philology departments. The necessary funds were provided by the State.¹⁶⁰ Upon insistence by Romanian and Ruthenian nationalist parliamentarians, the university was also accorded a chair for Romanian and a chair for Ruthenian philology.¹⁶¹ In spite of the careful considerations and the balanced curriculum, the opening ceremony included a number of speeches that reeked of German cultural superiority. Innsbruck university dean Inama-Strenegg expressed the hope that the new university would be 'a bastion of intellectual freedom, but also the breeding ground for true patriotism, with its sons always defending the welfare of the state with energy and self-sacrifice'. This, the speaker had continued, would automatically secure the fulfillment of his third wish, 'that the university always remain faithful to the spirit which had created it in the first place: the German spirit, for therein the care of the genuine spirit of freedom and the care of true love for the fatherland was found'.¹⁶² Strenegg's colleague from Graz, Schmidt, added that 'anyone who accused German science of chauvinism (*Chauvinismus*), for which German did not even have a word, had not looked into its face for rather it raised the spirit above the struggles of the day'.¹⁶³ The freshly inaugurated dean of the law faculty, Friedrich Schuler-Libloy praised the German university to such extent that Romanian nationalists regarded his speech as a comment on Romanian academic accomplishments - or rather, on the lack thereof.¹⁶⁴ Anti-Semitic circles in Vienna considered the establishment of a German university and the accompanying celebrations of German culture a farce in this faraway corner of the Empire where most adherents of that very culture were in fact Jews.¹⁶⁵

Still, such dissonants remained in the background. Thirty years onwards, the Viennese and Czernowitz press fondly remembered how 'all of a sudden, Bukovina - which so far had

Kimpolung City Council, *Support for Establishment Czernowitz University*, Kimpolung, 18 January 1873/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCÎ LXXXV/1.

¹⁵⁹ Alesani, Hieronymus, *Letter to Regional Diet*, 748, 19 December 1874/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 3966.

¹⁶⁰ Franz-Josef I, Emperor, *Kaiserlicher Stiftbrief*, Vienna, September 1875/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCÎ, LXXXV/1.

¹⁶¹ Turczynski 2008, p. 214.

¹⁶² Friedwagner, Matthias, *Mommsen und die Czernowitzer Universität*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 10.12.1903, pp. 1-2.

¹⁶³ *Die Czernowitzer Jubelfeier*, Neue Freie Presse, 05.10.1875, pp. 1-3.

¹⁶⁴ Nistor 1991, p. 216.

¹⁶⁵ Hausleitner 2006 (*Eine wechselvolle Geschichte...*), p. 40; *Die Czernowitzer Feste*, Das Vaterland, 05.10.1875, p. 3.

received little attention in literature - had become the object of general interest not only in Austria, but in all German lands'. It was claimed that 'the university founding in Czernowitz had occasioned magnificent celebrations, making the thousands of Austrian and German guests aware of the picturesque scenic and ethnographic charms of the land which blossomed under the blessings of German culture'.¹⁶⁶ Apparently, German-national anti-Semites regarded the university successful enough to revise their view on its origins: in 1906, Christian German deputy Wiedmann insisted that the university had been a Christian German creation instead of what anti-Semites had previously called a Jewish-liberal concoction.¹⁶⁷

Disputed Quality

The first semester at the newly established facility started with a modest 188 students.¹⁶⁸ In the first decade of its existence it never surpassed the number of 280 and therefore failed to meet the high expectations raised by its spiritual fathers. In 1885, *Bukowinaer Rundschau* wailed that 'of all the thousands of young men who in the imagination of poetic chroniclers like Franzos would fill the lecture halls in the future, with utmost effort just less than three hundred had actually materialised'.¹⁶⁹ It would take until 1909 for the Franz Joseph University to have more than a thousand registered students.¹⁷⁰ Tutors and professors had to be lured from abroad and mainly came from Vienna, Innsbruck and Graz, but also from Heidelberg, Basel and Fribourg.¹⁷¹ In its early days, the university even needed help from outside with the recruiting process: when a tutor for Hungarian linguistics applied for a position, the academic staff turned to the University of Klausenburg (Kolozsvár) for an assessment of the candidate's language abilities.¹⁷²

The combination of disciplines in the far east of the Habsburg Empire was a novelty: the successfully negotiated chairs for Romanian and Ruthenian linguistics with their well-stocked collection of cutting-edge publications gave impetus to Romance and Slavic philology as well as to the historiography of Eastern and Southeastern Europe. Prominent scholars like historian Johann Loserth, geographer Alexander Suppan, law expert and legal historian Moritz Wlassak and economists Joseph Schumpeter and Friedrich Kleinwächter started their careers in Czernowitz. Many Czernowitz scholars were linked to other universities as corresponding

¹⁶⁶ Quotes from *Das Neue Tagblatt* (03.03.1906) in: *Heiteres und Ernstes aus der Bukowina (Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten)*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 06.03.1906, p. 4.

¹⁶⁷ *Wer hat die Czernowitzer Universität gegründet? (Tagespost)*, Bukowinaer Post, 02.08.1906, p. 3.

¹⁶⁸ Franz Joseph University, *Statistische Uebersicht der im Winter-Semester 1875/6 an der Franz-Josephs-Universität zu Czernowitz inscribirten Hörer*, Czernowitz 1875/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 4070.

¹⁶⁹ *Die wandernde Muse*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 18.05.1885, pp. 1-2.

¹⁷⁰ Lechner 2001, p. 6.

¹⁷¹ Turczynski 1993, p. 156.

¹⁷² Wrobel, *Bericht des Professoren-Collegiums der philosophischen Facultaet an der k.k. Franz-Josephs-Universität in Czernowitz an das hohe kais. kön. Ministerium für Cultus und Unterricht in Wien womit das Gesuch des Hugo Agenor Dunay de Duna-Vecse, k.k. Amanuens der Universitätsbibliothek in Czernowitz, um Zulassung als Lehrer der ungarischen Sprache an der k.k. Franz-Josephs-Universität in Czernowitz vorgelegt wird*, Zl. 155, Czernowitz, 28 November 1875/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCĬ CXV/7.

members.¹⁷³ The theological department with its roots in the theological institute of the Bukovinian Metropoly attracted students from all over the Empire, but also from Romania, Serbia and Greece.¹⁷⁴

That said, the Franz Joseph University had a number of persistent flaws from the start. It certainly had not helped that the centralist government with its all-Austrian assimilation mission had fallen in 1879 and was succeeded by the autonomist coalition under Eduard von Taaffe, known as the 'iron ring'. As the years passed and the initial excitement about the newly-acquired Bukovinian status symbol had worn off, complaints got louder. Most striking was the lack of a medical faculty, which made Bukovinians regard their university as 'incomplete' and enhanced the fear that ambitious students would leave Czernowitz after all.¹⁷⁵ In 1890, *Czernowitzer Presse* insisted that 'all strata of the population considered its establishment an urgent requirement (*ein lebhaftes Bedürfnis*)'. The argument brought against a medical faculty - the number of inhabitants as well as the number of patients in the general hospitals was said to be too low - was dismissed as beside the point, since a much smaller city like Innsbruck boasted a 'complete' university from the moment it had been founded.¹⁷⁶ Ten years later, the unchanged situation had resulted in bitterness:

When the land was to be granted a special favour on the occasion of the centenary of its inclusion in the Monarchy, it obtained a university. With its establishment, the practice of dealing with the land's requests was introduced: the university lacked completeness; a medical faculty was not included. (...) Whenever the high Central Government is finally confronted with the inescapable necessity to do something for the land, it only throws it a few of the most miserable crumbs (einige meist armselige Brocken) in order to appease it.¹⁷⁷

Complaints were not limited to perceived missing elements in the new institute alone. The local press constantly worried about the quality of the education on offer, and Vienna was accused of having created 'a dressage institute for future priests, officials, professors and pharmacists' instead of a 'hotbed of scholarship'. As such, the authorities better not be surprised that 'the lively spirit of the students died away and that the philosophical faculty, with its free direction disagreeing the most with the requirements of uninspired pot-boiling studying (*trockenes Brodstudium*), attracted the smallest number'.¹⁷⁸ In 1902, Bukovinian German deputy Arthur Skedl drew the attention of the Austrian parliament to the dire straits of the local alma mater:

By founding the university a gentle, noble little tree was planted, but the gardener who was supposed to nurture and cherish it and to bring it fertile humus was absent all the time. So it came about that after twenty-five years, the university is still a skeleton institute (Rumpfanstalt), and so it came about, gentlemen, that in twenty-five years not a single new

¹⁷³ Turczynski 2008, pp. 217-218.

¹⁷⁴ Turczynski 1993, p. 102.

¹⁷⁵ *Die wandernde Muse*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 18.05.1885, pp. 1-2.

¹⁷⁶ *Die Completirung der Czernowitzer Universität*, Czernowitzer Presse, 01.04.1890, pp. 1-2.

¹⁷⁷ *Editorial*, Bukowinaer Journal, 26, 21.11.1901, p. 1.

¹⁷⁸ *Ein Jubileum*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 22.03.1885, p. 1.

*chair was established at the juridical faculty, no matter how necessary. So it came about that the institutes at the philosophical faculty in many cases still resemble secondary school collections of teaching materials and so it came about that almost every lecturer considered his appointment in Czernowitz a transitional stage from the start, that every lecturer already tried to get appointed elsewhere even before his arrival at Czernowitz University, that he could not warm to this university, this to the detriment of the university and that of the land for which it was founded.*¹⁷⁹

Be that as it may, the problem of the neglected philosophy program proved to be short-lived: by 1907, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* observed that ‘Czernowitz University and especially its philosophical faculty were overcrowded and that the number of its graduates exceeded the actual need by far’. However, this change of fate had not led to more generosity from Vienna. The Franz Joseph University was still ‘the Cinderella among the Austrian universities’, nothing more than ‘a torso’. In the Viennese parliament, German nationalist deputy Otto Steinwender - one of the architects of the *Linzer Program* and as such not a great friend of Bukovina and its inclusion in Austria to begin with - had even proposed to close the Czernowitz philosophy department, which he deemed ‘superfluous’. The implementation of such a plan would degrade the university to the level of a ‘factory of priests and civil servants’, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* predicted. Even more, ‘taking the German university away from Bukovina would mean breaking the ties with Vienna and the heart of the Empire and a true degradation to the level of Semi-Asia’. The institute which had been opened as the crown on hundred years of Austrian integration policies thirty-two years earlier was now depicted as the sole remaining symbol of unity between Vienna and Czernowitz.¹⁸⁰

The idea of moving the university - or at least part of it - away from Bukovina was not new. In the 1880s, renowned Romance scholar Alexander Budinsky and a group of like-minded professors in Czernowitz had actively lobbied for a relocation of the philosophy department to Brunn (Brno) since they had considered both the academic and the everyday living conditions in Czernowitz substandard.¹⁸¹ The Austrian authorities had had little patience with the plaintiffs. In the words of Governor Pino, ‘Budinsky had been a well-known malcontent for years and just wanted to get away from Czernowitz at any cost because the local conditions did not appeal to him’.¹⁸² Pino’s successor Bourguignon had noted that ‘the ranting and discontent about the necessity to carry out their teaching activities in Czernowitz was typical mostly for the younger professors of both secular faculties’.¹⁸³ The local press had shown

¹⁷⁹ *Bukowina im Abgeordnetenhaus (Rede des Abgeordneten Dr. Skedl)*, Bukowinaer Journal, 76, 23.03.1902, p. 2.

¹⁸⁰ *Die Czernowitzer Universität*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 19.01.1907, pp. 1-2.

¹⁸¹ Corbea-Hoisie 2004, p. 30.

¹⁸² “Professor Budinsky ist seit Jahren ein hier allgemein bekannter Malcontent und möchte um jeden Preis von Czernowitz wegkommen, weil ihm die hiesigen Verhältnisse nicht zusagen”. Pino-Friedenthal, Felix, *Schreiben an das KUM*, Zl. 9946 Praes., 24 May 1887/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MCÎ LXXXVIII.

¹⁸³ “Charakteristisch und zumeist bei den jüngeren Professoren beider weltlichen Fakultäten in die Augen springend ist das Losziehen und der Unmuth über die Nothwendigkeit in Czernowitz die Lehrthätigkeit ausüben

understanding for the unhappiness for Bukovina's academic pioneers and had partly blamed the local social conditions. *Bukowinaer Rundschau* had observed how the years after the creation of the Franz Joseph University had been followed by economic decline and national division among the intelligentsia. The latter was said to have suffocated creativity and academic ambition. On top of this, the newcomers were said to have been met with 'the limited narrow-minded spirit of local patriotism' (*der beschränkte engherzige Geist unseres Local-Patriotismus*) which surely had not encouraged them to contribute to the spiritual and material welfare of Bukovina.¹⁸⁴

In an updated edition of his classic 'Semi-Asia', Karl Emil Franzos expressed his disappointment with the way the university had evolved: to begin with, the Austrian government had provided inadequate funding and had made little effort to convince reputed academics to move to Czernowitz. Referring to the government change and Vienna's half-hearted commitment so far, Franzos wondered 'what was possibly to be expected from Vienna's care after 1879, when an orientation had come to power inherently indifferent to if not even annoyed by the German cultural mission in the East'. He suspected that only the pump and circumstance surrounding its establishment had prevented the authorities from closing the institute altogether.¹⁸⁵ Upon the death of historian and Nobel laureate Theodor Mommsen in 1903, Franzos published a memoir in *Neue Freie Presse* recalling Mommsen's views on Czernowitz University:

When I read your enthusiastic article about the founding of the university in your 'Semi Asia', I thought; "The young man will get a nasty surprise! They dreamed of a kind of Strasbourg in the East. And what has it become? The Imperial and Royal academic penal colony (Die k.k. akademische Strafcolonie)! One is sentenced to several years Czernowitz and then pardoned to Innsbruck".

Franzos claimed to have tried to convince Mommsen of the quality of some of the tutors, but he had to admit that back in 1875, a teacher from an agricultural technical school had been appointed professor of German language and literature simply because he had been the least expensive.¹⁸⁶ In his own book, Franzos had already complained about what Czernowitz University could have meant to the entire East if only the government had not regarded it as a poor cousin (*Stiefkind*) and had assured better material conditions. Now, Franzos stated, 'it eked out a miserable existence'.¹⁸⁷ "One truly believes to do something illicit when he refers to all this with the word 'university'", *Bukowinaer Rundschau* complained in 1903: lecture halls were insufficient in number and far too small for the number of students that filled it; the library building would not even suffice for a secondary school.¹⁸⁸ 'Penal colony' and 'poor

zu müssen". Bourguignon, Friedrich, *Bericht des Landespräsidenten an den Minister für Cultus und Unterricht*, 482 Pr., Czernowitz, 27 March 1889/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCÎ, XCIII/9.

¹⁸⁴ *Die wandernde Muse*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 18.05.1885, pp. 1-2.

¹⁸⁵ Franzos 1901, pp. 244-247.

¹⁸⁶ Franzos, Karl Emil, *Erinnerungen an Mommsen*, *Neue Freie Presse*, 22.11.1903, pp. 1-2.

¹⁸⁷ Franzos 1901, p. XXXIII.

¹⁸⁸ *Unsere Universitätsverhältnisse*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 30.01.1903, p. 1.

cousin' remained core notions in the Bukovina-Vienna discourse and were not limited to the university alone.¹⁸⁹

Fault-finders seem to have given the new institute very little time to build a reputation. A fair share of snobbery also played a role: Austrian-American Peter Drucker recalled how 'even Polish Jewish boys did not go to Czernowitz unless they absolutely had to' and how they 'scrounged and finagled to make it to a university in 'the West', such as Vienna or Prague'. According to Drucker, Czernowitz was unacceptable socially and 'hardly the right place to launch a career': renowned for the competitive ardour of its students, but shunned by anyone who had the chance to go anywhere else.¹⁹⁰ Yet the Bukovinian press regarded the university as one of the, if not the, strongest symbol of Austrian civilisation in Bukovina. At the occasion of Emperor's forty years on the throne, *Czernowitzer Presse* specifically mentioned the establishment of the Franz Joseph University as the prime example of the Imperial blessings bestowed on the crownland.¹⁹¹ When *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* celebrated its first anniversary, it reiterated as one of its basic principles 'saving from repression the German university as a mediator of Western culture'.¹⁹² By 1906, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* noted that the past five to six years had shown a remarkable turn of events. A medical faculty was still not in sight, but the other departments had done well: the theological faculty with its Orthodox focus unique in Austria had been a success from the start and around the turn of the century and the philosophy department had managed to add two chairs to its history section. Czernowitz zoology, biology, chemistry and botany had earned respect outside Bukovina and the chemistry institute was even rumoured to have the best scientific library in Austria. As a reversal of trend, respectable scholars no longer regarded a position in Czernowitz a *capitis deminutio*. The fact that famous historian Johannes Kromayer turned down an offer by the Prussian University of Halle because he preferred to stay in Czernowitz, 'where life was not half as bad as often claimed and where one could quietly devote oneself to scholarly work' certainly enhanced the reputation of the Franz Joseph University. The stigma of 'penal colony' seemed to have faded.¹⁹³ In 1907, linguist Agenor Artymovych was the first to obtain a PhD *sub auspiciis Imperatoris* in Czernowitz. This special award added luster to the university as a respectable academic institution. Laureate Artymovych solemnly declared 'to educate the youth entrusted to him as a teacher (...) in the sense of the sublime wish of the illustrious Monarch (...) to be efficient and steadfast men, to be good Austrian citizens' while his supervisor R.F. Kaindl could not refrain from gloating that 'the more frequently unfavourable judgments were made about Bukovina, the more often harsh judgments were made about our backwardness, the more pleasing it was when these biased views were met by brilliant successes'.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁹ For more on this paragraph 4 of this section: 'Bukovinian Diseases': Images, Allegories and Stereotypes/ Semi-Asia, Penal Colony, Stepchild and Cinderella: Crownland Allegories.

¹⁹⁰ Drucker, Peter Ferdinand, *Adventures of a Bystander*, Harper & Row, New York 1979, p. 28.

¹⁹¹ *Vierzig Jahre Kaiser*, *Czernowitzer Presse*, 01.12.1888, pp. 2-3.

¹⁹² *Ein Jahr*, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 31.01.1904, pp. 1-2.

¹⁹³ *Kulturfragen - II*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 04.02.1906, pp. 1-2.

¹⁹⁴ *Promotio sub auspiciis imperatoris (Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten)*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 17.11.1907, p. 5. The *Promotio sub auspiciis Imperatoris* (under supervision of the Emperor) and in the

Naturally, judgments were often passed in an atmosphere of competition with other universities, first of all with those in the German-speaking world. Matthias Friedwagner, professor of Romanian philology in Czernowitz, noted in 1903 that the Franz Joseph University was no longer the youngest or the smallest German university, for the German Empire had four similar establishments with a lower number of students.¹⁹⁵ Whereas Czernowitz continuously felt the competition from those other universities, it was held in high esteem in neighbouring Romania. Former Romanian Prime Minister and renowned academic Dimitrie Sturdza issued a statement at the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Franz Joseph University which read:

*At German universities they teach solely from the standpoint of scientific research. This is the spirit pervading these institutions. There are no secondary purposes outside of science and therefore the German universities have reached the highest level of human cultural institutions. As a statesman however I'd like to add that it is highly important for Romania that near its border a university in the German tradition has so firmly taken root.*¹⁹⁶

During the first period of its existence the university had been criticised for being a second-rate - but necessary - provider of local officials and schoolteachers. As the Franz Joseph University matured, the match between its freshly graduated academics and the local labour market became increasingly strained. The combination of an ever-growing number of university graduates and an economically weak, pre-industrial society became a major problem in Bukovina. Whereas the university had been designed as a vehicle for assimilation and emancipation, it gradually became a producer of an 'intellectual proletariat' with 'a PhD industry' as the only thriving economic activity. The success of nationalist campaigns with their focus on education resulted in even more graduates and thus in more frustration and unemployment. Moreover, it was widely felt that Bukovinians did not stand a chance to find an academic position in other parts of Austria, while the opposite happened all the time. As *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* put it in 1913:

A Bukovinian student can only find employment and professional opportunities in Bukovina, most of the remaining crownlands are off-limits for him. Moreover, those lands have their own overproduction from which we sporadically suffer severely, for they often seek and find a valve here. Numerous positions are occupied by non-Bukovinians and recently as many as three Czech candidates are said to have outstripped all Bukovinians. In addition to being

Hungarian half of the Empire *sub auspiciis Regis* (under supervision of the King) was a particularly solemn form of promotion since the time of the Counter-Reformation. A doctoral candidate who had passed the matriculation exam and university exams with distinction was entitled to seek such a particularly solemn *Promotionsakt*, the Emperor usually being represented by the governor of the crownland in question. A diamond ring with the Emperor's initials was handed over to the new PhD. Akademischer Senat der Wiener Universität (ed), *Geschichte der Wiener Universität von 1848 bis 1898. Huldigungsfestschrift zum 50jährigen Regierungsjubiläum seiner k. u. k. apostolischen Majestät Kaiser Franz Josef I*, Vienna 1898, pp. 393-395.

¹⁹⁵ Friedwagner, Matthias, *Mommsen und die Czernowitzer Universität*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 10.12.1903, pp. 1-2.

¹⁹⁶ Lechner 2001, p. 5.

*brusquely dismissed, a Bukovinian applying for a position in Prague would certainly need to have his mental health checked.*¹⁹⁷

A City and Its Student Population

Reports on the interaction of the new academic centre with the general public in Bukovina are varied. At first, provincial attitudes were said to force newly-arrived university staff to stay only within the confinements of their own circle.¹⁹⁸ Decades later, it was still maintained that ‘spiritual life in the regional capital was weak’ and that ‘contacts between the university and the population lacked the intimacy which appeared so desirable for both sides’.¹⁹⁹ However, the large number of students coming from all corners of the crownland and their subsequent local deployment after graduation must have amply guaranteed the aspired interaction. As early as 1890, *Czernowitzer Presse* indicated how the professors provided a stimulus through public lectures with a popular scientific content and through mere private conversations with acquaintances. It was argued that ‘everything they uttered spread through the entire city (...) and as such, the university was the guiding force of intellectual life not only in the city itself, but also in the countryside’.²⁰⁰ Romanian nationalist Nicolae Iorga noted that Romanian-speakers in Bukovina were very proud of their university and held it in much higher esteem than universities in the Romanian Kingdom. When Iorga was visiting a Bukovinian monastery, a day-tripping university professor from Czernowitz was received ‘like a superior human being’ (*o ființă de o esență superioară*), while the internationally-acclaimed academic Iorga was treated just like anyone else.²⁰¹

The processes leading up to the foundation as well as to the subsequent development of the university show a clear nationalist involvement. From the start, Romanian nationalists had lobbied for courses in Romanian. They succeeded - with the support of the Italian nationalists in the Viennese parliament - but only as far as the theological faculty was concerned. This arrangement automatically implied that the theological faculty had to include Ruthenian classes as well.²⁰² The fact that the Czernowitz professor for Eastern European history, Vladimir Mikulicz, was appointed in this capacity was again a reason for outrage among Romanian nationalist lobbyists. Mikulicz, who had excellent academic credentials and whose lectures were very popular,²⁰³ was a ‘Ruthenian’, whom they claimed knew little more of Romanian history than, say, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Serbian or Greek history and who did not

¹⁹⁷ *Erkenntnis?* Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 06.12.1913, p. 1.

¹⁹⁸ *Die wandernde Muse*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 18.05.1885, pp. 1-2

¹⁹⁹ *Unsere Universität*, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 23.10.1904, p. 1.

²⁰⁰ *Die Completirung der Czernowitzer Universität*, Czernowitzer Presse, 01.04.1890, p. 2.

²⁰¹ Iorga 1905/2006, p. 210.

²⁰² Maurer, Trude, *National oder supranational? Prag und Czernowitz: Zwei deutsche Universitäten in Ostmitteleuropa (1875/1882 - 1914)*, in: *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung*, 2000, 49/3, 341-382.

²⁰³ Turczynski, Emanuel, *Czernowitz als Beispiel einer integrativen Universität*, in: *Die Teilung der Prager Universität 1882 und die intellektuelle Desintegration in den böhmischen Ländern*, (Collegium Carolinum, conference), Munich, Oldenbourg 1984, 189-202, p. 196.

master the Romanian language.²⁰⁴ In this respect, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* supported the Romanian nationalists: with the situation of the Romanian speakers in Transylvania under the Budapest government in mind, the newspaper saw it as the moral obligation of Vienna to provide a chair of Romanian history in Czernowitz, ‘for a university can only be fruitful when it culturally intertwines with its location’.²⁰⁵ From 1912, this chair was to be occupied by Ion Nistor, who provided exactly the political approach the Romanian nationalists advocated.²⁰⁶ From 1899 onwards, Ruthenian nationalists had demanded their own university in Lemberg.²⁰⁷ As the introduction of universal suffrage in Austria resulted in a significant increase of the number of Ruthenian parliamentary deputies and this ambition could no longer be ignored, the Polish Club in parliament tried to thwart it by proposing to make the Franz Joseph University Ruthenian. Ruthenian nationalists dismissed this idea because its implementation would put the local Bukovinian relations under too much pressure,²⁰⁸ but probably also because of tactical considerations: it would significantly weaken the Ruthenian position in much larger Galicia.²⁰⁹

As nationalist student associations became more influential, their demands grew louder. By 1909, there was the Jewish lobby for the recognition of Yiddish and the Jewish nationality, the small number of Polish-speaking students demanded a chair for Polish language and literature, Young-Ruthenian language students (by now calling themselves Ukrainians) wanted the right to communicate in Ukrainian with the university administration, whereas Old-Ruthenians demanded a section for Russian language education. The German character of the university was gradually forced into the cramped confinements of German ethno-nationalism, with only a handful of students plus a majority of the academic staff as its representatives. *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* feared that the developments could jeopardise the very existence of the institute, since the German cultural identity was the only viable one: A ‘German-Ruthenian-Romanian-Polish Jewish national university’ could only exist in the heads of ‘some national segregationists’ (*einige Katasterköpfe*).²¹⁰ Iorga dismissed the university as ‘an Austrian university for Jews, with a law faculty where Austria lined up the functionaries it needed and more Jewish lawyers than the land needed’.²¹¹ Vasile Greciuc, a school teacher from Kimpolung *Câmpulung in Romanian*, made the same point and within the limited frame of mind typical of nationalist reasoning deemed only the Romanian language and history departments valuable for ‘Romanian Bukovina’.²¹²

²⁰⁴ *Catedra de istoria română*, Voința Poporului, 14. 05.04.1908, p. 1.

²⁰⁵ “... daß eine Hochschule in dem Lande, in welchem sie besteht, nur dann ersprießlich wirken kann, wenn sie mit diesem Lande zu einer kulturellen Einheit verwächst”. *Von der Universität*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 09.04.1908, p. 1.

²⁰⁶ Hausleitner 2001, p. 66.

²⁰⁷ Turczynski 1993, p. 174.

²⁰⁸ Hausleitner 2001, p. 66; Turczynski 1993 p. 192; Turczynski 1979, p. 16.

²⁰⁹ *Der Sturm* gegen die Universität, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 04.11.1909, p. 1.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*; Hofbauer 1997, p. 47.

²¹¹ Iorga 1905/2006, pp. 211-212.

²¹² Greciuc 1913, pp. 34-35.

From the first moments Czernowitz had a university, student life developed in the same way it had in other Austrian university towns. There was a sharp contrast between ‘student leagues’ (*Burschenschaften*) with national affiliations and ‘student associations’ (*Corpora*) without.²¹³ In Czernowitz, students in the early years had the choice between the association ‘Austria’ (and later ‘Alemania’) and between the two Romanian leagues ‘Arboroasa’ - quickly disbanded after the 1876 loyalty scandal²¹⁴ - and ‘Junimea’. The number of leagues quickly expanded to twenty-five and accurately reflected the various nationalist branches in Bukovina. The Romanians gathered in ‘Junimea’, the Old-Ruthenians in ‘Bukovyna’, their Young-Ruthenian adversaries in ‘Soyuz’, the Poles in ‘Ognisko’, the Germans in ‘Arminia’ and ‘Teutonia’ and later also in the catholic ‘Frankonia’. From 1891 onwards, Jewish nationalists founded their own leagues, Zionist ‘Hasmonea’, ‘Emunah’, ‘Zephirah’, ‘Hebronia’ and later ‘Heatid’. The Romanians with their alleged irredentist sympathies and the Old-Ruthenians with their preference for Tsarist Russia were not the only ones under close Austrian scrutiny: for members of German ‘Arminia’, also known as ‘Bismarckians’, Germany was said to come first and Austria only second. Polish ‘Ognisko’ was considered harmless, since next to being Polish-national it was clearly pro-Austria because in Austria the Poles ‘simply fared the best’. The same was said about Young-Ruthenian ‘Soyuz’, which was considered loyal ‘and seeking the salvation of the Ruthenians under Austrian rule’.²¹⁵

The arrival of a university student community with its specific social dynamics profoundly altered the provincial capital. Former student and ‘Arminia’ member Bruno Skrehunetz-Hillebrand declared in his memoir that he remembered ‘as if it were today, that occasionally, but only very rarely, even in Czernowitz student brawls took place’. According to Skrehunetz-Hillebrand, these ‘occasional brawls’ did not result from national conflicts, but rather from disputes over student traditions ‘just like in Vienna or in other western German universities’.²¹⁶ The mood reflected in the local press of the time presents a less conciliatory picture and suggests that Czernowitz had not quite become inured to the turbulence typical for university towns: after a night of unrest at the central Ringplatz, *Bukowinaer Rundschau* fumed:

²¹³ Gautsch von Frankenturn, Paul, *Allerunterthänigster Vortrag des treuehorsaamsten Ministers für Cultus und Unterricht Paul Gautsch von Frankenturn betreffend die Vorkommnisse an der Czernowitzer Universität anlässlich der Verhandlungen der Studentenschaft betreffend die Abhaltung einer Trauerfeier zum Gedächtnisse Seiner K. und K. Hoheit und durchlauchtigsten Kronprinzen Erzherzogs Rudolf*, 874: CUM praes, Vienna, 15 May 1889/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MCÎ XCIII/9.

²¹⁴ For more on this, see paragraph 3 of this section: The Empire, the Nation and the Region: Competing Identifications in Bukovina/ 3.3: Cracks in the Layer of Loyalty.

²¹⁵ “Der prononzierteste Verein ist die ‘Arminia’, die Verbindung der rein Deutsch-Nationalen, ihren Mitgliedern geht Deutschland über alles, das Oesterreicherthum kommt erst in zweiter Linie.(...) der Verein ‘Ognisko’ ist zwar vor Allem polnisch und kultivirt die bekannten polnischen Ideale, allein in zweiter Linie ist er österreichisch, weil es den Polen in Oesterreich eben am besten ergeht. (...) Der Verein ‘Sojusz’ befindet sich im strengen Gegensatz zu den sogenannten Altruthenen, ist jedoch loyal und sucht das Heil der Ruthenen unter österreichischer Szepter.” Bourguignon, Friedrich, *Bericht des Landespräsidenten an den Minister für Cultus und Unterricht*, 482 Pr., Czernowitz, 27 March 1889/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MCÎ, XCIII/9.

²¹⁶ Skrehunetz-Hillebrand, Bruno, *Universitätschronik aus der Kellersperspektive*, in: Wagner, Rudolf, *Alma Mater Francisco Josephina : die deutschsprachige Nationalitäten-Univ. in Czernowitz : Festschrift zum 100. Jahrestag ihrer Eröffnung 1875*, Hans Meschendorf, Munich 1975, p. 336.

As long as the principles of individual student representations do not exceed the narrow framework of the student groups, some appreciate this kind of manifestations as a hobby-horse, others as youthful ideals. But if the revered students are not satisfied with this sphere of action and wish to exert a certain influence on the existing social relations and conditions, the population is entitled to foster the expectation that the result of such behaviour is not contrary to the dignity of academic citizens, that those who are called to introduce both education and culture to the broad strata of the population do not disavow male dignity by rudeness and boorishness and by toughness and brutality. That it had to come to this is deeply sad and typical of the prevailing conditions at our university. (...)

Police reports indicated an increase of violent incidents, *Rundschau* reported, and it vowed to continue to draw the university's attention to these excesses.²¹⁷ Police reports had been filed as early as 1892, when members of the Czernowitz Polish reading hall (*Czytelniq Polską*) and their Galician guests claimed to have been insulted, provoked and abused by Romanian students. Czernowitz University promised to investigate the matter.²¹⁸ In 1910, a dinner party of Old-Ruthenians and Romanians ignited a brawl with a group of Young-Ruthenian students, which caused tensions at the university and resulted in a demonstration of Young-Ruthenian students and craftsmen.²¹⁹ A year later, a fight between Ruthenian and German students in the German National House (*Deutsches Haus*) in Czernowitz resulted in several injured and a ruined venue. Again, an investigation was started.²²⁰ In 1912, serious fighting between members of Polish 'Ognisko', Young-Ruthenian 'Zaporozhe' and the Romanian 'Junimea', 'Bucovina' and 'Moldava' led to eleven arrests. According to Governor Meran, 'the reason for the clashes was to be found in personal differences and disputes of individual members of the associations'.²²¹ A confrontation between a German student from Vienna and a Jewish one from Czernowitz caused several days of violence, unrest and traffic hindrance in the Bukovinian capital.²²²

Whereas it has been suggested that separate and at times antagonistic developments of the various nationalist groups in general - and of their student bodies in particular - indicated that in Bukovina the same processes which had led to the partition of Prague university were likewise under way,²²³ it is striking how just as often tensions between student associations concentrated on disputes between different organisations of the same national group. In this

²¹⁷ *Studentische Brutalitäten*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 23.05.1895, p. 1.

²¹⁸ Präsidium des CUM, *Einsichtsstück des Ministeriums des Innern über die Misshandlungen von Mitgliedern des polnischen Turnvereines 'Sokol' in Czernowitz durch Rumänen*, Vienna, 4 September 1892/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCÎ XCIII/22.

²¹⁹ Румуни а українці, Громадянин, 01.07.1910, p. 3.

²²⁰ Acting Governor, *Bericht an Seine Exzellenz den Herrn k.k. Minister des Innern*, Zl. 7374 Präs., Czernowitz, 4 July 1911/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCÎ XCII/22.

²²¹ "Der Grund dieser Zusammenstöße liegt in persönlichen Differenzen und Zwistigkeiten einzelner Mitglieder der Verbindungen". Meran, Rudolf, *Bericht an Seine Exzellenz den Herrn k.k. Minister für Kultus und Unterricht*, Zl. 2586/Präs., Czernowitz, 31 March 1912/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCÎ XCIII/22.

²²² Acting Governor, *Bericht an Seine Exzellenz den Herrn k.k. Minister für Kultus und Unterricht*, Zl. 2872 Präs. Studentenexzesse, Czernowitz, 16 July 1913/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCÎ XCIII/22.

²²³ Maurer 2000, pp. 341-382.

respect, unsurprisingly, the student associations followed the pattern of local nationalist politics. As Governor Bourguignon had already noted in 1889, a wide gap existed between 'Arminia' and the other German leagues, while at the same time 'Arminia' maintained cordial relations with Romanian 'Junimea'. Whenever 'joint commemorations for whatever patriotic reasons' (*eine gemeinsame Feier aus irgend einem patriotischen Anlaße*) had been in order, as had been the case when Crown Prince Rudolf married in 1881, when he had visited Bukovina in 1887 and lastly when he passed away in 1889, this task had been impossible: each and every association and league had held its own, separate manifestation.²²⁴

In October 1905, Czernowitz witnessed riots when Zionist students clashed with their fellow Jewish students who had refused to become members of Jewish national leagues, but had chosen to join the a-national 'Austria' or 'Alemania' instead. A confrontation between a Zionist student from Vienna and members of 'Austria' resulted in a joint retaliation of Jewish national student leagues and the temporary suspension of two of their members, Leonhard Eckstein and Schloima Drimmer.²²⁵ In 1907, the establishment of the Catholic German league 'Frankonia' was welcomed with dismay by the other German national leagues, which were said to see the newcomer as a competitor and a contributing factor to confessional hatred within German nationalist circles. Although German 'Arminia' and 'Teutonia' allegedly led the disturbances during the inaugural parade of 'Frankonia', Romanian liberal 'Bucovina' and the a-national 'Austria' were reported to have lent full support (*tatkräftigst unterstützt*), while Zionist student associations refrained from interfering.²²⁶ In 1910, university professor Milkowicz officially accused a student by the name of Euhén Wasyk of publicly humiliating him by calling him a 'Zaporozhets' or 'Cossack', only because Milkowicz had been a founding member of the 'Zaporozhe' student league; Wasyk himself was a member of the Ukrainian 'Syh' which abominated 'Zaporozhe'.²²⁷ In 1913, personal quarrels between members of Romanian 'Junimea' on one side and 'Bucovina' on the other escalated to such extent that it came to 'wild brawls and excesses' (*wüste Prügeleien und Exzesse*) in the streets.²²⁸

The Final Days

The arrival of the World War in Czernowitz brought the activities of the Franz Joseph University to a grinding halt. From the first time the Russian invaders set foot in the Bukovinian capital, the university closed down and only opened for a two month period in the

²²⁴ Bourguignon, Friedrich, *Bericht des Landespräsidenten an den Minister für Cultus und Unterricht*, 482 Pr., Czernowitz, 27 March 1889/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCÎ, XCIII/9.

²²⁵ Tarnewski, Prorektor, *Bericht des Rektorates der k.k. Franz-Josephs-Universität in Czernowitz an das k.k. Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht betreffend die Gewährung der Einsicht in die Disciplinarakten*, Zl. 825/ Zl. 837/Zl. 14136, Czernowitz, 25 June/ 1 August 1906/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCÎ XCIII/8.

²²⁶ *Studentenkrawalle in Czernowitz*, Reichspost, 24, 29.01.1907, p. 24.

²²⁷ Friedwagner, Matthias, *Rekurs des stud. phil. Euhén Wasyk gegen das Erkenntnis des akademischen Senates vom 9. Dezember 1910*, Czernowitz, 8 February 1911/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCÎ XCIII/8.

²²⁸ *Bericht von der Bukowinaer k.k. Landesregierung an das k.k. Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht*, Czernowitz, 15 February 1913/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCÎ XCIII/8.

summer of 1916. The seventy-seven professors and tutors employed at the time shared the faith of other men in Bukovina: thirty-five of them were called to arms, two of them perished on the battlefield, others were injured or taken prisoner. Most of the remaining high-ranking university officials served either the State or the Church during the war years, or accepted jobs at other universities. Only nineteen members of the original teaching staff were still free to do their jobs, although this was a virtual impossibility without students or decent academic facilities. Students fought in national battalions along national lines they themselves had formed for the defense of Bukovina. Some of those not involved in war activities tried to continue their studies elsewhere in Austria, but were often hindered by poverty. In Czernowitz, private collections of absent academics were plundered and sometimes surfaced on the local market. Russian and Austrian troops alternately confiscated university buildings to use them as offices, military hospitals or officers' quarters and damaged them in the process. Surprisingly, the university library remained largely intact.

As the only training institute for Orthodox priests in Austria, solely the theology faculty was ordered by the central authorities to resume its activities in early 1918 to assure a minimum of active and qualified priests. Once the fighting was over, most scholarly staff and their families returned to Czernowitz in September 1918 and tried to pick up their work where they had left off. Nevertheless, disillusionment with the way the Bukovinian university had been treated now became apparent: other Austrian universities had not felt inclined to offer the wandering academic staff from besieged Czernowitz scholarly refuge. Moreover, the discussion about moving the institute - to Salzburg this time - while it was entrapped in the frontline had flared up once more. Some Czernowitz professors had been in favour of such a transfer as well, just as had been the case when the matter had been debated in earlier years.²²⁹ The substantiation of their wish now was a different one, however: unlike his lobbying predecessors who had promoted the university's transfer in order to be away from Czernowitz once and for all, a prominent scholar like legal expert Eugen Ehrlich simply wanted to rid Bukovina of its university altogether, since he blamed the institute for the creation of a large intellectual proletariat in a backward region badly in desperate need of capable tradesmen. The majority of Czernowitz university staff preferred to keep the university where it was.²³⁰ Professor Paul Leder, who read canon law in Czernowitz, insisted on the continued existence of the Franz Joseph University. Next to the moral argument - the way the university and its staff had been neglected during the war - Leder also invoked the traditional justification of Austrian state interest.²³¹ History soon rendered the entire discussion obsolete, for the Austro-Hungarian Empire collapsed in November 1918 and soon afterwards, the entire territory of Bukovina was annexed by Romania. In an address to his students, Dean Eugen Herzog of the philosophy faculty prepared his audience for the impending closure of the university:

²²⁹ Leder, Paul, *Die Universität von Czernowitz und der Friede im Osten*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung/Czernowitzer Tagblatt (Gemeinsame Kriegsausgabe), 19.02.1918, pp. 3-4, 23.02.1918, pp. 2-3 and 27.02.1918, pp. 2-3.

²³⁰ Reh binder, Manfred, *Die rechts- und staatswissenschaftliche Fakultät der Franz-Josephs-Universität in Czernowitz – Ihr Beitrag zur Erforschung des Rechts in einer multikulturellen Gesellschaft*, in: Stoll, Hans et al. (ed), *Festschrift für Hans Stoll zum 75. Geburtstag*, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen 2001, 327-343, pp. 335-336.

²³¹ Leder, Paul, *Die Universität von Czernowitz und der Friede im Osten (Schluß)*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung/ Czernowitzer Tagblatt (Gemeinsame Kriegsausgabe), 28.02.1918, p. 2.

although the Romanian authorities had promised to maintain a German-language philosophy department in Greater-Romania, chances were slight that its location would be Czernowitz. Given the new circumstances, German culture could no longer claim the cultural role it once had in the Habsburg Empire. Herzog underlined once again how the Franz Joseph University had produced two generations of intellectuals, how it had built a bridge to the local ‘uneducated’ by organising well-frequented public courses and how its lecture halls had lacked ‘burning xenophobia and racism’ (*knirschender Völker- und Rassenhaß*).²³² By focusing on how nationalist movements had flourished rather than perished under the nourishing German cultural influence, by congratulating the new Romanian rulers on achieving the goal of a nation-state and by - somewhat patronisingly - calling on the Bukovinians to cherish interethnic peace and harmony in the times to come, Herzog’s address closely resembled the classic farewell speech of a defeated colonial power.²³³

On 15 June 1919, *Czernowitzer Morgenblatt* announced that all professors had been forced into retirement. They were invited to reapply for their positions only if they were willing and capable to teach in Romanian. Not more than four professors, among them interestingly enough also the aforementioned Eugen Herzog, agreed to these terms. The others left Czernowitz in September of that same year. The joint edition of *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* mourned that ‘no matter if they were upper or middle rank European scholars, they had all done their bit to ensure that Czernowitz and the towns of Bukovina became part of the enlightened communities of the former Austrian Empire’. The editor felt compelled to stress that ‘they had only been teachers, not Germanisators or critics of public life’ and that they ‘had never descended from the noble heights of the researcher to the often barren level of the politician’. The general public was said to have acknowledged this and had therefore always held the scholars in high esteem. “But”, the *Czernowitzer* concluded, “the public and politicians do not always think alike, and so the professors need to pack their bags”.²³⁴ Hedda Wolff, the wife of one of them, noted in her diary how on 6 September, ‘half of Czernowitz accompanied the departing professors to the railway station and lined the railroad track waving them goodbye’.²³⁵

²³² Herzog, Eugen, *Der Abschied der deutschen Universität Czernowitz*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung/Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 05.02.1919, pp. 1-2.

²³³ For some more recent - and completely random - examples: King Baudouin I of Belgium in Congo 1960, in: Reybrouck, David van, *Congo: Een Geschiedenis*, De Bezige Bij, Amsterdam 2010, p. 289; British Governor Chris Patten in Hong Kong 1997 in: Knight, Alan and Nakano, Yoshiko (ed), *Reporting Hong Kong: Foreign Media and the Handover*, St. Martin’s Press, New York 1999, p. 194 onwards.

²³⁴ *Der Abschied der Professoren*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung/Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 03.09.1919, p. 1.

²³⁵ Reh binder, Manfred, *Die Begründung der Rechtssoziologie durch Eugen Ehrlich*, in: Schelsky, Helmut et al. (ed.), *Recht und Gesellschaft: Festschrift für Helmut Schelsky zum 65. Geburtstag*, Duncker & Humblot, Berlin 1978, 403-418, p. 410.

Appraisal

From the day it was founded, Czernowitz University provided an important contribution to the development of a provincial identity among the Bukovinian bourgeoisie outside the nationalist framework.²³⁶ Its capacity to shape Bukovina's own learned classes and the arrival of western scholars were seen as decisive elements of the Duchy's detachment from Galicia.²³⁷ The university was depicted as 'a bridge between different ethnicities'²³⁸ and when it closed its doors in 1919, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* predicted that 'the memory of the effectiveness of the German university and its teachers would forever fill the most prominent glorious chapter in the history of Bukovina'.²³⁹

In evaluations following the demise of Austrian Bukovina and its German university, the questions of its Austrian character – as well as the opportunity for the central authorities to flaunt the success of Bukovina in the framework of the Austrian integration process²⁴⁰ – and its presumed Germanising role often play a central role: Philipp Menczel called it 'the last offshoot of Josephinism in Austria which would have been an anachronism in any other part of the vast Danube Empire';²⁴¹ Emanuel Turczynski highlighted the importance of the founding of a quintessential Austrian institution with the specific aim of strengthening ties between the state and its subjects. He concluded that the university had not been an ivory tower, but that it had stood in close contact with the educated classes of the land, 'thus allowing a multifunctional cultivation of mother tongues while trying to satisfy the socio-cultural needs of all ethnic groups'.²⁴²

Robert Seton-Watson, with his sympathy for 'national awakenings' in the region, had judged in 1934 that 'the new seat of learning had too often been regarded by Vienna as an instrument of spreading German culture farther eastwards, and [that] a great proportion of the chairs had been held by Germans'.²⁴³ Just like faculty dean Eugen Herzog had pointed out in his 1919 speech, Bukovinian journalist Philipp Menczel later underlined how the 'Germanisators' had been crucial for the development of local nationalist movements:

*The indigenous nationalities of Bukovina, Romanians and Ruthenians, owed much of what they might see in later decades as the fulfillment of their national ideals in Austria to this university. What had been considered a Germanising act in the Sudetenland a entire century earlier, but had been in reality the wakening call for the Czech nation, repeated itself on a smaller scale.*²⁴⁴

²³⁶ Corbea-Hoisie 2003, p. 123.

²³⁷ Mischler 1893, p. 2.

²³⁸ Hrenciuc, Daniel, *Societățile culturale ale comunităților polonezilor din Bucovina. Elemente ale consensului multiethnic în spațiul geografic al Bucovinei istorice*, in: *Analele Bucovinei*, 2004, XI/1, 115-124, p. 120.

²³⁹ *Der Abschied der Professoren*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung/ Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 03.09.1919, p. 1.

²⁴⁰ Maner 2007, p. 275.

²⁴¹ Menczel 1932, p. 36.

²⁴² Turczynski 2008, pp. 149-222.

²⁴³ Seton-Watson 1934, p. 559.

²⁴⁴ Menczel 1932, pp. 36-37.

A staunch defender of German cultural colonialism even during the post-Habsburg times like Emanuel Kapri compared 'the *Landl* Bukovina, the smallest crownland as well as the most recently acquired one' and the Kingdom of Romania, 'the principal territory (*Hauptland*) of the Romanian nation' and pointed out that in Czernowitz the university had been established only fifteen years after Iași and eleven years after Bucharest.²⁴⁵

What is more, Romanian nationalists acknowledged this phenomenon as well. They maintained that Czernowitz University had unwillingly provided Bukovina with a host of Romanian intellectuals, who were not hindered by privileges and possessions like boyars and as such could devote all their energy to the national idea.²⁴⁶ Others admitted that Czernowitz University had been created upon request of Bukovinian Romanian nationalists among others, but questioned its additional value for 'the national cause'.²⁴⁷ Predictably, (Soviet) Ukrainian and nationalist Romanian sources later claimed that a conscious Germanisation policy had been at the root of the creation of the university.²⁴⁸ Although mainly Romanian nationalist sources in later years tended to zoom in on perceived shortcomings of the university within the specific focus of their political goals, both Romanian and Ukrainian sources nowadays acknowledge the pivotal role the university has played in the process of Ruthenian/Ukrainian emancipation.²⁴⁹ Additionally, Ukrainian sources maintain that Ruthenian nationalists had been convinced that at the time of the university's establishment only a German university was able put a stop the aspirations of Romanians and of other nationalities to assimilate them.²⁵⁰

The Franz Joseph University had not only 'produced' nationalists, it had also imported them. German nationalism and political anti-Semitism in Bukovina were closely linked to the professors who brought these influences from Vienna and other Austrian cities.²⁵¹ Since a number of university professors had been active journalists as well - as was standing practice in those days - they had little difficulty distributing their views.²⁵²

²⁴⁵ Kapri 1974, p. 103.

²⁴⁶ Bălan, Teodor, *Bucovina în războiul mondial*, in: *Codrul Cosminului*, 6, 1930, 1-136, p. 6.

²⁴⁷ Roman 2002, p. 29.

²⁴⁸ Botushans'kyi 1980, p. 153; Nistor 1991, p. 212.

²⁴⁹ Nowosiwsky 1970, p. 64.

²⁵⁰ Nowosiwsky, I.M. and Kolotylo, Basil, *Die Ukrainistik an der Universität Czernowitz*, in: *Wagner, Rudolf, Alma Mater Francisco Josephina : die deutschsprachige Nationalitäten-Univ. in Czernowitz : Festschrift zum 100. Jahrestag ihrer Eröffnung 1875*, Hans Meschendorfer, Munich 1975, p. 196.

²⁵¹ Ebner, Mayer, *Der Antisemitismus in der Bukowina*, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 14.02.1909, pp. 1-2.

²⁵² Turczynski 2008, pp. 224.

3 The Empire, the Nation and the Region: Competing Identifications in Bukovina

3.1 Bukovinians and Austria

In the Habsburg era, discourse on loyalties and belonging, the concept of 'Austria' often remains impalpable. The obvious dominance of national affinities (*Vielvölkerstaat*) and Habsburg patriotism in Austrian schoolbooks indicates a relationship between the ruling house and its peoples rather than an all-encompassing identification with the Austrian state.²⁵³ The dynasty saw itself as the only agency that was entitled to demand supranational loyalty from all of its subjects.²⁵⁴

According to Miroslav Hroch, except for marginal attempts, the monarchy abstained from the construction of an all-Austrian landscape and places of remembrance²⁵⁵ - but this assertion is questionable if only because of the large architectural imprint the Monarchy left all over its former territories. Yet, only comparatively recently scholars have begun to challenge some of the underlying assumptions inherent in much of the established literature which tended to avoid the issue of how precisely the state fitted into the overall matrix of identification processes at the individual or group level.²⁵⁶ It is argued that studies of particular 'nationalities' have tended to focus on the journey of a single destined 'ethnie' toward national consciousness to the exclusion of other 'national communities' inhabiting the same cities, towns, and rural regions, while the role of the imperial center was mostly ignored.²⁵⁷ Yet the role this centre played was pivotal; the point has already been made earlier that despite the fact that there was indeed much dissatisfaction with Habsburg rule, no major nationalist leader or party called for the destruction of the Monarchy.²⁵⁸

In Bukovina, nationalists may have had their own political parties, but mostly, they accepted not just the rules of the game, but also the legitimacy of the state in which they found themselves in its existing territorial form: their self-image, in other words, was of being Austrian.²⁵⁹ British-Canadian historian Stambrook noted that for those with some education

²⁵³ Brückmüller 1995, p. 279.

²⁵⁴ Urbanitsch 2004, p. 105.

²⁵⁵ Hroch, Miroslav, *Das Europa der Nationen - Die moderne Nationsbildung im europäischen Vergleich*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 2005, p. 231.

²⁵⁶ Cole, Laurence, *The Habsburg Monarchy as a failing experiment? Reflections on processes of national identification in imperial Austria (conference paper)*, National identification from below. Europe from the late 18th century to the end of the First World War, Ghent 2008.

²⁵⁷ Unowsky, Daniel L., *Celebrating Two Emperors and a Revolution - The Public Contest to Represent the Polish and Ruthenian Nations in 1880*, in: Cole, Laurence and Unowsky, Daniel L., *The Limits of Loyalty: Imperial Symbolism, Popular Allegiances, and State Patriotism in the late Habsburg Monarchy*, Berghahn Books, New York 2007, 113-137, p. 113.

²⁵⁸ Jelavich, Barbara, *History of the Balkans - Twentieth Century (Vol. 2)*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1983, p. 77.

²⁵⁹ Rokkan and Urwin made this observation regarding the Swedish speakers in Finland. See Rokkan, Stein and Urwin, Derek W., *The Politics of territorial Identity - Studies in European Regionalism*, SAGE Publications, London/Beverly Hills/New Delhi 1982, p. 1.

and awareness of *Rechtsstaat* and of Austrian citizenship, with its rights and obligations, being Austrian and the idea of 'Austria' were important. This seems rather self-evident: a person more or less logically acknowledges the authority which has vested him with rights he appreciates. Unconvincingly, Stambrook linked the degree of affiliation Bukovinians felt with the Austrian state directly to the ethnicity he assigned them to; Jews appreciated the equality of rights and the security that Austrian rule provided, and in consequence developed patriotism (*Vaterlandsliebe*) and an absolute sense of belonging to the monarchy; Ruthenians could think of themselves as Austrians since their newspapers advised their readers of their rights as Austrian citizens and reasoned that Ruthenians were not looking for another motherland since they had the Austrian Empire; only among Bukovina's Romanians, Stambrook concluded, there had indeed been a few who had longed for union with the neighbouring Kingdom of Romania.²⁶⁰ Stambrook's approach poses two major problems, firstly by assuming that every Bukovinian had a strong sense of ethnic/national awareness, and secondly by presupposing that there was a one-on-one correlation between one's national affiliation and one's identification with Austria.

Whereas stories of unsatisfied clerics who had left the territory once the Austrians had taken over found their way to numerous Romanian nationalist historiographies,²⁶¹ most sources from the early Habsburg-Bukovinian days report a general mood of contentment and cooperation with Vienna among Bukovinian aristocrats. In the days of the occupation, Austrian presence was said to have helped to 'restore quiet and order'. Allegiance to the state was initially first and foremost a matter of military support: in the Russo-Turkish-Austrian war of 1788, a brigade of Bukovinian volunteers participated in an expedition against the Turks. During the 1805 war against Napoleon, which eventually meant Austrian defeat and the end of the Holy Roman Empire, substantial donations were encouraged and made by the Orthodox Church. Bukovinian volunteers fought against the Poles and the Russians in 1807 after an appeal for support had been issued in German, Russian and Moldavian. After Napoleon defeated Austria and imposed harsh peace terms in the Treaty of Schönbrunn (14 October 1809), Bukovina contributed to the war reparations and again to the Austrian forces during the War of the Sixth Coalition (1812–1814) which would ultimately conquer Napoleon. In 1849, Bukovina sent 1100 'willing and brave' soldiers to defend Temesvár in the Hungarian part of the Empire, which was besieged by Hungarian revolutionaries.²⁶² Even in the tumultuous period of the 1848 revolutionary days which produced the end of servitude and as such also major changes in the position of landowning classes, Bukovinian noblemen were said to bear no grudge against the state. On the contrary, they were 'with very little exceptions entirely devoted to the Austrian government and in disagreement with the few liberals among them'. Most of them, the local authorities from Lemberg assured, 'openly declared to have always been happy under the Austrian government and to long only for the

²⁶⁰ Stambrook 2004, pp. 195-197.

²⁶¹ See for instance Țuguî, Pavel, *Bucovina - istorie și cultură*, Albatros, Bucharest 2002, p. 83.

²⁶² Werenka, Daniel, *Der Kriegsruf an die Bukowina. 1809*, gr.-or. Oberrealschule in Czernowitz, Czernowitz 1903.

recognition as a distinct region'.²⁶³ However, the broader social strata in Bukovina were deeply discontented with the provisional character of local government which had been in place since the Austrian occupation: political and judicial uncertainties had caused a deep distrust. Official promises that the situation would be mended remained empty and damaged the reputation of the Austrian centre of power.²⁶⁴

In 1866, 'His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty's most loyal and devoted subjects' from Bukovina doubled the payment of those volunteering for the war against Prussia and considered to enlarge the land's fund for war cripples. They apologised for the fact that the land's financial situation did not allow a more substantial contribution.²⁶⁵ Unfortunately, the source does not reveal just how much pressure Vienna itself had put behind this generous Bukovinian offer. Equally, the sincerity of the regional diet address by Governor Pino in 1888 can be questioned:

*In Bukovina, in a land in which the whole population, rich and poor, high and low, city dwellers and country folk compete for patriotism and unswerving loyalty to Emperor and Empire, for an Austrian patriot - and this I may well call myself - it is a pleasure to serve.*²⁶⁶

Felix von Pino, who was governor of Bukovina between 1870 and 1874 and once more between 1887 and 1890, was in reality shocked by the differences he saw in Bukovina between his first and second tenure and blamed both his predecessor Alesani and Bishop Morariu-Andrievici for the increased influence of the Romanian National Party.²⁶⁷ The

²⁶³ "(...) der österreichischen Regierung aber mit sehr wenig Ausnahme ganz ergeben und mit den wenigen Freisinnigen im Kreise nicht einverstanden. Es ist keinem der Wunsch beigestiegen, dass sich die Bucovina an die Moldau, oder an Russland anschliesse; die meisten sprechen sich unverhohlen aus, das sie unter der österreichischen Regierung immer glücklich waren und nur die Anerkennung als eine eigene Landschaft wünschen." Issetscheskul, *Guvernul din Lemberg către Administrația Bucovinei*, 4 June 1848/ ANR, Fond personal "Sever Zotta", dosar 44.

²⁶⁴ "(...) denn die Mehrzahl aller Schichten der Kronlandsbewohner sind des jahrelang dauernden provisorischen Verwaltungssystems müde, und sehnen sich nach der schon öfter verheißenen, von Zeit zu Zeit in hohen Erlassen und durch die öffentlichen Blätter in Aussicht gestellten, aber noch nicht effektuirte, definitive Organisirung der k.k. politischen, gerichtlichen und polizeilichen Behörden von welchen man allein eine der wandelbaren, unbehaglichen, tief zerrüttenden, unsicheren Zustände abhaltende und konstante Basis erwartet, welche das wankend gewordene ohne Frage die größte Nütze des Staates bildende Vertrauen zur Regierung wieder befestigen (...)" Schmück, Franz von, *Stimmungsbericht*, Czernowitz, 31 December 1853/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MI 79/2.

²⁶⁵ "Entspricht nun auch allerdings die Größe und Zahl dieser Spenden nicht ganz genau der Wärme unserer patriotischen Opferwilligkeit, so trägt hieran neben der allgemeinen Gedrücktheit der materiellen Verhältnisse insbesondere jener der wirtschaftliche Ausnahmezustand der Schuld, der hier zu Lande im Jahreslaufe alle Pflichten der Bevölkerung in Mitleidenschaft gezogen hat". Eurer kk. Apostolischen Majestät allergetreueste und pflichtergebendste Unterthanen, *Allerdurchlauchtigster Kaiser und Herzog! Allergnädigster Herr!* Czernowitz, June 1866/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MI 78/4.

²⁶⁶ Bukowinaer Landtag, *Stenographisches Protokoll der X. (Schluß-) Sitzung des Bukowinaer Landtages am 21. Jänner 1888*, in: *Stenographische Protokolle des Bukowinaer Landtages für die vierte Session der sechsten Wahlperiode 1887/88*, Eckhardt'sche Buchdruckerei, Czernowitz 1888.

²⁶⁷ "Als ich nach Verlauf von nahezu 13 Jahren zum zweiten Male die Leitung der Landesregierung in Czernowitz übernahm, (1887 bis 1900) fand ich die Sachlage sehr verändert. Grossen Theiles in Folge des

Romanian nationalists themselves insisted they did not only struggle for their own existence, but for that of ‘the existence of the great power of Austria’ (*der Bestand der Großmachtstellung Oesterreichs*) since Austria benefited just the same from a strong Romanian buffer against the Slavic threat.²⁶⁸

Now, Governor Pino did not only challenge the Romanian nationalist claim of working in the interest of the government,²⁶⁹ he also acted when he found that prominent Russians were being revered in a Ruthenian reading hall in the village of Luzan.²⁷⁰

In 1897, *Bukowinaer Post* addressed the concerns about growing national tensions which Governor Pino had left out of his diet address. He had identified three commonly shared elements considered strong enough to conquer nationalist struggles, the first being dynastic loyalty, the second Austrian citizenship and the third, the love for Bukovina. Yet, in spite of proclaiming the Bukovinians love for Austria ‘was just as strong as that for the Habsburg dynasty’, the *Post*’s argumentation itself revealed a strong inclination towards the latter by invoking the Emperor’s words:

Who does not remember those times of almost bygone ages when every Bukovinian took pride in being black-yellow and being called black-yellow. Have they not designated us from the highest office as ‘Tyroleans of the East’? Is this glue which ties Bukovina to the venerable and glorious Empire not strong enough to put and keep together much of what apparently separates and what has the ability to separate?’²⁷¹

When its loyalty honour was injured, the Bukovinian press did not hesitate to compare itself favourably to other Austro-Hungarian territories. Such was the case when the Bishop of Debrecen was assaulted in 1914 and a journalist from Budapest had subsequently reported the suspects to ‘the little town’ of Czernowitz. *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* lashed back that ‘as a good connoisseur of Hungary and its cities the wise man from Budapest had not

‘laissez aller’ meines Vorgängers des Landespräsidenten Br. Alesani, dessen Verhalten nahezu gleichbedeutend mit einer Vorschubleistung war, und namentlich durch die unermüdliche Thätigkeit des Erzbischofs Andriewicz, welcher die jungen Cleriker in Seminar zu fanatischen rumänischen Chauvinisten erzog, hatte sich die chauvinistische rumänische Nationalpartei sehr bedeutend vermehrt und weite Kreise nach unter hin ergriffen. Geistlichkeit, Lehrerschaft und sogar zahlreiche Beamte waren ihr verfallen”. Bourguignon-Baumberg, Friedrich, *Amtsvortrag*, Ad Zl: 6520 Praes: ex 1901, Czernowitz 1902/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MI, mapa 67/3.

²⁶⁸ *Die Slavisirung der Bukowina*, Bukowinaer Journal, 190, 25.12.1902, pp. 1-2.

²⁶⁹ Ceaușu 2004, pp. 295-296.

²⁷⁰ “Nach einer mir zugekommenen Mittheilung des hiesigen Landes-Gendarmerie-Kommandos hat der Gendarmerie-Posten-Commandant in Nepolokoutz die Anzeige erstattet, daß er am griechischen Alexandertage d.i. am 11. September l.J. das anliegende, mehrere hervorragende Persönlichkeiten des Kaiserthums Rußland darstellende Bild bekränzt und von Kerzen belauchtet im Lokale der Luzaner ruthenischen Czytelnia vorgefunden habe.(...) Sollten in den im unterstehenden Bezirke bestehenden ruthenischen Lesehallen derartige oder ähnliche Bilder vorhanden sein, so ist mit der Confiscation derselben vorzugehen, der Obmann und eventuell die Vorstandsmitglieder der betreffenden Czytelnia’s über den Ursprung dieser Bilder entsprechend einzuvernehmen und über das Ergebnis anher zu berichten”. Pino, Felix von, *An den Herrn k.k. Bezirkshauptmann in Kotzman*, Nr. 1240 Pr., 20 September 1888/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 5158.

²⁷¹ ‘Für Kaiser, Reich und Land’, Bukowinaer Post, 18.04.1897, pp. 1-2.

needed to look to ‘the extreme east of the Monarchy to discover the traitors’, and that as such ‘it had not occurred the Czernowitzers to be in need of a good-conduct certificate issued by the state’s most faithful Hungarians’, because ‘the regional capital’s and university town’s loyalty to State and Emperor was so self-evident that it did not need a specific confirmation from anyone’.²⁷² The situation in the Hungarian part of the Monarchy, and then of course the situation of its Romanian-speaking inhabitants, was a constant reminder for the Romanian nationalists in Bukovina that their own legal position was far better. On the eve of the Sarajevo assassination, Czernowitz vice-mayor Dori Popovici still maintained that Romanians in the Habsburg Empire should strive for national autonomy within the boundaries of the Austrian constitution.²⁷³

3.2 Bukovinians and the Habsburg dynasty

Although loyalty towards the Habsburg Emperor and Empire was certainly not exclusively reserved for Bukovina, its prominence in the crownland was striking. Throughout the Empire, the peasantry was regarded as the ultimate ‘loyalty reservoir’ of the dynasty.²⁷⁴

Charity organisations like the Emperor Franz Joseph Society for the support of poor Gymnasium pupils and the Empress Elisabeth Society for the benefit of needy Bukovinian children managed to collect admirable donations and had a true and multilingual list of well-heeled members from the early days of their establishment in the 1850s.²⁷⁵ Bishop Hacman assured the Viennese authorities in 1863 that ‘the inhabitants of the little land (...) stood out due to their unwavering loyalty and devotion to the Imperial House’.²⁷⁶ This image was carefully nurtured by the Bukovinian press which was well aware of the indisputable role the House of Habsburg had played in the development of the very notion of ‘Bukovina’. *Bukowinaer Rundschau* emphasised this in its welcoming address to Crown Prince Rudolph in 1887:

Happily and excitedly we welcome You many a hundred thousand times to Bukovina, which is a creation of Austria and of Your very own illustrious House. (...) Everything Bukovina means

²⁷² Das ‘Städtchen’ Czernowitz, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 16.02.1914, p. 1.

²⁷³ Der Zarenbesuch in Konstantza und die Bukowiner Rumänen- Aeufferungen des Landtagsabgeordneten Vizebürgermeisters Dori Popovici, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 28.06.1914, pp. 1-2.

²⁷⁴ Brückmüller, Ernst, *Österreichbegriff und Österreich-Bewusstsein in der Franzisko-Josephinischen Epoche*, in: Richard G. Plaschka, Stourzh, Gerald, Niederkorn, Jan Paul: *Was heißt Österreich? Inhalt und Umfang des Österreichbegriffs vom 10. Jahrhundert bis heute*, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna 1995, 255-288, p. 282.

²⁷⁵ Schmuck, Franz Freiherr von, *Einladung zur ersten Jahresversammlung des Bukowiner Kaiser Franz Josef und Kaiserin Elisabeth-Vereines*, Czernowitz, 27 March 1857/ DJAN Suceava, Fond ‘Mitropolia Bucovinei’, secția ‘Diverse’, dosar 1340.

²⁷⁶ “(...) daß die Bewohner dieses Ländchens (...) durch die unerschütterliche Treue und Anhänglichkeit an das Allerhöchste Kaiserhaus sich auszeichnen (...)”. Hacman, Bishop Eugen, *Report to the Emperor regarding the Bukovinian Diocese*, Czernowitz, 18 January 1863/ DJAN Suceava, Fond ‘Mitropolia Bucovinei’, secția ‘Diverse’, dosar 1477.

*today, it has the Imperial Family and the great Austria to thank for. (...) Emperor Joseph lifted the neglected little tree from the inhospitable wilderness, and planted it in the fertile, beautiful garden of Austria and Emperor Franz Joseph favoured this tree and took care of it, raised it and brought it to bloom. (...) Bukovina not only renders homage to the Dynasty as the animating star of Austria, but also as the creative force which brought this little land into existence.*²⁷⁷

The Bukovinian population indeed prepared Rudolph such a warm welcome that regional diet president Wassilko boastfully trumpeted ‘the manner in which the various corporations, welcoming committees and the population of duchy Bukovina had competed altogether to give His Imperial and Royal Highness a reception which may not have been as glamorous as elsewhere, but all the more cordial and steeped in truly dynastic sentiments, and the patriotic enthusiasm with which all strata of the population had cheered the most illustrious and highly gifted heir to the Throne everywhere His Imperial and Royal Highness had deigned to set foot during His visit to Bukovina’.²⁷⁸

Bukovina’s Imperial Father Figure

The central figure of Emperor Franz Joseph dominated the sentiments of affection widely felt in the countryside and far from Vienna, where he was regarded as omnipotent, benevolent, and just. Whenever something happened to the detriment of one of his subjects, they were convinced that Emperor had been unaware of it and that he would remedy any grievances if only his bad and wicked advisers would let him do so.²⁷⁹ The respect and veneration that traditionalist societies accorded to the wisdom of old age must certainly be taken into account here. The longevity of Franz Joseph’s period in office, sixty-eight years, almost left no people at the time of his death who could remember having lived under another ruler.²⁸⁰ Furthermore, his reign almost exactly overlapped the existence of the autonomous crownland of Bukovina. It is therefore not surprising that in Bukovinian expressions of loyalty, Franz Joseph remained the ultimate personification of Austria. At the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Franz-Joseph University, *Bukowinaer Rundschau* even claimed that ‘in no province of Austria, the fate of the land was so deeply and so firmly, so memorably and auspiciously connected with the feast of its glorious ruler as in Bukovina’.²⁸¹

²⁷⁷ *Willkommen!* Bukowinaer Rundschau, 07.07.1887, p. 1.

²⁷⁸ Landtag, Bukowinaer, *Stenographisches Protokoll der 1. (Eröffnungs-) Sitzung des Bukowinaer Landtages am 24. November 1887*, in: *Stenographische Protokolle des Bukowinaer Landtages für die vierte Session der sechsten Wahlperiode 1887/88*, Eckhardt’sche Buchdruckerei, Czernowitz 1887.

²⁷⁹ This attitude was reflected in the Bukovinian press: when the decorations bestowed on Bukovinians at the occasion of the Emperor’s fiftieth year on the throne were considered to be unevenly distributed among the different nationalities, *Bukowinaer Rundschau* blamed the regional diet instead of the Monarch. *Die decorirte Bukowina*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 08.12.1898, p. 1.

²⁸⁰ Urbanitsch 2004, pp. 112-114; Stambrook 2004, p. 192.

²⁸¹ *Ein Gedenktag*, Bukowinaer Rundschau. 03.10.1900, p. 1.

Official Bukovinian praise for the Emperor was at times vague and limited to ‘the many blessings, freedoms and gifts of imperial grace and mercy’,²⁸² but often addressed the more tangible accomplishments of his reign like the establishment of the autonomous Duchy of Bukovina.²⁸³ A direct consequence of this autonomy was the regional diet, described in 1863 by its president Eudoxius Hurmuzaki as ‘the freest place of Bukovina, where, in an unbound and unfettered way, the loyal Bukovinian spoke freely to his Monarch (...) without the intervention of government officials’.²⁸⁴ In the eyes of the editors of *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, Franz Joseph even embodied the incorporation of the crownland into the western cultural realm:

*For us in the East, Emperor Franz Joseph is far more than the supreme commander, the preserver of law and justice, the protector of art and science, the patron of trade and transport, for us he is the personification of Western cultural life, which also started to take possession of our remote land with his accession to the Throne. This way, the Emperor's birthday is also a cultural celebration for us as we proudly look back on the achievements and proudly see how the distance which separates us from the West has been reduced.*²⁸⁵

In return for all these benefits, Bukovinian sources mostly offered assurances of absolute Bukovinian loyalty to the Emperor. Whereas these had preceded Franz-Joseph's reign - Constantin Popovici, one of the signatories of the 1848 *Landespetition*, had congratulated Emperor Ferdinand I in that same year, stating that ‘having a good emperor required from his subjects that they be good, too’ -²⁸⁶ Bukovinian loyalty towards the person of Franz Joseph ‘from the biggest house to the smallest peasant shack’²⁸⁷ became a prominent feature of Bukovinian self-identification. This development was encouraged, to say the least, by the official press releases of the House of Habsburg itself: each and every Imperial quote meant for Bukovinian ears recalled the devotion the Emperor experienced from his Bukovinian subjects. In response to Bukovinian well-wishes at the occasion of his silver wedding anniversary, Franz Joseph responded that ‘it had only been few years since the entire population of the land (...) celebrated its hundred years’ association with the hereditary lands of his House in a way so soothing to his heart, and that its most recent demonstration of fidelity was not only a new sign for him of its tried and tested love and loyalty, but also proof of the grateful appreciation by the population of his endeavours which were always aimed at

²⁸² *Vierzig Jahre Kaiser*, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 01.12.1888, p. 2.

²⁸³ As in a poem by Kaendl to celebrate Franz Joseph's 50 years on the throne: “(...) Es gilt den guten Kaisers Lob/Der dich zum Herzogthum erhob: Hoch lebe unser Kaiser! (...)” Kaendl, R.F., *Jubiläumsfeier*, Bukowinaer Post, 04.12.1898, p. 3.

²⁸⁴ *Schlussrede des Landeshauptmann Stellvertreters Eudoxius Ritter von Hormuzaki in der 34. Sitzung (1 April 1863)*, in: Luceac 2007, p. 92.

²⁸⁵ *Der 75. Geburtstag*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 18.08.1905, p. 1.

²⁸⁶ “Însă având noi un Împerat bun, firească dreptate cere ca să fim și noi suppuși buni. Suppus este acela care cunoaște și împlinește datoriile sale către Împeratul și patria sa. Trebuie dară și noi datoriile aceste să cunoaștem și să le împlinim”, Popovicz, Constantin, *Cuvânt la ziua nașterii a Predluminatului Împeratului nostru Ferdinand I – despre datoriile suppușilor către Împeratul, Ocărmuirea și Patria* [transcription from the original Cyrillic], Johann Eckhardt, Cernăuți 1848, p.1/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MCÎ CXXIV/13.

²⁸⁷ *Der 2. Dezember in der Bukowina (Lokal- und Provinznachrichten)*, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 03.12.1908, p. 3.

raising the welfare of the land'.²⁸⁸ In 1896, the Emperor took the time 'to laud in appreciative words the fidelity and loyalty the inhabitants of Bukovina' in the presence of Bukovinian diet president Lupul.²⁸⁹

Bukovinian newspapers advocating Bukovinian regional identity regarded a reputation of longstanding loyalty as a unifying factor with the Emperor as its indispensable patron, no matter how bland and commonplace his quoted remarks often were:

*When on 27 October 1858 the Emperor bade us farewell after his first visit to Bukovina, he spoke the memorable words: "Bukovina is a beautiful land and has good people". Half a century later, appearing on 27 November 1908 representatives of our nobility paid homage in the Vienna Hofburg and again the Monarch felt compelled to say to diet president Baron Wassilko: "Bukovina is a beautiful land with a patriotic population. The good people have always been good patriots". After sixty years, this orientation has not changed, not shifted in Bukovina. And if we are this way, thinking of our grey Emperor, beloved by all, (...) we have to dismiss permanently all that divides and separates, and call out to our Emperor hand in hand, as a united land of Bukovinians: the Emperor can always firmly count on us Tyroleans of the East, be they Christians or Jews, be they Romanians, Germans, Ruthenians, Jews, Poles or Hungarians.*²⁹⁰

For a performance written by R.F. Kaindl for the same occasion, the sixtieth anniversary of the Emperor's reign, the mise-en-scène similarly focused on Bukovina's regional specifics, requiring 'a rural area with mountains in the background and a chapel on the right, everything when possible in Bukovinian style', with 'types of people in picturesque groups: farmers, citizens, students, tourists, and a painter with his easel on the left as a representative of the arts'.²⁹¹ Explicit depictions of different nationalities were carefully avoided.

Cases of lèse majesté, such as the one involving the anti-Semitic teetotaler who accused the Emperor of having an affair with a Jewish woman,²⁹² were only reported sporadically in Bukovina. When they occurred they were taken very seriously, although allegations could often not be proved so that charges had to be dropped.²⁹³ Things stood differently when a large number of witnesses had been present, like at festive gatherings: a student by the name of Hermann Bahr, who had refused to stand up when a toast to the Emperor was proposed at a Luther celebration of the protestant student association in 1884, was being investigated by a university commission which had been installed specifically for this single matter. As Bahr

²⁸⁸ *Telegramm der 'Czernowitzer Zeitung'*, Czernowitzer Zeitung, 93. 23.04.1879.

²⁸⁹ *Kaiserworte*, Bukowinaer Post, 25.06.1896, p. 3.

²⁹⁰ *Zum 2. Dezember 1908*, Bukowinaer Post, 01.12.1908, p. 1. Tyroleans were often depicted as being exceptionally loyal to the Habsburgs. Among those eastern 'Tyroleans', the Jews are mentioned twice here; the first time in their religious, the second time in their national capacity. The year 1858 is a mistake: Franz Joseph visited Bukovina for the first time in 1851.

²⁹¹ *Kaiserhuldigung. Festspiel von Prof. Dr. Raimund Friedrich Kaindl (Theater, Kunst und Literatur)*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 02.12.1908, p. 6.

²⁹² See Part II, paragraph 3.7: Anti-Semitism and Bukovina: Attacks and Vindications.

²⁹³ See for instance the case of a lower cleric, Alexander Prokopowicz from Kostestie in 1865. Spending, *Note to the Governor's Office*, 265, Czernowitz, 8 May 1866/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 2824.

was known to have caused trouble before at a Wagner commemoration in Vienna a year earlier, the Minister for Religion and Education personally insisted on being kept informed on the findings.²⁹⁴ It was harder to combat attacks on the Emperor from abroad. In particular nationalist publications from Romania which surfaced in Bukovina were actively checked and, if it was deemed necessary, confiscated and forbidden. In 1890, the newspaper *Lupta* from Bucharest published an article in which it blamed Franz Joseph for the ‘desperate and dismal’ situation of Bukovinian (and Transylvanian) Romanians. The public prosecutor then demanded that publication be banished from Bukovina because ‘the contents of the article had violated the reverence for the Emperor and attempted contempt and hatred against the person of the Emperor’.²⁹⁵

At the same time, representatives of nationalist groups in Bukovina were most eager to assure their Imperial loyalty. The fallout between Governor Bourguignon and the Orthodox clergy in 1899 had been a direct result of the doubts the governor was accused of having expressed regarding the position of Bukovinian Romanian nationalists in this matter. *Deșteptarea* reported how the Orthodox clergy had risen as one to defend its ‘smudged honour’ (*cinstea feștelită*) and underlined how often the brave sons of Bukovina had already proven their allegiance on the battlefields, wondering ‘how many bodies of courageous Romanians were rotting away on the plains in Bosnia, near Königratz, Milan and Solferino’.²⁹⁶ In its reports about that other monarch, the King of Romania, the Bukovinian Romanian press was careful to praise both rulers without raising questions of conflicting loyalties. In an account of the visit of Carol I to the Habsburgs’ summer residence in Ischl in 1902, *Deșteptarea* aptly performed this balancing act:

*The days spent by King Carol I as the dear guest of our Monarch, Emperor Franz Joseph fills us Romanians of the Habsburg Crown with exceptional joy. We greet these days as an event closely affecting our nation as an eloquent sign of respect and love for him, as a striking test of prestige obtained in the international arena.*²⁹⁷

Not only were Habsburg and specific national interests combined: more often, the Emperor was depicted as the benefactor of the own national group. School inspector Nicu Tarasievici held a speech in Suczawa at the school celebrations in honour of Franz Joseph’s fifty-eighth year of reign, claiming that ‘all political contrasts, all distinctions disappeared that day to make room for the dynastic idea, the love and intimate worship for the good Monarch’ and

²⁹⁴ Gautsch von Frankenthurn, Paul, *Letter to Governor*, Z. 46, 21 January 1884/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 4792. The fact that Minister Gautsch was a Catholic and opposed German nationalism may explain his personal engagement in the case of the German nationalist and protestant Bahr. See Eder, Gabriele Johanna (ed), *Alexius Meinong und Guido Adler. Eine Freundschaft in Briefen. (Studien zur österreichischen Philosophie. Band 24)*, Rodopi, Amsterdam 1995, pp. 13 and 24.

²⁹⁵ On *Lupta*, 1549, 29.10.1890: “Der Inhalt dieses Artikels verletzt die Ehrfurcht gegen den Kaiser, versucht zur Verachtung und zum Hasse wider die Person des Kaisers (...).” Staatsanwaltschaft, *Note an das löbliche k.k. Landespraesidium*, 8583, Czernowitz, 12 November 1891/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 5659.

²⁹⁶ Un prea venerabil părinte, *S’a trecut cu minciuna*, *Deșteptarea*, 21, 01.11.1899, p. 162.

²⁹⁷ *Regele Carol la Ischl*, *Deșteptarea*, 57, 25.07.1902, pp. 1-2.

that ‘especially the Romanians from Bukovina had every reason to join in faithful love and devotion for the precious Sovereign’ because ‘the narrow homeland of Bukovina possessed a great deal of good things due only to the generosity and parental care of the gracious Emperor and Duke’.²⁹⁸ Tarasievici regarded the land’s autonomy, its status as an independent duchy, the abolishment of serfdom as well as the establishment of the university and many Romanian-language schools as specific Imperial gestures to promote Romanian national development in Bukovina.²⁹⁹

In 1908, the Romanian academic association in Bukovina, ‘Junimea’, dedicated its annual ball to the occasion of Franz Joseph’s sixtieth anniversary as Emperor and decorated the entire ballroom with Habsburg ornaments. The dance order booklet featured pictures of the Romanian boarding school for boys and the Franz Joseph University, ‘the first being the place where a Romanian starts his education, the latter where he finishes it’. In his report to Vienna on the auspicious event, Governor Regner-Bleyleben highlighted Junimea’s traditional loyalty to Empire and Emperor (*streng patriotisches und kaisertreues Verhalten*) and praised its excellent reputation in Bukovina.³⁰⁰ The start of the World War offered extra arguments for Romanian loyalty to the Emperor: not only had he enabled the Romanian nation to develop freely, but Emperor and Empire as a whole had to defend Romanians against the Russians and Serbians, who, as *Viața Nouă* insisted, already oppressed two million Romanians within their own borders.³⁰¹

The rhetoric of Ruthenian nationalists in Bukovina was strikingly similar to that of their Romanian sworn enemies. Just like ‘Junimea’, Ruthenian associations such as the Czernowitz reading room made sure their loyalty was explicitly communicated to the authorities.³⁰² In 1888, teacher Popovych held a speech at the opening of a new Ruthenian reading room in the village of Laszowka in which he paid tribute to Emperor Franz Joseph to whom, he declared, the people owed all their freedoms.³⁰³ That same year, *Bukovyna* stated that Bukovinian Ruthenians, ‘all loyal sons of the Emperor, as well as all Austrian Ruthenians’ gratefully

²⁹⁸ ‘Narrow homeland’ is the unsatisfactory translation result of the Romanian ‘*patria restrânsă*’, which in turn is a translation of the Habsburg term ‘*engere Heimat*’, indicating a crownland as opposed to the ‘wider homeland’, which is, obviously, Austria.

²⁹⁹ *Vorbirea ținută de dl inspector Nicu Tarasievici la serbările școlare în Suceava*, Apărarea Națională, 03.01.1907, p. 1.

³⁰⁰ Regner-Bleyleben, Oktavian, *An Seine Exzellenz den Herrn k.k. Minister des Innern*, Zl. 1115 Präs., Czernowitz, 29 February 1908/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MI 75/2.

³⁰¹ *Ein Manifest der Bukowiner Rumänen*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 16.08.1914, p. 1.

³⁰² “(...) Hierauf erschien eine Deputation der Festteilnehmer, bestehend aus den Herren Prof. Klym, Sluczanski und Metzke beim Landespräsidenten und brachten die Gefühle der unwandelbaren Liebe, sowie der unverbrüchlichen Treue und Ergebenheit der Vereinsmitglieder für die erhabene Person Sr. k.u.k. apostolischen Majestät und das Allerhöchste Kaiserhaus mit der Bitte zum Ausdruck, diese Loyalitätskundgebung an die Stufen des allerhöchsten Thrones zu leiten (...)”. *Feier des 25jähr. Bestandes des ruthenischen Vereines ‘Ruska miszczanska czytelnia’*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 05.03.1905, p. 3.

³⁰³ “Lehrer Popowicz hat in seiner Rede auf die Freiheiten, die die Bevölkerung genieße, hingewiesen und auch der Gleichberechtigung der Nationalitäten Erwähnung gethan, hervorhebend, daß dies Alles die Bevölkerung Ser Majestaet den Kaiser Franz Josef I zu verdanken habe (...)”. Bezirkshauptmann, *Report to the Governor’s Office*, Kotzman, 11 July 1888/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 5152.

remembered 'the kindness and tutelage of the Monarch' and that they were aware of 'all the good things befallen to them in those forty years of Imperial commitment'.³⁰⁴ A poem in that same edition, presented as a 'Bukovinian folk song' (*буковинська пісня народна*) illustrated one of the prime reasons for this gratitude:

*How servitude fled from Bukovina/ How it fled, hitting all the hills (...)/ God give Our Emperor good health/ So He will make things better.*³⁰⁵

Apart from the abolishment of serfdom, which had been of significantly greater importance for the development of the Ruthenian than that of the Romanian national movement, Ruthenian nationalists hailed the Emperor for giving them constitutional rights, the freedom to gather in associations, to hold council meetings (*пада-віче*) and to elect representatives. In its docile approach of the relationship between ruler and subjects - which was not uncommon in the Bukovinian Ruthenian press³⁰⁶ - *Ruska Rada* even maintained that since the Ruthenians were too ignorant to put all these new rights to use, the prescient Emperor had made education compulsory for them and thus was their grandest well-wisher (*наш най-більший добродій*). *Ruska Rada* presented financial support for the newly established National House, permission to start a Ruthenian Gymnasium as well as ordained Church Fund contributions for seminary activities at the Ruthenian National House all as benevolent decisions of 'Father-Emperor' (*батько-цізар*) Franz Joseph himself. Because of this benevolence, 'the Ruthenian nation in Bukovina forever felt a sincere love and unyielding loyalty towards His Highness the Emperor and his magnificent Throne and prayed to the Omnipotent God the Lord to allow the old and beloved Emperor to live on for many years and to guard the humble Ruthenian nation'.³⁰⁷

However, more powerful than humble gratitude were the high expectations regarding the role the Habsburg Emperor was to perform in the realisation of Ruthenian/Ukrainian national autonomy. Unlike Bukovinian Romanian nationalists, who felt the support of a Romanian neighbour state, their Ruthenian adversaries could not do much to change the fact that neighbouring Russia had little patience with Ukrainian national ambitions within its borders. This situation encouraged Ruthenian nationalists to set on the ideal of a Ruthenian/Ukrainian geographic entity within the Habsburg realm.³⁰⁸ Already in 1886, *Bukovyna* had called on its 'brothers' to report on 'each falsehood inflicted upon Ruthenians everywhere' and to

³⁰⁴ 1848 - 1888/ Буковина, 16.11.1888, p. 1.

³⁰⁵ "Як панщина з Буковини втікала, втікала/ Та як вона утікала всі гори здвиглися (...)/ Та дай боже здоровечко нашому Цареві/ Що Він здорив полешіне нашому краєви". *Панщина (буковинська пісня народна)*, Буковина, 16.11.1888, p. 5.

³⁰⁶ In 1887, *Bukovyna* described the love the Ruthenians felt for the Emperor as 'truly childlike love' (*правдиво дитинна любовь*). *Привітна депутація буковинських Русинів у Єго Ексцеленції кураєвого президента бр. Піна*, Буковина, 16.02.1887, p. 1.

³⁰⁷ *День уродин цісарских*, Руска Рада, 02.04.1902, pp. 233-234.

³⁰⁸ See for a detailed account of the Habsburg role in Ukrainian nation formation attempts: Snyder, Timothy, *The Red Prince - The Fall of a Dynasty and the Rise of Modern Europe*, Vintage, 2009.

complain to the 'Revered Monarch', since 'he was their hail, God was their help and Rus' their goal'.³⁰⁹ The outbreak of the war in 1914 fueled these expectations:

*And amidst the enslaved Ukrainian people in Russia the hope begins to awaken that someday the Austrian Emperor, in name of culture and with the desire to combat the savage Moscow, or someday the Austrian troops will shake that huge prison of peoples, Russia, in which the afflicted grand Ukrainian nation is scourged, and liberate it from Russian slavery.*³¹⁰

Naturally, loyalty enunciations were neither limited to nationalist organisations, nor to the Bukovinian capital. In 1898, the Armenian religious community in Suczawa invited its members to prepare the celebration of the Emperor's fiftieth year on the throne, since 'everywhere in the beloved country preparations were made to celebrate the fifty-year anniversary of the reign of His Majesty the beloved Emperor and Ruler and all nationalities and confessions sought to commemorate this rare event in a dignified way'.³¹¹ In 1914, the Orthodox Church in Bukovina celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the construction of the Czernowitz cathedral and used this opportunity to assure the Austrian authorities 'in the name of the Orthodox clergy as well as of the entire Orthodox population of the unshakable loyalty and unswerving fidelity to Emperor and Empire'.³¹² The start of the war urged the rabbi of Storozhynetz to send a copy to the central authorities in Vienna of the patriotic speech he had held on the Emperor's birthday 'together with a prayer for military success' (*ein Gebet um Waffenglück*).³¹³

The private mail intercepted by the Austrian censorship authorities shows that the person of Emperor Franz Joseph indeed personified a father figure to his Bukovinian subjects. PoW Salomon Herman wrote to his brother in Czernowitz how 'they prayed to God daily that the enemy be defeated and asked for help for the dear Emperor, Franz Joseph, who was their father and who protected them'.³¹⁴ The fact that financial support and nutrition was distributed in Bukovina on behalf of the Monarch after the first occupation by Russian troops

³⁰⁹ *Борба розгорѣлась, Буковина*, 16.09.1886, p. 2.

³¹⁰ *Боримо ся, поборемо!* Народний голос, 19.08.1914, pp. 2-3.

³¹¹ "In allen Orten unseres geliebten Vaterlandes werden Vorbereitungen getroffen zu einer feierlichen Begehung des 50-jährigen Regierungsjubiläums Sr. Majestät unseres geliebten Kaisers und Herrn und gedenken sämtliche Nationalitäten und Confessionen dieses seltene Ereignis in einer würdigen Weise zu begehen". Prunkul, Warteres von, *Invitation for the Armenian Orthodox community*, Suczawa, May 1898/ DJAN Suceava, Fond Comunitatea armenească Suceava 1898, dosar 3.

³¹² "Gleichzeitig hat der Sprecher die Bitte vorgebracht, namens der gr. or. Geistlichkeit sowie der ganzen gr. or. Bevölkerung des Landes die Versicherung unerschütterlichen Loylität (sic) und unwandelbarer Treue zu Kaiser und Reich an die Stufen des Allerhöchsten Thrones zu leiten". Deputy Governor, *Loyalitätskundgebung (an Minister KU)*, Zl. 2743 Präs., 19 July 1914/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCÎ CXXXIII/8.

³¹³ Ginzberg, Meier, *An die Allerhöchste Kabinetsskanzlei Seiner K.K. Apostolischen Majestät des Kaisers Franz Josef I*, Storozhynetz, August 1914/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MI 75/2.

³¹⁴ "Wir bitten täglich zu Gott, dass der Feind eine Niederlage erleiden soll und wir flehen um Hilfe für unseren lieben Kaiser, Franz Iosef, der unser Vater ist und uns beschützt". Hermann, Salomon, *Letter to Amner Hermann*, Markl, August 1915/ Vienna, Kriegsarchiv/ Armeekommando/ Gemeinsames Zentralnachweisbüro (AOK/GZNB) Zensurstelle „D“ / Tätigkeitsbericht der hebräischen Gruppe, 11. August 1915, Karton 3729.

seems to have enhanced these emotions.³¹⁵ Wasyl Lakusta, who was interned on the Isle of Man, wrote to his brother Teodor in Ober-Stanestie that he would not fear death on the battlefield as he knew he would die for ‘their old father and the fatherland’.³¹⁶ PoW Constantin Prelipcean wrote from Alessandria how ‘the Romanians from Bukovina’ mourned the Emperor’s demise in 1916:

*We all say teary-eyed that the good Lord have mercy on him. And right away, after having received the information that the predestined Karl VIII has succeeded him, we hope that the good God keep him alive, let him become a great ruler, bestow on him many happy years and make him just as good a father as the old man was.*³¹⁷

Then again, Prelipcean’s letter was addressed directly to the censorship authorities and his humble wishes were followed immediately by a request for better postal services between the Alessandria (Italy) camp and Bukovina. As heartfelt as his wishes may have been, he knew who was reading them and was well aware in what tone of voice to ask for a favour. This seems unlikely in the case of the disabled Bukovinian army veteran and shepherd Moroșan, who was granted permission in 1915 to submit a portrait of the Emperor carved out of wood which had taken him four years to create.³¹⁸

The general perception was that of a rural population which identified with the Austrian state largely through Franz Joseph. Oleksandr Popovych, the leader of the Ukrainian language group within the Austrian censorship authority (and as such referring to both Galicia and

³¹⁵ “Unser alter Herr Kaiser verteilt unter die Armen Unterstützungen und erhält die Leute beim Leben. Gott gönne ihm ein langes Leben, denn er lässt nicht zu, daß seinem Volke Unrecht geschehe...” Dumenko, Kostyn, *Letter to Wasyl Dumenko*, Mihova am Sereth, 1915/ Vienna, Kriegsarchiv/Armeeoberkommando/Gemeinsames Zentralnachweisbüro (AOK/GZNB) Zensurstelle „D“, Briefe patriotischen Inhaltes IV (Ukrainian): Zivilbevölkerung, Karton 3731; “(...) Die Kosaken haben bei uns viel Schaden angerichtet, doch Gott sieht alles. Heil unserem erleuchten Monarchen, daß er dem daheimgebliebenen Volke Seine Hilfe leiht! Wir sind hier in Armut zurückgeblieben u. erhalten von unserem Vater, dem Kaiser, Lebensmittel u. Geld! Hier gibt es nun Ruhe, denn der Herrgott hat uns von der herabgesandten Strafe befreit. Bei uns haben die russ. Kgf. es sehr gut, sie fassen Geld und Kleidung von unserem Vater, dem Kaiser. Gott verlängere ihm das Leben, denn er ist fürwahr, ein guter Vater für alle Welt u. duldet kein Unrecht...” Szytriuk, Helene, *Letter to Nikolai Szytriuk*, Mihova, 29 March 1915/ Vienna, Kriegsarchiv/Armeeoberkommando/Gemeinsames Zentralnachweisbüro (AOK/GZNB) Zensurstelle „D“, Beilagen zum Monatsbericht pro April 1915 (Ukrainische Gruppe, Wien, 21. April 1915), Karton 3726 (year 1914-15).

³¹⁶ “Ich möchte schon keine Angst haben, im Felde zu fallen, denn ich hätte das Bewusstsein, dass dies für unseren alten Vater und für unser Vaterland geschehen wäre (...)”. Lakusta, Wasyl, *Letter to Teodor Lakusta in Ober-Stanestie on Czeremosch*, 22 February 1916/ Vienna, Kriegsarchiv/Armeeoberkommando/Gemeinsames Zentralnachweisbüro (AOK/GZNB)/Ukrainische Zensurgruppe, Karton 3767, Fasc E 5377.

³¹⁷ “(...) ȕicem cu toȕii cu lacrimi ȕn ochi ca bunul D-ȕeu sȕl ierte; Ŗi ȕndatȕ ȕn urmȕ: primind ȕnŖtiinȕarea cȕ moŖtenirea D-sale au primito prezisul de ȕnnaȕnte Carol al VIII. dorim ca bunul D-zeu sȕl traeascȕ ȕn viaȕȕ: Ŗi sȕl preamȕreascȕ ȕn Domnie mult ani Ŗi fericȕȕ; Ŗi sȕ ne fie tot aŖa bun Pȕrinte ca Bȕtrȕnul (...)”. Prelipcean, Constantin, *Postcard*, Alessandria, 27 November 1917/ Vienna, Kriegsarchiv/Armeeoberkommando/Gemeinsames Zentralnachweisbüro (AOK/GZNB) Zensurstelle „D“, Karton 3747, Fasc. 4407.

³¹⁸ Meran, Rudolf, *Seine Exzellenz den Herrn k.k. Minister des Innern/ Moroschan Gavril alui Iuon, Vorlage eines Kaiserbildes*, Dornawatra, Zl. 5688/D Prȕs, 10 July 1915/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernȕmȕntul Bucovinei’, MI 75/2.

Bukovina) commented that ‘the common people’s loyalty to the state made itself known in the elementary form as an attachment to the reigning dynasty’. He observed how ‘this emotional attitude stood out markedly from the predominantly abstract sense of duty, operated towards the state by elements under the influence of socialist ideas during the time of war’. According to Popovych, the reason that patriotic letters preferably referred directly to the person of the Monarch was caused by the fact that ‘the Ukrainian population was composed of mostly simple peasants and that their majority had remained untouched by radical currents’. In numerous letters, he noted, ‘Ukrainian national sentiments went hand in hand with patriotic enthusiasm for the cause of Austria, with the Monarch always explicitly related to as the patron of the Ukrainian nation’.³¹⁹

Whether calculated or heartfelt, adherence to a ruler proved to be transient phenomenon at least to some: Bukovina was only just incorporated into Greater-Romania when a stream of well-wishes for Romanian King Ferdinand arrived from the prefect and the Jewish deputies of Rădăuți (formerly Radautz), the parish of Frătăuți-Vechi (Alt-Fratautz) and a string of small Bukovinian communities.³²⁰

Bukovinians and the Extended Habsburg Family

Logical as Franz Joseph’s prominence was within the Bukovinian boundaries of the Habsburg discourse, there was room for other members of the dynasty as well. In general, Vienna made sure to highlight those Habsburgs in such a way that a feeling of collective and mutual solidarity would emerge in the population as a whole. Therefore a number of Franz Joseph’s predecessors were duly revered: Rudolph I, the founding father of the dynasty in Austria; Maximilian, whose marriage policy had laid the foundation for the empire in Central Europe; the emperors Leopold I, Joseph I, and Karl VI, with their successful wars against the Turks which secured great power status for the Habsburg monarchy and Maria Theresia, the mother of all her peoples. In Austria at large, the figure of Joseph II did not sit well in this context, since for some he had been the imperial advocate for liberal reforms which led to centralising and Germanising policies, while for others he was the enlightened ‘People’s Emperor’ (*Volkskaiser*) who cared for all his peoples and not exclusively for the higher, German-oriented strata.³²¹

Because Bukovina’s very existence was closely connected to the figure and politics of Joseph II, such reservations did not apply in the young crownland. In his commemorative poem for the centenary of Joseph’s death, R.F. Kaendl likened him to a father to whom the orphan

³¹⁹ Popowicz, Alexander, *Briefe patriotischen Inhaltes (Ukrainian)* - Begleitwort, Vienna, November 1915/ Vienna, Kriegsarchiv/Armeeoberkommando/Gemeinsames Zentralnachweissbüro (AOK/GZNB) Zensurstelle „D“, Karton 3731.

³²⁰ Vicovul de Sus (Ober-Wikow), Vicovul de Jos (Unter-Wikow), Gălănești (Galanestie), Costișa (Kostischa), Satulmare, Putna and Straja (Strasza). Various authors, *Birthday congratulations to King Ferdinand I of Romania*, DJAN Suceava, Fond Prefectura județului Rădăuți, 1919, dosar 5.

³²¹ Urbanitsch 2004, p. 109.

(*Waisenkind*) Bukovina owed everything.³²² *Bukowinaer Nachrichten* equally professed that Joseph had been a father rather than a benefactor to Bukovina and noted that ‘obviously, his efforts were crowned with success, that he had succeeded to give the undeveloped Turkish *pashalik* the character of a European province, that he had correctly led it onto the path of development and that he had given it the impetus to progress, considering that a hundred years in the history of peoples is only a tiny episode and that Bukovina had made a progress of centuries in that period’.³²³

Bukovinian public attention and devotion not only involved rulers of the past, but also those of the future. Bukovinian circles received the news that Crown Prince Rudolph planned to visit Galicia in 1886 with the hope that the travel schedule be expanded to Bukovina. In spite of the hesitant Bukovinian lobbying in the matter,³²⁴ Rudolph indeed decided to make the detour. As a Ruthenian welcoming poem illustrates, the powerful symbolism of the mighty father sending his only son to the faraway crownland had a messianic ring.³²⁵ When the heir to the throne died at Mayerling under tragic and mysterious circumstances only a year and a half later, the Bukovinian response to the tidings was emotional and directly linked to the late prince’s recent visit:

*And a real, a true and warm love it was which was given to this scion of the Emperor, this was proved by the joyful enthusiasm which his appearance caused everywhere, not at least here in Bukovina! Who does not commemorate now with quiet plaintiveness those beautiful days when he was in our midst. Involuntarily his noble, chivalrous figure appears before our mind's eye and our physical eyes fill with tears...*³²⁶

A large number of Bukovinian municipalities reported to the governor’s office regarding the way the news had been received. In Suczawa, as in all towns in the crownland, both public and private buildings hoisted black flags, while every association conveyed its condolences to the local authorities. On the day of the funeral, all churches and synagogues were packed, all the bells chimed, street lanterns were lit and shops had closed their doors.³²⁷

³²² “Hundert Jahre sind erschwunden/ Seit sein hoher Vater starb/ Dem es all’ sein Heil verdanket/ Der es Oesterreich erwarb/ Im Kindesherzen/ Trauert in Schmerzen/ Das Buchenland/ Wie arm war das Waisenkind/ Als er es an die Brust gedrückt/ Wie kaiserlich hat er ‘s bedacht/ Wie väterlich hat er ‘s beglückt!/ Voll Dankbarkeit/ Trauert in Leid/ Das Buchenland/ Und mit ihm trauert Feld und Wald/ Und mit ihm trauert Berg und Thal/ Und mit ihm trauert jedes Herz/ Im weiten Oest’reich überall/ Und betet leise/ In seiner Weise/ Für Kaiser Joseph”. Kaindl, R.F., *Zum Gedächtnis*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 20.02.1890, p. 1.

³²³ *Kaiser Josef II*, Bukowinaer Nachrichten, 20.02.1890, p. 1.

³²⁴ *Der Besuch des Kronprinzen*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 21.11.1886, p. 1.

³²⁵ “(...) Днесъ щасливъ, що въ Буковину/ Загостивъ Цѣсарскій Сынъ/ Рудольфъ Свѣтлый Господинъ./ Сынъ О́тця, Що просвѣтивъ насъ/ Що нам волю дарувавъ (...)”. Popovych, Omelyan, *Welcome Song to Archduke Rudolf by the Bukovinian Rusyns - sung in Chernowitz on 9 July 1887*, in: *Bukovynskiy Kalendar’ na perestupniy rok 1888*, Ruska Besida, Czernowitz 1888.

³²⁶ *Kronprinz Rudolf - todt!*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 31.01.1889, p. 1.

³²⁷ Rottenburg, Wilhelm, *Report to Governor's Office regarding the death of Crown Prince Rudolph*, Suczawa, 5 February 1889/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 5427.

Even more than ten years after Rudolph's demise, 'there was no peasant shack where the name of the spirited and affable Archduke had not entered'. His figure was now 'legendary', and 'tales of his noble spirit and keen sense were now so popular that every child knew them'.³²⁸ *Czernowitzer Presse* maintained that the 'irreplaceable loss of the gallant heir to the throne' still caused 'shivers in the heart of every Czernowitzer'. In any case, the newspaper's assertion that all university students had participated in a general memorial ceremony following Rudolph's death³²⁹ was a deviation from the truth: the way the occurrence was to be commemorated had created tensions at the Franz Joseph University, where students traditionally joined a non-nationalist *Corps* or an association with a specifically nationalist character (*Burschenschaft*). Intentions to organise a general, united memorial ceremony rapidly ran aground when the nationalist associations tried to gain the upper hand. This resulted in separate events for separate societies, but not before the excitement had provoked minor brawls in the streets and pubs of Czernowitz. The university senate undertook disciplinary actions against the students involved, but punished the *Corps* members far more severely than the nationalists from the *Burschenschaften* which provoked such public outrage in Bukovina³³⁰ that the Minister of Culture and Education had to inform even the Emperor personally on the matter.³³¹ Similar tensions had occurred during previous dynastic celebrations,³³² and if it did not directly harm Bukovina's reputation as a patriotic crownland, it did little to uphold its reputation as a mixed yet peaceful society.

Rudolph's successors as heirs to the throne, Franz Ferdinand and after the Sarajevo assassination, Karl, never quite managed to evoke equally strong sentiments among the Bukovinian public. Newspapers duly informed their readers when, for instance, Franz Ferdinand had praised Bukovinian loyalty to the Throne during a conversation with Mykola Vasylo, ³³³ but when Karl visited Bukovina in December 1914, the gesture was largely seen as ordered by the Emperor and thus engendered local praise for Franz Joseph rather than for the distinguished visitor who, inevitably, was said to be 'taken deeply into the hearts' of the Bukovinians nonetheless.³³⁴

³²⁸ *Ein Kronprinz Rudolf-Denkmal*, Czernowitzer Presse, 01.11.1897, p. 1.

³²⁹ "(...) und noch heute zittert der Schmerz um den unersetzlichen Verlust der ritterlichen Thronerben im Herzen jedes Czernowitzers nach (...). *Ein Denkmal*, Czernowitzer Presse, 15.01.1897, p. 1.

³³⁰ *Die Universitätsaffäre*, Bukowinaer Nachrichten, 14.03.1889, p. 1.

³³¹ Gautsch von Frankenturn, Paul, *Allerunterthänigster Vortrag des treuehorsaamsten Ministers für Cultus und Unterricht Paul Gautsch von Frankenturn betreffend die Vorkommnisse an der Czernowitzer Universität anlässlich der Verhandlungen der Studentenschaft betreffend die Abhaltung einer Trauerfeier zum Gedächtnisse Seiner K. und K. Hoheit und durchlauchtigsten Kronprinzen Erzherzogs Rudolf*, 874: CUM praes, Vienna, 15 May 1889/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCÎ XCIII/9.

³³² "Es war dies speziell der Fall anlässlich der Vermählung 1881, der Reise in die Bukowina im Jahre 1887, des Todes weiland des Kronprinzen Rudolf und bei der Habsburgsfeier im Jahre 1882". Pino-Friedenthal, Felix von, *Bericht an den Minister für Cultus und Unterricht*, 482 Pr., Czernowitz, 27 March 1889/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCÎ XCIII/9.

³³³ *Der Stapellauf des 'Tegetthoff' - Der Thronfolger Erzherzog Franz Ferdinand über die Ruthenen und die Bukowina*, Bukowinaer Post, 24.03.1912, p. 3.

³³⁴ *Das Kaiserhaus und die Bukowina*, Bukowinaer Post, 22.12.1914, p. 1.

After the assassination of Empress Elisabeth in 1898, Bukovinian mourning was characterised mainly by admiration for her charms and female qualities as well as by the suffering she endured in her personal life:

*Empress Elisabeth was not worshipped with the awe with which one approaches His Majesty. People loved this noble woman intensely. They loved her magnificent beauty, her always alert spirit, her lovely womanhood, her sense of art and poetry, her peerless grace; they bowed to the nobility of her convictions which were always devoted to beauty and goodness. When in later days she was afflicted with the toughest ordeals for a mother and used to go to the mountains to indulge in her painful thoughts in incomprehensible, but silent mourning, she was followed by the sympathy of all good people.*³³⁵

In 1910, a statue in her memory was erected in the Franz Joseph Park in Czernowitz and was unveiled by Archduke Leopold Salvator, whose visit to Bukovina created the usual buzz.³³⁶

Cracks in the Layer of Loyalty

Both in Vienna and Czernowitz, the persistent Bukovinian reputation of Imperial loyalty contrasted sharply with the lack of confidence on the part of the authorities. This was obvious in 1863 and 1864, when the Polish January Uprising (*Powstanie styczniowe*) - aimed against the Russian government - generated unrest in Bukovina, where some of the large landowners declared themselves Poles and their originally Armenian peers had over time assimilated into Polish culture (thus creating the uniquely Galician-Bukovinian caste of 'Armeno-Poles'). Without much to back his suspicions, Governor Amadei reported to Vienna that he had limited confidence in these groups and their Imperial loyalty:

*Although the political attitude of the Poles and Armenians in the land is apparently correct in relation to the government and although they have expressed loyalty and an Austrian disposition from the beginning of the insurrection - albeit more in words than in deeds - their true and genuine political attitude in view of the goals of the present insurrection is and remains decidedly favourable to the Polish tendencies. It would require very vigorous measures to suppress this part of the Bukovinian population if they, depending on the development of the insurrection, would feel inclined to drop the mask of loyalty.*³³⁷

³³⁵ *Dem Festtage*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 15.10.1911, p. 1.

³³⁶ *Zur Enthüllung des Kaiserin Elisabeth-Denkmal*, Bukowinaer Post, 15.10.1911, pp. 1-2; *Hoher Besuch*, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 15.10.1911, p. 1.

³³⁷ "Wenngleich die Haltung der Polen und Armenier hierlandes in politischer Beziehung der Regierung gegenüber scheinbar korrekt ist, und ihrerseits seit dem Beginne der Insurrektion Loyalität und österreichische Gesinnung, obwohl mehr in Worten als in Thaten kundgegeben wird, so ist und bleibt doch ihre wahre und eigentliche politische Gesinnung in Anbetracht der letzten Ziele der dermaligen Insurrektion eine ganz entschieden den polnischen Tendenzen günstige und es würde sehr energische Maßregeln bedürfen, um diesen Theil der Bukowinaer Bevölkerung niederzuhalten, wenn es je nach dem Stande und Anfange der Insurrektion demselben angezeigt scheinen sollte, die Maske der Loyalität fallen zu lassen". Amadei, Rudolf, *Abschrift eines Berichtes des Bukowinaer Landeschefs an Seine Excellenz den Herrn Polizeiminister*, 442 P.G, Czernowitz, 20 October 1863/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MI, mapa 86/3.

A number of Armeno-Polish landowners indeed stood trial for their alleged support for the Polish uprising and for offering shelter to Polish refugees, but in a typical *divide et impera* line of thinking, the governor asked Vienna to support a request from the Bukovinian nobility to drop the charges: if the Armeno-Poles were found guilty, they would lose their diet seats in the curiae of large landowners. This would in turn provide the Romanian-oriented landowners with an overwhelming majority in these curiae, a development deemed even trickier by the mistrustful Austrian authorities. Moreover, even some Romanian landowners had rendered support to political refugees from the Polish regions. Although the governor did not believe this had been the result of ‘mere ignorance or hospitality and humanitarian considerations’ (*bloß Unwissenheit oder Gastfreundschaft und Humanitätsrücksichten*), he still preferred the political benefits of an acquittal, all the more since the gesture would be welcomed by the local population.³³⁸

The authorities actively sought to influence public opinion. Expressions of Habsburg patriotism were obviously not entirely spontaneous phenomena and independent reporting by local media was not guaranteed: in 1883, Prime Minister Taaffe requested Governor Alesani’s judgment on the expected support from *Bukowiner Zeitung* for government intentions should he decide to grant the financial support the newspaper had apparently applied for.³³⁹

A few years earlier, logistics surrounding the centennial celebrations of the Habsburg presence in 1875 revealed subtle cracks in the varnish of affection for the House of Habsburg. Although the Emperor had expressed his contentment with ‘the unanimous loyal demonstrations with which the people from his duchy of Bukovina and especially from the provincial capital of Czernowitz celebrated the union of Bukovina with the hereditary lands of his House’,³⁴⁰ some of these gestures were made under considerable pressure: the district captain of Kotzman felt urged to explain to the Governor’s Office that the Kotzman people had not been unwilling to donate money for the new Austria monument in Czernowitz, but simply too poor.³⁴¹ Bukovina was not unique in this respect, as the miserable result of 86

³³⁸ Amadei, Rudolf, *K.K. Landeschef der Bukowina berichtet an Staatsminister Anton Ritter von Schmerling über das Majestätsgesuch der bukowinaer Großgrundbesitzer armenischer Nationalität um Ablassung von dem gegen mehrerer ihrer Standesgenossen wegen Unterstützung des polnischen Aufstandes anhängigen strafgerichtlichen Verfahren*, No. 4141 Präs., Czernowitz, 8 December 1864/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MI 85/4.

³³⁹ “Ich beehre mich nun Eure Excellenz zu ersuchen, (...) Ihre Wohlmeinung über dieses Ansuchen gefälligst bekannt zu geben und eventuell auch die Höhe des Betrages zu bezeichnen, welcher dem in Rede stehenden Blatte mit Rücksicht auf die Bedeutung der von demselben zu gewärtigenden Unterstützung der Regierungs-Intentionen allenfalls zu gewähren wäre”. Taaffe, Eduard, *Note to Governor Alesani*, 42 PL, 18 January 1883/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 4724.

³⁴⁰ “Die einmüthigen loyalen Kundgebungen, mit welchen die Bevölkerung Meines Herzogthumes Bukowina und insbesondere die Landeshauptstadt Czernowitz die Gedenkfeier der vor hundert Jahren erfolgten Vereinigung der Bukowina mit den Erbländen Meines Hauses begeht, erfüllen Mich mit freudiger Genugthuung”. Schönbrunn am 1. Oktober 1875. Franz Joseph, Emperor, *Letter to Count Auersperg*, Schönbrunn, 1 October 1875/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 4010.

³⁴¹ Kotzman district, Letter to the Governor’s Office, Kotzman, 25 May 1875/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 3961.

florins at a voluntary collection for an altar carried out in the 1860s in the new Votive Church in Vienna confirms.³⁴²

The local authorities also seemed unsure of the public support for Habsburg rule. When the Governor's Office received data from the Chamber of Trade and Industry reporting considerable economic growth in Bukovina between 1775 and 1875, it immediately forwarded this information to the districts since it 'appeared to be suitable for convincing the public of the fact that over a century Bukovina had reached an unprecedented development boom, for which each Bukovinian owed the Imperial Austrian Government nothing but the deepest gratitude'.³⁴³ The 41st Regiment, also known as 'the Bukovinian Regiment' saw the need for a similar initiative and donated a number of portraits of Franz Joseph, to be handed over to two schools in each district 'with the intention to awaken and maintain the love for Emperor and Fatherland in the hearts of the local youth and thus to encourage their upbringing as good sons of Austria'.³⁴⁴

The festivities surrounding the Austrian centenary in Bukovina provoked a reaction from the side of Romanian nationalists which led to the widely-reported 'Arboroasa' scandal. Nationalists in the developing Romanian state had regarded the celebrations of hundred years of Austrian occupation of what they deemed 'ancient Romanian land' as a provocation. The recent Romanian successes on the battlefield against the Turks and the emerging independence of a Romanian state only enhanced these sentiments. The mayor of the Romanian city of Iași, Nicu Gane, decided to organise a mourning ceremony for Grigore III Ghica, the Moldavian ruler who had objected to the transfer of the area of what was to become Bukovina from the Ottomans to the Habsburg and had subsequently been beheaded by his Ottoman superiors.³⁴⁵ Although the Viennese press maintained that the event in Iași had been organised by Bukovinian boyars,³⁴⁶ Bukovinian border guards at the railway station commented that the meeting had been limited to a religious service at the Iași metropolity and that no delegation of Bukovinian prominents had participated. The few students who actually

³⁴² Hiebl, Ewald, *German, Austrian or 'Salzburger'? National identities in Salzburg c. 1830-1870*, in: Cole, Laurence (ed.), *Different Paths to the Nation - Personal and National Identities in Central Europe and Italy 1830-1870*, Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke 2007, p. 108.

³⁴³ "(...) scheint geeignet zu sein, die Bevölkerung von der Thatsache zu überzeugen, daß die Bukowina während eines Jahrhunderts einen ungeahnten Kulturaufschwung erreicht habe, wofür jeder Bukowiner der kais. öst. Regierung nur zum wärmsten Danke verpflichtet sein kann". Governor's Office, *Letter to districts*, Czernowitz, 1875/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 3961.

³⁴⁴ "(...) mit der Absicht in der Brust der Landes-Jugend Liebe zu Kaiser und Vaterland zu wecken und zu pflegen und so ihre Erziehung zu braven Söhnen Oesterreichs zu fördern – sollen die hier aufgestellten Bildnisse Sr Majestät unseres allergnädigsten Kaisers, an je zwei Volksschulen in jedem Landes Bezirke vertheilt werden". 41st Regiment, *Letter to the Governor*, Czernowitz, 1875/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 4010.

³⁴⁵ Nistor 1991, p. 219.

³⁴⁶ *Verhaftungen im griechisch-orientalischen Priesterseminar*, Neue Freie Presse, 4767, 02.12.1877, p. 4.

went on 13 October were said to be sent (*dirigirt*).³⁴⁷ In the years 1875 and 1876 however, Romanian-speaking seminary students established their own nationalist association, 'Arboroasa', which first attracted the attention of Vienna when it applied in 1877 for funds from the Bucharest government which had been allocated for Romanian cultural associations in 'unfree Romania' (*România neliberă*).³⁴⁸ The positive decision from Bucharest³⁴⁹ came only one month before 'Arboroasa' made itself conspicuous once more when it sent a condolence telegram to Iași mayor Gane at the occasion of the unveiling of a Ghica bust in that city. Sending the telegram itself was probably less problematic than the fact that 'Arboroasa' had asserted itself in it as 'the Romanian youth association in the torn-off parts of old Moldavia' (*din partea detrunchiată a vechii Moldove*).³⁵⁰ *Neue Freie Presse* from Vienna snubbed the local authorities as well as the leaders of the Orthodox Church in Czernowitz and declared that it was only thanks to the Austro-Hungarian consulate in Bucharest that the activities of 'Arboroasa' had been noticed at all. The association was disbanded and five of its members arrested.³⁵¹

The public prosecutor charged 'Arboroasa' and its members with high treason for sending the telegram to Iași, for corresponding with the Romanian ministry about funding matters, for drinking to the health of Prince Carol I and the brave Romanian army and for hissing at a professor they accused of insulting the Romanian nation.³⁵² The harsh charges against the students did not go down well with liberal intellectuals in Czernowitz, who regarded the deeds in question as 'youthful escapades' (*Jugendstreich*), as the defendants' lawyer Joseph Rott - himself being the president of the Bukovinian German Liberal Party - had emphasised. Interestingly, both the president of the regional court, Bendella, and the president of the jury, regional diet president Wassilko, were founding members of 'Arboroasa'.³⁵³ The acquittal of the accused on 3 February 1878 therefore had the character of a local settlement aimed at putting oil on troubled waters. In order to have the accused convicted against the odds, Governor Alesani had attempted in vain to invoke the highest authority, Prime Minister Auersperg in his capacity as Minister of Internal Affairs. Auersperg could only advise the governor to bring the infamous 'flogging edict' (*Prügelpatent*) into play, which basically enabled a conviction when no other provision would.³⁵⁴ In the end, the 'Arboroasa' group only faced relatively mild sanctions from the Franz Joseph University's disciplinary

³⁴⁷ kk Hauptpolizei-Kommissariat Izkany, *Letter to Governor*, Izkany, 17 October 1875/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 4010.

³⁴⁸ Nistor 1991 pp. 230-231.

³⁴⁹ Ministeriul Cultelor și al Instrucțiunei Publice/ divisiunea școlilor, *Letter to Arboroasa society in Czernowitz regarding subsidy*, no. 9138, Bucharest, 5 September 1877/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 6, spr. 119.

³⁵⁰ Nistor 1991, p. 232.

³⁵¹ *Verhaftungen im griechisch-orientalischen Priesterseminar*, *Neue Freie Presse*, 4767, 02.12.1877, p. 4.

³⁵² Austro-Hungarian Consulate Iași, *Uibersetzung eines in "Curierul" (Ballassan) ddt 13/25 November 1877 No. 88 erschienen Artikels*, ad. 113, 10 November 1877/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 6, spr. 119.

³⁵³ Turczynski 1993, pp. 166-167.

³⁵⁴ "Ich muß Eure Hochwohlgeboren aber auch weiteres ersuchen, gefälligst in Erwägung zu ziehen, ob im Falle der Freisprechung nicht gegen die Absender des incriminirten Telegrammes an den Primär in Jassy nach §11 der Kaiserlichen Verordnung vom 20. April 1854 R.G.Bl. 96 vorzugehen wäre". Auersperg, Adolf, *Note to Governor on proceedings against suspects in the Arboroasa case*, 321 MI, k.k. Ministerium des Innern, 4 February 1878/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 6, spr. 119.

committee.³⁵⁵ The ban of 'Arboroasa' as such was sustained, since its goals were seen as separatist.³⁵⁶

The Austrian authorities had met Romanian activities in Bukovina with distrust well before the 'Arboroasa' case, however. Governor Amadei had reported in 1865 already that the newly-founded Association for Romanian Literature and Culture (*Societatea pentru Literatura și Cultura Română*) was to be kept under surveillance since it clearly anticipated the founding of Romanian state (*Zukunft-Romanenreich*) and 'even though the ambitions of its leaders were not yet suspicious, the possibility that they were preparing the ground for future contingencies should not be underestimated', since the association, 'notwithstanding the short duration of its existence, had taken several steps to reveal its proper purpose but could freely do so under the protective shields of the evolution of nationhood'. These dubious intentions were pursued exclusively among intellectuals, the governor continued; the peasantry remained loyal to the government.³⁵⁷

After the 'Arboroasa' trial, Vienna monitored possible Romanian irredentist activities even more closely, especially the contacts between Bukovinians and Romania. On a regular basis, the governor received instructions from Vienna to check suspicious activities and to involve district captains in the investigations where deemed necessary. Most of the inquiries arrived at unalarming results.³⁵⁸ A communication from the Austrian consul in Iași to the Minister of Internal Affairs in Vienna claimed that Bukovina-born poet Dimitrie Petrino was commissioned by the Liberal Party in Romania to write a brochure calling on the Transylvanian and Bukovinan Romanians 'to free themselves from slavery, with violence if necessary, and to seek unification with Romania'. Strict orders were given to the governor in Bukovina to do everything to prevent the distribution of the brochure, which in fact never appeared.³⁵⁹

Then again, there had been plenty of publicity in Romania regarding the 'Arboroasa' case. The Romanian press, having played an active role in the affair as the first to publish the telegram in question, had loudly condemned the proceedings against the Romanian students: poet and essayist Mihai Eminescu - who would reach an iconic status as Romania's 'national poet' - wrote in *Timpu* that in the 'completely Judaized Austria' (*Austria pe deplin jidovită*),

³⁵⁵ Nistor 1991, p. 248.

³⁵⁶ Hausleitner 2006 (Eine wechselvolle Geschichte etc.), p. 40.

³⁵⁷ "Sowie die Dingen dermal stehen, biethen zwar die Resultate der bisherigen Bestrebungen der leitenden Persönlichkeiten keine bedenkliche Seite, doch ist meines Erachtens nicht zu unterschätzen, daß man offenbar anstrebt, für künftige Eventualitäten den Boden vorzubereiten und zu ebnen. (...) Dieser Verein hat ohngeachtet der kurzen Dauer seines Bestandes mehrere Schritte gethan, welche seine eigentliche Bestimmung kennzeichnen, aber unter dem schützenden Schilde der Entwicklung der Nazionalität ungehindert geschehen können". Amadei, Rudolf, *Bericht über die Volksstimmung 1. Quartal*, 44 Pr., Czernowitz, 28 April 1865/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MI 85/4.

³⁵⁸ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 4531 and 4618/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 6, spr. 119.

³⁵⁹ Ministry of Internal Affairs, *Letter to Governor Alesani*, 4215 MI, Vienna, 4 November 1876/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, str. 4010.

the entire centennial celebration was an insult to Romania and the Romanians and that the project was mainly supported by ‘the Jewish element’ in Bukovina.³⁶⁰ *Curierul* lamented that ‘particularly since Romania had entered the war against Turkey, the Bukovinian Romanians had suffered countless chicaneries and persecutions at the hands of the Germans and Jews who had the administration, the judiciary, as well as instruction in their hands in poor Bukovina’.³⁶¹

Although the tensions surrounding ‘Arboroasa’ and separatist tendencies among Bukovinian nationalists quieted down rapidly once Romania had formally gained independence, they remained firmly embedded in the collective conscience and surfaced occasionally when the loyalty of Bukovinian Romanian-speakers was called in question. Anonymous (and obviously envious) plaintiffs used Zaharia Voronca’s past as one of the ‘Arboroasa’ defendants when they tried to block his appointment as a cathedral preacher in 1886. They argued that the position ‘would offer him an outstanding opportunity to preach from the pulpit his already matured anti-Austrian tendencies and principles to the faithful listeners and to inseminate them with these’.³⁶² In 1895, Ruthenian nationalist *Bukovyna* readily invoked the episode to underline the difference in Habsburg loyalty between Bukovinian Ruthenians and Romanians:

*It was not Ruthenian, but Romanian, this ‘Arboroasa’ association which in the year 1875 when the whole of Bukovina, including the Bukovinian Ruthenians celebrated, evaded the proud anniversary of the alignment of Bukovina with Austria in the capital and sent telegrams to Iași, full of expressions of sorrow and regret that Bukovina was torn away from Moldavia. They were not Ruthenian but Romanian, those people and leaders going to Iași, only to take part in a sorrowful commemoration of the separation of Bukovina from Moldavia. (...) What then about Austrian patriotism? What about the argument of loyalty?*³⁶³

When in 1913 the Austrian Ministry of Internal Affairs received signs of Romanian separatist activism in Bukovina, it related the developments to what it called the ‘Daco-Romanian tendencies which had already flourished in the 1870’ and concluded that ‘the Hydra raised its head once more’.³⁶⁴ However, reports from the local district captains did not contain alarming news. Every now and then, speakers at festive gatherings of Romanian nationalist would hint

³⁶⁰ Eminescu, Mihai, *Arboroasa* (“in ‘Neue Freie Presse’ ne-a întâmpinat...”), *Timpul*, 11.11.1877, pp. 3-4.

³⁶¹ Austro-Hungarian Consulate Iași, *Uibersetzung eines in “Curierul” (Ballasan) ddt 13/25 November 1877 No. 88 erschienen Artikels, ad. 113*, 10 November 1877/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 6, spr. 119.

³⁶² “Dessen eventuelle Ernennung zum Kathedralprediger würde ihm die beste Gelegenheit bieten Seine bereits zur Reife gelangten anti-österreichischen Principien und Tendenzen den gläubigen Zuhörern von der Kanzel herab zu predigen und sie denselben einzuimpfen”. Anonymous, *Letter to the Governor complaining about the upcoming appointment of Zaharia Voronca*, Czernowitz, December 1886/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 6, spr. 119.

³⁶³ *І ще раз згода поміж Русинами а Волохами на Буковині. II*, Буковина, 02.09.1895, p. 2.

³⁶⁴ “Dacoromanische Tendenzen, welche auf eine Vereinigung aller von Rumänen bewohnten Länder abzielen, sind in der Bukowina kein Novum. Diese großrumänische Bewegung florierte in der Bukowina bereits in der 70-er Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts. (...) Jetzt erhebt die Hydra neuerlich ihr Haupt”. k. k. Ministerium des Innern, *Großrumänische Tendenzen – Abschrift – streng vertraulich*, Zl. 12.535/MI ex. 1913/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 8, spr. 130.

at 'the temporary nature of state borders'.³⁶⁵ To maintain peace and quiet however, a local police captain advised that the interdiction on entry for Nicolae Iorga not be lifted.³⁶⁶

Romanian 'Arboroasa' was not the only 'cultural association' which caught the attention of the Austrian authorities because of its separatist sympathies. In 1908, the Old-Ruthenian 'Pravoslavna Chytalnya' from Sereth got into trouble when it hosted Pan-Slavic leader Count Vladimir Bobrinsky from Russia. Bobrinsky took the floor 'and advertised the secession of the crownland from Austria and its submission to the Czar, whose qualities the speaker compared favourably to those of its incumbent ruler'. When someone from the audience objected, one of Bukovina's Old-Ruthenian prominents, Mohylnytsky, had the police remove the man from the room. The incident caused Governor Regner-Bleyleben to request the Minister of Internal Affairs for Mohylnytsky's removal from Sereth.³⁶⁷ 'Pravoslavna Chytalnya' itself was disbanded by the governor, since the political nature of its ties to the likes of Bobrinsky was incompatible with the apolitical nature of the association: apart from the forum the association had offered Bobrinsky to disseminate his ideas, its members had also organised a very public welcome at the railway station. 'Pravoslavna Chytalnya' objected vehemently to the decision, deemed the young Austrian official who had ordained its dissolution 'young, inexperienced and apropos not from here' (*landesfremd*) and accused its Young-Ruthenian adversaries of deliberate defamation. It underlined its role in the moral elevation and in the fight against illiteracy among the peasantry and claimed to have contributed to a decrease of crime. The association's spontaneous and richly adorned participation in the local celebrations of the Emperor's sixtieth anniversary on the throne was enough, according to the board of 'Pravoslavna Chytalnya', to prove that the association 'which between the lines of the contested decree was accused of disloyalty, taught its members to be patriotic and loyal to the Emperor'.³⁶⁸ Mohylnytsky himself turned to Governor Bleyleben and equally invoked the Old-Ruthenian involvement in the Emperor's anniversary to point out that, unlike the Young-Ruthenians, the Old-Ruthenians had never

³⁶⁵ "(...) Die zwei Letztgenannten [schoolteachers] hätten auch laut Angabe des Oberlehrers Raczinski aus Kotul Bainski bei dem im November 1910 durch den Bürgermeister Phikociewicz in der rum. Schule zu Kotulbainski veranstalteten Tanzkränzchen, welchem auch 2 rum. Offiziere und auch mehrere rum. Persönlichkeiten beiwohnten, tendenziöse Reden gehalten haben, welche dahin deuteten, daß die rum. Reichsgrenze nicht wo sie gegenwärtig steht (...)" Bezirksgendarmierkommando, *An die k.k. Bezirkshauptmannschaft in Nowosielitza, am 21. Dezember 1913*, 10 December 1913/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 8, spr. 130.

³⁶⁶ "Angesichts der erwähnten Möglichkeit wurde meiner Dafürhaltung die Rücknahme der Ausweisung des Professors Iorga nicht zu empfehlen sein". Bezirksgendarmierkommando, *An die k.k. Bezirkshauptmannschaft in Nowosielitza, am 21. Dezember 1913*, 14 January 1914/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 8, spr. 130.

³⁶⁷ "(...) und hiebei als das Heil der Bukowinaer Russen die Lostrennung dieses Kronlandes von Oesterreich und Unterwerfung unter den Zaren dessen Eigenschaften der Redner jenen des gegenwärtigen Landesherrn entgegenhielt, pries". Regner- Bleyleben, Oktavian, *Abschrift eines Berichtes des k.k. Landespräsidenten in Czernowitz vom 1. Mai 1910*, Zl.2490 Präs., and den k.k. Minister des Innern, Czernowitz, 1 May 1910/ ANR, fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCÎ I/7.

³⁶⁸ "(...) dass die 'Prawoslawna Czytalnja', welcher zwischen den Zeilen der angefochtenen Verfügung der Vorwurf der Illoyalität gemacht wird, ihre Mitglieder zur Vaterlandsliebe und Kaiserstreue erzieht". Schelepiuk, Ilie (Obmann), *Berufung gegen Auflösung der Russka Prawoslawna Czytalnja in Sereth*, Sereth, 23 May 1909/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MI 85/3/1.

resorted to 'lèse majesté, espionage and terrorist acts'. If Young-Ruthenian newspapers like *Bukowinaer Post* und *Bukowinaer Tagblatt* wanted to send the Old-Ruthenians and their national idea to Russia, Mohylnytsky maintained, this 'deportation policy directed against citizens loyal to Emperor and State' could not possibly be in the interest of the government 'since none of the many peoples of Austria would remain to preserve the Austrian Empire'.³⁶⁹ In order to make the close ties between Old-Ruthenians and the Russian Empire appear less suspicious, *Russkaya Pravda* invoked the memory of the 1848 uprising and the Russian troops which had assisted in suppressing the rebellion of the 'wild Hungarians':

*Oh, come, come quickly/ Orthodox brothers/ For our eminent Monarch/ Has been waiting for you such a long time!/ Oh come, come, falcons/ And bring victory/ To our Emperor Monarch/ Your neighbour!*³⁷⁰

Indeed, Old-Ruthenians worked hard to convince the Austrian authorities of their loyalty, and even then their efforts sometimes produced the adverse effect, as the Galician-Ruthenian Mihailo Kachkovsky Society experienced: among other publications, it issued calendars with a wide circulation among the rural population. As proof of their dynastic feelings, each issue of the calendars was decorated with a portrait of the Emperor. In one of the issues the portrait was reproduced so badly that the face of the Emperor appeared to be stained by flyspeck. The authorities took this for a denigration of His Imperial Majesty and severely fined a number of leading members of the society.³⁷¹

At the dawn of the World War, Russophile activists living in the Russian Empire founded the Committee for the Liberation of Carpathian Ruthenia on 11 August 1914 in Kiev. They also issued a proclamation addressed to the 'long-suffering Russian people in Galicia,' urging the people in that region to welcome the Russian army and suggesting that Ruthenian soldiers in the Austro-Hungarian army should defect to Russian forces.³⁷² The Austrian government, alarmed by these developments, actively chased pro-Russian activists and in 1916, members of several of their Galician and Bukovinian organisations stood trial in Vienna. Although the

³⁶⁹ "Nichtsdestoweniger schicken uns die im Dienste Herr Nikolai v. Wassilko stehenden Zeitungen *Bukowinaer Post* und *Bukowinaer Tagblatt* mit unserer nationalen Idee nach Russland. Ich glaube aber, dass diese gegen kaiser- und staats-treue Staatsbürger empfohlene Deportationspolitik keineswegs in den Intentionen der hohen Regierung gelegen sein dürfte. Denn nach demselben Recepte müsste man alle österreichischen Deutschen nach Deutschland, die Italiener nach Italien, die Rumänen nach Rumänien die Serben nach Serbien, die Ukrainer und die Juden nach Palästina deportieren, und es bliebe von den vielen Völkern Oesterreichs keines zurück, um den östereichischen Kaiserstaat aufrecht zu erhalten". Mogilnicki, Kornel von, *Letter to Governor Bleyleben*, Sereth, 24 May 1910/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCÎ I/7.

³⁷⁰ Ivanovych, L., *П'єсня изъ 1848 года*, *Русская Правда*, 24.08.1912, pp. 1 and 6.

³⁷¹ Wendland, Anna Veronika, *Die Russophilen in Galizien. Ukrainische Konservative zwischen Österreich und Russland 1848-1915 (Studien zur Geschichte der Österreich-Ungarischen Monarchie, Vol. 27)*, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna 2001, p. 278. Interestingly, Jaroslav Hašek describes a similar scene in his famous satirical novel about the soldier Švejk, when a pub owner, afraid of possible repercussions, hides a portrait of the Emperor in his attic once flyspeck has stained it (Hašek, Jaroslav, *Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka za světové války*, Baronet, Prague, 37th ed., 1998 [first published 1923], p. 14).

³⁷² Ripetsky, Stepan and Sereda, Ostap, *entry Russophiles (rusofily, or moskvofily)*, *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 4, University of Toronto Press, Toronto 1993.

military authorities had endeavoured to find out how loyal the local population had remained during the Russian occupation in order to build their case, the censorship officials had not been able to find any incriminating evidence in the screened correspondence during that period.³⁷³ Around the same time, Ruthenian-speaking prisoners of war from Galicia and Bukovina were pressured by the Russian authorities in Tashkent to join the Russophiles, but as even the Romanian nationalist Baron Nicu Flondor attested after his return from Russian captivity, ‘one simply had to admire their fortitude and confidence in [the Austrian] victory’, (...) steadfast in the darkest moments, never giving up hope’.³⁷⁴

Nevertheless, Austrian censorship authorities remained on the lookout for pro-Russian comments by their Ruthenian-speaking subjects. At times, such suspicions seemed justified, like in the case of a Bukovinian priest from Babyn who wrote to his father that Austria had irreversibly lost the war and that he would not return from Kiev before a Russian bishopric and consistory had been established in Czernowitz.³⁷⁵ Other letters were filed under ‘Russophile statements’ simply because the Bukovinian author had complained about food scarcity in Austria and had encouraged his relatives to leave the country.³⁷⁶ A special subcategory of suspicious correspondents consisted of Ruthenian-speaking Bukovinians who had found a wife in Russia, but even the Austrian authorities themselves conceded that this group was very small and was driven by practical rather than political reasons.³⁷⁷ Even more, there were also Romanian-speaking Bukovinians in Russian captivity who married Russian women.³⁷⁸

³⁷³ “Über das Verhalten der Zivilbevölkerung der in dem Erlasse genannten Ortschaften eine bewieskräftige und daher präzise Äusserung abzugeben, ist die Zensurabteilung nicht in der Lage, da aus Korrespondenzen keinerlei Wahrnehmungen, die auf ein illoyales Verhalten der Zivilbevölkerung der genannten Orte schliessen lassen könnten, gemacht wurden”. k.u.k. Generalstab, Evidenzbüro, *Bericht an das GZNB*, Vienna, 24 September 1916, K.Nr. 19504, Vienna, Kriegsarchiv/ Armeeoberkommando /Gemeinsames Zentralnachweisbüro (AOK/GZNB) Zensurstelle „D“, Karton 3746, Fasc. 4295.

³⁷⁴ “Man muss einfach, sagt Baron Flondor, ihre Standhaftigkeit u. ihre Zuversicht in unseren Sieg bewundern. In den schwersten Momenten, so z.B. nach dem Falle von Przemyśl, als die Anderen zweifelten, standen sie unerschütterlich da u. gaben die Hoffnung nicht auf”. GZNB, *Meldung der ukrainische Zensurgruppe-B*, Vienna, 25 February 1916/ Vienna, Kriegsarchiv/ Armeeoberkommando/ Gemeinsames Zentralnachweisbüro (AOK/GZNB) Zensurstelle „D“, Karton 3741 (1916).

³⁷⁵ “Nach Babyn kehre ich nie mehr zurück, ich werde mir eine andere Pfarrei suchen. In Kiew bleibe ich solange, bis man in Czernowitz einen russischen Bischofsstuhl samt Konsistorium errichten wird. Oesterreich hat den Krieg schon endgültig verloren, ihr braucht nun kein Angst mehr zu haben (...)”. Grigorij, Nikolaus, *Russophile Korrespondenz an seinen Vater Greogor Grigorij in Hlinica a/Pruth*, Kiev, 16 August 1916/ Vienna, Kriegsarchiv/ Armeeoberkommando/ Gemeinsames Zentralnachweisbüro (AOK/GZNB)/ Ukrainische Gruppe B, Karton 3773, Fasc. E 7203.

³⁷⁶ “...Es geht mir hier besser als in Oesterreich, den in Oesterreich war nichts zum Essen. Wenn die Lage sich anders gestalten sollte, so bleibt nicht in Oesterreich, denn es wird schlecht sein...” Issar, Michael, *Letter to Anna Issar in Kukawetz a/S*, Vienna, Kriegsarchiv/ Armeeoberkommando/Gemeinsames Zentralnachweisbüro (AOK/GZNB)/ Ukrainische Gruppe A, Russophile Äusserungen österr. Kgf. in Italien, Karton 3777, Fasc E 8166.

³⁷⁷ Zensurgruppe Russisch C/ 1917/ Vienna, Kriegsarchiv/Armeeoberkommando/ Gemeinsames Zentralnachweisbüro (AOK/GZNB) Zensurstelle „D“, Karton 3745, Fasc. 4117/15.

³⁷⁸ “...denn ich habe hier geheiratet, habe eine hübsche Russin gefunden. Und nach dem Frieden sollt Ihr, wenn Ihr wollt, hierher zu mir kommen, da ich Hochzeit machen werde. Sie hat ein Vermögen von 23000 Rubel...”

The obvious weakening of the Austrian position during the course of the war certainly played into the hands of irredentist movements. Shortly before war broke out, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* had proudly stated:

*Certainly the Russian undermining activities (...) have found willing stooges for their seemingly harmless religious propaganda in Bukovina, and the tentacles of the Romanian Cultural League raveningly tried to reach us. But fortunately they have found no fertile soil here, and their audacious attempt was bound to deflect off our population. For the Bukovinians are deeply loyal to the Emperor in their deepest hearts and cling fully to the Empire to which they owe everything.*³⁷⁹

Nationalists, but good Austrians

In Habsburg Bukovina, loyalty to Austria on one hand and to a national group on the other was generally seen as entirely compatible. Ties to the 'state' were often less emotional than those to the more intimate realm of nation or region³⁸⁰ and were actively invoked as the all-encompassing societal glue in times of growing outspoken nationalism.³⁸¹ Whereas Bukovina proper was the 'native land' (*Heimatland*), Austria was referred to as 'fatherland' (*Vaterland*), and as such closely connected to the image of the Emperor as well as to that of the guardian of its nationalities: When university dean Tarnawski held a speech for the Jewish student association *Hebronia*, he urged its members 'to meet all their obligations as academic citizens and as members of the *Hebronia* as well as to take a particular interest in maintaining and promoting feelings of unswerving loyalty to Emperor and fatherland, to the alma Mater Francisco-Josephina, to their faith and their people (*Volk*)'.³⁸²

Such a neat arrangement of sentiments was not a given, though. At the end of 1908, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* concluded, that the year 'had not brought enough positive achievements to the great fatherland necessary to bring about to the consolidation of this peoples' conglomerate, to strengthen and promote the concept of the State'.³⁸³ A few years earlier, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* had belittled nationalism as students' teething trouble, ultimately leading to the acknowledgement of the superiority of a unified Austrian identity:

Lehaci, Luca, *Letter to Miron Bilan in Bukschoia*, Chodschent, Turkestan, 11 September 1916/ Rumänische Zensurgruppe/ Exh.Nr. 890/Wien, 24 October 1916/ Kriegsarchiv/ Armeoberkommando/ Gemeinsames Zentralnachweisbüro (AOK/GZNB) Zensurstelle „D“, Karton 3745, Fasc 4117/2.

³⁷⁹ *Treue Grenzacht*, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 13.05.1914, p. 1.

³⁸⁰ Brückmüller 1995, pp. 264-267

³⁸¹ See for instance Mittelmann 1907/8, p. 40: "Dieses Nationalitätengemisch, das das Land bewohnt, wird durch ein gemeinsames Band zusammengehalten, es ist dies die Liebe zur engeren Heimat, die Anhänglichkeit an Großösterreich und die unerschütterliche Treue zum Monarchen und dem angestammten Herrscherhause".

³⁸² *Festkommers der Hebronia (Fasching)*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 01.01.1905, p. 4.

³⁸³ *Neujahr*, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 01.01.1909, pp. 1-2

Who can argue that the patriotism of the peoples living in Bukovina was never called in question! Each Old-Ruthenian was decried by his Young-Ruthenian co-nationals as a mercenary in the service of Russia, which in turn was countered with the assertion that the 'Ukrainians' seek the destruction of Russia and Austria in order to create their Ukraine; with the Romanians 'irredenta' was regarded as a matter of course, and a large section of our Germans were declared 'Prussia lovers' (Preußenseuchler). What became of this talk? Nothing. Today we realise that some students - students love to dream and talk - in their joints and bars indulged - and maybe still do! - in far-fetched politicking but is beyond all doubt that after their entry into everyday life, they grow with their whole being into the polity they had challenged when they were downy-bearded young men. This sense of State of the learned classes, maturing during one's lifetime, remains at the side of the originally strong and never-faltering patriotism of the masses (...). This much-maligned Austrianness is part of us all and what is being said across the border about our 'problem' in lengthy articles and quasi-academic essays is not worth the paper on which it is written. Under the surface which we ourselves prefer to keep stormy, lies deeply embedded the ineradicable love for the entirety - Austrian patriotism - and no matter how trite the quote, it is repeated here: we have a fatherland and we love it.³⁸⁴

Even for nationalists, the nation-state was not automatically the envisaged goal. It was possible simultaneously to be a proud Romanian and *kaisertreu*.³⁸⁵ Bukovinian university dean Constantin Tomasciuc had demonstrated this in 1875 in the Viennese parliament when he had declared Poles, Germans and Romanians people rooted primarily in the same Austrian soil. Tomasciuc's conviction of 'serving his nation best when serving the Empire' was translated into more practical terms by Bukovinian Romanian nationalist George Popovici. He refrained from promoting annexation of Bukovina by Romania, since in his view this would require a collapse of the Monarchy which in the long run would inevitably lead to a takeover by Russia. He therefore regarded 'Daco-Romanianism' as a useless fabrication³⁸⁶ and scorned Governor Bourguignon when the latter accused the Bukovinian Romanian clergy of being disloyal 'for in the course of a century they had brilliantly demonstrated their patriotism at every opportunity and for this they had always found the recognition with the relevant authorities'.³⁸⁷ Aurel Onciul took Popovici's argumentation a step further:

Bukovinian Romanians are Austrians and dynastic to the core. In the eyes of the country's population the Emperor is a kind of divinity, the personification of justice and mercy while the learned classes outdo each other in loyalty, regarding the mere academic study of the Romanian question as a crime. Therefore their members confess to the conviction: 'We are good Austrians, even though we are Romanians'.

³⁸⁴ *Patriotismus*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 20.08.1905, p. 1.

³⁸⁵ Stambrook 2004, p. 192.

³⁸⁶ Turczynski 1979, p. 16.

³⁸⁷ "Denn der Bukowinaer rumänische hat im Verlaufe eines Säculums bei jeder Gelegenheit seinen Patriotismus glänzend bewiesen und hat stets die Anerkennung hiefür an maßgebender Stelle gefunden". Haus der Abgeordneten, *Interpellation des Abg. Popovici und Genossen an Ihre Excellenzen den Herrn Minister des Innern und den Herrn Leiter des Ministeriums für Cultus und Unterricht, betreffend das Vorgehen des Herrn Landespräsidenten Baron Bourguignon gegen den Bukowinaer rumänischen Clerus*, 1899-1900/ 16th Session, kaiserlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, Vienna 1899, pp. 922-923.

According to Onciul, the existence of Romanianness and its protection from the Russian menace depended to such large extent on a strong Austria that rather than ‘we are good Austrians, *even though* we are Romanians’, the dictum should be ‘we are good Austrians, *exactly because* we are Romanians’.³⁸⁸

Romanian nationalist priest Zaharovschi used his birthday address to the King of Romania in 1909 to point out that the basis for Romanian cultural life had been provided by Empress Maria Theresia, who had established Romanian-language schools in Transylvania.³⁸⁹ In the early days of the World War, in November 1914, 30,000 Romanian-speaking peasants gathered in in Suczawa to express their loyalty to the Throne. A unanimously adopted resolution proposed by the mayor of Dorna-Watra, Petru Forfotă, stated that ‘the Romanian peasants of Bukovina wished with all their heart that the Romanian army fight shoulder to shoulder with the Imperial troops against the common enemy’. Furthermore, a letter addressed to the King of Romania was to convey that those same peasants ‘had learned from their parents that the most dangerous enemies of all Romanian people were the Russians, and against those only the powerful Austria could protect them’. For this reason, the draft letter continued, ‘they had always been loyal to Austria and would remain to be in the future, in the hope that the Romanian army would fight alongside the Imperial army in defence of their nation’.³⁹⁰ When this hope proved illusory on 27 August 1917 with a Romanian attack on Austrian Bukovina, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* painted a vivid picture of the indignation of Romanian-speaking Bukovinians:

*Among all the peoples of the unhappiest of all crownlands of Austria, the Romanians in Bukovina have received the heaviest blow by this declaration of war. They were panting with rage and pain as the street noise lured them at night from the mountains into the valley. The mere thought that the word ‘Romanian’ would forever be associated with ‘traitor’ made them furious, those loyal citizens of an empire in which they can develop freely, to the rulers of which the Kingdom owes its growth and economic development, and to whom it now wants to pay the debt for so much benevolence with a dagger in the back.*³⁹¹

Then again, the same Petru Forfotă who had initiated the loyalty resolution of 1914 was the driving force behind suspending the Austrian authority in 1918 and establishing a Romanian National Guard.³⁹² Contrary as this move may have seemed to the 1914 resolution, it adequately reflected the conditional loyalty Romanian nationalists in Bukovina had professed after the Austria-centered days of Tomasciuc: they remained devoted to the Austrian state, but only as long as it could guarantee their undisturbed national development within its borders. When this warranty evaporated together with the Habsburg Monarchy, the parameters shifted entirely.

³⁸⁸ *Die Bedingungen der Existenz der Rumänen*, Bukowinaer Post, 29.06.1902, p. 1.

³⁸⁹ Zaharovschi, Victor, *Mahala - Anlässlich des 70. Geburtsjubiläums des Königs Carol I. von Rumänien (Korrespondenzen)*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 23.05.1909, p. 7.

³⁹⁰ *Reichstreue Kundgebung der rumänischen Bauernschaft der Bukowina*, Neue Freie Presse, 24.11.1914 (evening edition), p. 2.

³⁹¹ *Bukowinaer Bilder aus dem rumänischen Kriege*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 06.09.1917, p. 3.

³⁹² *Unirea Bucovinei cu România Bucovinenii au făcut-o (part 2)*, Monitorul de DoANR, 01.12.2007 (digital version, retrieved 26 March 2009).

This 'conditionality' formed an even more significant component in the Ruthenian relations to the Austrian state. Ruthenian nationalist Silvester Daskyevych took issue when Bukovina was called 'the Eastern Tyrol of the Monarchy', since he insisted that only the Ruthenian Bukovinians had behaved like true and loyal 'Tyroleans' during the tumultuous years 1848-49 (how this loyalty related to the Kobyltsia uprising Daskyevych left unmentioned, however).³⁹³ *Bukowinaer Post* assured its readers that in Bukovina 'there was no true Ruthenian question in the real sense of the word, because the native Ruthenians were primarily true Austrians, and genuine, loyal sons of their own smaller homeland'. They were said to 'feel the care that the government and the other competent authorities display to raise their material and spiritual wellbeing', and to 'feel that they were in no way whatsoever inferior to the other tribes living in the land'.³⁹⁴ And indeed, Ruthenian reading halls contributed to a book portraying the good deeds of the Emperor, while Ruthenian radicals gnashed their teeth with frustration over the 'loyalty and subservience' of the villagers.³⁹⁵ *Bukovyna* adorned its first edition with the portraits of prominent Habsburg family members,³⁹⁶ and with reference to the Austrian flag, its radical competitor *Hromadyanyn* scornfully named *Bukovyna* 'the organ of our Bukovinian black-yellows'.³⁹⁷ While Old-Ruthenians may have hoped for a Pan-Slavic union under the Russian Czar, Young-Ruthenians in Austria counted on the Habsburgs to fulfill their dreams of 'Ukraine', a vision gathering momentum with the outbreak of the World War. *Narodniy Holos* did not leave much to the imagination as to the motivation of Austrian Ruthenians to fight in the Imperial army, for 'Austrian Ukrainians passionately hurried to mobilise troops under the Austrian flag in order to liberate their brothers in Russian Ukraine from the shackles of Russian slavery'.³⁹⁸ Initially, *Narodniy Holos* was careful enough to speak only of 'Russian Ukraine' and refer to 'Austrian Ukrainians' to 'Bukovina' and 'Galicia', and not to an 'Austrian Ukraine' of sorts, knowing that such inner-Austrian territorial suggestions would not go down well in Vienna. However, at the occasion of the first retreat of the Russian occupiers and the return of the Austrian troops in Bukovina in October 1914, this restraint had vanished. Apparently the editors of *Narodniy Holos* felt confident enough about a future Ukrainian territorial entity to welcome the Habsburg soldiers as 'sons of Austria and Austrian Ukraine' and to quote 'their genius Shevchenko whose prophetic words would be fulfilled in the near future: "And the shameful, hard times will pass/ And the good glory will relive, the glory of Ukraine"'. Still, their motto 'for Austria and for a free Ukraine' was a telling illustration of just how this double loyalty became increasingly incompatible.³⁹⁹ The term 'Austrian Ukraine' became fashionable among local Ruthenians as well, as is illustrated by a letter of PoW Ivan Hutsuliak who wrote to his wife in Wiloka from an army hospital in Krems (Lower Austria) with reference to the Russian Czar:

³⁹³ Daszkiewicz 1891, p. 20.

³⁹⁴ *Ruthenenfragen in der Bukowina*, *Bukowinaer Post*, 16.06.1895, pp. 1-2.

³⁹⁵ Stambrook 2004, p. 194.

³⁹⁶ Romaniuk 1998, p. 49.

³⁹⁷ *Наша 'Буковина'*, *Громадянин*, 08.03.1909.

³⁹⁸ *Борімо ся, поборемо!* *Народний голос*, 19.08.1914, pp. 2-3.

³⁹⁹ "І минеть ся срамотня тяжкая година/ І оживе добра слава, слава України!" *Вушайте наші війська!* *Народний голос*, 25.10.1914, p. 1.

*As soon as one is healthy again, he is sent off to the field for the reception of those who want to merge our (that is, Austrian) Ukraine with his lands and who has covered our Carpathian Mountains with his corpses.*⁴⁰⁰

In May 1915, Mykola Vasylo and his fellow Bukovinian Ruthenian parliamentarians called on the ‘Ukrainian nation (*народ*) in Bukovina’ to remain loyal to ‘the Emperor, the State and the Ukrainian nation’ en referred to the ‘Ukrainian lands of Galicia and Bukovina’ (*українські землі Галичини і Буковини*).⁴⁰¹ Generally speaking, the more ostentatiously territorial ambitions appeared in the Ruthenian press, the more emphatically those articles affirmed Ruthenian (now consistently named ‘Ukrainian’) allegiance to the Habsburg Throne. In *Narodniy Holos*, ample space was devoted to praise ‘the faithful, sincere, patriotical and steadfast manner in which Ukrainian Bukovinians assisted the military authorities in every possible way’ and to describe how Ukrainian children risked their lives supporting the Austrian troops.⁴⁰² Still, Austrian intelligence did not lend itself to romantic illusions: a report from August 1917 read that ‘the Ukrainians demanded autonomy of Ukrainian Galicia (Eastern Galicia), and Bukovina and conditioned their Austrian state loyalty on the realisation of this requirement’.⁴⁰³

Loyalty in Times of War

Bukovina with its proximity to the Russian border became one of the central battlefields once the World War broke out. Russian troops occupied the area three times: from October to November 1914, from November 1914 to February 1915 and again from June 1916 to August 1917. Both the Austrian and the Russian authorities introduced martial law during the periods they were in charge and thus effectively silenced political debates. This way, the Austrian authorities had to rely heavily on their own agents as well as on eye witness reports to get an idea of just how loyal their Bukovinian subjects remained during those turbulent days.

During the first cruel year of the war, Bukovinians not only suffered from actual acts of war, but also from brutal actions by the Habsburg army. The Austrian troops arrested substantial numbers of people they regarded as Romanian or Old-Ruthenian nationalists and upon their

⁴⁰⁰ “Sobald man gesund wird, geht man ins Feld ab zum Empfange desjenigen, der unsere (d.h. die österreichische) Ukraine seinen Ländern verschmelzen wollte und unsere Karpathen mit seinen Leichen bedeckt hat”. Hutsuliak, Ivan, *Letter to Julitta Hutsuliak*, Krems, 1915/ Vienna, Kriegsarchiv/Armeeoberkommando/Gemeinsames Zentralnachweisbüro (AOK/GZNB) Zensurstelle „D“, Briefe patriotischen Inhaltes III (Ruthenian): Rekonvalescenten, Karton 3731.

⁴⁰¹ Vasylo, Drachynskiy, Popowicz, Pihuliak et al., *До українського народу на Буковині*, Народний голос, 08.05.1905, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁰² Lukashevych, MP, *Образки із Буковини*, Народний голос, 04.09.1915, pp. 3-4.

⁴⁰³ “Die Ukrainer verlangen die Autonomie des ukr. Galiziens (Ost-Galizien) und er Bukowina, und machen von der Erfüllung dieser Forderung ihre österr. Staatstreue abhängig”. GZNB, *Die ukrainische Frage – Augustbericht*, Vienna, August 1917/ Vienna, Kriegsarchiv/ Armeeoberkommando/Gemeinsames Zentralnachweisbüro (AOK/GZNB) Zensurstelle „D“, Karton 3753, Fasc. 4798.

hasty retreat from the Russian military, they shot fleeing peasants they suspected of treason. Austrian investigations later estimated their number between 18 and 42.⁴⁰⁴

The first letters to and by captured Bukovinians convey eagerness to fight for the Austrian state. Simion Albu from Dorna-Kandreni comforted Nikolai Kővány in Svilajuac (Serbia) that the day would soon come for him to return home, because ‘the Almighty was on the side of the Austrian army which claimed new victories every day’,⁴⁰⁵ Volodymyr Charapachynsky complained from Archangelsk to his wife that he’d be ‘happy on the battlefield instead of being a corpse for his country’⁴⁰⁶ and Teodor Geatza wrote from Russia to Botuschana that ‘he had preferred to have died on the field of honour than to have been captured’.⁴⁰⁷ Students from the Franz Joseph University showed a similar enthusiasm and formed voluntary battalions along German, Romanian, Ruthenian and Polish lines.⁴⁰⁸

Neue Freie Presse from Vienna reported after the end of the first Russian occupation how that period had been accompanied by vandalism, destruction and intimidation. Money had been confiscated, Russophile prisoners had been released and the new Russian Governor, Evreinov, had prominent Bukovinians like Czernowitz mayor Weisselberger, Young-Ruthenian deputy Spenul, the editor-in-chief of *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, Philipp Menczel and many others arrested and sent to Siberia. Archbishop Repta had been pressured to conduct a prayer service for the Russian Czar on 18 September (to which he had only consented after his rather bureaucratic demand for a formal order in writing had been granted by Governor Evreinov). Informers had been everywhere and arrests had taken place on a daily basis. All in all, it was no surprise that the Russian retreat and the subsequent Austrian return on 20 October were greeted with general enthusiasm and relief.⁴⁰⁹ Governor Meran ordered the formation of voluntary defence unit, with Aurel Onciul in charge of the Romanian, and Mykola Vasylo in charge of the Ruthenian unit. There was also a substantial Jewish division. In spite of these efforts, the Russian troops managed to fight their way back into Czernowitz within only one

⁴⁰⁴ Hausleitner 2001, p. 84.

⁴⁰⁵ “Auch die Zeit wird herannahen, dass Du nach Hause rückkehrst, denn der Allmächtige ist mit uns und unserer Armee, welche von Tag zu Tag neue Siege erringt.” Albu, Simion, *Letter to PoW Nikolai Kővány*, Dorna-Kandreni 17 June 1915/ Vienna, Kriegsarchiv/ Armeeoberkommando/Gemeinsames Zentralnachweisbüro (AOK/GZNB) Zensurstelle „D“/ Rumänische Gruppe - Bericht pro Juni 1915/ VII: Briefe patriotischen Inhaltes, Karton 3728, fasc. 1330.

⁴⁰⁶ “Ich wäre zufrieden, wenn ich mich auf dem Schlachtfelde befände. So muß ich aber ein toter Körper für mein Vaterland sein”. Czarapaczynski, Wladimir, *Letter to his wife*, Archangelsk, 6 March 1915/ Vienna, Kriegsarchiv/ Armeeoberkommando/Gemeinsames Zentralnachweisbüro (AOK/GZNB) Zensurstelle „D“, Beilagen zum Monatsbericht pro April 1915 (Ukrainische Gruppe, Wien, 21. April 1915), Karton 3726 (year 1914-15).

⁴⁰⁷ “Lieber wäre ich auf dem Felde der Ehre gestorben als dass man mich gefangen hätte”. Geatza, Teodor, *Letter to Jon of Stefan Geatza in Botuschana, Bukovina*, Russia, 21 September 1915/ Vienna, Kriegsarchiv/ Armeeoberkommando / Gemeinsames Zentralnachweisbüro (AOK/GZNB) Zensurstelle „D“, Karton 3731 (year 1915).

⁴⁰⁸ Leder, Paul, *Die Universität von Czernowitz und der Friede im Osten (Fortsetzung)*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung/Czernowitzer Tagblatt* (Gemeinsame Kriegsausgabe), 23.02.1918, pp. 2-3.

⁴⁰⁹ *Aus schwerer Leidenszeit – Die Vorgänge in Czernowitz während der russischen Okkupation*, *Neue Freie Presse*, 24.11.1914, pp. 4-5.

month.⁴¹⁰ On 27 November they were back, followed by General Lavrentiev and Governor Evreinov on 1 December. They were accompanied by the Bukovinian-born Gerovsky brothers, Alexei and Georgi, well-known Pan-Slavists who had received international press attention when they stood trial in the so-called ‘Hungarian treason trial’ in Marmaros-Sziget (today Sighetu Marmăției, Romania): initially, 189 people had been arrested suspected of pro-Russian agitation, their defence being that their activities had only been religious and aimed at converting Uniate Ruthenians to Orthodoxy. The number of suspects quickly went down, but the Gerovsky brothers had remained under arrest. Even Pan-Slavist leader Count Bobrinsky appeared in court to their defence.⁴¹¹ In the end, the brothers managed to escape and now surfaced once again alongside the Russian occupiers. Alexei Gerovsky served as Evreinov’s personal secretary and was widely regarded as the evil genius behind the abuses under Russian rule and the climate of fear, rape, extortion, denunciations, arrests, anti-Semitic violence and deportations which quickly became daily routine.⁴¹² Word spread fast about the newly-acquired power of the Gerovsky brothers. One Bukovinian hostage wrote to one of them from Siberia to beg for his release: the hostage, an Orthodox priest, argued that his son fought in the Romanian army, therefore at the Russian side and as such the parents could not possibly be held hostage by those same Russians.⁴¹³

In the words of a Hungarian wartime publication: “Pubcrawlers, known cheaters and punished criminals seized power and for rubles they betrayed even their kin”.⁴¹⁴ When the Russian occupation reached Kimpolung, Alexei Gerovsky expressed his disappointment at the cool reception the Russian ‘liberators’ were given by ‘the Romanians’, adding that ‘the Romanian government and the Romanian people supported the Russians and that the Romanian clergy had no reason to be loyal to Austria, since they had been oppressed enough’. Mayor George Hutu was forced to receive the Russian army inspector with a warm welcoming speech full of praise for the admirable Russian behaviour. It was officially announced that upon the request of the Romanian government, the Russian troops had been ordered to treat the local population with decency. In spite of these reassuring words, practice proved to be radically different: the city of Kimpolung suffered through the same ordeal of vandalism, violence, plunder, rape and theft as other Bukovinian towns.⁴¹⁵ In Gurahumora, the picture was the

⁴¹⁰ Hausleitner 2001, p. 85.

⁴¹¹ *Hungarian Treason Trial - Dramatic Appearance of Count Bobrinsky at Marmaros Sziget*, New York Times, 22.02.1914.

⁴¹² Collected correspondence from occupied Bukovina with detailed descriptions of life under Russian administration in Schulz, Hugo (ed), *In den Karpathen und im Buchenland, (Der österreichisch-ungarische Krieg in Feldpostbriefen, Vol. 2)*, Müller, Munich 1916, pp. 196-319.

⁴¹³ “Indem ich mich nun auf diesen Umstand berufe, dass mein einziges Kind sogar sein Leben Russland zum Opfer bringt, ersuche ich Sie, Sie möchten gefl. mir zur Freilassung, u.zw. entweder in meine Pfarrei Mahala oder nach Rumänien verhelfen. Die Gerechtigkeit kann es nicht dulden, dass die Eltern in russischer Gefangenschaft bleiben, während ihr einziger Sohn sein Leben für Russland opfert”. Zacharowski, Wiktor, *Letter to Dr. Johann Gierowski in Czernowitz*, Tomsk, 18 September 1916/ Verdächtige Korrespondenz, Vienna, Kriegsarchiv/ Armeeoberkommando / Gemeinsames Zentralnachweisbüro (AOK/GZNB)/ Ukrainische Gruppe B, Karton 3774, Fasc. 7588.

⁴¹⁴ *Bukovina második felszabadítása*, in: *A Világháború Képes Krónikája*, 52, 03.10.1915, pp. 399-401.

⁴¹⁵ “Er besuchte bei dieser Gelegenheit die gr.ort. Pfarrer Lutia Gheorghe und Nicolaus Zurkan, er spricht ihnen gegenüber die Verwunderung aus, daß die Rumänen die Russen so kalt empfangen, obwohl diese als ihre

same: Romanian speakers were harassed like everybody else. Only Jews were worse off than the rest of the population.⁴¹⁶ In Sereth, Romanian speakers had tried to humour the Russian troops by putting Orthodox icons in their windows, but the Russians had met these efforts with scorn and derision.⁴¹⁷

Once the Russians were driven out a second time by the Habsburg armed forces, the reinstalled Austrian administration reported to Vienna how the population had remained loyal throughout the occupation and how the Austrian troops had been welcomed with rejoices and embraces. Those less thrilled about the turn of events were fortunately a minority, according to acting governor Ezdorf.⁴¹⁸ From Kimpolung similar messages arrived, including a detailed list of those who had maintained cordial relations with the occupying forces. Cases differed from groups of 'harlots' - who had held orgies with Russian soldiers and were shipped off to a Suczawa clinic after they had been diagnosed with sexually transmitted diseases - to the wife of mayor George Hutu who had spread rumours that together with the Russians, the Romanian army would soon end Austrian rule once and for all. Two brothers by the name of Moldovan were said to have assisted Russian pillagers in Cossack disguise. For the rest, the 'traitors' of Kimpolung had mainly been lower officials who had joined the Russians for parties and trips.⁴¹⁹

In Suczawa, most inhabitants had remained in the city, and apart from two or three cases, there had been no signs of treason. Priests had refused to pray for the Russian Czar and proudly related how they had continued to say public prayers for Emperor Franz Joseph, even when large numbers of Russian soldiers had attended mass. The efforts of the Gerovsky brothers had had no influence on religious practices, it was concluded complacently.⁴²⁰ In Gurahumora, the Habsburg soldiers were welcomed by jubilant crowds,⁴²¹ and in Sereth, 'the population had spontaneously amassed a hearty supper for the several hundred soldiers despite the poverty prevailing in the city and until midnight the crowd had cheered the soldiers in front of the *Gymnasium* where they were billeted'.⁴²²

Befreier kommen. (...) Gerowski fügt noch bei, daß die rumänische Regierung und das rumänische Volk den Russen zur Seite stehen und daß die rumänische Geistlichkeit gar keinen Grund habe, Oesterreich treu zu sein, zumal dieselbe bisher genug bedrückt war". Kapuscinski m.p. (Landesregierungsrat), *Russeninvasion in Kimpolung in der Zeit vom 6. Jänner 1915 bis 5. Februar 1915*, z.Zl. 4068/M.I. ex 1915, Vienna, 10 February 1915/ KÜA (1915), Karton 36, fasc. 20.421.

⁴¹⁶ Meran, Rudolf, *Vorgänge während der russischen Invasion in Gurahumora*, 5758/MI, Vienna, 26 March 1915/ OeST/KA/KÜA 1915, Karton 41, fasc. 22786, p. 4.

⁴¹⁷ DeladoANR, Romulus, *Bucovina în 1914-1915*, Școala Română, Suceava 1915, p. 42.

⁴¹⁸ Ezdorf, Josef, *Situation in der Bukowina*, Zl. 722/K Präs., Kolozsvár, 12 February 1915/ OeST/KA/KÜA 1915, Karton 34, fasc. 18924.

⁴¹⁹ Kapuscinski m.p. (Landesregierungsrat), *Russeninvasion in Kimpolung in der Zeit vom 6. Jänner 1915 bis 5. Februar 1915*, z.Zl. 4068/M.I. ex 1915, Vienna, 10 February 1915/ KÜA (1915), Karton 36, fasc. 20.421.

⁴²⁰ Tarangul m.p., *Suczawa in der Bukowina; Situationsbericht*, 4335/MI, 6 March 1915, Vienna, 6 March 1915/ KÜA, Karton 37, fasc. 20.723.

⁴²¹ Meran, Rudolf, *Vorgänge während der russischen Invasion in Gurahumora*, 5758/MI, Vienna, 26 March 1915/ OeST/KA/KÜA 1915, Karton 41, fasc. 22786.

⁴²² "Trotz der Armut, die in der Stadt herrschte, wurde von der Bevölkerung für mehrere hunderte Soldaten ein reichliches Nachtmahl spontan zusammengetragen und bis gegen Mitternacht jubelte die Menge vor dem

In the much smaller community of Breaza, the number of sellouts had apparently been equally low, but the town council nevertheless felt the need to appease the Austrian authorities. They therefore sent a telegram to Vienna to ‘express their loyalty to dynasty and fatherland and to express their most sincere regret that some depraved wayward individuals (*einige verkommene unerzogene Individuen*) had been fooled into betraying the fatherland and requested that no conclusions regarding the otherwise loyal population be drawn from these isolated cases and that the declaration be brought to the steps of the Supreme Throne’.⁴²³

A general report based on the wartime correspondence between Ruthenian-speaking prisoners of war and their relatives painted a rosy picture of the wide-ranging feelings of loyalty among those from the northern ‘Ruthenian’ area of Bukovina and the neighbouring Hutsul mountain region:

What seems striking initially in the correspondence from this area is the general surfacing of national consciousness - but in the Austrian, loyal (kaisertreu) context - as well as the extremely low effectiveness and impact of the Russophile propaganda, just as the good spirit emerging from the letters of family members of those recruited for these regiments: the Tyroleans of the East.

The censorship authorities did not only observe this loyalty, they also provided their own self-assured Austrian explanation for it. Apart from its isolated location, “the mystery is easily solved, ” Major Theodor Primavesi wrote to his superiors, “by the well-known fact that our Bukovina is *so* exemplary managed and governed that every peasant values and honours the government and its organs for reasons of expediency alone, because it lends him ascendancy over his Galician neighbour in every respect”.⁴²⁴ However, once the Russian troops had gone, a large number of people were arrested and transferred to the Talerhof internment camp. At two treason trials in Vienna in 1915 and 1916, thirty Russophiles from Galicia and Bukovina were sentenced to death.⁴²⁵ In Radautz, two people received the death penalty for collaboration, one of them a Hutsul who had cheered when Russian troops marched in: “Thank God, now the dominance of the Jews will come to an end”.⁴²⁶

Gymnasium, wo die österreichischen Truppen einquartiert waren, unseren Soldaten zu”. Jozefowicz m.p., *Vorgänge in Sereth während und nach der russischen Invasion*, 5759/MI, Vienna, 26 March 1915/ OeST/KA/KÜA 1915, Karton 41, fasc. 22785, Karton 3731, pp. 6-7.

⁴²³ Gemeindeausschuss Breaza, Loyalitätskundgebung/Telegramm an den Landespräsidenten, weitergeleitet an Wien, 40/ D. Präs., Dornawatra, 18 February 1915/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MI 75/2.

⁴²⁴ “Hält man sich jedoch vor Augen, dass in die Bukowina und die Waldkarpathen der Sonderverfassung und theilweisen geographischen Lage nach die ‘polnische Gefahr’ nicht dringen konnte, weiss man, dass unsere Bukowina ein nach liberalen Prinzipien so musterhaft verwaltetes und geleitetes Land ist, dass jeder Bauer die Regierung und deren Organe schon aus Opportunitätsgründen schätzt und ehrt, weil sie ihm in jeder Beziehung ein Uebergewicht über den galizischen Nachbar gibt, dann ist des Rätsels Lösung klipp und klar”. Primavesi, K.u.K. Major Theodor, *Bericht des Leiters der Zensur-Abteilung für Kriegsgefangenen-Korrespondenz (Ruthenen in der Bukowina und dem angrenzenden Gebiete der Waldkarpathen)*, Vienna, 20 June 1915/ Vienna, Kriegsarchiv/ Armeeoberkommando /Gemeinsames Zentralsachverhaltsbüro (AOK/GZNB) Zensurstelle „D“, Karton 3727, pp.18-19.

⁴²⁵ The sentences, however, were commuted to life imprisonment and the prisoners were all released in 1917. Magocsi 1996, p. 466.

⁴²⁶ Turczynski 1993, p. 212.

Colonel Eduard Fischer, who led the Austrian troops back to Bukovina in 1915, wanted more ruthless action against Russophiles and at the same time recorded a more active 'Greater-Romanian agitation' among social climbers in Bukovina. The Russians had enabled the latter to maintain contacts with nationalists from the Romanian Kingdom. Not only had those contacts intensified, a number of Romanian nationalists from Bukovina had also fled to Romania. One of them was journalist Ion Grămadă, who used to work for Bukovinian-Romanian newspapers *Deșteptarea*, *Românul* and *Viața Nouă*. Once in Romania, he attracted the attention of the Habsburg authorities with an article in the Romanian newspaper *Dimineața* about the alleged Austrian persecution of Bukovinian Romanians. Bukovinian *Viața Nouă* publicly distanced itself from its former employee and his claims to speak on behalf of Bukovinian Romanians. The governor reported not to know the names published by Grămadă, but informed the authorities that he tried to avoid arrests among Bukovinian Romanians in order not to provoke anxiety in Romania. Nevertheless, some arrests had indeed taken place and had included 'mistakes' (*Fehlgriffe*).⁴²⁷ Intercepted letters from Bukovinians in PoW camps reveal that there had indeed been Romanian nationalists who had hoped for the incorporation of Bukovina by Romania, such as one Vasile Timeș who wrote to Elena Huțan in Kupka: "I dream again and again that I am peacefully at home with the Romanians as our rulers. May God grant that these dreams come true."⁴²⁸ In that same village, Licheria Druciuc had waited in vain for a letter from her captive son who wrote: "From the lousy Austria we get neither money nor parcels - I tell you that if Bukovina will come under a different crown, I'll return to my family, but otherwise I'll never come back to those stinking Jewish Austrians".⁴²⁹ George Juraș wrote to Petrea Procopovici in Putna 'to be even happier on the battlefield, fighting shoulder to shoulder with his Romanian brothers against the barbarians'.⁴³⁰

From June 1916 onwards, Bukovina was once again in Russian hands and after Romania had joined the Entente troops in July 1916 in exchange for future control over Transylvania, Banat

⁴²⁷ Kriegsüberwachungsamt, *Monarchiefeindliche Bewegung unter der Rumänen der Bukowina; Artikel Dr. Ion Gramada in 'Dimineața'*, 4 December 1914/ KÜA (1914), Karton 20, fasc. 10.792.

⁴²⁸ "Ich träume immer wieder, dass ich im Frieden zuhause bin mit den Rumänen als Herren über uns. Gebe Gott, dass sich die Träume verwirklichen". Timeș, Vasile, *Letter to Elena Huțan in Kupka*, Totskoye (Russia), 25 August 1916/ Sonderbericht der rumänischen Zensurgruppe/ Hochverrat (8 Korrespondenzstücke), Vienna, Kriegsarchiv/ Armeeoberkommando/ Gemeinsames Zentralnachweisbüro (AOK/GZNB) Zensurstelle „D“, Karton 3746, Fasc. 4322.

⁴²⁹ "Aus dem lausigen Oesterreich bekommen wir weder Geld noch Postpakete – ich sage Dir, dass, wenn die Bukowina unter eine andere Krone kommen wird, so werde ich zu meiner Familie zurückkehren, sonst nie mehr zu den stinkigen jüdischen Oesterreichern". Moscalescul, Vasile, *Letter to his mother Licheria Druciuc in Corcești, former Cupca*, Isle of Man, 1915, Vienna, Kriegsarchiv/Armeeoberkommando /Gemeinsames Zentralnachweisbüro (AOK/GZNB) Zensurstelle „D“, Karton 3733.

⁴³⁰ "Ich würde mich noch glücklicher fühlen, wenn ich mich auf dem Kampffelde befände, um Schulter an Schulter mit unseren rum; Brüder gegen die Barbaren zu kämpfen". Juraș, Kdtt. Asp. George, *Letter to Petrea Procopovici*, Genova, 1 January 1917 (sent)/ Referat XVIII/ Monatsbericht über die Zeit v. 16. II – 30 IV. 1917: *Die rumänische Frage/ II: Unsere Kgf. rumänischer Nationalität und der Krieg mit Rumänien – Ihre Behandlung als Rumänen in den feindlichen Staaten*, Vienna, Kriegsarchiv/Armeeoberkommando/Gemeinsames Zentralnachweisbüro (AOK/GZNB) Zensurstelle „D“,Karton 3751, fasc. 4620.

and southern Bukovina, it occupied parts of the land as well. After the Russian February Revolution in 1917, the Gerovsky brothers with their ambitions to have the whole of Bukovina incorporated in the Russian Empire were put under arrest. Internal struggles weakened the Russian army and forced the troops to leave southern Bukovina to their Romanian allies. In August 1917, the last Russian units left northern Bukovina as well.

Upon the return of Austrian control, there was some legal action against collaborators, but no further executions. Both Romanian and Ruthenian factions in the Austrian parliament had assured their loyalty towards the state throughout the war and were as such not among the suspects.⁴³¹ Colonel Fischer reported to Vienna on loyalty issues in Bukovina along national criteria. He concluded that the Romanian nationalist intelligentsia had actively supported anti-Monarchy forces while the Romanian-speaking peasants had largely maintained their loyalty for the sake of stability. Of all deserters from the Romanian language contingent, only five percent belonged to the peasantry (the Austrian censorship authorities meanwhile deducted from the meagre amount of Romanian-written letters⁴³² from reconquered Bukovina that Romanian speakers had in general remained loyal). Fischer noted that, the Russian Revolution having been the knockout punch for their movement, Russophiles (Old-Ruthenians) had all but disappeared; Ruthenian-speaking peasants had mostly behaved like the Romanian-speaking, although for some the social changes in the east had proved too tempting. Polish speakers were too insignificant in number to cause any trouble and German speakers had all been trustworthy, that is, non-Jewish German speakers. Fischer claimed that Jewish civil servants had in general remained loyal, but insisted that many Jews had done well during the occupation and as such had even provoked the envy of those Jews who had fled to the west and had equally been successful financially.⁴³³ Jewish deputy Benno Straucher drummed up a protest when he found out that a report by the Bukovinian local authorities had stated that the Jewish population of Bukovina ‘was rumoured to have taken advantage of the situation under the Russians, to have earned a lot of money and to have been permanent friends of the Russian administration’. Straucher objected that more than ninety percent of the Jewish population had fled Bukovina before the third Russian invasion and that only sick, helpless women and members of the poorest strata had remained. In turn, Jews from Russia and Romania had fled to the crownland. Straucher admitted that some of these ‘strangers’ might have taken advantage of the situation under Russian occupation, but emphasised that this attitude had in no way been exclusively Jewish, that the Jews of Bukovina had generally

⁴³¹ Hausleitner 2001, pp. 86-88.

⁴³² “Verwertbare Korrespondenzen aus der wiedereroberten Bukowina liegen nur in ganz geringer Anzahl vor. Soweit aus ihnen ein Urteil abzuleiten ist, kann die Haltung des überwiegenden Teiles der rumänischen Bevölkerung der Bukowina trotz der erschwerenden Verhältnisse als Loyal bezeichnet werden.” GZNB, *Die rumänische Frage – September-Oktober-Bericht/Referat XVIII/15*, Vienna 1917/ Vienna, Kriegsarchiv/ Armeeoberkommando/ Gemeinsames Zentralnachweisbüro (AOK/GZNB) Zensurstelle „D“, Karton 3754, Fasc. 4862.

⁴³³ Prokopowitsch, Erich, *Das Ende der österreichischen Herrschaft in der Bukowina*, R. Oldenbourg, Munich 1959, pp. 16-17.

maintained their ‘flawlessly loyal attitude’ (*ihre tadellose loyale Haltung*) and that the Emperor had praised them for this.⁴³⁴

Archbishop Repta’s consent to hold a mass for the Russian Czar’s well-being in September 1914 now had come back to haunt him. Before the war, Repta had never given reason to doubt his contentment with the Austrian authorities and when he was asked in 1913 to comment on Pan-Slavic allegations that Orthodoxy was oppressed under the Habsburgs, he had replied in an interview with *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*:

*As for the Archdiocese which I preside, such outrageous allegations are totally unfounded. We Orthodox are enjoying all rights and benefits the citizens of Austria-Hungary are granted. Yes, even more, you see the magnificent palace in which I live. That does not look like suppression. There is hardly an archbishop in Russia who can boast such a residence. The Church Fund, managed by Emperor Franz Joseph through his officers, ensures that we receive a most excellent education. Our priests are very well off, much better than elsewhere and than those from other denominations. I have repeatedly taken the opportunity to emphasise that we Orthodox have every reason to feel comfortable here.*⁴³⁵

Interestingly enough, in that same interview the Archbishop had explained that ‘theoretically speaking, the Orthodox recognise as their patron only the ruler of the country in which they live’. This line of thinking may have guided him when he gave in to Russian pressure to say public prayers for the Czar. Matters had gone well beyond this one-time event, however: on 2 October 1914, Repta and his deputy Manastyrski ordered Bukovinian clerics to perform prayers for the well-being and prosperity of the Russian Czar, his mother, wife and son and furthermore to pray that ‘victory be upon the all-Russian, Orthodox and Christ-loving army’. They asked the population ‘to receive the Russian army which had come to liberate them from the heterodox (*fremdgläubig*) yoke and pressure in order for them to grow together as one with the great Russia under the Russian Czar’. Although the joint war edition of *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* appreciated how Repta and his consistory had ‘persevered with courageous self-sacrifice’ once the Russian troops had marched in while acknowledging that the clerics involved had found themselves in a ‘certain predicament’ after the Russian occupation, it doubted whether the threats against ‘the only Orthodox Metropolitan in Austria’ should have been taken all that seriously. Moreover, even considering that the many years the dignitaries had been in office cleared them from any ill intent, the newspaper held against them that they had ‘succumbed to compliance in times of serious ordeal’. It was clear that once Austrian rule had been restored, the positions of Repta and Manastyrski would be untenable. In August 1918, the Emperor relieved both of them of their duties.⁴³⁶

⁴³⁴ Präsidium des k.k. Ministeriums des Innern, *Verhalten der Bukowinaer Juden während der russischen Invasion; Eingabe des Reichsratsabgeordneten Dr. Straucher und Genossen*, 8246 MP, Vienna, 30 November 1917/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MI, mapa 84/3.

⁴³⁵ *Erzbischof Dr. von Repta über die russischen Vorwürfe der Unterdrückung der Orthodoxie in Oesterreich-Ungarn*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 09.04.1913, p. 1.

⁴³⁶ *Zum Wechsel in der Leitung der griechisch-orientalischer Bukowinaer Erzdiözese, (Vom Tage)*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung/Czernowitzer Tagblatt* (Gemeinsame Kriegsausgabe), 31.08.1918, p. 2.

Vienna received the usual reports about the general rejoicing among Bukovinians at the sight of the Austrian regiments marching in, but this time it could not disguise the heavy burden of suffered aggression and destruction. From Sereth, district captain Kössldorfer wrote to the Governor's Office in Czernowitz on the situation of the town upon the return of the Habsburgs:

The city of Sereth was festively decorated with flags and in general the atmosphere was pleasant and elevated because of the final liberation after twenty-one months of hostile invasion. The city and its inhabitants suffered greatly under Russian rule, particularly since the outbreak of the Revolution. All houses from which the inhabitants had fled were either completely destroyed or at least heavily damaged. (...) The people were robbed repeatedly and terrorised with threats of arrest and execution. Indeed, unfortunately some civilians were reportedly killed by the Russian military. By contrast, the Romanian troops, who occupied the city for about six weeks, behaved decently in every way towards both the population and the town.(...) I have not yet been in the position to find out more about the attitude of the population during the enemy occupation, but fortunately it was patriotic as far as I could judge.⁴³⁷

From the letters they intercepted the Austrian censorship authorities learned that 'the joy over the liberation of the native land from hostile hands was overshadowed by extraordinarily intense complaints about the complete lack of the most basic needs of everyday life'. If the ravages of the retreating enemy had caused considerable misery, confiscations by the Austrian troops had done the rest. People around Kimpolung complained how the Habsburg soldiers did not behave any better than the Russians had. On top of that, Habsburg forces on horseback marched in without any concern for field and crops and as such destroyed the livelihood and winter stock of the local population. From Czernowitz, voices were heard claiming that things actually had not been so bad under the Russians when basically everything had been available.⁴³⁸ The situation, and as such the general mood got even worse: the censorship officials noted in August 1918 that 'in parallel with the deterioration of economic and military situation, the mood of the population had experienced a similar evolution; in earlier

⁴³⁷ "Die Stadt Sereth war festlich beflaggt und es herrschte allgemein eine freudige, gehobene Stimmung über die endliche Befreiung nach 21 monatliche feindlicher Invasion. Die Stadt selbst und deren Bewohner haben unter russischer Herrschaft, insbesondere seit Ausbruch der Revolution, sehr stark gelitten. Alle Häuser, aus denen die Einwohner geflüchtet waren, wurden entweder ganz zerstört, zumindestens sehr stark beschädigt. (...) Die Leute wurden wiederholt beraubt, durch Drohungen mit Verhaften und Erschiessen in Furcht und Schrecken versetzt; ja es sind sogar leider einige Ermordungen von Zivilpersonen durch russisches Militär zu verzeichnen. Hingegen haben die rumänischen Truppen, die die Stadt durch ca. 6 Wochen besetzt hielten, sich gegen die Bevölkerung und gegen die Stadt in jeder Beziehung einwandfrei benommen.(...) Ueber die Haltung der Bevölkerung während der feindlichen Besetzung konnte ich bisher noch nicht Genaues erfahren, doch war sie - soweit ich bisher feststellen konnte - erfreulicherweise im allgemeinen eine patriotische". Kössldorfer, Bezirkshauptmann, *An das Landesregierungs-Präsidium in Czernowitz/ Verlegung des Amtssitzes der Bezirkshauptmannschaft von Hliboka nach Sereth*, Zl. 50/A.V., Sereth, 12 March 1918/ OeSt, AVA, Ministerium des Innern, Präsidiale Reihe, Karton 1293.

⁴³⁸ GZNB, *Stimmung und wirtschaftliche Lage der österreichischen Bevölkerung im Hinterland - Oktoberbericht (1917)/ Rumaenen*, Vienna, 1917/ Vienna, Kriegsarchiv/Armeeoberkommando/ Gemeinsames Zentralnachweisbüro (AOK/GZNB) Zensurstelle „D“, Karton 3754, Fasc. 4863.

correspondence patriotic sentiments could often be observed in spite of the complaints, while now the correspondence lacked any trace of patriotism'.⁴³⁹

According to American historian Hitchins, the intense wave of propaganda from Romania after the outbreak of war as well as Romania's entry into the war in 1916 gradually undermined feelings of loyalty towards Austria.⁴⁴⁰ Be that as it may, the new Romanian authorities soon discovered that the results of their own campaign had not been satisfactory, either: after the incorporation of the crownland into Greater-Romania, they were unpleasantly surprised to find a less-than-obliging lot among the Romanian-speaking Bukovinian recruits. In June 1919, religious periodical *Păstorul* unfavourably compared them to their Transylvanian peers and insisted 'that every scholar try to convince those young men of the just cause'.⁴⁴¹

3.4 Competing Identifications: Nation and Region

For those promoting a stronger identification with Bukovina as homeland, it was obvious that such identification would not be able to replace or conquer the powerful influence of nationalism. Presenting the two as compatible and even mutually enhancing forces thus seemed a convenient way out. This way, 'regionalists' defending compatibility with nationalism applied the same methods as nationalists attempting to harmonise their agenda with loyalty to the State. *Bukowinaer Post* explained in 1898:

Love for the native land first and foremost, that's true Bukovinianness. This Bukovinianness includes national sentiments; it leaves room for national equality and national cultural development. It wants each nation to seek heaven in its own fashion.⁴⁴² (...) We do not demand the abandonment of the national idea. Far be this from us, for we regard the development of strong national sentiments a powerful promotion of culture and the peaceful competition between nations a noble emulation to the benefit of all.⁴⁴³

In this spirit, *Post* applauded the way Diet President Wassilko defended Bukovinian interests in the Austrian parliament, noting how 'he had surely not forgotten that he was Romanian, but

⁴³⁹ "Parallel mit der Verschlechterung der wirtschaftlichen und militärischen Lage hat auch die Stimmung der Bevölkerung eine Evolution mitgemacht: während früher in der Korrespondenz trotz der Klagen doch nicht selten patriotisches Empfinden wahrgenommen werden konnte, lässt die jetzige Korrespondenz jede Spur von Vaterlandsliebe vermissen". GZNB, *Beilage 17 zum Monatsbericht August 1918: Oesterreich politisch*, Vienna, August 1918/ Vienna, Kriegsarchiv/Armeeoberkommando/Gemeinsames Zentralnachweisbüro (AOK/GZNB), Karton 3760, Fasc 5207.

⁴⁴⁰ Hitchins 1973, p. 624.

⁴⁴¹ "Prodata sfântă a fiecărui cărturar va fi deci, să lămurească poporul asupra scopului recrutărilor și să îndemne prin vorbe binechibzuite pe acei tineri ce-i cheamă patria la arme". Tomoiagă, I., *În fața recrutărilor*, *Păstorul*, 18, 15 June 1919, p. 1.

⁴⁴² Quoted after Frederic II of Prussia ("Jeder soll nach seiner Façon selig werden") whose reign was marked by religious tolerance.

⁴⁴³ *Auf gemeinsamen Boden*, *Bukowinaer Post*, 17.04.1898, pp. 1-2.

next to being Romanian he had also been an ardent Bukovinian who had not asked if his advocacy would benefit Germans, Romanians, Ruthenians or Jews but only bore in mind the fact that more general Bukovinian interests were at stake'.⁴⁴⁴

However, when it became clearer that nationalism was on its way to become dominant and divisive in Bukovina, *Bukowinaer Rundschau* chose to depict it in 1904 as the 'foreign organism' which had eradicated the previously reigning Bukovinianness:

*National chauvinism, a western plant not present on our Bukovinian soil for a long time - we have to admit with great regret - has also made its way here and has taken firm root in our land. Here in Bukovina, where less than two decades ago there were only Bukovinians and nothing but Bukovinians, the nationality strife started to rage the same way as in the West. Soon there were not only Bukovinians who did not want to be anything else but Romanian, Ruthenian, Polish and German Bukovinians.*⁴⁴⁵

After the short-lived era of the Freethinking Alliance, it became clear that a system of nationally divided registers was politically inevitable. Still, *Bukowinaer Post* managed to defend the development in the light of Bukovinianness and viewed the registers as 'strongholds' where the 'consolidated national idea' first had 'to feel at home' before it could be expected to 'give room to the consideration that this way the beautiful land of Bukovina did not necessarily cease to be home to all'.⁴⁴⁶

The notion of dual identification also surfaced in local fiction. In Michael Sawka's novel 'Autumn... a story from Bukovina' (*Herbst... Eine Geschichte aus der Bukowina*) about Bukovinian students in Vienna, one of the protagonists is being scolded for introducing himself by nationality (Polish) rather than by region (Bukovinian).⁴⁴⁷ In his unpublished manuscript 'Stevie - A Novel from Bukovinian Life' (*Fănuță - roman din viața bucovineană*), Romanian-Bukovinian nationalist historian Teodor Bălan describes how a Polish-speaking Galician couple is abhorred when they find out that their daughter is involved with the protagonist: 'a Bukovinian and a Romanian on top of that' (*acesta era bucovinean și deasupra încă român*).⁴⁴⁸

In both Ruthenian and Romanian nationalist publications from Bukovina, love for homeland and for nationality often went hand in hand. In 1888, Ruthenian school inspector Omelyan Popovych published a poem in the Ruthenian version of the Bukovinian calendar in which, the author being abroad, longing for Bukovina and its natural splendour as well as for the 'Rus' people, language and home'.⁴⁴⁹ Old-Ruthenian Hryhoriy Kupchanko wrote equally

⁴⁴⁴ *Im Zeichen des Bukowinaerthums*, *Bukowinaer Post*, 02.06.1898, p. 1.

⁴⁴⁵ *Einigkeit macht stark!* *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 04.12.1904, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁴⁶ *Der Landesgedanke*, *Bukowinaer Post*, 27.03.1910, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁴⁷ Sawka 1905, p. 4.

⁴⁴⁸ Bălan 1961, p. 154.

⁴⁴⁹ "Тутъ не нашій щирій рускій/ А чужій люди/ Тутъ нѣ друга, нѣ родини/ нѣ рѣднои хаты!/ Тяжко, Боже, на чужинѣ/ вѣкъ свѣй вѣкувати!/ Якъ бымъ крильця соколовѣ/ Мавъ я сиротина/ полетѣвъ бымъ, де зелена/ любя Буковина/ де Пруть, Черемошь, Быстриця/ де горы Карпаты/ Вѣ Буковинѣ мило жити/

tearful poetry from London, which was published in the newspaper *Selyanin*, describing how he missed not only the ‘Rus’ language and nation, but also the Bukovinian homeland and its people.⁴⁵⁰ A poem entitled “Canadian Song” (*Канадійська пісня*) in *Ruska Rada* in 1904 obviously intended to keep Bukovinian (Young-) Ruthenians from emigrating: the ‘I’ of the poem laments about having to leave his wife behind in Bukovina to build a better future in Canada, but also dreams of living happily one day in ‘Ukraine’, without explaining if he meant a future state or some ‘mythical’ Ukraine.⁴⁵¹ Old-Ruthenians displayed similar a double adherence as shown by a poem in *Narodna Rada* in 1905 with a lamentation addressing ‘poor Bukovina’ which had always been green and beautiful before ‘the enemy’ moved in to persuade innocent Bukovinians to exchange ‘Mother Rus’ for the ‘shallow Ukraine’.⁴⁵² In 1908, the regional diet’s vice-president, Ruthenian nationalist Stepan Smal’-Stotsky declared that for him, ‘the alert activity for the nation (*народ*) and for all other native Bukovinians was and had been the one goal worth mentioning as the grandest of all honourable tasks’.⁴⁵³ Then again, within the larger framework of Bukovinian local politics, public declarations of such doubly-tied loyalty were unavoidable to keep the peace.

The same tendency could be observed in Romanian Bukovinian nationalist circles. It had been a natural gesture for Mykola Vasylo to surprise Aurel Onciul with a group of national musicians from Romania in order to celebrate their ‘Bukovinian’ cooperation within the Freethinking Alliance in 1904. In a similar fashion, Bukovinian folklorist Simion Florea Marian, an ardent Romanian nationalist, was said to cherish ‘the love for his homeland and his own tribesmen (*Volksgenossen*)’.⁴⁵⁴ A Romanian Bukovinian prisoner of war was classified as a traitor by the Austrian censorship authorities when in 1916 he asked the editor of the Bucharest periodical *Adevărul* for a favour:

*Your Truly, a Bukovinian native has ended up in Russian captivity from the ill-fated fortress of Przemyśl. The longing for homeland and nation forces me to approach the dear Editor with the request to send Your esteemed newspaper to my address in order for me to somewhat ease my thoughts and my national sentiments.*⁴⁵⁵

At times, friendly relations on crownland level looked entirely different once the Bukovinian border was crossed. An apt illustration of such a shift was the festive opening of a playground for children by the Polish ‘Sokół’ association of Czernowitz in 1909. Because the initiative

Мило й умирати.” Popovych, Omelyan, *Bukovynskiy Kalendar’ na perestupniy rok 1888*, Ruska Besida, Czernowitz 1888, pp. 41-56.

⁴⁵⁰ Купчанко, Григорій, *Писатель и просвѣтитель Руси, Селянинъ*, 01.03.1896, p. 3.

⁴⁵¹ “Ой возить він те болото а сам ревно плаче/ Що вже свої України вже ніколи не побаче.” Колісник, Тодер, *Канадійська пісня*, *Руска Рада*, 19.03.1904, pp. 89-90.

⁴⁵² Товтюк, Василь, *За вѣру и Русь*, *Народна рада*, 16.12.1905.

⁴⁵³ *Як витали д-ра Стоцького черновецькі Русини*, *Руска Рада*, 25.01.1908, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁵⁴ Friedwagner, Matthias, *Rumänische Volkslieder aus der Bukowina*, M. Niemeyer, Halle 1905, p. 6.

⁴⁵⁵ GZNB, *Karten hochverräterischen beziehungsweise antiösterreichischen Inhaltes*, 28 April 1916/ Vienna, Kriegsarchiv/Armeeoberkommando/ Gemeinsames Zentralnachweisbüro (AOK/GZNB)/ Gruppe Deutsch B, Sonderbericht No. XCVIII, Karton 3766, Fasc. E4841.

had been supported by the entire city council, representatives of the other nationalist diet factions in Bukovina were cordially invited to participate. Still, the Ruthenians led by Mykola Vasyloko refused to attend. The refusal had little to do with local animosities, since, as Vasyloko himself explained, ‘the consent between Ruthenians and Poles in Bukovina was good throughout with enough evidence to show for it’. Furthermore, Vasyloko saw the Bukovinian Poles as active contributors to ‘the maintenance and reinforcement of peace between the nationalities’. Had the manifestation kept its local character, he maintained, the Bukovinian Ruthenians would have been happy to take part. However, the organisers from the Czernowitz ‘Sokół’ had decided to invite Poles from outside of Bukovina as well. In the eyes of Vasyloko, this ‘changed matters completely’: Czernowitz was now to be the scene of a ‘procession of Pan-Polishness’ (*Allpolentum*) and this wider context created difficulties, since ‘Pan-Polishness stood opposite to Pan-Ruthenism’, and therefore, ‘what locally had been levelled and balanced was by no means any longer so because of the general political aspect the Czernowitz Poles had attributed to their celebration’.⁴⁵⁶ In other words, beyond the borders of easygoing Bukovina, Polish-Ruthenian relations were dominated and tarnished by the way the Polish elites in Galicia oppressed their Ruthenian-speaking peasantry. While Bukovinian Ruthenians and Bukovinian Poles gladly accepted invitations to the other’s festivities, Poles and Ruthenians in the purely national sense of the word were obliged to remain enemies.

Not only was identification with both region and nationality a common occurrence and not only was nationalism at times regarded as a force from which the crownland eventually benefited: *Bukowinaer Rundschau* maintained in 1890 that regional chauvinism actually *resulted* from nationalism. The *Rundschau* blamed ‘nationality politics’ for the emergence of a ‘crownland notion’ (*Landesgedanken*) next to an ‘Empire notion’ (*Reichsgedanken*), with ‘the provincial representations constantly trying to obtain concessions from the prerogatives of the united state organism’.⁴⁵⁷

The assumed link between regional and national was not only perceived negatively: when Romanian nationalists organised a large-scale commemoration of the Moldavian prince Stephen the Great in 1904,⁴⁵⁸ both the Bukovinian local authorities and the local German-language press emphasised that Stephen was a Bukovinian historical figure just as much as he was Romanian.⁴⁵⁹ Nationalists circles in Bukovina seemed less convinced of this existence of mutually enhancing identification concepts and were annoyed when regional ties appeared closer than those between ‘co-nationals’ from distant regions. The editors of *Narodny Holos* envied the Bukovinian Poles who went as far as to propose a diet candidate who was not even from Bukovina, as well as their Romanian competitors and saw Aron Pumnul, the Uniate Transylvanian teacher who introduced Romanian nationalism in Bukovina, as the prime example of inter-Romanian solidarity since Pumnul was revered and accepted in Bukovina in

⁴⁵⁶ *Ruthenen und Polen*, Bukowinaer Post, 2403, 04.07.1909, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁵⁷ *Gedenket der Landeskinder*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 14.12.1890, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁵⁸ See paragraph 6.3: The 400th Anniversary of the Death of Stephen the Great in 1904.

⁴⁵⁹ See for example *Die Stefanfeier in Putna*, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 17.07.1904, p. 1 and *Aus der vertraulichen Sitzung (Erlauschtes und Erschnüffeldes)*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 14.01.1905, p. 4.

spite of his regional and religious background. As such, other nations could serve as a ‘model for national unity’ for the Ruthenians.⁴⁶⁰ In the Romanian camp, however, the mood was less jubilant. *Voința Poporului* complained in 1906 about the way Romanians ‘from afar’ were ignored by Romanian speakers in Bukovina:

*In recent years, the number of complaints about a lack of Romanian professionals has risen. From Banat a barber and a Romanian merchant arrived. We have often addressed how the barber fares, however the berry merchant who has paid a considerable sum for the plot on the central square, does not quite have the support of the Romanians either. Our lot come to his shop, maybe ask how much this or that costs and then go on to buy the necessary goods from foreigners. We know the names of several people who claim to be nationalists over a glass of beer, but the facts show the opposite. They better keep this in mind and repent; otherwise we will reveal them and make public just whose words are bigger than their actions!*⁴⁶¹

Who exactly was ‘the foreigner’ in the eyes of the Romanian-speaking shoppers in Czernowitz thus remains to be seen: much to the chagrin of the editors of *Voința Poporului*, the Romanian-speaking merchant seemed to have lost the competition. In 1913, *Viața Nouă* indignantly reported how a speech held by a Storozynetz lawyer named Comoroșan on the matter of language use in the courts and offices of the land had been rudely interrupted by a Romanian, ‘a prominent farmer from nearby’ (*gospodar fruntaș din împrejurime*). The man had allegedly shouted at the speaker that ‘Romanians did not need Romanian, but instead wanted to live in peace with the Jews and Germans and use the latter’s language’. The newspaper deplored the ‘ignorance of large parts of the rural masses’. It maintained the troublemaker had been ‘seduced by foreigners’ and largely blamed Bukovina’s Romanian ‘pseudo-democrats’ for this ‘state of anarchy’, since they had downplayed the importance of the Romanian language and tricolour for over ten years. Like in the previous example, nationalists and their target group did not seem to see eye to eye on who was a ‘foreigner’: whereas *Voința Poporului* evidently allotted that role to the mentioned ‘Jews and Germans’, the man interrupting Comoroșan’s speech clearly disagreed.⁴⁶² Similar deliberations remained after the World War had started, as is illustrated by a 1917 letter to Ilie Damian in Stupka, Bukovina, from an unidentified PoW in Russian captivity:

*Some officers arrived, three in number, and they deceive the people so that they rush to the aid of the Romanians and liberate Romania with the help of the PoWs. There are scoundrels and vagabonds from Transylvania and Banat who have volunteered. But we, as many from Bukovina as we are - we all refused, because we still believe in God. Having already pledged loyalty to one emperor, should we now go to another? We will not as long as God keeps us alive!*⁴⁶³

⁴⁶⁰ *Національна єдність в практиці у Поляків – а у нас*, Народный голос, 09.20.1911, pp. 2-4.

⁴⁶¹ *Cum n’ar trebui să fie*, *Voința Poporului*, 26, 01.07.1906, p. 7.

⁴⁶² *Un român contra limbei românești? (Informațiuni)*, *Viața Nouă*, 100, 16.11.1913, p. 9.

⁴⁶³ “Es sind Offiziere gekommen, drei an der Zahl, und betören die Leute, damit sie den Rumänen zuhelfe eilen und Rumänien mit Hilfe der Kgf. befreien. Es haben sich Schufte und Strolche gefunden, aus Siebenbürgen und dem Banat, die sich gemeldet haben. Aber wir, soviele aus der Bukowina da waren, - nicht einer war dazu zu haben, denn wir glauben noch an Gott. Haben wir nicht bereits einem Kaiser geschworen, da sollen wir zu einem

It may be argued that loyalty to the Austrian Emperor dominated over regional solidarity here, but the fact that the ‘brethren’ from Transylvania and the Banat were being despised as ‘scoundrels and vagabonds’ surely did not comply with the ‘foreigner-brother’ dichotomy Romanian nationalists in Bukovina so ardently advocated.

Once the war was over and the Romanian government in Bucharest sat down to discuss how the newly-acquired provinces were to be incorporated in the Romanian state, regional patriotism was once again brought to the fore. As Romanian historian Sever Zotta commented in his personal notes, the Romanian political elite discussed if Bukovina was to keep the rights it had enjoyed under Habsburg rule (a provincial diet, the autonomous administration of the land's institutions by the diet president etc.) or that unification was to be ‘unconditional’. According to Zotta, ‘for those who put the interest of the peoples above provincial ones, even though their local patriotism was quite developed, the question did not cause any difficulty at all’: the relative majority of Romanian nationalists in the Bukovinian Diet was considered too weak to guarantee the Romanian nationalist course Bucharest desired. Moreover, the incorporation of much larger Transylvania was about to be finalised, so any concessions to Bukovina would certainly have complicated the negotiations between the Romanian government and Transylvania’s negotiators.⁴⁶⁴ Bukovinian local autonomy and a possible regional chauvinism were seen as a direct threat and an important reason to impose a strictly centralised regime on the freshly-acquired Romanian citizens.

Within the context of Ruthenian nationalism in Bukovina, the regional element had an extra dimension. Those resisting the militant rhetoric of Young-Ruthenian politicians like Smal’-Stotsky and Pihuliak agreed that the situation of Ruthenians under the Polish yoke in Galicia served as a justification for radicalism over there, but maintained there was no place for it Bukovina. *Bukowinaer Post* stated that ‘in the homeland there was no Ruthenian question in the proper sense of the word, since the indigenous Ruthenians were primarily real Austrians and true, loyal sons of the narrow homeland (*engere Heimat*)’.⁴⁶⁵ Logically, in the Young-Ruthenian discourse the differences between Galician and Bukovinian Ruthenians were

anderen gehen? Wir gehen nicht, so lange uns Gott am Leben lässt!’ Unknown PoW, *Letter to Ilie Damnian in Stupka, Yusovka (Yekaterinoslav)*, 6 July 1917/ *Die rumänische Frage – Novemberbericht (1917)*, Referat XVIII/16, E.F. St. von Volcinski, Vienna, Kriegsarchiv/Armeeoberkommando/ Gemeinsames Zentralnachweisbüro (AOK/GZNB), Karton 3755, between fasc 4900 and 4901.

⁴⁶⁴ Chestiunea principală era, dacă Bucovina să-și păstreze autonomia, cel puțin în măsura drepturilor acordate ei de către Austria, precum: dieta provincială, administrația autonomă a instituțiilor Țării (spre deosebire de cele ale Statului) de sub conducerea preșidentului dietii (Mareșalul Țării) etc., sau dacă unirea să aibă loc necondiționată, urmând ea prin concesiuni cu caracter descentralizat din partea Guvernului Regatului să se țină socoteală de împrejurările speciale din Bucovina. Pentru cei cari pun interesele generale ale neamurilor deasupra celor provinciale, chiar dacă patriotismul lor local e destul de dezvoltat, chestiunea nu prezintă nici o dificultate și aceasta din două considerațiuni: Întâia, pentru că elemental românesc în Bucovina, deși în majoritate relativă nu este destul e puternic spre a face din Dieta provincială de gravitațiune al politicei naționale. A doua, că Ardealul aflându-se în ajunul proclamării unirei cu Regatul, era de așteptat ca unirea necondiționată a Bucovinei să aibă o oarecare repercursiune și asupra acestei țări în sensul atenuării condițiilor unirei. (...) Zotta, Sever, *Notes on transition of power in 1918*, 1918 (after)/ ANR, Fond personal ‘Sever Zotta’, dosar 11.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ruthenenfragen in der Bukowina*, *Bukowinaer Post*, 16.06.1895, pp. 1-2.

negligible: in contrast to Ruthenian speakers in Transleithania and Russia, Galicians and Bukovinians were neighbours within the borders of one Empire, and although 'the fields of Bukovinian rye were somewhat different from those in Galicia', Young-Ruthenians in Bukovina felt 'obliged to shine and come together jointly in a spiritual bond, one national idea, the national autonomy of one nation'.⁴⁶⁶ In later years, tensions between Galician and Bukovinian Ruthenians became apparent when they formed a joint Ruthenian Club in the Austrian parliament. The Bukovinian press was not surprised when it collapsed and wondered how the small group of Bukovinian Ruthenians could possibly benefit from the close cooperation with their Galician 'brethren': the latter only seemed to take advantage of the Bukovinians and came to Bukovina in droves to enlarge their influence. According to *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, Bukovinian and Galician Ruthenians overestimated their common features:

*No matter how much they speak of the solidarity of national interests or are even inclined to anticipate national autonomy as aspired by the Ruthenians and thus regard the blurring of the boundaries between Galicia and Bukovina as a question of the very near future, there are such huge differences between the Ruthenians on both sides of the Dniester and the Czeremosch that no common program and no joint club is cemented firmly enough to eliminate these. (...) Nor has the venerable Orthodox Church in Bukovina remained without influence on the development of characters and on the emergence of a latent world view, which takes effect at certain moments and then opens up the entire gap between these people. Bukovinian soil is not the same as the Podolian plain and there is a whole world between Kotzman and Rava-Ruska.*⁴⁶⁷

The *Allgemeine* regarded the Ruthenians at the Bukovinian side of the border river 'simply a different breed of people, alien to national fanaticism, pleased with the achievements so far and unwilling to plunge the land into national and social-revolutionary confusion', and called on them to 'give up the tactics estranging them from their own soil and making the land to which they belonged an arena of ideas and aspirations not indigenous to Bukovina'.⁴⁶⁸ Old-Ruthenians had an additional religious argument against the 'Galician foreigners', who were by and large Uniate believers and as such 'enemies of the great Russian Orthodox nation'. They invoked the regional differences to coin the language they used 'Bukovinian-Russian' which was to contrast favourably with the 'Ukrainian' of their Young-Ruthenian competitors, 'this artefact of Polish and colloquial speech'.⁴⁶⁹ The central theme of Old-Ruthenian election campaigns in Bukovina was the contrast between good - the indigenous Orthodox-Russian Bukovinians - and evil - the intruding Uniate-Galicians.⁴⁷⁰

Once Ruthenian-speakers from Bukovina had taken the step to start a new life across the ocean, their longing and homesickness seemed more often directed towards the notion of

⁴⁶⁶ Русини, Німці і Волохи – II(кінець), Буковина, 18.01.1898, p. 1.

⁴⁶⁷ *Die Spaltung des Ruthenenclubs*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 06.06.1909, p. 1.

⁴⁶⁸ *Die richtigen Konsequenzen*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 24.10.1909, p. 1.

⁴⁶⁹ *До православного буковинско-руського народу!* Народна Рада, 19.03.1904, p.1.

⁴⁷⁰ *До буковинського руско-православного народу!*, Народна Рада, 13.02.1907, p. 1.

‘Bukovina’ than to towards ‘Mother Rus’ or ‘Ukraine’. A group of Bukovinian emigrants established a settlement in Argentina in 1902. Had they been Old-Ruthenian nationalists, they could have opted for a name like ‘Rus’; had they been Young-Ruthenians, a name like ‘Sych’ or ‘Shevchenko’ might have been deemed appropriate. However, as *Selyanin* reported, they opted for ‘Bukovina’.⁴⁷¹ Equally, a ‘folk song’ published in *Ruska Rada* in 1904 describes feelings of loneliness in Canada⁴⁷² during the Easter days and exclusively addresses ‘Bukovinians’ and ‘little Bukovina’ (Буковинка):

*Oh you brothers Bukovinians, my native brothers/ Don't go, don't go to Canada, for you'll be poor/ God giveth that my mother-in-law never die/ And write to me many letters from little Bukovina/ Like the letters she wrote and sprinkled with tears.*⁴⁷³

No matter how creative the solutions often were, defending both a pronounced regional and a national identification was a tiresome enterprise. An easier solution was diminution: instead of being both Bukovinian and Ruthenian or Romanian, one could maintain to be Bukovinian-Ruthenian or Bukovinian-Romanian. When university dean Adler opposed the electoral register system in 1909, he underlined the common regional interests while carefully showing sympathy for nationalist sentiments and thus stated to ‘fully understand how one cannot possibly be simply Bukovinian-Ruthenian, Bukovinian-German or Bukovinian-Romanian’.⁴⁷⁴ But exactly this subset approach was invoked by the Old-Ruthenians to maintain a safe distance from the stiff Young-Ruthenian competition from Galicia. A poem from 1897 by Dimitri Yakubovych encouraged ‘Bukovinian-Ruthenians’ to remain loyal to the Orthodox faith.⁴⁷⁵

Romanian nationalists resorted to the same approach when they addressed the ‘foreign threat’ posed by Galician Young-Ruthenians and positioned themselves specifically as ‘Bukovinian-Romanians’; as such, criticism aimed at Romanian nationalists from Bukovina for leaning on support from Romania and Transylvania in the same way the Young-Ruthenians in Bukovina received assistance from Galicia could be diverted. During the standoff between the Orthodox Romanian nationalist clerics en governor Bourguignon in 1899, *Deșteptarea* reported how ‘as a reward for the unwavering trust in Throne and Empire’, the governor and his advisers together with the ‘newcomers’ (*venetici*) had started to ‘hunt’ the Bukovinian-Romanians, supported by ‘Papist monks and Jesuits’ who had taught them how to hit their victims ‘more satanically’ only because the latter had not ‘abandoned the true faith like the Ruthenians, the

⁴⁷¹ Буковински Русини въ Аргентинѣ, Селянинъ, 10.01.1902, p. 7.

⁴⁷² Canadian historian Fred Stambrook attributed the identification of Ruthenian speaking Bukovinian emigrants in Canada with Bukovina rather than with Ruthenians in general to the fact that they wanted to maintain their Orthodox identity as opposed to the largely Uniate Galician Ruthenian speakers. Stambrook 2004, p. 199.

⁴⁷³ “Ой ви братя Буковинці, братя мої рідні/ Не йдїть, не йдїть до Канади, бо будете бідні/ Богдай моя та свекруха ніколи не сконала/ Що вона за мнов в Буковинку листочки писала”. *Великдень у Канаді* (Народна пісня), Руска Рада, 10.09.1904, p. 288.

⁴⁷⁴ Adler, Dean, *Die Landtagswahlreform*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 21.11.1909, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁷⁵ Якубович, Димитрій, *Православний*, 3 Житя (published earlier in Селянинъ No. 63), Буковина, 12.03.1897, p. 3.

rabid dogs from Galicia' had.⁴⁷⁶ Other Romanian nationalists insisted the specificity of 'Bukovinian-Romanianness' was the negative effect of 'being so completely isolated from their co-nationals that even their language ran the risk of obtaining distinctly Bukovinian specifics'.⁴⁷⁷

That said, at times nationalists in Bukovina were too close for comfort to their 'co-nationals' across the border. Particularly the continuous scrutiny Nicolae Iorga's 'Cultural League' exercised over Romanian activism in Bukovina caused annoyance. This unease had surfaced when Iorga's paper *Neamul Românesc* accused Bukovinian Orthodox Metropolitan Vladimir Repta of 'flirting with the Bukovinian Jews' in 1908. It was subsequently being reprimanded by Bukovinian *Viitoriul* for its lack of knowledge regarding Bukovina's social conditions and kindly asked to leave the crownland in peace.⁴⁷⁸ These sentiments were not new and not limited to particular circles of Romanian nationalists: Aurel Onciul's *Voința Poporului*, a radical opponent of the conservative clerical *Viitoriul* had already lashed out much more venomously against critical publications from Romania in 1903:

For quite some time the newspapers from the Kingdom of Romania make bold to meddle in our political affairs without having even the faintest clue of our factual records. Ignorance and superficiality are typical for journalism in the Kingdom. With arrogance only typical for over there they pronounced their verdict on our business. Messenger-boys paid by the large landowners make up these fabrications in order to mislead our political and economical circles more effectively. (...) And with what right do these gentlemen interfere in our affairs? Is there even one single aspect in the way the Kingdom is governed which might serve us as an example? Please, do tell us! Public and private morality are below all standards there. Divorces are the order of the day. Mothers quarrel with their daughters over shared lovers. Women go from one divorce to another until their lives of debauchery plunge them with wrinkled faces into the darkness of oblivion. Perjury is the order of the day. Peasants are sucked dry and gone to rack; without culture and economic power, they are formally free but politically the eternal serfs of a boyar clique. Industry and trade are in foreign hands. Everything foreign becomes wealthy through serious work and devotion in this country rich and blessed by nature with its enormous treasures, even the beleaguered and destitute Jews acquire considerable possessions, only the natives do not. Large landowners lease out their land, exploit the peasants and extort money from wherever they can only to squander it in Monaco and Paris.

The article continued with harsh attacks on Romanian political culture and the dismal way seasonal labourers from Bukovina were treated in 'the sweet Romanian land' (*dulcea țară românească*) and predicted that as long as 'boyar politics' dominated in Romania, the country would remain 'a Turkish pashalik'- a particularly delicate insult coming from Austria.⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁶ Editorial, *Deșteptarea*, 22, 15.11.1899, pp. 169-170.

⁴⁷⁷ *Rumänische Lehrer- und Priesterschaft. Ein Wort zur Klärung von einem rumänischen Lehrer*, Bukowinaer Journal, 13.02.1902, p. 2.

⁴⁷⁸ *Spre orientare*, *Viitoriul*, 19, 01.10.1908, pp. 141-142.

⁴⁷⁹ "Dela frați la frați" sau Plavragii din Regat la potlogarii 'naționalî' din Bucovina, *Voința Poporului*, 27, 25.12.1903, pp. 1-2.

While the clerical mouthpiece *Viitoriul* intended to defend the head of the Bukovinian Orthodox Church and peasant-oriented *Voința Poporului* grabbed the opportunity to attack the landowner class it so ardently despised, the underlying message was the same: Romania would have to perform a great deal better before it was entitled to cry wolf about the conditions in Bukovina.

With the rising political tensions in the spring of 1914 eventually leading to the World War, irredentist voices from Romania became louder. Once again it was the 'Cultural League' which caused outrage in Austria when its secretary referred to 'the situation of neglect of the Romanians in the most forgotten, ill-fated part of the alienated Romanian soil'. Bukovinian Romanian nationalists like the president of the Romanian Club in the Austrian parliament, Teofil Simionovici, hastened to deny any connection to the 'Cultural League'. Others, like Czernowitz theology professor Ștefan Saghin, limited themselves to the formulation that 'in principle they opposed the interference of one state in the affairs of another'⁴⁸⁰ - views which were not repeated when after the end of the war, unification of Bukovina with Romania became a likely scenario.⁴⁸¹ Aurel Onciul was more outspoken and explained the genesis of the 'League' as a reaction on the situation of Romanian speakers under Hungarian rule, adding that any of its interferences in Bukovinian affairs was 'downright unpleasant and undesirable' (*absolut unsympatish und unerwünscht*). Onciul went on to say that Bukovinian Romanians had no reason to complain about their 'national situation': the comments made by the 'League' resulted from the Romanian-Ruthenian power struggle within the Bukovinian Orthodox Church, and neither Romanian speakers in Bukovina nor the leading circles in Bucharest supported the 'League's' allegations.⁴⁸²

Ruthenian nationalists in Bukovina had neither the luxury nor the threat of a 'Ruthenian state' next door. As such, irredentism and state-supported national initiatives were not a topic as in circles of Bukovinian Romanian nationalists. Nevertheless, interference from the Galician Ruthenian nationalists as decried by Old-Ruthenians and Bukovinian Romanian nationalists was not as much appreciated by Bukovinian Ruthenian speakers as Ruthenian leaders like Mykola Vasylo liked to suggest. Galicians with their history of oppression by the Polish-speaking upper crust were thought to bring a degree of fanaticism not native to Bukovina and detriment to the position of Bukovinian Ruthenian speakers.⁴⁸³ In speeches for his own followers, Vasylo himself addressed the 'difference' (*ріжниця*) between Galician and Bukovinian Ruthenians. He went on to underline how much the Bukovinians owed to the cooperation with the 'Galician brothers' and how unknown Ruthenians would have been to the outside world had they not been able to refer to 'the millions of brothers in Galicia'.⁴⁸⁴ Vasylo knew that he had to be convincing: the steady influx of Galicians, who also formed the majority in the Ruthenian secondary schools the Young-Ruthenians in Bukovina were so

⁴⁸⁰ *Stimmen unserer Rumänen*, Bukowinaer Post, 05.04.1914, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁸¹ Rus 2008, p. 250.

⁴⁸² *Ein österreichischer Rumäne gegen die Kulturliga*, Bukowinaer Post, 05.04.1914, p. 3.

⁴⁸³ *Згода*, Громадянин, 25.12.1909, p. 1.

⁴⁸⁴ *Як витали д-ра Стоцького черновецькі Русини*, Руска Рада, 25.01.1908, pp. 1-2.

proud of, did not much to warm Bukovinian Ruthenian speakers to a joint national cause; the local press nicknamed the schools in Wiznitz and Kotzman ‘cuckoo’s eggs’ and deplored how Bukovinian Ruthenian-speakers had to compete for jobs with the Galician newcomers.⁴⁸⁵

3.5 Bukovinianness – Notions of ‘Native’, ‘Foreign’ and ‘People’

The concept of ‘native soil’ (*Heimat*) in Bukovina was often combined with ‘autonomy’ and thus opposed to Galicia. *Bukowinaer Journal*, although nationalist in the sense that it was the organ of the Romanian large landowners, regarded it one of its principal tasks ‘to remain vigilant over any overt or covert effort directed against the autonomy of the native land or aimed at preventing its full development’ and linked this ambition to the slogan ‘Bukovina for the Bukovinians’ (*Die Bukowina den Bukowinaern*).⁴⁸⁶ In the same sense, the newspaper reported on the case of a Dr Samson Bodnărescu, who passed away in Romania after he had left his ‘native land’ (*Heimat*) where he had been unable to find work - the underlying message being that non-Bukovinians stole the jobs to which ‘real’ Bukovinians were entitled - and now had found his final resting place ‘in foreign soil’ (*in fremder Erde*).⁴⁸⁷ In the same issue *Bukowinaer Journal* reported how Bukovinian historian Demeter Onciul had been appointed member of the Romanian Academy of Science after having been ‘forced to leave his native land because the government in Bukovina had not been able to employ him’.⁴⁸⁸ In *Voința Poporului*, a Romanian-speaking veteran of the 41st - the ‘Bukovinian’- Regiment described how he came home to his ‘native land’ (*patrie*) after having stayed in Vienna for two years.⁴⁸⁹ In the first two examples, both coming from nationalist sources, Bukovina is ‘native soil’ and Romania ‘foreign territory’. In the last account, the Bukovinian native land is juxtaposed with ‘foreign’ Vienna. Deputy Mayor Reiss of Czernowitz remarked at the festive opening of the 41st Regiment’s Officer’s Mess in 1905 that the goodwill of the Bukovinian population towards the military was rooted in the fact that the Regiment’s members were all ‘sons of the narrow homeland’.⁴⁹⁰ Hermann Mittelman, who was an avid promoter of tourism to Bukovina in the early 1900s, maintained that ‘who was born in Czernowitz and called Bukovina his native land felt like a true Bukovinian was interested for the wellbeing of city and land’ - and went on to express his surprise at the municipal council’s lack of preparations for the city’s 500th anniversary.⁴⁹¹

⁴⁸⁵ *Das Kuckucksei*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 10.11.1908, p. 1; *Die Spaltung des Ruthenenclubs*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 06.06.1909, p. 1.

⁴⁸⁶ *Pränumérations-Einladung*, Bukowinaer Journal, 29.09.1901, p. 3.

⁴⁸⁷ *Todesfall*, Bukowinaer Journal, 69, 06.03.1902, p. 3.

⁴⁸⁸ *Bukowinaer in der Fremde*, Bukowinaer Journal, 69, 06.03.1902, p. 3.

⁴⁸⁹ Grecul, Temistocle, *Amintiri din viața militară*, Voința Poporului, 26.03.1905, p. 9.

⁴⁹⁰ *Die Eröffnung des neuen Landwehroffizierskasinos* (Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten), Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 19.02.1905, p. 4.

⁴⁹¹ Mittelman, Hermann, *Zur Feier des 500-jährigen Bestandes der Stadt Czernowitz (1408-1908)* (Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten), Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 21.10.1905, p. 3.

Whereas the concept of a Bukovinian *Heimat* could quite comfortably be combined with other identifications like nationality or the state, the idea of one Bukovinian people (*Volk/ popor/ народ*), was considerably harder to accommodate since it competed directly with nationalist claims. Nationalist historiography flatly denies its existence, or, in the words of Romanian historian Radu Grigorovici, ‘not a history book in the world mentions a ‘Bukovinian people’, since the Bukovinian population lacked common elements such as language, religion and government organisation to set them apart from their neighbours’.⁴⁹² Nevertheless, the term was not unknown during the days of Habsburg rule. Already in 1891, *Bukowinaer Rundschau* had used its welcoming words to new governor Pace to declare ‘a united Bukovinian people (*ein einzig Volk von Bukowinaern*), united by peace and tolerance’,⁴⁹³ but only with the appearance of Aurel Onciul and the Freethinking Alliance the term gained steam: since the political program of the Alliance had a socio-economic character and initially downplayed the respective nationalist agendas of the various partners, the peasant and farmer electorate was more often addressed as the ‘the Bukovinian people’.⁴⁹⁴ At times, the notions of ‘one Bukovinian people’ and ‘the different nations of Bukovina’ could be found in one breath as *Voința Poporului* demonstrated in 1904 when it commented on the years in office of Governor Hohenlohe and mentioned that under Hohenlohe ‘the *Bukovinian people* had tasted the benefits of law and justice for the first time and because of this he had at once conquered the hearts of *all cohabiting peoples*’.⁴⁹⁵ A similar ambivalence can be observed in the way *Voința* described how Metropolitan Repta was ‘loved and venerated by the *entire Bukovinian people* indifferent of nation (*neam*) or denomination’.⁴⁹⁶ The Ruthenian-language press supporting the Alliance also spoke of ‘the entire Bukovinian people’ (*цѣлый буковинскій народъ*) in an appeal to the electorate signed by ‘the united election committee of the Russian national party, Romanians, Germans, Poles, Jews, Lippovans, Hungarians and Slovaks’.⁴⁹⁷

Once the short-lived heyday of the Freethinking Alliance had passed, the epithet of the ‘Bukovinian people’ remained. It was now nostalgically referred to by some as an achievement of the Alliance itself, as *Bukowinaer Post* showed in 1906 when it mourned the deteriorating political relations in Bukovina:

*Back when the Freethinking Alliance triumphantly entered Bukovina, when all nations and religions flocked to its banner, when the shining success beckoned to present to the astonished and envious Empire in beautiful Bukovina a united people of Bukovinians as a matter of pride, as a landmark, even as the most precious possession of the land, then the necessary conditions were readily available.*⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹² Grigorovici 1996, p. 278

⁴⁹³ *Unser neuer Landespräsident*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 11.01.1891, p. 1.

⁴⁹⁴ See for example *O vestă îmbucurătoare*, *Voința Poporului*, 33, 12.08.1904, p. 8: “În interesul întregului popor bucovinean apelăm cu tot adinsul la toți acei gospodari, cari vor ține loc dela fond, să plătească arînda la vreme”.

⁴⁹⁵ *Prințul și prințesa Hohenlohe*, *Voința Poporului*, 41, 08.10.1904, p. 2.

⁴⁹⁶ *Deputatul rus N. de Vasilco*, *Voința Poporului*, 9, 04.03.1906, p. 9.

⁴⁹⁷ *Братья! Народна Рада*. 23.09.1905, p. 1.

⁴⁹⁸ *Politik und Fremdenverkehr*, *Bukowinaer Post*, 10.06.1906, p. 1.

Whether as a political achievement or as a utopian vision, ‘the Bukovinian people’ as a category had found a way into the discourse. When *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* complained about the naive local attitude towards politics, the article simply stated: ‘We are a sanguine bunch’ (*Wir sind ein sanguinisches Völklein*).⁴⁹⁹

Bukovinian, first of all

Next to the various brands of nationalism, loyalty to State and Emperor and combined identifications with both the *ethnie* and the region, Bukovina proper had emerged as a focus of self-consciousness from the moment autonomy from Galicia was lobbied and achieved. One of the spiritual fathers of this autonomy, Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki, was applauded by both his fellow deputies and the audience when he declared his vision in the Bukovinian Diet in 1863:

*Only since Bukovina is allowed to think audibly and effectively as Bukovina, only from this moment it can also apply the famous words to itself: cogito, ergo sum. It is joyfully aware of its existence as well as of its position. Like a Roman scion grafted onto the mighty Germanic oak trunk in Vienna, which gives it a fixed location and ample nutrition, Bukovina wants to branch from this tree and use its juices to grow a lush flower; at the same time, it wants to maintain the individuality of a branch entirely and just sprout from its own buds the fruits nature allotted to it; in short, it wants to be and remain a Bukovina bedded on Austria.*⁵⁰⁰

Shortly before the war, in February 1914, priest Emilian Markowiewicz from Czernawka noted that Hurmuzaki’s grave was not even marked by a cross. He declared it ‘obvious to each indigenous Bukovinian that on the grave of this noble son of the smaller fatherland, who worked almost his whole life for its autonomy, not a simple stone cross, but a monument should be erected to bear witness to the fact that the Bukovinians know how to honour the father of their autonomy and that such a monument should be erected by the entire land’.⁵⁰¹ That last remark was indisputably directed at Romanian nationalists who claimed Hurmuzaki as a patron saint of their own cause.⁵⁰²

The local German-language press acted as an important vehicle for the notion that Bukovinian interests should come first. In 1899, *Czernowitzer Presse* took pains to portray evidently

⁴⁹⁹ *Eingeschlafen*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 11.04.1912, p. 1.

⁵⁰⁰ Bukowinaer Landtag, *Stenographische Protokolle des Bukowinaer Landtags für die zweite Session*, Eckhardt, Czernowitz 1863, p. 2 (1st Session, 12 January).

⁵⁰¹ *Anregung eines Monumentes für weiland Eudoxius Hormuzaki*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 01.02.1914, p. 4.

⁵⁰² This tendency is aptly illustrated by a correction in the personal notes of Bukovinian Romanian historian Sever Zotta from 1914 in support of Markowiewicz’s appeal. Although Zotta maintained that every Bukovinian should be grateful to Hurmuzaki ‘since no Romanian could be thanked more for the political individuality of the land’, he initially wrote ‘for the political individuality of this once Romanian land’. Zotta, Sever, *Ein Denkmal für Eudoxius Hormuzaki (1812-1874)*, February 1914/ ANR, Fond personal ‘Sever Zotta’, dosar 44.

nationalist politicians like Vasytko and Straucher as equally ardent Bukovinians, defending the wellbeing of the entire crownland in Vienna.⁵⁰³

Bukowinaer Rundschau claimed in 1905 that ‘the local press (...) had always shared the one fixed principle of engaging only in true regional politics, regardless of political position on party affiliation, serving first and last of all the interests of the land and its inhabitants’.⁵⁰⁴ Indeed, the prominent Bukovinian papers based their right to exist as well as their added value on their position as ‘autonomists, Bukovinians with heart and soul’, as the founding principles of *Bukowinaer Post* would have it in 1893, underlining that it did neither accept any interference from Galicia nor encourage any nationalist activism outside the Bukovinian realm:

*And no more than we like to see or sanction that external influences assert themselves here, we avoid to reach beyond the borders of the land ourselves. We grant our most benevolent endorsement and most energetic support to national claims, whether they come from Romanians, Germans or Ruthenians, provided they remain within the circle to which our previously indicated autonomist principle confines us. If, however, manifestations of national sentiments here and there reach beyond this circle - undoubtedly with the best and the most intentions - they leave us cold.*⁵⁰⁵

In 1896, *Post* discussed ‘true Bukovinianness’ by deprecating nationalism rather than dismissing it. It pointed a finger at Hungary ‘which sought to eliminate with a vengeance every stirring in this direction with its despotic hand’ and as such produced exactly the opposite effect. *Post* deemed it of minor importance if a Bukovinian deputy to the Austrian parliament represented a constituency largely belonging to another ethno-national group than himself, as long as the one elected was ‘a true Austrian Bukovinian’. What mattered was that Bukovinians were ‘all children of the same land, relying on mutual good-will’, that this had always been the state of affairs and should remain so in the future.⁵⁰⁶ By 1900, the newspaper asserted that ‘individual parties’ had had their own periodicals, but the land as a whole had lacked one and *Bukowinaer Post* aimed fill that gap as ‘the embodiment of Bukovinianness’ (*Verkörperung des Bukowinaerthums*).⁵⁰⁷ *Post* went as far as to assert that ‘maintaining and keeping alive the ‘crownland notion’ (*Landesgedanken*) was a preschool for the continued existence of the ‘Empire notion’ (*Reichsgedanken*)’ and that ‘in Bukovina, true Austrianness without sincere Bukovinianness was not easily conceivable.’⁵⁰⁸ By putting ‘Bukovinianness’ at the top of the identification hierarchy, *Bukowinaer Post* thus defined the kind of ‘Bukovinism’ Romanian nationalists later came to denounce so passionately.

⁵⁰³ *Reichsrathscandidat Nicolai Ritter von Wassilko*, Czernowitzer Presse, 15.12.1899, p. 1; *Nach zwei Jahren*, Czernowitzer Presse, 01.03.1899, p. 1.

⁵⁰⁴ *Schutz den Landeskindern*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 13.12.1905, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁰⁵ *Nochmals unser Programm*, *Bukowinaer Post*, 10.05.1894, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁰⁶ *Das wahre Bukowinaerthum*, *Bukowinaer Post*, 13.08.1896, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁰⁷ *Nummer 1000*, *Bukowinaer Post*, 29.05.1900, p. 1.

⁵⁰⁸ *Staats- und Landesgedanke*, *Bukowinaer Post*, 01.01.1900, p. 1.

The ambition to act as the single mouthpiece of the united crownland was not unique, as *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* demonstrated when it claimed that with its establishment in 1902 ‘for the first time an attempt had been made to create a worthy body to represent the land both inside and outside its borders’.⁵⁰⁹ *Bukowinaer Rundschau* commemorated its twenty-fifth anniversary in 1906 with the self-congratulatory remark that ‘with all the changing attitudes and relations, it had been loyally standing on guard, defending the welfare of the land in every situation, protecting and promoting it, never having waned and always first in line with regard to its duty and zeal for beautiful Bukovina and its inhabitants’.⁵¹⁰

⁵⁰⁹ *Ein Jahr*, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 31.01.1904, pp. 1-2.

⁵¹⁰ Nr. 5000, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 01.02.1906, p. 1.

4 The Myth of Habsburg Bukovina and Its Terminological Difficulties

In many sources, Habsburg Bukovina has obtained an almost mythical status which deserves attention. The denominator ‘Bukovinian myth’ and the related terms ‘Bukovinism’ and ‘homo bucovinensis’ are often applied but seldom defined. Romanian historian Ștefan Purici addressed ‘Habsburg Bukovinian mythology’ by dissecting three interwoven myths: that of Romanian versus Ukrainian exclusivity on the territory, that of the ‘oriental barbarity’ of the natives and that of the ‘civilising mission’ of Austria, which in turn is closely connected to the image of interethnic peace and tolerance. Lastly, Purici distinguished the myth of the creation of a *homo bucovinensis* and that of a solely benevolent approach of the major ethnic groups (Romanians and Ruthenians) by the Habsburg authorities, all of which need to be scholarly reviewed.⁵¹¹ Within the scope of this study, debates on Romanian and Ukrainian/Ruthenian exclusivity have been dealt with in Parts I and II.⁵¹² It is doubtful whether ‘the oriental barbarity of the natives’ can be branded a ‘Bukovinian myth’ or whether it must merely be seen as a metaphor for the exotic image of a borderland which gained steam by Franzos’ characterisation of ‘Semi-Asia’ as such.

Relevant here are Purici’s mythology subdivision ‘Vienna’s civilising mission’, ‘exemplary interethnic peace under Habsburg rule’ and the phenomenon of *homo bucovinensis*. Obviously intimately correlated, these elements combined might phrase the myth of Habsburg Bukovina as follows:

Under the enlightened influence of Austrian monarchs Maria Theresa and Joseph II, the foundation was laid for a multicultural society in which the refining elements of Habsburg civilisation as well as ethnic and religious harmony eventually enabled the emergence of a loyal Austrian model citizen with a culturally German orientation, the homo bucovinensis.

Though debated by many, the existence of the myth itself is questioned by few. It is stated that ‘the myth of the civilisation of Czernowitz and Bukovina as a territory which finally realised the union of the nations of the empire so much desired by Joseph II is a central theme of all works addressing the history of this region’⁵¹³ and that the myth of Czernowitz is firmly embedded in the collective memory of Central Europe.⁵¹⁴ Its emergence is dated in the early 1800s: as mentioned in Part II, the phenomenon of interethnic tolerance in Bukovina was described already in 1808 by prominent journalist, author, philosopher and physician Friedrich Lindner.⁵¹⁵ Small elites of linguistic and religious communities, and not to forget

⁵¹¹ Purici, Ștefan, *Die Geschichte der Bukowina*, in: Heppner, Harald (ed.), *Czernowitz – Die Geschichte einer ungewöhnlichen Stadt*, Böhlau Verlag, Cologne/Weimar/Vienna 2000, p. 180.

⁵¹² See Part I, paragraph 3: Literature Survey, and Part II, paragraph 2.1: Historical Claims.

⁵¹³ Beaumont, Frédéric, *Nostalgie habsbourgeoise et Bucovine interethnique chez Joseph Roth et Gregor von Rezzori*, in: *Revista română de studii culturale*, 1-2, 2004, 77-86, p. 78.

⁵¹⁴ Corbea-Hoisie 2004 (La Bucovine etc.), p. 44.

⁵¹⁵ “Die Bukowina biethet das seltene Schauspiel dar, daß man hier den größten Aberglauben neben einer fast unbegrenzten Toleranz antrifft. (...) Katholiken, Protestanten, Armenier, Griechen, Lippowaner, Abrahamiten, Huzzulen, Juden und Mahamedaner wohnen hier, seltene Fälle ausgenommen, ohne Haß und Verfolgungssucht

prominent authors such as Rose Ausländer and Paul Celan, safeguarded this image long after geopolitical realities had changed.⁵¹⁶ As recent as 1974, Emanuel von Kapri concluded his memoirs with the statement that ‘there were only brothers in this land, older and younger, so to speak, with Germanity as *primus inter pares*’.⁵¹⁷

As far as the creation of myths goes, Bukovina was not unique in the context of Habsburg regional history. Similar processes can be observed for other crownlands, such as neighbouring Galicia, ‘an Arcadia of polyethnic tolerance and exotic, but also of human poverty, especially influenced by the Hasidic attitudes to life and the religious rites which were perceived as foreign’.⁵¹⁸ Although the two crownlands and their respective myths were obviously distinctive, there is also an overlap with regard to the aspect of ‘multicultural harmony’ or ‘polyethnic tolerance’. With both myths being for the greater part derivatives of a larger, encompassing Habsburg Austrian mythology, these common elements are hardly remarkable in the nature of things.

The Habsburg myth is most lastingly represented by the monumental ‘Kronprinzenwerk’, Crown Prince Rudolph’s initiative to launch a twenty-four volume illustrated guidebook of Austro-Hungary (“The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in Words and Images”) which was published in German and Hungarian between 1886 and 1902.⁵¹⁹ While the diversity of the Monarchy was emphasised, the mission of the Kronprinzenwerk was to overcome national strife by getting to know each other better.⁵²⁰ However, the fatherland it projected continued to be based on the premises of loyalty to a dynasty which happened to rule over a state with interesting benefits for those living in it.⁵²¹ While distinguishing three key elements of Habsburg Austrian mythology, Italian Germanist Claudio Magris⁵²² firstly identified

the myth of the ideal of a multiform community, yet unified in its plurality. Habsburg Austria is the basis of existence for many different peoples with different languages, with the German language assuming the role of liaison between these peoples and their respective languages. ‘Austria’ is the umbrella which unites the diversity of peoples under her protection. ‘Austria’

friedlich neben einander”. Lindner, Friedrich Ludwig, *Bemerkungen über die Bukowina*, Vaterländische Blätter, Vol. 35 (6 September 1808), 279-283, p. 280.

⁵¹⁶ Turczynski 1993, pp. 2-3.

⁵¹⁷ Kapri 1974, p. 124.

⁵¹⁸ Hüchtler, Dietlind, *Der ‘Mythos Galizien’. Versuch einer Historisierung*, in: Müller, Michael G. and Petri, Rolf (ed.), *Die Nationalisierung von Grenzen. Zur Konstruktion nationaler Identität in sprachlich gemischten Grenzregionen (Tagungen zur Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung 16)*, Marburg 2002, 81-107, p. 82.

⁵¹⁹ *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild/ Az Osztrák-Magyar Monarchia írásban és képbén*, K. Graeser, Vienna/ A Magyar királyi államnyomda kiadása, Budapest/ 1885-1902.

⁵²⁰ Urbanitsch, Peter, *Pluralist Myth and Nationalist Realities: The Dynastic Myth of the Habsburg Monarchy - a Futile Exercise in the Creation of Identity?*, in: *Austrian History Yearbook*, 2004, 35, 101-141, p. 128.

⁵²¹ Schedel, James, *The Elusive Fatherland: Dynasty, State, Identity and the Kronprinzenwerk*, in: Csáky, Moritz and Zeyringer, Klaus (ed.) *Inszenierungen des kollektiven Gedächtnisses: Eigenbilder, Fremdbilder*, StudienVerlag, Innsbruck 2002, p. 78.

⁵²² As discussed in Ruthner, Clemens, ‘*Bacchanalien, Symposien, Orgien ...*’ Alfred Kubins Roman *Die andere Seite als literarische Versuchsstation des k.u.k. Weltuntergangs*, in: Bosse, Anke and Decloedt, Leopold R. G. (ed.), *Hinter den Bergen eine andere Welt - österreichische Literatur des 20. Jahrhunderts (Duitse kroniek 53)*, Rodopi, Amsterdam 2004, pp. 88-89.

as a guarantor of friendship and understanding among the nations which are in principle alien to each other, this is the first component.

The Austrian press widely introduced the Austria-Bukovina analogy during the Habsburg era, although in terms of multicultural harmony observers clearly tended to prefer Bukovina to the often tumultuous Vienna. The analogy therefore often served to present peaceful Bukovina as a model for the entire Empire, an image readily adopted by Bukovinian politicians and journalists: suddenly, backwards and unknown little Bukovina provided the perfect showcase for the ‘pluralistic myth’ Vienna endeavoured to popularise.⁵²³

Another motive of the Habsburg myth as presented by Magris is the enlargement of the myth of Vienna, which in the minds of the Austrians was the city of the Viennese waltz embodying enjoyment of life, good food and excessive drinking, the capital of the Habsburg land of milk and honey. In this respect, too, Bukovinian mythology followed the pattern and just like Bukovina was described as Little-Austria, Czernowitz was dubbed Little-Vienna⁵²⁴ and its inhabitants ‘Buko-Viennese’.⁵²⁵ The regional capital was often deployed by Bukovinians like Raimund Friedrich Kaindl as the cosmopolitan flagship of a small crownland in need of positive publicity in the Monarchy.

*And so every stranger who came to Bukovina found it more beautiful than he had expected. For instance, the progress and prosperity achieved by Czernowitz and this way by the entire land is certainly huge. Proof enough for the cultural capacity and cultural needs of the population!*⁵²⁶

This ‘enlargement of Czernowitz’ caught on and has continued to do so: in recent decades, scholarly attention in the field of literary studies and literary criticism has been focused almost exclusively on Czernowitz and its favourable cultural climate, home to internationally acclaimed authors such as Alfred Margul-Sperber, Paul Celan, Rose Ausländer and Joseph Burg.⁵²⁷ As reflected by the titles of numerous works devoted to Bukovina and its myth of multicultural tolerance, their authors actually mean Czernowitz exclusively when claiming to discuss Bukovina.

⁵²³ See for instance *Hetzapostel*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 1168, 31.07.1892, p. 1.

⁵²⁴ *Klein-Oesterreich*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 3287, 05.04.1900, pp. 1-2.

⁵²⁵ ‘Buko-Wiener’, an untranslatable wordplay with the words ‘Wiener’ (Viennese) and ‘Bukowiner’ (Bukovinian). Corbea Hoisie attributes the term to the Czernowitz correspondent of *Der Humorist* (Nr. 260, 1844) – Corbea-Hoisie 2003, p. 22.

⁵²⁶ Kaindl, R.F., *Czernowitz und die Bukowina*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 14.01.1905, p. 3 (previously published in *Oesterreichische Rundschau*).

⁵²⁷ For example Cordon, Cécile and Kusdat, Helmut, *An der Zeiten Ränder : Czernowitz und die Bukowina: Geschichte, Literatur, Verfolgung, Exil*, Theodor Kramer Gesellschaft, Vienna 2002; Werner, Klaus, *Erfahrungsgeschichte und Zeugenschaft - Studien zur deutsch-jüdischen Literatur aus Galizien und der Bukowina*, IGKS Verlag, Munich 2003; Corbea-Hoisie, Andrei, *La Bucovine - Éléments d'histoire politique et culturelle*, Institut d'Études Slaves, Paris 2004; Braun, Helmut (ed), *Czernowitz - die Geschichte einer untergegangene Kulturmetropole*, Christoph Links Verlag, Berlin 2006.

Myths of collective existence, of citizenship that transcends ethnicity, provoke a response from their adversaries.⁵²⁸ In Habsburg Bukovina, any depiction of multiculturalism, polyethnicism or simply any form of societal tolerance not aimed specifically at emancipation on a national level was met with suspicion and criticism from (mainly Romanian) nationalists. It was argued that ‘the mixture of peoples inhabiting Bukovina lacked uniformity in its cultural direction’, while ‘settlers had flooded the country with foreign elements and had robbed it of its purely Romanian character’.⁵²⁹ More recent sources maintained that ‘such integration of Bukovina could not be accepted as a ‘model’ of prosperity and wealth’ and that ‘the growing discontent of the natives had ultimately led to the removal of the imperial administration and reunification with Romania - and on a general level to the collapse of the Empire and the formation of national, independent states’.⁵³⁰

Nevertheless, Habsburg Bukovinian mythology was not challenged by nationalists alone. Even staunch defenders of the Austrian ‘civilising mission’ like Franzos had had to admit that the famous Bukovinian tolerance was nothing more than a condition determined by time, place and politically motivated necessity while the lack of one clear majority had forced all nationalities to find a *modus vivendi*.⁵³¹ This view was groundbreaking neither in recent times nor in the days of Franzos, as is illustrated by the previously quoted report from 1855. It can also be called in question exactly to which extent the observation holds true for the population of Bukovina, since every societal phenomenon can be labeled ‘a condition determined by time and place’ and therefore does not provide useful new insights. That ‘tolerance’ can develop out of ‘politically motivated necessity’ is not surprising either, to which should be added that ‘political motivation’ as such can only be expected from those with a political agenda, or, at least, with political awareness.

A recurring theme in Habsburg Bukovinian historiography is the role of Habsburg authorities, firstly in actively establishing a ‘multicultural oasis’ and secondly in creating the myth that the project as such had actually succeeded. Its value is therefore questioned:

*one may wonder about the reality of the harmonious coexistence of nationalities in a province as multi-ethnic as Bukovina. Highlighted repeatedly between 1849 and 1918, the theme of the harmonious cohabitation of communities of different religions and languages was meant to justify Austria's civilising mission and was used to justify Austria's stranglehold over the regions where the German-speaking element was only a minority among others.*⁵³²

Such hesitations provoke the justified reaction that ‘critically intended questions whether life of the peoples in Czernowitz really was as harmonious as alleged time and again (...) are not very helpful if they do not result in concrete research’,⁵³³ so as long as one ‘may wonder’

⁵²⁸ Schöpflin, George, *The Functions of Myth and the Taxonomy of Myths*, in: Hosking, Geoffrey and Schöpflin, George (ed.), *Myths and Nationhood*, Hurst & Co, London 1997, 19-35, p. 24.

⁵²⁹ Şafran 1939, p. 183.

⁵³⁰ Iacobescu, Mihai, *Bucovina şi mitul habsburgic*, in: *Codrul Cosminului*, 2001-2002, 6-7 (16-17), 189-196, p. 194.

⁵³¹ Rychlo 2006, p. 28. See also literature survey, par. 1.2.5.3.

⁵³² Beaumont 2004, p. 84.

⁵³³ Heppner, Harald, HABSBUrg, H-Net Reviews. September, 2003.

without providing arguments to substantiate one's doubts, such criticism remains an empty shell. Then, the Austrian authorities may have used the Bukovinian myth for their propagandist purposes, but this in itself does not automatically mean the representation was incorrect. The 'stranglehold' thesis seems to rely heavily on the misguided notion that German dominance within the Empire was nationalist-ethnic instead of cultural. Its connecting role as a *lingua franca* in the broadest sense of the word between all elements of the Monarchy therefore did not need the justification suggested here.

The factors of Bukovina's young history, the dramatic shift of its population within a few decades, consecutively combined with its reputation of multi-ethnic tolerance and its nickname of a 'miniature Austria' tempted some to see the crownland as a laboratory for the creation of *homo austriacus*, the model citizen of a Habsburg empire untroubled by ethnic and religious differences. Wolfgang Höpker saw this development as an organic process during which nationalism had been neutralised first, after which 'a national neuter', the 'Bukovinian' had emerged. He concluded that 'in no other part of the Habsburg Empire national forces were cancelled by each other in such a way, historical antagonisms had faded to such extent, the great awakening of the peoples had met with such lukewarm response that in fact the phenomenon of shaping 'the Austrian Man' began here'.⁵³⁴ *Homo austriacus*, 'a supranational mediator between nationalities, polylingual, adaptable, art-loving, and deeply immersed in the traditions of the Habsburg Empire',⁵³⁵ was one among numerous elements regarded eligible to promote a *Gesamtstaatsgefühl* (loyalty to the dynasty, compulsory education and conscription are other examples).⁵³⁶ However, this concept fitted in fact only aristocratic and haute-bourgeois Austrians and had little to do with, say, Tyrolean mountain farmers or Styrian factory workers. The profile certainly suited a certain number of people, but had never represented the Empire as such⁵³⁷ and was poison to nationalists. In the words of Tomáš Masaryk:

*If I really hate anything, it is Austrianism - or rather Viennism, that decadent aristocratism, chasing after tips, gratuities, that false, mean Habsburgism, that nationally nondescript and yet chauvinistic medley of people known as Vienna.*⁵³⁸

⁵³⁴ "Als Grundtendenz ist jedenfalls in dem Völkerkonglomerat der Bukowina eine fortschreitende 'Verflüchtigung' der nationalen Unterscheidungen festzustellen, das Entstehen eines völkischen Neutrums, eben des 'Bukowinaers' (...) In keinem anderen Teil des Habsburgerreiches hoben sich jedenfalls die völkischen Kräfte derart gegeneinander auf, waren die geschichtlichen Gegensätze derart verblaßt, hatte das große Erwachen der Völker einen derart geringen Widerhall gefunden, so daß sich hier tatsächlich das Phänomen eines 'österreichischen Menschen' zu bilden begann". Höpker, Wolfgang, *Rumänien diesseits und jenseits der Karpathen*, Knorr & Hirth, Munich 1936, p. 81.

⁵³⁵ Thaler, Peter, *The Ambivalence of Identity - the Austrian Experience of Nation-building in a Modern Society*, Purdue University Press, West Lafayette 2001, p. 72.

⁵³⁶ Urbanitsch, Peter, *Pluralist Myth and Nationalist Realities: The Dynastic Myth of the Habsburg Monarchy - a Futile Exercise in the Creation of Identity?* Austrian History Yearbook 35, 2004, 101-141, p. 132.

⁵³⁷ Thaler 2001, *ibid*.

⁵³⁸ Masaryk, Tomáš Garrigue, *The New Europe (The Slav standpoint)*, new ed. edited by Warren, W. Preston and Weist, William B., Bucknell University Press, Lewisburg 1972 (first published in 1918), p. 127.

Yet many post-Habsburg intellectuals claimed that, given the circumstances, no species came closer to *homo austriacus* than *homo bucovinensis*, ‘the descriptor for those many Romanians (and others), including the political elites, landowners, and officials, and their adherents, who embraced the spirit of political accommodation and collaboration between national groups that had developed under Austrian rule’ and whose ‘attitudes appear to have found wide acceptance’.⁵³⁹ *Homo bucovinensis*, a term which only appeared well after the demise of the Austrian crownland and which was coined by Bukovinian-born Hans Prelitsch in 1954⁵⁴⁰ as well as what Ion Nistor called ‘Bukovinism’ were denounced by Romanian nationalists as the deadly foes of nationalism.⁵⁴¹ Nistor claimed that ‘according to the principles of this doctrine, all peoples in Bukovina, especially the Romanians, had to rid themselves of their national convictions, to break all ties with their co-nationals in other countries, to abandon their language, and to forget their ancestral traditions and mores so as to melt together with the other peoples into an exotic Bukovinian species, having German as the language of conversation’.⁵⁴² One of the principle mistakes made by Nistor in his observations was the decisive anti-national character he attributed to the accommodating spirit of *homo bucovinensis*: as indicated in Stambrooks definition, crucial here is ‘political accommodation and collaboration between national groups’, because the Bukovinian politicians who first pursued the ‘Freethinking Alliance’ and later aspired after a ‘Bukovinian Compromise’ did so with their respective nationalist agendas in mind. Now, hijacked by nationalist rhetoric, the phenomenon which Höpker had presented as the organic development of a *homo austriacus* had been transformed through its regional confinement in the shape of *homo bucovinensis*, into a deliberate Viennese strategy to thwart justified national ambitions. The ‘Bukovinitist’ became a new and useful enemy in Romanian nationalist strategies: whereas the Ruthenian adversaries were the obvious enemies, the Romanian-Ruthenian nationalist struggle was largely one of rival groups with remarkably similar agendas. The ‘Bukovinism’ label could from now on be attached to those individuals the nationalists had expected to be on their side but had proved a disappointment, such as Baron Nicholas Mustatza, who had flaunted his German upbringing while being introduced to, of all people, the King of Romania. Bishop Eugenie Hacman, who had refused to see his church as one of two nationalities, but instead only recognised his parishioners as Orthodox, was another obvious target and was accused by Nistor of ‘preaching Bukovinism in his encyclicals, maintaining that Bukovinians are not

⁵³⁹ Stambrook, Fred, *National and Other Identities in Bukovina in Late Austrian Times*, in: *Austrian History Yearbook*, 2004, 35, 185-203, p. 200.

⁵⁴⁰ Prelitsch, Hans, *Homo bucovinensis*, in: *Brücke zum Westen*, Munich 1954, pp. 9-12; see also Turczynski 1993, p. 4 and Cazacu, Marius and Toderas, Daniel, *Bucovina- Model de conviețuire interetnică*, in: Greculeac, Anca and Dungeanu, Daniela (ed.), *Bucovina învață despre ea însăși la Colegiul Național ‘Petru Rareș’ Suceava - Minimonografie a regiunii Bucovina*, Editura George Tofan, Suceava 2010 p. 43.

⁵⁴¹ Turczynski, Emanuel, *Vereine, Interessenverbände und Parteien in der Bukowina*, in: *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918: Politische Öffentlichkeit und Zivilgesellschaft*, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna 2006, 859 – 908, p. 898.

⁵⁴² Ion Nistor in *Amintiri răzlețe din vremea Unirii*, Cernăuți 1938, p. 285 as quoted by Livezeanu, Irina, *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania: Regionalism, Nation Building, and Ethnic Struggle, 1918-1930*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca 1995, p. 59.

Romanians, Ruthenians, Poles or Germans at all, and therefore should give up their national individuality and become all brothers'.⁵⁴³

In present-day Romanian nationalist historiography, acknowledgement of a Habsburg Bukovinian regional identity is regarded detrimental to the historical Romanian claims. So, no matter how useful *homo bucovinensis* had proved to be as an adversary during the days of Austrian rule, admitting its actual existence today would blemish the authorised version of Bukovinian Romanian history. While Romanian historiography generally presents 'Bukovinism' as an undermining Viennese strategy, its representative *homo bucovinensis* is said to have never existed or is depicted as a fictional character, invented to serve anti-Romanian policies.⁵⁴⁴ Regional identification is dwarfed into the insignificance of 'local patriotism which could be found in any region and which could not possibly compete with Romanian nationalism'.⁵⁴⁵

One basic problem with 'Bukovinism' as a denominator is its ill-defined nature. Branded a 'doctrine' by nationalists like Nistor, who then felt free to pinpoint its disciples, the concept of 'Bukovinism' as a conscious design still dominates the debate. Confusingly, the 'doctrine concept' has also been adopted by scholars with a much less biased approach towards Habsburg Bukovinian society than the Romanian nationalists who rallied against it. To complicate matters even more, 'Bukovinism' tends to mean different things in different contexts, even in the oeuvre of one and the same author. Corbea-Hoisie, who has dealt extensively with the issue, at one point stated that the doctrine 'was supposed to reconcile the ideological legacy of liberalism with the federal realism Taaffe-style in the programmatic basis of the supranational Freethinking Alliance of Romanians, Ruthenians, Jews and Germans',⁵⁴⁶ and thus presented 'Bukovinism' as a political program. In a publication on Karl Emil Franzos, Corbea-Hoisie referred to 'the later ideologeme of 'Bukovinism' with Czernowitz as a simplified symbol of a triumph over the 'semi-Asiatic' fate made possible only by German culture',⁵⁴⁷ and now apparently regarded the phenomenon as an instrument to fight cultural barbarism from 'the East'. In yet another analysis, the same author describes how in the Czernowitz of the last decades of the 19th century the conditions for the emergence of a *homo austriacus*, of a Habsburg bourgeois ideal, had been much more favourable than in other provinces, 'since with the help of the so-called Bukovinism doctrine, allegedly inspired by Jews, the ethnically mixed and supranational liberal Czernowitz

⁵⁴³ Nistor, Ion, *Istoria românilor*, Vol. 2, Biblioteca Bucureștilor, Bucharest 2002, p. 229.

⁵⁴⁴ See Part I/3: Literature Survey.

⁵⁴⁵ Grigoriță, Mircea, *Din istoria colonizării Bucovinei*, Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, Bucharest 1996, p. 41.

⁵⁴⁶ Corbea-Hoisie, Andrei, *Czernowitz 1892. Die 'nationale' Wende in der Bukowiner Innenpolitik aus Wiener Sicht*, in: Maner, Hans-Christian, *Grenzregionen der Habsburgermonarchie im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert: ihre Bedeutung und Funktion aus der Perspektive Wiens (Mainzer Beiträge zur Geschichte Osteuropas)*, 2005, 89-101, p. 101.

⁵⁴⁷ Corbea-Hoisie, Andrei, *Kein 'Bukowiner Poet': Karl Emil Franzos*, in: *An der Zeiten Ränder: Czernowitz und die Bukowina : Geschichte, Literatur, Verfolgung, Exil*, Cordon, Cecile and Kusdat, Helmut (ed), Theodor Kramer Gesellschaft, Vienna 2002, p. 47.

German-language culture was able to uphold itself against the various nationalist impulses'.⁵⁴⁸ In this case, the reader is invited to see 'Bukovinism' as a viable alternative to nationalism.

As argued above, the concept of 'Bukovinism' and its usage is complicated enough when applied within the strict framework of Habsburg Bukovina. However, the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the consecutive acquisition of Bukovina by Greater-Romania opened the way to Habsburg nostalgia and gave new impetus to the concept of 'Bukovinism' in the process. Kurt Rein described this 'new Bukovinism' as 'an enhanced Bukovinian regional consciousness displayed by the old-established Bukovinian Romanians towards their co-nationals who had arrived from the Kingdom (*Regatler*), analogous to Transylvanians in the vicinity'.⁵⁴⁹ Without speaking of 'Bukovinism' as such, Höpker had made a similar observation when he noted in 1936 that 'the rise of national consciousness after the reunification with the ancestral lands probably strengthened collective Romanian nationalism, but at the same time promoted and aroused to no lesser extent the forces of the local self-esteem and in this way the awareness of otherness, the peculiarity of the Romanian province of Bukovina'.⁵⁵⁰ The notion of *homo bucovinensis* also altered after the demise of the Dual Monarchy: post-Habsburg Bukovinian poets like Rose Ausländer and Georg Drozdowski evoked the region's main characteristics such as the multitude of languages and the perceived interethnic harmony. Some authors regarded Bukovina not only as a European region par excellence, but also as a testing ground for united Europe. In this context, *homo bucovinensis* resurfaced as the 'new man' whose essence was rooted in respect for ethnic, cultural and religious otherness: *homo bucovinensis* as a model for *homo europeus*.⁵⁵¹

In summary, the terminology regarding the Habsburg Bukovinian myth and its subordinate phenomena *homo bucovinensis* and 'Bukovinism' represent a confusing toolbox for the student of Habsburg Bukovina. The myth of multiethnic tolerance, partly shared with Galicia and overarched by the myth of a benevolent, civilising, multifaceted and tolerant Mother Austria poses less of a problem and can be defined with a certain accuracy. Its diverging interpretations by various representatives of different schools of thought are quite another matter. *Homo bucovinensis* might have served well as the possible allegoric realisation of the yearned vision of *homo austriacus* were it not for its quick deformation by Romanian nationalists: from an abstract symbol of civilisation, the notion was turned into a pillory in which nationalists could put those they deemed not sympathetic enough to their ambitions. Whenever the term is used, this ambiguity should be taken into account.

⁵⁴⁸ Corbea-Hoisie 2003, p. 35.

⁵⁴⁹ Rein, Kurt, *Czernowitz und die Deutschen*, in: Heppner, Harald, *Czernowitz – Die Geschichte einer ungewöhnlichen Stadt*, Böhlau Verlag, Cologne/Weimar/Vienna 2000, 81-102, p. 93.

⁵⁵⁰ Höpker 1936, pp. 83-84.

⁵⁵¹ Colin, Amy (with Peter Rychlo), *Czernowitz/Cernăuți/Chernovtsy/Chernivtsi/Czerniowce: A Testing Ground for Pluralism*, in: Cornis-Pope, Marcel and Neubauer, John, *History of the Literary Cultures of East-Central Europe: Junctures And Disjunctures in the 19th And 20th Centuries*, Volume 2, John Benjamins Publishing, Amsterdam 2004, 57-76, p. 57.

With ‘Bukovinism’, matters are even more complicated. Although the term shares the fate of *homo bucovinensis* in the sense that ‘Bukovinism’, too, rapidly became a favourite among nationalist curses, it does not suffice to blame nationalists alone for its blurry instrumentalisation. First, it does not only mean different things to different authors, but it even proves to be stretchy material in the hands of one and the same author. To confuse matters even more, post-Habsburg nostalgia added yet another meaning to it. The fact that ‘Bukovinism’ has been so readily applied by nationalists, anthropologist, literary critics and historians has reduced its value to a catch-all term which is best avoided when debating aspects of identity in Habsburg Bukovina.

However, the fact that the name ‘Bukovinism’ has been shaped and reshaped, formed and deformed renders it impossible to be ignored altogether. The allegation that it represented a conscious Austrian strategy to counter nationalism has only been uttered and never been substantiated so far. If anything, only a conscious ‘Galicianism policy’ can be substantiated by one quote: Metternich was quoted after the Austrian annexation of Galicia, stating: “May it never be attempted to make the Poles with one stroke into Germans; before anything else, they must become real Galicians so that they may cease to regard themselves as Poles”.⁵⁵² If ‘Bukovinism’ on the other hand really constituted such a concrete ‘program’, it must have left behind obvious traces such as written testimonies of sponsors and interested parties. Therefore the central question here is not about the existence of an obscure notion which might be found both everywhere and nowhere, but about clear indications of regional identification and its possible initiators and supporters.

5 ‘Bukovinian Diseases’: Images, Allegories and Stereotypes

With a growing number of educated Bukovinians, a bourgeois urban middle class and a thriving press, not only a Bukovinian cosmopolitan and liberal current came into being, but also a sense of pride: the crownland’s exotic features such as the Hutsuls, the Lippovans and Sadagora’s wunder rabbi with his court were hardly known in the west.⁵⁵³ *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* added Bukovinian women to this lot, stating that ‘the appeal of these most precious gems of the land still awaited its praise’ which was well-deserved since ‘West and East mixed in their blood, the charm of the Viennese woman and the restrained blood of the Oriental woman, the spirit of the city dweller with the disposition of the child of nature’.⁵⁵⁴ On another occasion, the paper commented that ‘rather than the noble self-consciousness which otherwise quite adorns Bukovinians, thorough consideration was in order’,⁵⁵⁵ while

⁵⁵² Haas, Arthur G., *Metternich, Reorganization and Nationality 1813-1818: A Story of Foresight and Frustration in the Rebuilding of the Austrian Empire*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden 1963, p. 75.

⁵⁵³ Turczynski 1993, pp. 83-84.

⁵⁵⁴ *Der Ball des Männergesangsvereines (Fasching)*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 01.03.1906, p. 4.

⁵⁵⁵ *Unsere Landesaustellung (Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten)*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 30.04.1905, pp. 4-5.

according to *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 'one often got the impression that the Czernowitz population was innocuous and good-natured, taking a relaxed view of things in their comfortableness and having only has a headshake to spare for events which threaten to upset their living conditions'.⁵⁵⁶

Bukovina prided itself on being the 'Empire's loyal border guard in the East'. With the advancement of Czernowitz, the focus was increasingly on the crownland capital and its cultural role. *Bukowinaer Rundschau* declared in 1895:

*Our crownland capital must still be seen as an advanced post to the East. The intelligent part of the population is aware of this and in this sense the conviction is also beginning to make way into the outside world. This must undisputedly be regarded as a major step forward. It is not that long ago that Bukovina was known in the Imperial centre as 'bear land', and that our dear Czernowitz represented not much more than a geographical term.*⁵⁵⁷

However, in the background, Bukovina's initial function as a military buffer zone continued to shine through, as Austrian Prime Minister Beck underlined when he characterised 'the high mission of Bukovina to impart to the extreme east the advancing Western culture while simultaneously serving as a bulwark against all incoming invasions'.⁵⁵⁸ Occasionally, the local press made brave attempts to counter the obvious inferiority complex accompanying the land's geographical position with a potent summons:

*Far to the east is the land where we live and eastern is its whole character. Eastern? Yes, eastern! Finally the day must come when 'eastern' is no longer pronounced with the familiar ironic tone of voice, when with this ascertainment only implies purely geographical terms.(...) Where can so much unused power still be found, so much thirst for knowledge and so much unspent energy? That's right, energy! This is the essence of the whole thing. We do not use the energy stored up in us. Just look at the peasant from Bukovina who sailed the big ocean to work in Canada. This is a real man who fearlessly climbs down into the depths of the mines, cuts down giant trees in primeval forests, who works day and night on the railway embankments and also stands his ground on large farms. There are truly peasants from Bukovina who have become farmers and inspect their property with their own cars. (...) The east has the future, it will conquer the cultivated world. The weapon we must use is called 'energy'.*⁵⁵⁹

Theophil Bendella, a tutor at the Orthodox seminary and the future Bukovinian Metropolitan, had published a first applied geographical study on the region with the title 'Topographical and statistical overview of Bukovina' in 1820 (*Topographisch-statistischen Übersicht der Bukowina*). As such he was the first to brand the land as being 'inhabited by diverse peoples who unlike in other lands were not melted indistinguishably into each other, but who sharply divided by religion, language, manners and character'. He claimed that one was 'unlikely to

⁵⁵⁶ *Das Volk*, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 03.12.1911, p. 1.

⁵⁵⁷ *Der Gemeinderath als Culturträger*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 14.09.1895, p. 1.

⁵⁵⁸ 'Die Grenzwacht im Osten', Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 04.06.1908, p. 1.

⁵⁵⁹ *Energie*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 06.01.1912, p. 1.

find a second little land with such a small surface where so many peoples and religions lived side by side in such proficient harmony'.⁵⁶⁰ This way, Bendella had not only introduced the stereotype of Bukovinian peace and tolerance, but had also created the persistent notion of clearly segregated groups who managed to live together in spite of all perceived obstacles. Local commentators readily adopted this image and projected it on other crownlands which might have been more powerful and 'civilised', but were nevertheless torn apart by competing nationalist movements. In 1888, *Bukowinaer Nachrichten* described Bukovina as 'a small-scale Austria which soon would have as many languages as districts, a land, where Germans, Romanians, Ruthenians, Poles and Hungarians had lived peacefully side by side for a century and as children of the same homeland had helped and stood by each other, a Bukovina created, protected and nurtured by Austria, brought to the civilisation of Europe through the effort of German labour, being a vehicle of the German language' and in a self-congratulatory way reasoned that 'if the rest of nationalist Austria regarded this mirror image, if it wanted to draw the lesson from it which Bukovina has mastered so much earlier, it would give them and Austria salvation'.⁵⁶¹ At times, the stereotypical tolerance was linked to the insecurity of being located at the eastern border of the Empire: deputy mayor of Czernowitz Gregor 'sincerely admitted that especially the population of Bukovina and specifically that of Czernowitz offered a shining example in terms of tolerance and regarding mutual recognition and respect, despite its various nationalities and religious differences, and that Czernowitz in this case could serve as a model city (*Musterstadt*) for the haughty, spoiled West'.⁵⁶²

Yet, in a climate of increasing nationalist bickering in Austria's various regions, it became less and less likely that Bukovina would remain the sole exception. When the moment seemed near when Bukovinian deputies to the Imperial Parliament would finally unite in a Bukovinian Club, *Bukowinaer Rundschau* gloated:

*All nations inhabiting the land unite their efforts in our diet wherever interests of the land in economic matters are at stake. In such moments, all national issues, no matter how important, decidedly take a back seat. The other provinces and the House of Representatives may take this as an example - this is our pride.*⁵⁶³

However, *Rundschau* had rejoiced too soon, and the failure of Bukovinian politicians to club together in Vienna painfully made clear that nationalist agendas and tensions were not as unknown to the crownland as its German-language press often suggested. By the end of the 1890s, warnings to avoid situations like those in other 'kingdoms and crownlands' gained ground. *Bukowinaer Post* maintained in 1898 that 'peace had indeed been a national peculiarity of Bukovina and fortunately still was to a large extent', but simultaneously encouraged Bukovinians to 'look over the boundary posts and behold how over there the nationality battles blazed wildly and how this state of war had a devastating effect and

⁵⁶⁰ Bendella, Theophil, *Die Bukowina im Königreich Galizien*, H.F. Müller's Kunsthandlung, Vienna 1845, p. 1.

⁵⁶¹ *Die Staatssprache und die Bukovina*, *Bukowinaer Nachrichten*, 03.06.1888, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁶² *Der neue Bürgermeister*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 13.04.1905, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁶³ *Der Bukowinaer Club*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 26.10.1900, pp. 1-2.

destroyed livelihoods'.⁵⁶⁴ By 1905, there was already a tangible nostalgia for the times when Bukovina had been an 'exemplary crownland' (*Musterkronland*) and hope was expressed that nationalist politicians had done the necessary soul searching and would change their ways.⁵⁶⁵ Claiming an exceptional position of peace and tolerance in Bukovina, especially in its political arena, became a rarity in the local newspapers. In the general atmosphere of doom and gloom, tensions between different groups now appeared as a generic feature of Bukovinian society, or as in the a description of Bukovina provided by *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* on New Year's Eve 1911:

*This little land with the partly existing, partly artificially imported extremes, this province in which famine and luxurious prosperity violently collide, this province, in which a thin intellectual upper class covers a large mass of illiteracy, this narrow area, which evinces on the one side a spiritual mass proletariat, on the other side an economic proletariat, whilst the whole desolate stretch is inhabited by problematic existences, this land of stark economic differences and social and domestic friction, where so far everything has been done to sharpen the contrasts and where there is no leverage to intervene improvingly and soothingly.*⁵⁶⁶

Such portrayals were a far cry from proud images such as 'exemplary crownland', 'cultural oasis', 'haven of tolerance' or 'borderguard of the East'. They more adequately reflect the more dominant, negative discourse relating to what was considered 'typically Bukovinian'.

First and foremost, there was a general feeling of inadequacy: the crownland was accused of being a place where 'honesty was regarded as something secondary, maybe even dispensable' and where 'the word of honour which was elsewhere given and being kept like an oath meant almost nothing'. This was combined with 'a streak of public mistrust', as *Bukowinaer Rundschau* maintained in 1891:

It is not a feeling of gratitude when a beautiful gesture is made which makes conventional Bukovinians - indifferent of nationality and religion - tick, it is mostly only the eagerness to answer the question: "What hidden objectives did this person pursue with his act?" (...) The assumption one starts from is lazy and unhealthy and suggests a similar character consistency which, figuratively speaking, simply poisons the air we breathe.

Rundschau could provide only one consolation: this was all a 'relic of barbarism' (*Unkultur*),⁵⁶⁷ while 'times were really bad in Bukovina because such bad people lived in it'⁵⁶⁸ and 'the land itself was economically and morally dead'.⁵⁶⁹ Arousing the indignation of his home base, Bukovinian parliamentarian Stephan Stefanowicz delivered a speech stating that in the crownland, 'the large estates were over their heads in debt, the clergy was not up to

⁵⁶⁴ *Auf gemeinsamen Boden*, Bukowinaer Post, 17.04.1898, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁶⁵ *Ostern 1905*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 23.05.1905, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁶⁶ *Ein Sylvestertraum*, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 31.12.1911, p. 1.

⁵⁶⁷ *Bukowinaer Krankheiten*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 12.07.1891, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁶⁸ *Bukowinaer Krankheiten – II*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 16.08.1891, pp.1-2.

⁵⁶⁹ *Gibt es noch eine Bukowina?* Bukowinaer Rundschau, 21.08.1892, pp. 1-2.

its job, the middle class consisted of Polish Jews and the farmer was on the lowest level of human development'.⁵⁷⁰ In turn, the Bukovinian press vilified the work of the land's parliamentarians, claiming that none of its representatives in parliament represented its interests,⁵⁷¹ that 'the laziness of political life was undeniable', that 'the plight of the starving population could not be settled by successful speeches and series of articles based on personality cults and individual politics', that 'the people faced the activities of the parliamentarians with indolence and apathy' and that the words of the latter were largely worthless (*Morgenrot und Gassenkot*).⁵⁷²

True to form, Christian-Social Josef Wyslouzil blamed the 'disintegrating economy of the Jews' for the fact that in his view, 'Bukovina was still both economically and culturally at least a hundred years behind', that Bukovinians were 'fighting for the most primitive human rights, for a fair administration and justice and for protection against robbers and highwaymen of all kinds'.⁵⁷³ *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* despaired that 'as far as cultural and economic development was concerned, the pitiful land ranked so far backwards that one anxiously looked back to see if there was still something behind it' while it only ranked number one when serious crime was concerned.⁵⁷⁴

Those sentiments, however, were not limited to general misery: there was a consistent canon filled with feelings of backwardness, neglect, obscurity, isolation, discrimination of the native population and subordination to neighbouring Galicia. These consistently and persistently resurfacing images deserve a closer look.

5.1 Semi-Asia, Penal Colony, Stepchild and Cinderella: Crownland Allegories

Whereas the exact sources of many commonplaces, auto-images and hetero-images of Bukovina and its inhabitants are hard to detect, the persistent image of 'Semi-Asia' is clearly the creation of one specific author: Karl Emil Franzos. His travel accounts from Galicia, Bukovina, Russia and Romania had been published by the Viennese *Neue Freie Presse* before they were published in 1876 as the very successful trilogy *Aus Halb-Asien*.⁵⁷⁵ The book was by far the most popular description of life in the 'unknown east' and was eventually translated into fifteen languages,⁵⁷⁶ making Franzos Bukovina's first internationally famed German-language writer.⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷⁰ *Wo hinaus?* Bukowinaer Rundschau, 17.01.1897, p. 1.

⁵⁷¹ *Der rechte Mann*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 29.12.1889, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁷² *Das Land*, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 10.03.1903, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁷³ Wyslouzil, Josef, *Deutsche und Polen*, Bukowiner Volksblatt, 193, 04.07.1909, pp. 1-3.

⁵⁷⁴ *Kulturzeichen*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 17.07.1910, p. 1.

⁵⁷⁵ For more on *Aus Halb-Asien*: Part I, paragraph 3: Literature Survey/ 3.3.2 Writings with an Ideological Agenda.

⁵⁷⁶ Erdheim 2004.

⁵⁷⁷ Hodgkin, Katharine and Radstone, Susannah, *Memory, History, Nation: Contested Pasts*, Transaction Publishers, Piscataway 2005, p. 80.

‘Semi-Asia’ soon became the unavoidable term of reference whenever Bukovina was discussed during the Habsburg era. Both in and outside the crownland, Franzos and his plea for the central role of German culture were to remain highly controversial. More often than not, this controversy was caused by the various ways Franzos’ observations were interpreted. Romanian nationalist - and later Romania’s national poet - Mihai Eminescu, who at one point had been Franzos’ classmate at the Czernowitz Gymnasium, took the notion of ‘Semi-Asia’ for an attack on Romanianness and accused Franzos of calling Romanian-speakers ‘semi-barbarians’ (*semibarbari*).⁵⁷⁸ In 1911, during the debate on whether Jews should get the status of nationality in Austria, Bukovinian Governor Regner von Bleyleben invoked Franzos’ pejorative descriptions of the *Ostjuden* as an argument against the Jewish nationality claims: how could the Jews possibly want the Austrian government to petrify a situation which even one of their own had described as disgraceful?⁵⁷⁹

Bukovinian periodicals readily applied the ‘semi-Asian’ symbolism, sometimes to lash out against Viennese arrogance, at other times to exercise self-criticism or to highlight the contrast between the past and the present: they deplored to be reduced to the same denominator as Galicia when corruption and similar ‘semi-Asian conditions’ were debated in parliament⁵⁸⁰ and saw the establishment of the university as the definite farewell to those conditions.⁵⁸¹ Still, they also admitted that news items from Bukovina sometimes confirmed the ‘antiquated belief’ that ‘barbarian Bukovina was inhabited by Semi-Asians’.⁵⁸² Upon the arrival of Lueger’s Christian-Social campaign in Bukovina, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* sarcastically wondered ‘what could have been the reason for the powers in Vienna to show such interest in the land and its semi-Asian population’.⁵⁸³ Once the visitors had left, the *Tagblatt* concluded that ‘the Christian-Social rabble-rousers could report to their comrades back home to have fulfilled their task brilliantly’, that the population was ‘very touched by their resolve to Europeanise semi-Asian Bukovina’, but that ‘their fellow party members in Bukovina had failed to inform the gentlemen that since the day the sad description Semi-Asia had been coined, out of Semi-Asia, a piece of Europe had already been formed without Christian-Social assistance’.⁵⁸⁴ When in 1901 modernisations in Galicia were envied, *Bukowinaer Rundschau* commented that ‘over there, one could see how a province stuck in semi-Asian mud only a few years earlier had made amazing cultural and economic progress’.⁵⁸⁵ The celebrations surrounding the 500th anniversary of Czernowitz in 1908 provoked the wish in *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* ‘to present to outsiders the sharp contrast between then and now and to show that the traces of Semi-Asia had since long been wiped out and not the faintest indication of the antiquated and the backward had continued to exist’.⁵⁸⁶

⁵⁷⁸ Eminescu, Mihai, *Arboroasa* (“in ‘Neue Freie Presse’ ne-a întâmpinat...”), *Timpul*, 11.11.1877, p. 4.

⁵⁷⁹ Regner von Bleyleben in Cordon & Kusdat 2002, p. 25.

⁵⁸⁰ *Die Bukowina im Reichsrathe*. *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 25.04.1901, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁸¹ *Die Completirung der Czernowitzer Universität*, *Czernowitzer Presse*, 01.04.1890, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁸² *Fremd im eigenen Lande*, *Bukowinaer Journal*, 13.05.1902, p. 1.

⁵⁸³ *Ungebetene Gäste*, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 02.02.1907, p. 1.

⁵⁸⁴ *Das christlichsoziale Debut*, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 06.02.1907, p. 1.

⁵⁸⁵ *Landespolitik*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 19.10.1901, p. 1.

⁵⁸⁶ *Czernowitz*, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 20.09.1908, p. 1.

However, when crime rates were discussed, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* felt compelled to report that Galicia and Bukovina were both the home and the preferred working area of white slave traders, and that precisely Czernowitz, 'which felt so superior to Semi-Asia, had the dubious honour to be top-ranking in the police reports in Europe as the 'main distribution centre' for the trafficking of young women'.⁵⁸⁷

In Bukovina, the discussion on Franzos' work, his influence on Bukovina's image at home and abroad really started once the author had died in Berlin in 1904 at the age of fifty-six. *Bukowinaer Rundschau* mourned the loss of 'one of the best, if not simply the best' author from Bukovina, even though he had 'at times given occasion to be not too happy with him', especially for inventing the expression 'Semi-Asia' and for portraying land and people 'in a rather unflattering and, more importantly, untruthful way'. His harsh judgment of the development of secondary and academic education in Bukovina had caused 'a wave of indignation' in the crownland. More importantly, however, Franzos had put Bukovina firmly on the map and had saved it from obscurity. That was why Bukovinians, who had not only respected Franzos as an important author but had even loved him, would always remain proud that from their homeland, 'he had taken off to conquer the world and fill it with his glory'.⁵⁸⁸ In *Bukowinaer Post*, journalist and playwright Konrad Pekelmann categorised Franzos as someone who 'chastised out of love' and deemed it less relevant to discuss whether everything Franzos had written about Bukovina was true. Two facts remained: Bukovina had 'covered quite a cultural distance' over the years, and Franzos was 'the only real writer to whom Bukovina could refer'. Compared to the aggression of nationalism and anti-Semitism of his own days, Pekelmann was not really disturbed by the notion of 'Semi-Asia':

*Semi-Asia! That means something like a land where cruelty and barbarism are still at home, where they shamelessly rape, behead and murder - all of this being mere child's play compared to our modern-day Asian-ness. To deny someone his humanity, to regard him as inferior, to strip him of his conditions of existence with means permitted by law, with cold civility and with class arrogance, is that more humane than the bloodthirsty madness of some drunken Asian despot? Franzos is dead and his enviers are alive. I prefer the dead lion over the living donkey.*⁵⁸⁹

That said, the 'dead lion's' inheritance would remain a hot topic in Bukovinian circles. Prominent Bukovinian historian - and German nationalist- Raimund Friedrich Kaindl continued to oppose what he saw as Franzos' warped view on Bukovina and the damaging results this view had produced: thanks to Franzos, 'many were of the opinion that Czernowitz was a thoroughly Oriental city' and Bukovina as a whole had earned the reputation of 'bear land' (*Bärenland*). According to Kaindl, learning about the Carpathian region by reading Franzos equalled 'watching a 'Mikado' performance in order to be taught about Japan'.⁵⁹⁰ Kaindl's view were shared by a majority of the Czernowitz city council, which decided

⁵⁸⁷ *Halbasiatisches*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 04.08.1907, p. 1.

⁵⁸⁸ *Franzos tot*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 31.01.1904, p. 1.

⁵⁸⁹ Pekelmann, Conrad, *Franzos und die Bukowina*, *Bukowinaer Post*, 31.01.1904, p. 1.

⁵⁹⁰ Kaindl, R.F., *Czernowitz und die Bukowina*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 14.01.1905, p. 1.

against a proposal to honour the late author with a street in the Bukovinian capital. *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* deplored how it had been exactly the ‘unmistakable characteristics of the state of affairs as attacked by Franzos’ which had emerged during the debate: ‘a cramped horizon, a narrow-minded outlook and petty behaviour in accordance with a semi-Asian standard’. The *Tagblatt* underlined that, apart from the fact that it had not been Franzos’ way to blaspheme, there was still quite a bit of ‘Semi-Asia’ left in Bukovina: those with disparaging views on the crownland might as well have based their opinions on their first impressions leaving the Czernowitz railway station, ‘thus placing the city in the ranks of little nests known in the West as simple and as cautionary examples’. Vice-mayor Fürth justified his opposition to the idea with the expectation that at least part of the population would be offended by a Franzos Street. Council member Kaindl repeated his well-known disgust with Franzos and especially blamed him for publishing his views abroad instead of at home, where they might have served to improve matters. Ruthenian council member Teodat Halip praised Franzos for the loving way in which he had criticised the situation in Bukovina and for bringing the crownland’s very existence to the general public’s knowledge; his Romanian colleague Zurkan joined Kaindl in his conviction that Franzos had denounced the Bukovinians as ‘semi-Asians’.⁵⁹¹

Franzos’ ‘Semi-Asia’ remained a classical points of reference in the historiography of Habsburg Bukovina and critics equally remained divided on Franzos’ role and his intentions: had he wilfully blemished the crownland’s reputation abroad with sensational fantasies or had he done it a tremendous service by pointing out its weaknesses and by making the outside world aware of its existence? The main problem in the debate during the Habsburg years was that it was hardly ever based upon a thorough analysis of Franzos’ actual words. Prominent Bukovinian lawyer and a close friend of Franzos, Wilhelm Tittinger, already addressed this problem when the streetname debate surfaced not longer after the disputed author’s demise. Tittinger claimed that Franzos’ criticisms were not reserved for the land’s population, but for the authorities in Vienna who had neglected the opportunity to turn Bukovina into the showcase of their civilisation project. Kaindl and his supporters therefore denounced Franzos for the wrong reasons.⁵⁹² Ruthenian city council member Halip brought into the debate how dearly Franzos had loved Czernowitz and how he had not addressed Bukovina exclusively when referring to ‘Semi-Asia’, but the territories around it as well - Galicia first and foremost.⁵⁹³

Halip touched upon an elementary misconception in the way Franzos’ ‘Semi-Asia’ had been connected to Bukovina as a crownland. The author’s mission had primarily been the promotion of German culture as vehicle for civilisation in the ‘barbaric East’. As such, he did not really differ between crownlands, but regarded Czernowitz as the prime example of a successful civilising mission. By presenting the city as a ‘cultural oasis’, he automatically

⁵⁹¹ *Eine Franzosdebatte*, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 26.02.1907 pp. 1-3.

⁵⁹² *Eine Karl-Emil-Franzos-Straße*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 21.10.1905, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁹³ *Eine Franzosdebatte*, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 26.02.1907 pp. 1-3.

made the distinction between Bukovina and its capital.⁵⁹⁴ Whether he called Bukovina ‘semi-Asian’ can therefore not be answered with a simple ‘yes’ or ‘no’. An additional complication was the fact that between 1876 and 1901, Franzos had updated his book several times, becoming increasingly negative about the development of the Bukovinian multi-ethnic idyll and the influence of the Franz Joseph University. Debates were thus often dominated by confusion about the different editions and the way Franzos’ corrections were to be incorporated in the overall picture. Then there were those like Kaindl and Zurkan - German and Romanian nationalists who had overlooked that Franzos had discussed ‘situations’ rather than ‘people’ and who had felt personally attacked as ‘semi-Asians’. By the end of the twentieth century, post-Habsburg analysts generally valued Franzos’ work on the eastern regions, although the grudges held against him in the Habsburg era had survived as well: there was praise for the way the author had enriched German-language literature with his knowledge and how he had contributed to ‘the education of his Jewish compatriots’,⁵⁹⁵ criticism for the ‘typical colonialist attitude’ Franzos had adopted in relation to Bukovina,⁵⁹⁶ and the nationalist accusation that Franzos had completely failed to understand ‘the national aspirations of the nationalities within the Monarchy’.⁵⁹⁷

Franzos has been instrumental in the consolidation of more labels than ‘Semi-Asia’ alone: upon the death of historian and Nobel laureate Theodor Mommsen in 1903, Franzos quoted Mommsen as having labelled the Franz Joseph University ‘the Imperial and Royal academic penal colony’.⁵⁹⁸ Without mentioning that Mommsen’s alleged quote was only asserted by Franzos, numerous sources throughout the post-Habsburg period would attribute the expression to the famous scholar,⁵⁹⁹ but in early twentieth-century Bukovina, the source of the ‘penal colony’ quote was still well-remembered and used by Kaindl to denounce Franzos. However, the ‘penal colony’ image was older than the words attributed to Mommsen and had originally not been limited to the Bukovinian university alone. Already in 1892, *Bukowinaer Rundschau* complained about the disdain Bukovinians met in Vienna from the side of Viennese officials and in this context already asked aloud if Bukovina was seen as a penal colony (*Strafcolonie*).⁶⁰⁰ By 1898, *Rundschau* complained that it was a miracle that Bukovina was still as loyal as it was when the miserable way the ‘penal colony’ was treated by the authorities was taken into account. The fact that all faraway Habsburg provinces except Bukovina had been granted reduced passenger fares for rail travel at the occasion of the Emperor’s anniversary on the throne provoked the conclusion that ‘in government circles,

⁵⁹⁴ See for instance Hirsch and Spitzer 2009, p. 39 and Corbea-Hoisie, Andrei, *Kein ‘Bukowiner Poet’: Karl Emil Franzos*, in: Cordon & Kusdat 2002.

⁵⁹⁵ Turczynski 1979, p. 11.

⁵⁹⁶ Corbea-Hoisie 2004, p. 36.

⁵⁹⁷ Grigoriu 1996 (*Din istoria colonizării Bucovinei*), pp. 57 -73.

⁵⁹⁸ Franzos, Karl Emil, *Erinnerungen an Mommsen*, Neue Freie Presse, 22.11.1903, pp. 1-3.

⁵⁹⁹ See for example Bahr, Richard, *Deutsches Schicksal im Südosten*, Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, Hamburg 1936, p. 164; Lang, Franz, *Buchenland 150 Jahre Deutschtum in der Bukowina. Veröffentlichungen des Südosddeutschen Kulturwerkes*, Munich 1961, p. 342; Colin, Amy Diana, *Paul Celan: Holograms of Darkness*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington 1991, p. 7.

⁶⁰⁰ *Gibt es noch eine Bukowina?* *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 21.08.1892, pp. 1-2.

they seemed willing to forgo a visit of the penal colonists'. The blame for the 'penal colony status' for Bukovina was put on Galicia.⁶⁰¹ During the years before the establishment of the Franz Joseph University, the general impression was that Vienna sent its less appreciated civil servants - especially those who held a dubious track record related to the 1848 Revolution - to serve in Bukovina, far away and irrelevant enough to prevent them from doing (more) harm.⁶⁰² In 1907, the Viennese *Extrablatt* published a letter by a Bukovinian living in Vienna, who protested against this alleged practice which basically gave Bukovina a status in the Monarchy comparable with Siberia's in Russia.⁶⁰³ When in 1913 Romanian nationalists accused a German teacher of insulting his Romanian-speaking pupils, they claimed he had compared the Suczawa region to Siberia - and promptly asked the question what would then have been the reason for the Austrian authorities to have sent him to 'this kind of Siberia' (*un fel de Sibirie*).⁶⁰⁴

It can be argued that the 'penal colony' image has thus been invented and even imposed from outside Bukovina. This was clearly not the case with the carefully applied image of Bukovina as the eternal underdog of the Habsburg Monarchy, sometimes depicted as 'Cinderella' (*Aschenbrödel*), but far more often as the 'stepchild' (*Stiefkind*) or even the 'state stepchild' (*Reichsstiefkind*): the state with its crownlands was depicted as a mother, favouring some children over the others, with Bukovina in the star role of the most deprived of all. When timber export tariffs were adjusted in 1889, *Bukowinaer Rundschau* regarded this step as an attempt to improve the export situation of the Austrian Alp regions: it lamented how 'in the long line of lands within the State, the beautiful land had been assigned the role of Cinderella, the other sisters being pampered and cuddled by the government while the little land, with its lifeblood strongly inhibited anyway, was confronted with more and more obstacles'. The government was accused of making it impossible for Bukovina to compete, of being 'coldhearted enough to wrest from the much tried little land even the tiniest prospect of gain' and of 'systematically creating a tribe of beggars'. *Rundschau* wondered if Bukovina was 'not equally worthy to be benefited like every other jewel in the Austrian Imperial tiara'.⁶⁰⁵ A year later, *Rundschau* observed how the crownland had 'become accustomed to being renounced and overlooked and to playing the stepchild role to such extent that it could quickly become second nature to Bukovina'.⁶⁰⁶ In that same year, *Bukowinaer Nachrichten* prominently displayed the 'state stepchild' term when it noticed that the disastrous effects the Austrian-Romanian customs war had on Bukovina's trade balance had made it to the Viennese newspapers. This, according to *Nachrichten*, was the first time since the establishment of the Franz Joseph University in 1875 that Bukovina had made headlines. Some of the criticism was reserved for Bukovinian deputies in the Imperial Parliament, who were said to be 'almost

⁶⁰¹ *Die Strafcolonie*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 11.06.1898, p. 1.

⁶⁰² Colin 1991, p. 7.

⁶⁰³ *Die Bukowina als Strafcolonie (Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten)*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 04.06.1907, p. 5.

⁶⁰⁴ Sentinela, *Obrăznicie nemțască*, Viața Nouă, 64, 09.03.1913, p. 3.

⁶⁰⁵ *Ein Gefahr für unser Land*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 06.01.1889, p. 1.

⁶⁰⁶ *Einigkeit ist Macht!* Bukowinaer Rundschau, 03.04.1890, pp. 1-2.

all loyal satellites of the government', coming back home empty-handed after each session.⁶⁰⁷ Since Bukovina prided itself on being a most, if not *the* most loyal crownland of the Empire, the perceived neglect hurt all the more, as a comment in *Bukowinaer Rundschau* illustrated:

We are keenly reminded of an unwise mother of several children, one of them being very obedient, attentive, and overall faithful to the mother, while the others did not distinguish themselves by these laudable qualities, but constantly quarreled with each other and did not always listen to the good mother. In order to reconcile the quarrelsome, affectionate little children and to improve their behaviour, the unwise mother gave all her loving care to all children but the dear, obedient child. This is well-behaved, anyway, she said. The others she wanted to win over with love and affection and this way she neglected the child which should have been her favourite, but whose status was in fact reduced to that of a stepchild.

Instead of the recognition it deserved, *Bukowinaer Post* maintained that Bukovina 'had been and remained a means of compensation and - if there was no other way - one of relinquishment in its attempts to bring about a compromise with Hungary'. As such it was nothing more than a plaything for internal political use, but *Post* also admitted that the crownland suffered from its own internal politics, with interest which were hard to unite and in the rare cases this occurred, it was only for the short term.⁶⁰⁸

Equally frustrating was the conviction that neighbouring Galicia, the eternal competitor and menace, was one of mother's favourites. *Rundschau* complained that from a military point of view, Bukovina remained largely unshielded and would be overrun immediately in case of an enemy attack. It added resentfully that the only defense was installed at the Prut bridge, 'just to protect Galicia'.⁶⁰⁹ In *Bukowinaer Post*, these sentiments were echoed when it was stated that 'what was heard everywhere in Bukovina was actually the cry of misery of a land feeling treated as a stepchild (*Stiefkind*) and feeling with bitterness how its most vital interests were subordinated to those of pet child (*Schoßkind*) Galicia'.⁶¹⁰

The death of Karl Emil Franzos and the subsequent debates in the Czernowitz city council on how the author and his work should be appreciated in Bukovina also breathed new life into the 'stepchild' issue. In 1907, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* asked several prominent individuals how it was possible that the crownland still remained 'unrecognised' (*verkannt*). Jewish-Galician literary historian and journalist Adolf Gerber opined that only cruelty and violence guaranteed respect in the outside world, offering examples of pogroms in Russia and Romania. He concluded that Bukovina was 'a tiny land, without history, without square miles and without bestialities, having only its humble good intentions and the honest ambition of its citizens to establish a branch of culture in the East'. This, Gelber said, was not enough. Journalist Eugen d'Albon related how twenty years earlier, Bukovina had still been completely unknown to 'many otherwise educated circles', who had seemed to regard it 'a land of fairy tales and

⁶⁰⁷ *Das Reichsstiefkind*, Bukowinaer Nachrichten, 03.04.1890, p. 1.

⁶⁰⁸ *Dr. Körber in Czernowitz*, Bukowinaer Post, 03.07.1904, pp. 1-2.

⁶⁰⁹ *Des Reiches Stiefkind*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 15.08.1896, p. 1.

⁶¹⁰ *'Ein Jammerruf'*, Bukowinaer Post, 17.01.1897, p. 1.

bears'. Since then, contacts between Vienna and Czernowitz had become livelier and in the eyes of D'Albon, Bukovina's parliamentary representatives should be thanked for this.⁶¹¹ When in the same year Bukovina lobbied for extensions of its telephone network, the demand was once more that 'an end be put to treating it as Austria's Cinderella': Bukovina 'did not want to make do with the leftovers of other crownlands' and it required that 'the needs of the land finally be met in time and not only once the investment capital has almost been used up'.⁶¹²

Once the 'stepchild idea' became the vogue, the question to which extent Bukovina itself was responsible for the much decried neglect became more prominent as well: *Bukowinaer Journal* complained bitterly about the fact that 'it was not every day that 'upstairs' remembered Bukovina'. Bukovinians should be glad that in parliament, the Minister of Education had 'dealt a few minutes with the easternmost province of Austria', for Bukovinians were 'accustomed to the fact that in the case of their land, [politicians] simply skipped tacitly over the agenda and that individual departmental ministers did not respond with even a single word to the comments of their representatives'.⁶¹³ Still, the newspaper's comments also betrayed some understanding for Vienna's fatigue regarding the Bukovinian wailing. When Bukovinian deputies Skedl and Rosenzweig announced that they would take the floor during the parliamentary budget debates, *Journal* already predicted the contents of the interventions:

*They will lament again that Bukovina is the state step child of Austria, they will tell about the years of Bukovina's fervent endeavours to gain independence from neighbouring Galicia, they will highlight how our land has petitioned for decades for the establishment of a separate Court of Appeal, they will demonstrate that the economic wellbeing of Bukovina depends for a large extent on the establishment of a separate Bukovinian railway administration, they will argue that peasant emigration is steadily growing in size and poses an eminent threat to our agriculture, they will inform the other imperial envoys on our other grievances and ultimately appeal to the government to finally remember that Bukovina is part of Austria as well and that it is entitled to being treated the same way as the other kingdoms and crownlands. They will say all the same things their predecessors have also put forward.*⁶¹⁴

It was not only the repeated affirmation of Bukovina's plight which was blamed for its lack of effect, but also the way Bukovinian parliamentarians operated. *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* noted at the beginning of the parliamentary year in 1904:

Whenever the sun of the Imperial Council once again rises over Austria, a sad, melancholy and sound, at times even a wrathful loud cry for deliverance from being the imperial step child makes itself heard. The announcement that the Imperial Parliament is to meet at the beginning of next month will thus certainly trigger the old familiar sounds of pain again soon, and once

⁶¹¹ *Die verkannte Bukowina*, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 31.03.1907, pp. 7-8.

⁶¹² *Telephonwünsche*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 11.08.1907, p. 1.

⁶¹³ *Editorial*, Bukowinaer Journal, 57, 06.02.1902, p. 1.

⁶¹⁴ *Editorial*, Bukowinaer Journal, 13, 22.10.1901, p. 1.

again, the complaint will be filed about the neglect and disregard of Bukovina, treated as a stepchild and left to its own devices by Mother Government. (...) Not the government, but we ourselves assign to ourselves the role of stepchild, for we, or rather our representatives, seem to have forgotten that in society, only those who know how to impress easily climb the stairs. (...) Without a doubt, they are quite diligent, they are all very honest, and each of them has a high degree of knowledge and education, which they all intend to use fully in the interests of the land. But the way they exert their zeal is not likely to add to their humanly deserved respect the measure of fear necessary in public life to back a request. Let's not delude ourselves to our own detriment: not polite entreaty, not even loud clamour opens a government's hand, but the awareness that the petitioner himself is a factor to be reckoned with, someone who might cross its path and impede its steps. It approves everything, or at least much coming from the one who shows himself mighty and powerful in its eyes, from the one it must fear. However, our representatives have not managed to generate this feeling in the government, because they have modestly limited their activities almost exclusively to the registration of Bukovinian requirements. If a member of our representation in the House takes the floor, then both the House and the Government know with reasonable certainty that they will hear complaints about the neglect of Bukovina, requests for some court, a district office, a railway board, some little garrison, or the unsubstantiated bypassing of one candidate or another for a promotion in administration and since it is always the same old song, the government politely pays attention but remains aloof and cold at heart while patiently letting finish the habitual tune which does not harm the government and does not benefit the land. Regarding the major issues of the Empire, regarding the proposals which the Government would like to adopt without any changes, they never take the floor, and when they do it is only to leave the discussion aside and to emphasise the needs of the respective electoral district. This does not make a great impression. (...) It should be remembered that the road to benefit and promotion of Bukovina leads through Austria, and only an intense involvement in the State's major issues will prove fruitful for our land. Whoever overlooks this, forces Bukovina to remain a stepchild.

In other words, the fact that provincial interests were put forward on the state level was to be encouraged, but according to *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, Bukovinian politicians mistook 'provincialism' for 'adequate regional representation in the capital': Bukovinian politicians only opened their mouths once specific regional needs were on the agenda but refrained from playing a role in Austria's state politics (Tomasciuc was considered to be the exception here and his *modus operandi* was said to have provided Bukovina with its university).⁶¹⁵ In this sense, any sort of 'special status' of the crownland, including the lobby for what local politicians saw as Bukovina's 'specific needs' risked being viewed as anti-Austrian: more than a decade earlier, *Bukowinaer Nachrichten* had been shocked when Prime Minister Taaffe had mentioned 'Austria and Bukovina' and had thus implied, according to *Nachrichten*, that the crownland was not really a part of the Empire. The periodical had emphasised that this might be the wish of the local feudal party, but definitely not that of its readers and all other loyal elements of the land, who 'had had a hard time with the neglect of Bukovina which had given it so much inconvenience, because no matter what good sons of this land they were, no

⁶¹⁵ *Reichsstiefkind?* Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 21.02.1904, pp. 1-2.

matter how ardent their local patriotism, they had never ceased to feel like citizens of Austria and to regard the land as an inseparable part of the big unitary fatherland'.⁶¹⁶

Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung also criticised the unprofessional attitude of the Bukovinian deputies, whom the newspaper accused of 'serving up scandals rather than making their recriminations based on reliable statistical material'.⁶¹⁷ Even more, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* reduced the 'stepchild lamentations' to the denominator of 'patented Bukovinianness, which complained in moving terms about the neglect of the land' and as such put regional patriotism on the same level as begging for favours in Vienna. It declared 'to believe in respect in the self-consciousness of those who do not always wait for help and grace from above, but who trust their own strength and forge their own prosperity' and maintained that if the crownland wanted factories, new jobs and fresh sources of income it had to see how others do it in order to learn from them. This it deemed 'a more legitimate local patriotism than the eternal whining about the state stepchildren'.⁶¹⁸

Notions like 'stepchild', 'penal colony' or 'Cinderella' imply at least awareness of Bukovina's existence within the constellation of the Empire. In this sense, the general impression of being completely unknown - as Eugen d'Albon had observed in 1907 - and as such not a real part of Austrian society was perceived as even more humiliating.

5.2 Bukovina Incognita

D'Albon had certainly not been the first to bring Bukovina's obscurity to the fore. In 1890 *Bukowinaer Nachrichten* concluded to its dismay that in Western Austria they hardly knew Bukovina by name: in Vienna, 'only business people there knew from their own experiences that culture had found a home and the German language a place of honour in the little land, while in popular circles it was often confused with Herzegovina'.⁶¹⁹ Similarly, *Bukowinaer Post* noted that Bukovina was too far from the centre and that its conditions were as foreign to the Viennese as those in Bosnia.⁶²⁰ *Bukowinaer Rundschau* accused the editors of the Viennese *Neue Freie Presse* of knowing more about the events and conditions in Siberia than about those in Bukovina.⁶²¹ Although several Bukovinian newspapers proposed organising a trip for Viennese reporters in order to familiarise them with the region, they loathed 'the sad necessity and - this being hard to say for whom - the shameful curiosity that an Austrian province had to be explored like the still-dark Africa, that Bukovina with its cultural and social life, its cities and landscapes yet had to be presented to outsider observers'.⁶²² There was also the sense that it was a matter of 'unknown, unloved', according to *Bukowinaer*

⁶¹⁶ *Oesterreich und die Bukowina*, *Bukowinaer Nachrichten*, 26.05.1892, p. 1.

⁶¹⁷ *Vernachlässigung*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 03.01.1909, p. 1.

⁶¹⁸ *Der Bahnhof*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 10.06.1906, p. 1.

⁶¹⁹ *Das Reichsstiefkind*, *Bukowinaer Nachrichten*, 03.04.1890, p. 1.

⁶²⁰ *Gründe dein Heim!* *Bukowinaer Post*, 21.07.1896, pp. 1-2.

⁶²¹ *Der Bukowinaer Club*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 26.10.1900, pp. 1-2.

⁶²² *Die dunkle Bukowina*, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 12.02.1905, p. 1.

Journal which claimed that ‘non-domestic newspaper writers described the local conditions with the most hateful words and presented the people to their foreign audiences as an official robber band, while in Vienna people still lent a ready ear to the song Deep in Wild Wallachia’.⁶²³ *Bukowinaer Post* maintained that Bukovinians only needed to think of their personal experiences with those from the Western part of the Empire (*Westländer*) to ensure themselves of the fact that their land was known as nothing more than ‘bear land’: no one was aware of ‘its mountain landscapes comparable to those in Switzerland, the extraordinary art treasures in some monasteries and landowners’ homes, the original costumes of its residents, of the social peculiarities and of the lustily preserved mores and customs’. The Viennese press was accused of publishing only horror stories about Bukovina, ‘likely to reduce and to damage the prestige of the land’.⁶²⁴ *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* alleged that the crownland was ‘a *quantité négligeable* for the government and unalluring territory for the highest social spheres’.⁶²⁵

Herman Mittelman, who strove to promote tourism to Bukovina at the turn of the century, sadly concluded:

*Where is Czernowitz? What is it? To whom of us has this strange question not been asked already when he was on a trip abroad? It was good for laughs. What? Don't they know our Czernowitz, our Little Vienna? Soon, we were laughing on the other side of our face. No, they really do not know us. A Silesian village or a Bohemian market town is far ahead of us on this point.*⁶²⁶

Indeed, to Viennese circles Bukovina seemed far away, both geographically and culturally. *Reichspost* deemed it ‘a bit away from Central European culture’ (*etwas abseits von der mitteleuropäischen Cultur*),⁶²⁷ *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* simply headlined its story on corrupt customs officers in Bukovina - who, by the way, were not even Bukovinian natives - ‘From the Land of Corruption’.⁶²⁸ A witness seemingly struggling with the truth while testifying in the subsequent trial was told by the judge to remember ‘that he was not in Bukovina’.⁶²⁹ When in 1908, Austria celebrated the Emperor’s sixty-years’ jubilee with a parade in which all Austrian crownlands participated, Bukovinian journalists once more noticed the Viennese public’s lack of awareness.⁶³⁰ In spite of being only sixteen hours of

⁶²³ *Fremd im eigenen Lande*, *Bukowinaer Journal*, 97, 13.05.1902, p. 1. The author probably refers to the melody ‘In der wilden Wallachei’ from the operetta ‘Apajune, der Wassermann’ [Apajune, the Water Sprite] by composer Carl Millöcker, which was first performed in Vienna on 18 December 1880 and was subsequently staged in other Middle-European cities as well.

⁶²⁴ *Entdeckung der Bukowina*, *Bukowinaer Post*, 31.03.1912, pp. 1-2.

⁶²⁵ *Die ‘schöne Bukowina’*, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 24.04.1904, p. 1.

⁶²⁶ Mittelman, Herman, *Czernowitz als Fremdenstation bei Orientreisen*, *Bukowinaer Journal*, 51, 23.01.1902, p. 3.

⁶²⁷ *Gleichberechtigung an der Universitäten oder nicht*, *Reichspost*, 01.11.1902, p. 2.

⁶²⁸ *Eine Ehrenbeleidigung*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 04.09.1892, pp. 1-2.

⁶²⁹ “*Wir sind hier nicht in der Bukowina!*”, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 22.09.1892, pp. 1-2.

⁶³⁰ See also paragraph 6: Displaying Bukovinian Identity: Parades, Exhibitions and Commemorations/6.5: Bukovina and the Emperor’s Jubilee Parade of 1908.

train travel away from Vienna, Bukovina was treated with curiosity and labeled a 'world-enraptured region' which even the organisers of the parade did not seem quite able to find on the map.⁶³¹

Unfamiliarity with and contempt for Bukovina was not limited to the Austrian capital alone, however: Budapest's *Pester Lloyd* described Czernowitz in 1914 as 'a little town on the ultimate frontier of Europe'.⁶³² In his unpublished novel about the doomed love affair of a Bukovinian man and a Galician woman, Teodor Bălan let his heroine Liudmila declare that she 'did not want to bury herself in obscure Bukovina'.⁶³³

Then again, a lack of familiarity with Bukovina was not confined to those outside of it: Bukovinians in general seemed hardly knowledgeable of past and present of their own native region. Raimund Friedrich Kaindl complained that local schools barely devoted any time to history and geography of the region and that textbooks referred more to any remote area than to the homeland. The only book in which a half-decent attempt had been made was the famous 'Kronprinzenwerk' (*Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild*), the twenty-four volumes of the illustrated guidebook of Austro-Hungary which was initiated by Crown Prince Rudolph in 1883 and published between 1886 and 1902. Lemberg school teacher Julius Jandaurek had written the part on Bukovina,⁶³⁴ but Kaindl found it riddled with mistakes and complained that 'for the eastern land of Austria-Hungary's crownlands enough seemed to have been done when, say, a traveler who had spent a few days there added some details to his travel impressions and recorded this in a well-structured and accomplished piece of work'. He added that this kind of information might have sufficed for readers in the West, but that those in the East 'had higher requirements and believed that one must have stayed in a land for a longer time and must have learned to know and love it before writing about it'.⁶³⁵ Kaindl's complaint was echoed in *Bukowinaer Post* ten years later in an article blaming 'petty disputes and national and political quarrels' for the fact that secondary school curricula only mentioned the homeland 'to the extent that the student realised that he had no knowledge of its history at all'. There was indignation and amazement that none of the numerous local associations had assumed 'the beautiful and rewarding responsibility' of disseminating regional studies (*Landeskunde*) and that 'no society of crownland-loyal (*heimatstreu*) sons made it its concern to create volumes of popular cultural studies, securing their circulation within the land by means of cheaper prices'. There was envy of Bohemia where they wanted to go a step further by not only

⁶³¹ *Die Bukowina im Festzuge*, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 16.06.1908, p. 1.

⁶³² *Das 'Städtchen' Czernowitz*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 26.02.1914, p. 1.

⁶³³ "Nu vreau să mă îngrop în obscura Bucovină". Bălan, Teodor, *Fănuță - roman din viața bucovineană*, 1961/ ANR, Fond 'Teodor Bălan', n. ord. 2124, dosar 48, p. 186.

⁶³⁴ Jandaurek, Julius, *Das Königreich Galizien und Lodomerien und das Herzogthum Bukovina* (Die Länder Oesterreich-Ungarns in Wort und Bild, Vol. 10), K. Graeser, Vienna 1884.

⁶³⁵ Kaindl, R.F., *Ueber die Landeskunde der Bukowina* (*Buchenblätter*), Bukowinaer Rundschau, 03.02.1889, p. 5.

introducing local history (*Heimatskunde*), but even district history (*Bezirkskunde*)⁶³⁶ for the regions Teplitz, Bilin and Dux.⁶³⁷ *Bukowinaer Journal* equally referred to the situation in other Austrian crownlands and emphasised how ‘Bohemians, Moravians and Tyroleans all knew the glorious history of their respective lands very well, having learned it in school, (...) knowing why to be proud of their homeland, while Bukovinians on the other hand knew the history of those lands in detail from their history lessons, but not that of their own land, not even the more recent history’.⁶³⁸ As late as 1914, Max Rosenberg addressed the issue once more. He was not particularly annoyed by the small number of publications - there had been a steady increase of studies and sub-studies regarding Bukovina - but by the fact that Bukovinian authors, journalists and scholars apparently deemed locally produced material unworthy of reviewing. As such, the material in question remained unknown to the general public in Bukovina and especially outside of it. Prominent foreign experts like the economist Neuwirth and oriental art historian Strzygowski thus came to Bukovina unaware of the research which had already been done locally. Rosenberg reasoned:

*In Stanley's days they went from the West into the heart of Africa to the Hottentots and the bushmen to explore new cultural and social territory, now they go to Bukovina. It was bound to happen. If Bukovinians themselves do not display any interest in Bukovina, foreigners will.*⁶³⁹

Not only in the world of academia did some self-reflection surface. In 1902, tourism promotor Herman Mittelman had admitted that Bukovinians ‘had so far not done the slightest thing to make themselves known in the West’. He expressed the view that since the express trains Berlin-Bucharest and Berlin-Constantinople had started to run via Czernowitz, ‘the place had moved closer to Europe and the larger cultural cities and had been more closely involved in this network’.⁶⁴⁰ Several years later, Mittelman set a good example by publishing the first travel guide for Bukovina.⁶⁴¹ The editors of *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, however, saw more profound reasons for Bukovinian obscurity than publicity alone. It claimed that ‘Bukovina had remained unknown so far, because for a long time it had lacked decisive and leading men, because the entire land had persisted in lethargy for a long time, because the spirit of enterprise had been stopped or paralysed, because economic life lacked a firm basis, local politics lacked attraction and the entire population lacked participating enthusiasm and the will to create something proper and individual’. Nationalist pursuits ‘to the brink of chauvinistic degeneration’ were said to have brought about a fragmentation of power and ambitions.⁶⁴²

⁶³⁶ *Bukowinaerthum*, Bukowinaer Post, 17.08.1899, p.1.

⁶³⁷ Presently respectively Teplice, Bílina and Duchcov in the Ústí nad Labem region of the Czech Republic.

⁶³⁸ *Landesgeschichte*, Bukowinaer Journal, 167, 30.10.1902, p. 1.

⁶³⁹ Rosenberg, Max, *Heimatkunde - Bukowiner Bauernkunst*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 22.03.1914, p. 7.

⁶⁴⁰ Mittelman, Hermann, *Czernowitz als Fremdenstation bei Orientreisen*, Bukowinaer Journal, 51, 23.01.1902, p. 3.

⁶⁴¹ Mittelman, Herman, *Illustrierter Führer durch die Bukowina*, Romuald Schally, Czernowitz 1907/1908.

⁶⁴² *Die dunkle Bukowina*, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 12.02.1905, p. 1.

The feeling of being unknown in the rest of the Empire, and of course especially in Vienna, went hand in hand with that of being discriminated against in the field of state support. *Bukowinaer Nachrichten* reported that in the columns of the big journalistic publications of the Imperial capital the name 'Bukovina' hardly ever appeared and how 'forgotten and abandoned, left without support, it slowly headed for its economic decline'.⁶⁴³ One of the key symbols in the matter was local infrastructure and especially the railway system. Next to the obvious Bukovinian frustration that its railways were still managed from Lemberg, the lack of tracks and connections were a recurring annoyance. The first railway connection had reached Bukovina with the opening of the Lemberg-Czernowitz track. The decision by the central government in Vienna to expand the local lines was enthusiastically welcomed, since Bukovina was now considered to be 'well on its way to branch this broad path of civilisation in all directions of the land'.⁶⁴⁴ However, the promised network enlargement proved disappointing and when in 1894 none of the sixteen railway extensions planned for Austria involved Bukovina, the 'stepchild complex' quickly found its way into the local newspapers once again.⁶⁴⁵ Karl Emil Franzos attested in 1901 that the new railways in Bukovina built between 1875 and 1900 were 'mostly local routes of secondary importance, covering a total distance of approximately 325 miles'. He added that only the imperial roads (*Reichsstrassen*) were well-kept, while the secondary roads were practically useless after heavy rain and insisted that the situation had been better during the days of his youth. Franzos partly blamed the customs war between Austria and Romania for the fact that the 'golden days of Czernowitz trade' had basically ceased after 1873.⁶⁴⁶

In Bukovina, the sentiment dominated that Vienna not only neglected the crownland's economy, but also consciously impeded its development. Especially the lack of industrial investment in Bukovina (and Galicia) was seen as a deliberate policy to favour production facilities in Austria's western regions. In 1905, a law regarding the production of liquor was seen as state support for Moravian and Silesian distillers. When German liberal parliamentary deputy Stephan von Licht defended the law, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* noted that 'whenever industrial efforts arose in Bukovina, western industries did not hesitate a moment to fight them: when Bukovina wanted its own sugar industry, it was attacked by the sugar cartel from the western crownlands, and the same went for cement and would probably be in store for all other industries emerging in the land'. *Allgemeine* came to the bitter conclusion that 'the only thing missing was a demand by the Western industrialists to paralyse Bukovina altogether, to forbid it to do just anything for the benefit of the land that would be detrimental to the Western millionaires'.⁶⁴⁷ And although the Romanian nationalists of *Apărarea Națională* specifically complained about the lack of promotion perspectives for Orthodox lumberjacks, their general grievance was similar, namely 'that Bukovinian natives were treated by the administration in a hostile way, devoid of any goodwill'.⁶⁴⁸

⁶⁴³ *Das Reichsstiefkind*, *Bukowinaer Nachrichten*, 03.04.1890, p. 1.

⁶⁴⁴ *Vivat sequens!* *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 05.12.1886, pp. 1-2.

⁶⁴⁵ *Wo bleibt die Bukowina?* (*Tagespost*), *Bukowinaer Post*, 08.04.1894, p. 3.

⁶⁴⁶ Franzos 1901, pp. 234-235.

⁶⁴⁷ *Dr. Licht und die Bukowina*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 24.03.1905, pp. 1-2.

⁶⁴⁸ *Editorial*, *Apărarea Națională*, 58/59, 18.08.1907.

5.3 Who Comes to Visit?

A general feeling of neglect was also reflected by the idea that Bukovina was insufficiently visited by Austrian officials, the most prominent among them naturally being the members of the Imperial family. The pride Bukovinians took in being ‘the most loyal of all Austrian crownlands’ provided extra sensitivity plus the fear that the feelings might not be mutual. A visit of Emperor Franz Joseph to Galicia in 1868 had prompted Bukovinian Governor Myrbach to ask the delegation to make a detour to Czernowitz, but the reply had been curt: if the governor wished to see His Majesty, he was advised to travel to Lemberg.⁶⁴⁹ Bukovina had to wait until 1880 for a visit of the Monarch.⁶⁵⁰ In 1886, the rumour that the Crown Prince planned visit Galicia but not Bukovina caused indignation, but the local press also noted that Bukovina, contrary to the big neighbour, had not lobbied a bit for its inclusion in the travel program.⁶⁵¹ Once it was known that Rudolph would also come to Czernowitz, *Bukowinaer Rundschau* noticed feverish preparations for the visit in Galicia, but, again, not in Bukovina.⁶⁵² In 1911, Archduke Leopold Salvator came to Czernowitz to inaugurate the monument for the murdered Empress Elisabeth. *Bukowinaer Post* welcomed the gesture, but immediately continued to express the hope that the visit would symbolise more Viennese commitment to ‘the loyal watchdog in the East’. In a not very subtle way it suggested the royal visitor to promise financial aid to the victims of the recent floods in Bukovina.⁶⁵³

General dissatisfaction reached beyond the modest number of royal visits. Government ministers were equally perceived to be rare guests. Czernowitzer Tagblatt muttered in 1912:

*If once in a decade a minister accidentally ends up in Bukovina for a few hours - a more extended visit for study purposes is not bestowed upon us - we fare like a petitioner who had composed a petition beautifully formulated and rich in substance, and now only hastily and precipitously manages to stammer a few catchwords from his request.*⁶⁵⁴

Interestingly, Bukovinian discontent with visitors from ‘headquarters’ did not alter a bit once those headquarters had shifted from Vienna to Bucharest after the World War. The Bukovinian press still deemed the territory a *quantité négligeable* and when finally a delegation of five Romanian cabinet ministers arrived in Czernowitz, the joint edition of *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung/ Czernowitzer Tagblatt* managed to combine the traditional inferiority complex with genuine Habsburg arrogance:

If nonetheless five ministers are visiting the land today, we may perhaps see the beginning of a remedy and say that more intimate relations with this land and its magnificent people should show the relevant factors the way Romania needs to pursue in order to win over the

⁶⁴⁹ Ministry of Internal Affairs, *Letter to Governor von Myrbach regarding the Emperor's visit to Galicia*, Vienna, 22 September 1868/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 3051.

⁶⁵⁰ Lagler 1880.

⁶⁵¹ *Der Besuch des Kronprinzen*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 21.11.1886, p. 1.

⁶⁵² *Zur Kronprinzenreise*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 17.05.1887, p. 1.

⁶⁵³ *Zur Enthüllung des Kaiserin Elisabeth-Denkmal*s, Bukowinaer Post, 15.10.1911, pp. 1-2.

⁶⁵⁴ *Zum Ministerbesuch*, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 28.09.1912, p. 1.

*population of this land and thus meet its obligations as a modern civilised state (moderner Kulturstaat).*⁶⁵⁵

Official visitors were not the only ones who needed a bit of encouragement to head for Austria's easternmost crownland. Around the turn of the century, modern tourism was budding and its possible advantages for land and its economy increasingly dominated the editorials of Bukovina's daily papers. Here too, feelings of neglect and discontent prevailed. Central authorities were blamed for the modest number of foreign and local tourists and were accused of being deaf to the complaints they received regarding their perceived inactivity in the field of tourism promotion. According to the local press, Vienna failed 'to facilitate the accessibility of the summer resorts or to make trips into the regional mountains attractive with cheap and comfortable transport so that places in the West were reached more quickly and certainly more conveniently than those in Bukovina'. As such, 'they failed to awaken the feeling of Bukovinianness and - where it existed by any chance - to harden and strengthen it, just like they failed to keep the sense of Austrianness vivid and vibrant in the state as a whole'.⁶⁵⁶ In the same way, the Bukovinian attitude towards tourism and the promotion thereof was seen as a derivative of the presumed lack of love for the native land (*Liebe zur eigenen Heimat*) in the whole of Austria:

*Of course, the latter is not very common in Austria, where they love to wander to distant areas and carelessly overlook the good things which lie so close to home. Complaints also resound in countless variations in the Viennese papers, which end their jeremiads about the inadequate appreciation of the beautiful surroundings of Vienna with stereotypical complaints. (...) This lament can also be sung in relation to our circumstances.*⁶⁵⁷

A Bukovinian Commission for the Promotion of Tourism was established in 1904, with the challenging goal of advertising Bukovina as an attractive travel destination. The Commission had been the initiative of Czernowitz Chamber of Commerce and Industry member Herman Mittelman. Its first session had taken place under the presidency of Czernowitz mayor Kochanowski and in the presence of Governor Hohenlohe who had wondered aloud:

*Why would we hide the light under a bushel? Why would Bukovina let the rich capital it possesses be buried in its natural beauties, the land whose forests are undoubtedly among the most beautiful in Europe, the land, which is unequalled with regard to its rich variation of scenery?*⁶⁵⁸

Mittelman and his association set out to work, managed to publish the first tourist guide of Bukovina and organised study trips for Viennese journalists to the region.⁶⁵⁹ As Raimund

⁶⁵⁵ *Zum Ministerbesuch*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung/Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 15.07.1919, p. 1.

⁶⁵⁶ *Bukowinaerthum*, Bukowinaer Post, 17.08.1899, p. 1.

⁶⁵⁷ *Kimpolunger Brief*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 23.07.1907, p. 4.

⁶⁵⁸ Fabricius, *Societatea pentru înlesnirea călătorilor străini în Bucovina*, Voința Poporului, 6, 10.02.1907, p. 4.

⁶⁵⁹ *Eine Journalistenreise in die Bukowina (Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten)*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 28.05.1905, p. 4.

Friedrich Kaindl had underlined in *Oesterreichische Rundschau* - and for which he blamed Franzos - many Viennese still regarded Bukovina as 'bear land'; as such, Bukovinians could be blamed for having done 'almost nothing' to become better known outside its frontiers and to prove that it was better than its reputation.⁶⁶⁰ The members of the Bukovinian Commission reached beyond the obvious German-language press: they also published their appeals in the media of the other language communities, stressing that 'if not all those with influence, honorability and sincere love for their land helped out, every effort would remain futile' because 'Bukovinians, regardless of language and religion should support the good cause by means of strong participation'. Competition with Transylvania, Hungary and Galicia was encouraged and tourism was elevated to 'a matter of honour to each Bukovinian' instead of just 'money business'.⁶⁶¹

However, even Bukovinians seemed barely inclined to appreciate the treasures of their own region, no matter how industrious Herman Mittelman and his Commission were. By 1912, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* noted that Bukovinian tourists could be found anywhere, but not in Bukovina:

*How are we to draw the flow of strangers into the land, if we avoid it ourselves? How will the interest of strangers for the hidden charms of Bukovina be awakened, if we ourselves lack sense and understanding for them? Incidentally we ought to bring vibrant life within our own sphere of activity to our spas and excursion sites and cultivate them, provide everything for good accommodation and physical well-being of the guests, provide good communications and tracks for hikers - all this can be accomplished in stages, if we ourselves, the natives, bring life into the spas and become guides for the strangers.*⁶⁶²

The Bukovinian section of the Austrian Tourism Club, founded in 1888 to encourage alpine tourism in the crownland, was equally disenchanted by the lukewarm responses it got from the local youngsters. It wondered for whom they built mountain tracks, 'if the vigorous youth could not be made to leave the Ringplatz'. Whereas young Austrians all over the Empire were said to flee the cities into the mountains every Sunday, in Bukovina they did not manage to 'make friends with their native mountains'.⁶⁶³

Yet, there was more to worry about than Bukovina's obscurity and the lack of both knowledge and interest from potential local and foreign tourists alike. Was Bukovina really an attractive destination to begin with? Was it not too backward and undeveloped, its population not too rude to actually welcome travelers in their midst? The editor of *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* had his doubts when he witnessed how two 'negro' circus performers were followed by a gang of schoolboys through the Enzenberger Main Street of the provincial capital:

⁶⁶⁰ Kaindl, R.F., Czernowitz und die Bukowina, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 14.01.1905, p. 1.

⁶⁶¹ Ullmann, Josef and Norst, Anton, *Asociațiunea țării pentru ridicarea frecvenței străinilor în Bucovina a emis următorul apel!* *Voința Poporului*, 20, 14.05.1904, pp.12-13.

⁶⁶² *Unser Fremdenverein*, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 14.06.1912, p. 1.

⁶⁶³ *Die Berge*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 15.08.1913, p. 1.

*When a few minutes later, a third negro, the handsome bearded Zanzibar Negro (Sansibarneger) whose speech about the boa constrictor everyone had liked it so much, walked along the street in neat European dress, the same ugly spectacle repeated itself. Only the old Zanzibar Negro, who already has sophisticated manners, with a good-natured smile allowed the ragamuffins to follow and admire him. If it should ever happen, the possibility should not be excluded, that one of such negro fakirs writes his travel memoir about Europe and Asia - the one from Zanzibar seems to possess the necessary intelligence - it is not hard to predict in what category he will put Czernowitz judging from the 'school children' he got to see there.*⁶⁶⁴

Similarly, *Allgemeine* worried about the impression the plans to build the new Czernowitz railway station on the edge of town would make. It asked its readers to 'just imagine how it would overlook the indescribable housing and how this image would remain the lasting impression to the foreigner first coming to Czernowitz, (...) standing before the new station built in a manure pile'. The paper expressed its despair that 'a piece of Orient' was created exactly when the city had been transformed from 'a semi-Oriental town into a modern city'.⁶⁶⁵

It was also *Allgemeine* which brought the political situation in Bukovina to the fore as a hampering element for tourism development. Bukovina was said to have been regarded as a 'buen retiro' for wealthy retirees, as 'the Graz of the East' because of its 'friendly, thoroughly tolerant and xenophile' climate before Josef Wiedmann and his Christian-Social agitation 'cast a shroud over the city', chased Jewish pensioners away with their 'insults and defilement' and brought construction activity to a halt. A symbolical sign was said to hang over the Prut bridge: 'Strangers are abused here', while this reputation had also spread to the mountain villages. In 'peaceful Gurahumora' every Sunday allegedly 'demonstrators' assembled which 'horrified all strangers with their large tam-tam'. The anti-Semitic rumpus had reached even the Bukovinian villages of Kimpolung, Eisenau, Karlberg Jakobeny and Louisenthal. According to *Allgemeine*, tourists now took their money to the Tyrolean and Upper-Austrian villages, where 'the people were good and pious Christians as well and did not inquire after one's religion and nation, but welcomingly and obligingly accommodated everyone who had put money in his bag before making the trip'.⁶⁶⁶ However, this better treatment of Jewish tourists in other crownlands was apparently not limited to the very rich travelers. *Allgemeine* also claimed that wealthy Bohemian spas were said to treat the 'caftan Jews' from Galicia and Russia with the most exquisite politeness and kindness', even though those spas did not really need 'the mostly poorer newcomers from the East'. Bukovina should be wiser in this respect, the newspaper reasoned: it was mainly the less-wealthy Jews from adjacent regions who were likely to visit Bukovina, since the richer ones could afford to go somewhere else and to rich foreigners like the British or Americans the crownland was still unknown.⁶⁶⁷

⁶⁶⁴ *Ein großstädtisches Straßenbild*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 26.02.1905, p. 4.

⁶⁶⁵ *Nochmals der Bahnhof*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 21.06.1906, p. 1.

⁶⁶⁶ *Was nicht gesagt wurde*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 08.07.1909, p. 1.

⁶⁶⁷ *Politischer Radau*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 25.08.1909, p. 1.

Then again, the *Allgemeine* did not limit its criticism to incidents and anti-Semitism alone: it accused Mittelman and his fellow tourism promoters of naiveté, of reaffirming old clichés and of hiding the fact that provincial Czernowitz simply did not have enough on offer to lure foreign visitors:

There are dreamers who think that Czernowitz could be a tourist city, the first and most important station on the great migration to the valleys and mountains of the western and southern Bukovina. Many Czernowitzers who spent the summer in Salzburg, Innsbruck, Munich or Zurich imagine that the Association for the Promotion of Tourism only needs to raise a little more publicity before as early as next summer, they might witness men with backpacks on their backs, loden hats on her heads and walking sticks in their hands and women with waving travel veils and Cook travel guides together with large groups of American and British travelers wandering through the streets of Czernowitz admiring the sights. Our official tourist society seems to be afflicted with such warped imagination as well, because the rather expensive brochures they publish begin with the provocative call 'Off to Bukovina!' and conclude with a laborious description of the 'palace' of the 'wonder-rabbi of Sadagora'. With these stereotyping methods, not at all adjusted to the circumstances and needs of the land and the tourists, absolutely nothing has been achieved so far and nothing will be in the foreseeable future. With these brochures they will not lure even one son of Albion to the Bukovinian capital. What should he visit anyway? Our driveway from the station into the city, the station itself, the university, the dirt pile still dumped in front of the residence building or the building of our musical society?⁶⁶⁸

Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung regarded 'the newspaper reader' (the target group of the Tourism Association in a time when hardly any other means were available to reach its audience) as 'a man provided with a large a dose of skepticism' who ranked the 'uniquely beautiful charms of the Bukovinian mountain region' far behind Austrian travel destinations such as the Salzkammergut, Tyrol, Marienbad and Gastein. If he were to be convinced of the beauty of Bukovina, he should not be misguided with promises of 'electrically illuminated waterfalls and large sanatoriums in which he would get soured milk, lettuce and pickles for lots of money'. If he wanted to sunbathe in Bukovina, he'd simply 'have to lie down in the green pastures'. He'd have to do without princely palaces and castles, museums and galleries, since 'world- and cultural history went by the land quite impassively'. Although 'the humble old treasures kept in the monasteries from the Moldavian times' were deemed worth seeing, they could not be expected to draw large tourist flows to Bukovina. Instead, the crownland was well-advised to focus on travelers from neighbouring Galicia, Hungary, Romania and Russia, who might at least come to see Czernowitz as a pleasant stop-over on their way to more attractive destinations.⁶⁶⁹ In the gloomy years preceding the World War, the situation was to remain the same: *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* concluded in 1913 that unemployment could not possibly get any higher, emigration was rampant and 'the hope for tourism that summer was very limited, since the suggestions it had made the previous year have been adopted to

⁶⁶⁸ *Dies und das – VIII*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 21.08.1910, p. 1.

⁶⁶⁹ *Fremdenverkehr*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 29.06.1912, p. 1.

little or no extent. "The tourism industry could bring us economic resources over the summer", the *Tagblatt* summarised, "but the lack of business sense prevents any activity".⁶⁷⁰

5.4 Bukovinians Abroad

Whereas the numbers of visitors to Bukovina remained unsatisfactory, there was certainly enough movement from the land into the near and far abroad. The largest group consisted of emigrants in hope of a better future. Economic emigration had always existed in the region and well before Austrian times, groups had moved to nearby territory and back when the prospects dictated them so.

In the late 1880s, nationalist propagandists from Hungary campaigned for a 'return' of the Magyar settlers in Southern Bukovina to the 'motherland' and several times convoys of hopefuls were transferred to the Hungarian parts of the Empire. The Al-Duna (Lower Danube) project was aimed at Magyarising the southern part of Hungary known as 'Délvidék' (in present-day Serbia). The chaotic organisation of those actions, the lack of decent facilities and perspectives in Hungary, the insistent request of the Hungarian authorities to prevent the convoys from crossing the border as well as the grim experiences of those who came back disenchanted by the poverty and malaria they had encountered - all this caused even staunch Hungarian nationalists to admit the project's failure.⁶⁷¹ A similar but less publicised initiative came from the Moscow in 1907, when the Russian authorities sent emissaries to Bukovina to promote remigration to Russia among the Lippovan (Old-Believer) colonies which had been established there 130 years earlier. The war with Japan had left large parts of Manchuria and eastern Siberia devoid of male inhabitants and Russia offered interested parties a paid return fare plus land and a cash advance. About five hundred Lippovan families, plagued by destitution, accepted the offer and went. The local authorities in Bukovina remained aloof and discreetly considered the emigration project a relief, since the Lippovan colonies prominently figured in the crownland's crime and poverty rates.⁶⁷²

⁶⁷⁰ *Vor den Sommerferien*, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 15.06.1913, p. 1.

⁶⁷¹ "Betrunkene Ungarn drängten sich am Bahnhofs bis zu den Eisenbahn-Schienen vor, ein Theil der Familienangehörigen der Abreisenden suchte die letzteren bis zum letzten Momente von der Abreise abzuhalten, während diese von anderen zum Besteigen der Waggons herabgezogen wurden, so daß leicht Raufhandel entstehen konnten und die sich bis zur Ermüdung abplazen mußte um Unglücksfällen und Schlägereien vorzubeugen". Bezirkshauptmannschaft, *Letter to Governor's Office on Magyar emigration from Bukovina*, Sereth, 4 April 1883/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 4745; Bezirkshauptmann, *Report to Governor's Office regarding Magyar emigration from Bukovina*, 29 AV, Radautz, 24 May 1883/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 4745.; "Bitte schleunige Verfügung dass Auswanderung von Jozsef Hadikfalva und Fogadjisten von angeblich 85 Familien wie bereits K.K. Ministerium des Innern benachrichtigt unterbleibe da keine Unterkunft vorhanden und selben dem grössten elend preisgegeben waren. Grenzbehörden angewiesen dieselben zurückzuweisen". Magyar Kir. Belügy Ministerium (Hungarian Ministry of Internal Affairs), Telegram to Czernowitz, Budapest, 298, 25 February 1887; Schmidt, Wilhelm, *Die magyarischen Colonieen der Bukowina - Eine Plauderei*, Ungarische Revue, VIII-IX, 1887, 672-683, p. 677, Fazekas 2005, p. 65.

⁶⁷² *Der Exodus eines Volksstammes - Die Lipowaner wandern aus der Bukowina aus* (Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten), Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 25.12.1907, p. 7; *Der Exodus der Lipowaner*

However, around the turn of the century the lion's share of Bukovinian emigrants relocated to the Americas, mostly destitute peasants unaffected by any sort of propaganda other than promises of a wealthier life. In the the local press, transfers over the ocean were constantly advertised and many indeed embarked for the journey. Although the occasional success story reached the local press,⁶⁷³ newspapers (mainly Ruthenian *Ruska Rada*) published melancholy songs and poems in which a longing for the Bukovinian homeland prevailed.⁶⁷⁴ Strikingly, nationalism, if at all, only played second fiddle in these pieces: it was mainly for Bukovina that yearning was felt, just like Ruthenian-speaking Bukovinian emigrants to Argentina chose to name their settlement 'Bukovina'.⁶⁷⁵ Similar sentiments dominated letters from prisoners of war after the start of the World War, which referred to the presence of other 'Bukovinians' in their camps (instead of say, co-nationals)⁶⁷⁶ and specifically longed for Austrian and Bukovinian soil.⁶⁷⁷ Referring to homesick Bukovinians in Vienna, columnist Stieglandt had noted in 1891 that the more 'concrete' spots in Bukovina such as its capital Czernowitz might have reminded the emigrant of less pleasant, more prosaic experiences, while generic 'Bukovina' was a more 'blurred concept' and therefore more suitable as 'a carrier of the love for one's native soil as it manifests itself abroad'.⁶⁷⁸

With stories about group emigration were mixed and disappointing experiences and warnings widely spread,⁶⁷⁹ individual success stories of Bukovinians 'abroad' (*in der Fremde*) were universally hailed and eagerly published - no matter whether 'abroad' meant inside or outside the Austrian borders. The bestowal of a Knight's Order to commander Maximilian Hölzel by

(*Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten*), *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 29.12.1907, p. 4; *Lipovenii din Climăuț, Fîntîna Albă și Lipoveni (Știri mărunte)*, *Voința Poporului*, 05.01.1908, p. 7.

⁶⁷³ *Energie*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 06.01.1912, p. 1.

⁶⁷⁴ See for instance *Канадійська пісня*, *Руска Рада*, 19.03.1904, pp. 89-90; *Великдень у Канаді (Народна пісня)*, *Руска Рада*, 10.09.1904, p. 288.

⁶⁷⁵ *Буковински Русини въ Аргентинѣ*, *Селянинъ*, 10.01.1902, p. 7.

⁶⁷⁶ "Es befinden sich hier 50.000 Gefangene, darunter sehr viele Bukowiner". Catrinari, Ioan, *Letter to Alexandru Pinari*, 1915/ Vienna, Kriegsarchiv/Armeeoberkommando/Gemeinsames Zentralsachverhaltbüro (AOK/GZNB) Zensurstelle „D“, *Allgemeiner Bericht der rumänischen Zensurgruppe pro November und Dezember 1915*, Karton 3738/ Fasc. 3258.

⁶⁷⁷ "... doch sei Gott Dank, daß er unser gutes Recht hat wiederkehren lassen, unsere Bukowina u. unser Oesterreich nicht im Stich gelassen hat..." Kudryńska, Maria, *Letter to John Kudryńsky*, *Neu-Mamajestie*, April 1915, Vienna, Kriegsarchiv/Armeeoberkommando/Gemeinsames Zentralsachverhaltbüro (AOK/GZNB) Zensurstelle „D“, Beilagen zum Monatsbericht pro April 1915 (Ukrainische Gruppe, Wien, 21. April 1915), Karton 3726 (year 1914-15; "... Wollte Gott uns den Frieden schenken, damit ich in mein liebes Oesterreich, nach meiner lieben Bukowina heimkehren kann..." Wakariuk, Nikolaj, *Letter to Peter Wakariuk*, Kiev, 1915, Vienna, Kriegsarchiv/ Armeeoberkommando/ Gemeinsames Zentralsachverhaltbüro (AOK/GZNB) Zensurstelle „D“, Karton 3731, Briefe patriotischen Inhaltes I (Ukrainian): öster. Kriegsgefangene in Russland u. Italien; *Czernowitzer Streifbilder - Offener Brief an die Bukowinaer in der Fremde*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung/Czernowitzer Tagblatt* (Gemeinsame Kriegsausgabe), 17.02.1918, p. 5.

⁶⁷⁸ Stieglandt, *Die Bukowinaer in Wien (Feuilleton)*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 08.03.1891, pp. 1-3.

⁶⁷⁹ See for instance *Rückkehr Bukowiner Emigranten aus Preußen* (*Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten*), *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 17.11.1909, p. 4; *Auswanderung aus der Bukowina nach Amerika* (*Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten*), *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 20.02.1910, p. 5.

the Emperor,⁶⁸⁰ the accomplishments of businessmen Gedaly and Riemer in South Africa,⁶⁸¹ the appointment of Gregor Kostiuc to a high position in the Austrian Ministry of Finance,⁶⁸² the election of Netti Herzberg as an honorary member of the Jewish Women's Association in Besztercze (now Bistrița, Romania),⁶⁸³ the recognition of painter Kunstadt and opera singer Minna Lässig in Viennese circles,⁶⁸⁴ the appointment of actor Straßberg at the municipal theatre of Steyr.⁶⁸⁵ every individual case was highlighted and sometimes used to counter allegations that Bukovinians did not stand a chance on professional careers outside their homeland.⁶⁸⁶ Then again, there were also complaints that Bukovinians were automatically ignored or not taken seriously as long as they remained in their own land and that 'belittling its own locals was one of the land's maladies'.⁶⁸⁷ Artists in Bukovina 'were convicted to a subordinate social position their entire lives because politics absorbed all available valiant forces', and, according to *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, were forced to go abroad and to make a living there:

*Once they succeed in making a respected name for themselves, sure enough we proudly and self-consciously call them 'native children'. A meagre reward in any case. We have hardly done anything to promote them and help to pave the way for them.*⁶⁸⁸

In the same way, Herman Mittelmann, who had tried to establish a Bukovinian regional museum in the early 1900s, commented that 'the best men, to whom the museum owed so much, were no longer in the land'.⁶⁸⁹

For ambitious and educated Bukovinians, 'leaving the land' usually meant going to Vienna. The 1900 census had counted a total of 3283 Bukovinians in Lower-Austria. 2993 of them lived in Vienna, while 1430 of those were from Czernowitz.⁶⁹⁰ According to these numbers, almost half of the Bukovinians in Lower-Austria were Czernowitizers in Vienna. As such, they formed the only real Bukovinian 'expatriate community' during the Habsburg years. Columnist Stieglandt had pointed in 1891 at the (not so unique) phenomenon that

⁶⁸⁰ *Bukowinaer in der Fremde*, Bukowinaer Journal, 72, 13.03.1902, p. 3.

⁶⁸¹ *Bukowinaer in Südafrika*, Bukowinaer Journal, 137, 17.08.1902, p. 2.

⁶⁸² *Bukowiner in der Fremde (Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten)*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 09.03.1905, p. 4.

⁶⁸³ *Bukowiner in der Fremde (Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten)*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 04.05.1905, p. 4.

⁶⁸⁴ *Ein heimischer Künstler (Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten)*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 26.09.1905, p. 4; *Bukowinaer in der Fremde Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 20.05.1906, p. 5..

⁶⁸⁵ *Bukowiner in der Fremde (Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten)*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 26.01.1907, p. 3.

⁶⁸⁶ *Der Austausch der Kräfte*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 23.02.1908, p. 1.

⁶⁸⁷ *Bukowina in der Fremde*, Bukowinaer Post, 21.06.1906, pp. 1-2.

⁶⁸⁸ *Kunst- und andere Kulturfragen (Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten)*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 19.08.1906, p. 4.

⁶⁸⁹ Mittelmann, Herman, *Die Ausgestaltung unseres Landesmuseums (Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten)*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 09.08.1905, p. 3.

⁶⁹⁰ *Bukowinaer in der Fremde*, Bukowinaer Post, 18.12.1904, pp. 1-2.

‘Bukovinian idolisation by Viennese Czernowitzers occurred only then when Czernowitzer Viennese had been away from Czernowitz for a long time and had become almost more Viennese than Czernowitzer, for only then Czernowitz obtained in their minds the ideal aura of transfigured memories’.⁶⁹¹ *Bukowinaer Rundschau* regarded the common homeland as a beacon abroad rather than a romanticised memory:

It is a pleasant feeling of surprise when locals meet abroad. One even forgets the social barriers which may have been obstacles to social interaction at home and delightedly shakes hands. And this miracle always causes that ever-vivid feeling of remembering the homeland, which is common to all, and the cement which builds the reason for rapprochement.

The newspaper fostered the hope that this ‘community sentiment’ would have a positive effect on the much-desired united course of action of Bukovinian parliamentarians in Vienna, that ‘the sight of a comrade from home evoked more vividly than a similar profession the fact that a similar obligation chained them to the same place’.⁶⁹² Since among Viennese Czernowitzers the Bukovinian deputies were the ones with the clearest obligations towards their homeland, they were also the most prominently featured in the press - and the most criticised, because, as *Bukowinaer Rundschau* put it, ‘with the eleven mamaliga eaters from Bukovina, the government could do whatever it wanted’.⁶⁹³

In spite of the existence of a proper Bukovinian university, Vienna attracted lots of ambitious young students from Bukovina who were lured by the more prestigious reputation of a genuine Viennese education. One of the few works of fiction with a specific Bukovinian theme which appeared during the Austrian era was the novel ‘Autumn... A Tale from Bukovina’ (*Herbst... Eine Geschichte aus der Bukowina*) by Bukovinian Michael Sawka. The dramatic love story starts when a group of Bukovinian students in Vienna find each other in the common love for their homeland. As a critic put it in 1905, ‘these young people were inspired by a notion, a longing, for they were Bukovinians who at home would probably have passed each other by carelessly but abroad became conscious of what they shared’.⁶⁹⁴ Sawka’s work also conveyed that, like in the case of Bukovina’s parliamentarians, news and gossip regarding the Bukovinian student community traveled fast: when the novel’s protagonist failed an important examination, he realised that ‘in Vienna too many Bukovinians went to university and that within eight days, they would know in Czernowitz that he had flunked’.⁶⁹⁵ Sawka’s critic Alois Munk saw the protagonist’s destiny as an allegory for the dangers that well-intentioned, naive Bukovinians encountered in unloving and dangerous Vienna:

⁶⁹¹ Stieglandt, *Die Bukowinaer in Wien (Feuilleton)*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 08.03.1891, pp. 1-3.

⁶⁹² *Einigkeit ist Macht – II*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 10.04.1890, pp. 1-2.

⁶⁹³ *Periodische Enttäuschungen*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 28.10.1898, p. 1. Mamaliga, a maize porridge similar to polenta, was the staple food in Bukovina. For more on the performance of Bukovinian parliamentarians in Vienna see paragraph 2 of this section: Key Institutions of Habsburg Bukovina - Landtag and Franz Joseph University/ 2.1: Landtag: Bukovinian Political Representation in Czernowitz and Vienna/ The Illusion of a Bukovinian Parliamentary Club.

⁶⁹⁴ Munk, Alois, *Herbst*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 06.08.1905, pp. 4-5.

⁶⁹⁵ Sawka, Michael, *Herbst... Eine Geschichte aus der Bukowina*, Czernowitzer Buchdruckerei-Gesellschaft, Czernowitz 1905, p. 51.

*A little mishap, an unsuccessful oral examination spurs this basically good, a little sentimental, a bit frivolous and always talented man - can't we say that Sawka succeeded here in finding the type of the young Bukovinian from a good family? - to follow the allurements of Viennese society where one gives without receiving, and where one is finally startled when he has nothing left to give.*⁶⁹⁶

In 1891, Bukovinians in Vienna organised themselves in the 'Bukovina' society, which quickly became popular. *Bukowinaer Rundschau* ridiculed the instant success of this Bukovinian patriotic initiative - within weeks, even a sizable Viennese hotel could no longer host the large number of participants, a proper piano trio and a choir were formed and a club anthem had been composed - while at the same time, Bukovinians at home largely reviled their homeland.⁶⁹⁷ Over the years, Bukovinians in Vienna remained organised and gradually not only focused on festive gatherings, but also tried to relieve 'the ever-increasing needs of poor compatriots' by means of a support fund.⁶⁹⁸ Besides its objectives of 'raising the prestige and the emphasis on the importance of Bukovina as a bulwark of culture in the East as well as cultivating the feeling of togetherness (*Zusammenhörigkeitsgefühl*) of Bukovinians in Vienna', the 'Buchenland' society was established in 1904 with the specific goal of supporting poor Bukovinians in Vienna 'regardless of nationality or religion' through charity events: it was not only politicians and students who found their way to Vienna, but also thousands of hopefuls who had fled the dire material conditions in their homeland. In the first years of its existence, the society had rendered support to 11,000 Bukovinians by giving them money, finding them a job or arranging their journey home. The society received no support from the Bukovinian regional or municipal authorities.⁶⁹⁹

5.5 Remember the Land's Native Children!

The growing sense of a Bukovinian identity and regional peculiarity first and foremost increased the urge to defend 'the Bukovinian people', 'Bukovinian native soil' and 'Bukovinian interests' and naturally required opponents, 'strangers' (*Landesfremde*) threatening the position of the 'natives' (*Landeskinder*). Initially, the distinction between 'foreign' and 'native' had been the exclusive battle ground of Romanian and Ruthenian nationalists in Bukovina - sometimes acknowledging a more or less equal status for the other, but always combating German and Jewish 'intruders'.

With a growing sense of general economic deprivation on the crownland level, the 'foreigner' was less often found within the circles of Bukovina's Germans and Jews, but rather with the more recent newcomers. *Bukowinaer Post* mused in 1896 how 'Romanians, Ruthenians,

⁶⁹⁶ Munk, Alois, *Herbst*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 06.08.1905, pp. 4-5.

⁶⁹⁷ Stiegandt, *Die Bukowinaer in Wien (Feuilleton)*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 08.03.1891, pp. 1-3.

⁶⁹⁸ *Bukowiner Landsmannschaft 'Buchenland' (Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten)*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 11.01.1907, p. 4.

⁶⁹⁹ *Bukowinaer in der Fremde*, *Bukowinaer Post*, 28.11.1909, pp. 3-4; *Bukowiner Landsmannschaft 'Buchenland' in Wien (Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten)*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 16.02.1910, p. 3.

German, Poles and all those who called Bukovina their homeland should work together in fraternal harmony, with all their thoughts aimed at a single goal: the welfare of their own birthplace and home', for 'then they would all be 'indigenous'.'⁷⁰⁰ Equally, *Bukowinaer Rundschau* had proclaimed that 'hospitality and sociability had served Bukovinians badly (...), only those born in Bukovina had a right to the native land while all others were strangers'.⁷⁰¹

The most obvious source of 'newcomers' was neighbouring Galicia, mistrusted ever since Bukovina had managed to gain independence from Lemberg. The returning fear of Galicia wanting to take control over Bukovina once again, the intimidating size of the neighbour as well as its substantial number of Ruthenian-speaking inhabitants made Galicia the most prominent benchmark for Bukovinian local identification. A large number of Galicians worked for state-owned companies in Bukovina such as the railways, while at the same time Bukovinians had a hard time finding work both in the crownland and outside. This created ambiguous feelings of envy and anger in Czernowitz,⁷⁰² especially when Bukovinians themselves were discriminated when they applied for jobs in Galicia.⁷⁰³ *Bukowinaer Post* noted jobs given to Galicians even when they obviously not met the local language requirements:

*And quite unfortunately, typically Bukovinian is (...) the disadvantaging of Bukovinians in their own homeland. The land's native child is, if he is lucky, only second in line. 'The foreigner always comes first' threatens to become a kind of customary wrong (Gewohnheitsunrecht). (...) With the development of culture, with the increase of schools and eventually with the establishment of the university, it seemed obvious that this exception would be replaced by common rules as they are applied everywhere else and that Bukovinians would no longer resort to get staff from abroad when suitable locals are so close. It seemed self-evident ... (...) Yes, in beautiful and patient Bukovina there are notaries who master none of the three customary languages, neither German, nor Romanian nor Ruthenian! (...) And the cause of the problem lies in the fact that of the fourteen notary offices, nine are staffed by Galicians.*⁷⁰⁴

In the name of the protection of 'Landeskinder', local newspapers continuously reported on appointments of non-Bukovinians in Bukovina's administration and launched appeals to 'take serious steps in this matter in order to put an end to the almost intolerable situation of constant insertions of officials in Bukovina'.⁷⁰⁵ The same complaints haunted appointments at the university: until the very last days of its existence under Austrian rule, Bukovinian diet representatives regularly claimed that mostly foreigners were appointed and if exceptions to

⁷⁰⁰ *Nochmals das 'wahre Bukowinaerthum'*, *Bukowinaer Post*, 27.08.1896, p. 1.

⁷⁰¹ *Die wahren Fremdlinge*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 24.05.1891, pp. 1-2.

⁷⁰² *Gedenket der Landeskinder*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 14.12.1890, pp. 1-2.

⁷⁰³ Michniewicz, *Letter to Ministry of Internal Affairs*, 2967, Kolomea, 6 July 1868/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, Spr. 3051.

⁷⁰⁴ *Das ist halt Bukowinarisch...*, *Bukowinaer Post*, 11.11.1894, pp. 1-2.

⁷⁰⁵ *Schutz den Landeskindern!* *Bukowinaer Post*, 1263, 16.02.1902, pp. 3-4.

this practise were allowed, 'the appointments of even the ablest of Bukovinians were met with a wall of hostility'.⁷⁰⁶

Then again, ambitious young Bukovinians were not always that eager to join the public service: when Governor Myrbach was asked by the regional diet in 1866 to explain the humble numbers of natives in the Bukovinian administration, he retorted that the administration 'would have warmly welcomed that the already so palpable lack of junior officers be remedied by a large-scale entry of natives'. After graduation, young Bukovinians were apparently attracted to other careers.⁷⁰⁷ The odd situation was not solved by the establishment in 1875 of the Franz Joseph University, and by 1909, the analysis of *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* was strongly reminiscent of that of Myrbach's in 1866:

*Isn't the whole thing plainly funny? The regional university is decried as a 'doctor factory' but is not capable of supplying the material required to fill the positions of judges in the land! Each insertion is viewed by [the nationalists] as crimes against the land, but the abundantly available state positions oddly enough offer them too little. (...) And if Bukovina with its own university not only does not export officials - which it would be extremely capable of doing - but accepts their import without being entitled to complain against it, it has itself to blame.) (...) If however the graduates of the university are shunned because they are Jews, or have to be begged to apply because they do not get the eighth rank (achte Rangsklasse) right on the first working day, there is no reason to see insertions as an injustice.*⁷⁰⁸

A category detested even more than that of Galician newcomers, who were at least expected to stay and build a life in Bukovina, was that of Austrian state officials who after having arrived in Bukovina only for a couple of years added insult to injury by getting involved in local politics. In 1902, *Bukowinaer Post* fumed:

By accident they were transferred here and an equal accident will hopefully take them swiftly away from us again, for they have never picked Bukovina to make it happy or because they were attracted by our peaceful coexistence, but only to be promoted more rapidly by taking the Bukovina detour. (...) When sent as civil servants, these gentlemen should only act as civil servants and serve their duty in full for as long and as they are left here. They should content themselves with taking away all those jobs from our natives and with occupying all senior civil service positions, but should refrain from interfering in our domestic affairs as they are and will always be strangers in this land. Fighting and averting the intrusions of these strangers is

⁷⁰⁶ Serbu et al., *Interpellation des Abg. Serbu und Genossen an den Herrn k.k. Landespräsidenten über die durch Professor Dr. Georg Petschek geschaffenen unhaltbaren Zustände an der juridischen Fakultät der Czernowitzer Universität*, (signed by Serbu, Nico Flondor, Onciul, Lewicki, Simionovici, Dr. F. Popovici, Dr. Tarnavski Neculita, Donches, Bejan, Dr. Vasilovschi.) L.Pr.Zl. 1510, Czernowitz 1918/ ANR, Fond 'Guvernământul Bucovinei', MCÎ XCIII/8.

⁷⁰⁷ Regional Diet, *Stenographisches Protokoll der XX. Sitzung der IV. Session des Bukowinaer Landtages*, Eckhardt, Czernowitz 1866, p. 370.

⁷⁰⁸ *Der Einschub*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 09.05.1909, pp. 1-2.

*a matter of conscience for all those living in Bukovina, natives or immigrants, for all those who sought and found a home here.*⁷⁰⁹

Strangely enough, the scorn reserved for the Habsburg officials catapulted into Bukovina usually escaped the most prominent of their lot: Governor Pace left Bukovina as an honorary citizen of Czernowitz in 1892⁷¹⁰ and even Friedrich Bourguignon, whose term in office had been marred by the escalation of the tensions within the Orthodox Church was remembered in his obituary in *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* as ‘one of us, even though he had come to the land as a stranger’.⁷¹¹ The same was said of university dean Mathias Friedwagner, who left Czernowitz to accept a position in Frankfurt: during his ten years in Bukovina, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* declared, ‘Friedwagner had been a Bukovinian and a Czernowitzer, not one who had been forced to live here, but one who had felt at home, wholeheartedly embracing the cultural aspirations of the city and the land’. Not only was Friedwagner said to have ‘gone native’ himself, but together with some of his colleagues he had even ensured that the Franz Joseph University was no longer an ‘alien element’ (*Fremdkörper*) in town.⁷¹²

The Freethinking Alliance, already using ‘true Bukovinianness’ to defang a possible fragmentation of its peasant electorate along national lines, invoked that very tool to declare its political enemies ‘foreign’. As such, they portrayed Ruthenian adversaries as Galician invaders, they declared ‘Christian Germans’ who opposed cooperation with Straucher’s Jewish party ‘foreigners in direct opposition to the local (*hierländisch*) tolerant Germans’.⁷¹³ With the import products the different brands of nationalism in Bukovina obviously were, such accusations were hard to rebut. Paradoxically, the Alliance promoted a xenophobia based on the dogma of ‘tolerance and hospitality’: true Bukovinians are tolerant and newcomers suspected of being less so will not be tolerated.

Time-resistant as most notions in the realm of ‘neglected, discriminated and ridiculed Bukovina’ were, emancipatory thinking and the conviction of being collectively responsible for the crownland’s future were clearly developments of the early twentieth century and closely linked to the Freethinking Alliance with its call for protection of Bukovina’s ‘native children’: once the natives were given full opportunity to develop without detrimental influences from beyond the crownland borders, they were expected to create regional prosperity without help:

We have gradually come to realise that only from among our own midst our cultural spring can blossom, rooted in its native soil, grown from its own popular strength (Volkskraft). And only people who are born among us, or when coming from abroad are so intertwined with us that they feel like one of us, those who no longer feel haughtiness and arrogance and neither see us as inferior or as guinea pigs which they can expose to their frivolous experiments - only

⁷⁰⁹ ‘Landesfremde’, Bukowinaer Post, 1260, 09.02.1902, p. 3.

⁷¹⁰ *Ehrenbürger von Czernowitz*, Czernowitzer Presse, 01.03.1892, pp. 1-2.

⁷¹¹ *Baron Friedrich Bourguignon †*, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 27.09.1907, p. 1.

⁷¹² *Ein Abschiedswort*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 16.03.1911, p. 1.

⁷¹³ *Um was es geht*, Bukowinaer Post, 10.07.1904, pp. 1-2.

*those we want to hear now, only they should advise and lead us. At last we want to experience our own Spring of the People, we want to suck all forces and juices which enable us to create new and better living conditions from our land ourselves, free from flattery, hardened against hypocrisy and lies.*⁷¹⁴

A similar home-grown-confidence came over Czernowitz, which, in spite of the chronic insecurity to live up to big city standards, in 1906 was proudly accredited by vice mayor Furth with its proper accomplishments ‘without the material support from either land or state’. Furth maintained that ‘Czernowitzers needed to help themselves if they wanted to make progress’.⁷¹⁵

That said, talk of self-reliance also came back to haunt those who advocated it so ardently: they were among the same nationalist leaders whose ‘fatal quarreling’ *Bukowinaer Rundschau* blamed for Bukovina’s economic ruin and who were advised to do some soul-searching.⁷¹⁶ A perceived ‘weakness of the people’ was blamed on their educators, ‘the countless professional politicians, teachers and agitators’ who had told the peasants and workers ‘much about their supposed rights, but little about duty and the necessity of labour’.⁷¹⁷ In the same spirit of self-criticism, the blame for the failure of a government scheme to promote industry in Bukovina in 1912 was firmly put on the crownland’s own leading circles:

*The most obvious is to sing the old lamentation of the step-motherly treatment of Bukovina, for that is the programmatic course of all activities which have to do with its cultural and economic development. Once an initiative has matured from the stage of exploration and requires action, the leading figures turn to the central government. (...) In a similar situation this newspaper has noted that in this land salvation is expected to depend too much on the blessing from above alone, that every initiative requires its own energy and enthusiastic support and that support from the central government should not be at the core of all aspirations. (...) It was left to local entrepreneurial spirit and commercial competence to stimulate the economy in Bukovina through the establishment of new industries. To the domestic financial institutions the obligation accrued to awaken the spirit of enterprise by means of quick granting of credit and encouraging individual approaches. Only then the government’s horn of plenty would have safeguarded the plan’s success. Instead, they did little more than expect Vienna to establish industries, raise funds and, if possible, send the appropriate entrepreneurs. This way, the question of industrialisation has run aground as well...*⁷¹⁸

5.6 Galicia

Galicia, which featured so notably in Bukovina’s fear of being marginalised within its own regional borders, indeed shared a considerable chunk of its Habsburg history with its small neighbour. After Bukovina had become part of Austria in 1775, a period of military

⁷¹⁴ *Pfingsten 1904*, *Bukowinaer Post*, 22.05.1904, pp. 1-2.

⁷¹⁵ *Czernowitz - Großstadt?* *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 25.12.1906, pp. 4-6.

⁷¹⁶ *Ostern 1905*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 23.05.1905, pp. 1-2.

⁷¹⁷ *Frühling*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 26.05.1912, p. 1.

⁷¹⁸ *Der Segen von Oben*, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 05.05.1912, p. 1.

administration ended in 1786 and Bukovina was united with Galicia, although the matter had constantly been an apple of discord in Viennese circles. Already in 1781, State Chancellor Blümegen had advised Emperor Joseph II ‘not to partly or completely unite Bukovina with any other province or with Galicia, but to establish it as a fully separate land, since only this way the affection and confidence of the people could be acquired and preserved’. The period Bukovina had been subordinate to Lemberg was largely perceived negatively in Bukovinian political circles. They accused the Galician authorities of neglect, exploitation as well as of the imposition of the Polish language and Catholicism. One Romanian nationalist even claimed that ‘all the destitute, all those Galicia had had in terms of filthy and lazy had rushed over the little land and had taken with them all kinds of diseases with as an exceptional novelty in these lands the high straw hats which their ancestors had wreathed from stubs of sedge that grow on the stretched plains between Bug and Dniepr’.⁷¹⁹ In 1848, the crownland obtained autonomy, only to lose it again in 1860. In 1861, it was once more declared autonomous and would remain so throughout the Habsburg era.⁷²⁰

The detested institutional dependency on Galicia was an attractive topic for Bukovinian politics and press since it offered the easy fix of spinning off the Bukovinian branches of the institutions in question. More abstract and less prone to possible interventions was the obvious economic reliance on the big neighbour.⁷²¹ The almost obsessive focus on fighting off the ‘Galician yoke’ diverted the attention of politicians and other lobbyists in Vienna from the fact that, small as it was, Bukovina had to compete with more crownlands than one: more distant ones in the west of Austria also managed to obtain favourable trade conditions from Vienna which proved detrimental to Bukovinian interests.⁷²²

Political ranting against Galician oppression had the additional capacity of uniting Bukovina’s nationalist parties. *Bukowinaer Rundschau* mused in 1884 that ‘if the unification of all Bukovinian parties was possible at all, it was most likely to be achieved in order to prevent the danger of Slavisation of Bukovina and the related association with the crownland of Galicia’.⁷²³ Naturally, the ‘Slavisation’ argument would not help to get Ruthenian nationalists on board, especially the Young-Ruthenians with their specific ambivalent relationship with Galicia marked by solidarity with their Galician-Ruthenian ‘co-nationals’ and their hostility towards the dominant position of Galician Poles. On the whole, however, the anti-Galician agenda was supported by Old-Ruthenians, most explicitly so when it became a core element in the Freethinking Alliance campaign.⁷²⁴ Even a moderate centralist like Constantin Tomasciuc, who had studied and worked in Lemberg himself, ardently opposed Galicia’s

⁷¹⁹ Morariu, Aurel, *Bucovina 1774-1914*, P. Suru, Bucharest 1914, p. 54 ff.

⁷²⁰ Straucher, Benno, *Das Schicksal der Bukowina*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung/Czernowitzer Tagblatt (Gemeinsame Kriegsausgabe), 02.12.1917, pp. 1-2.

⁷²¹ *Gegen den polnischen Einfluß auf die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung der Bukowina (eine Abwehr, kein Angriff) - III*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 03.02.1884, p. 1

⁷²² *Dr. Licht und die Bukowina*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 24.03.1905, pp. 1-2.

⁷²³ *Ein Wink für die Bukowinaer Abgeordneten in der Staatssprachenfrage*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 17.01.1884, pp. 1-2

⁷²⁴ *Братъя!* Народна Рада, 23.09.1905, p. 1.

powerful position in Bukovina.⁷²⁵ Well before the days of the Freethinking Alliance, Benno Straucher had distinguished himself as pro-Bukovinian and anti-Galician and *Czernowitzer Presse* stressed that from his first days as a parliamentarian, ‘many of the motions aiming at the emancipation of Bukovina from the Galician influence and at its cultural and administrative independence had arisen on his initiative and had gained the support of all Bukovinian and western deputies’.⁷²⁶ Straucher consistently continued to advocate Bukovina’s autonomy from Galicia, even more passionately so when in the final months of the World War, discussions about an independent Polish state threatened to involve Bukovina as well.⁷²⁷

One of the basic complaints in Bukovina was that crownland autonomy had not resulted in complete institutional autonomy. *Bukowinaer Post* compared the previous union with Galicia with a ‘serious illness, with subsequent evils yet to be overcome’. Those ‘evils’ were the continuous dependence on both the Galician judicial and railway authorities. Apart from the symbolical value of having their proper institutions, Bukovinian periodicals and politicians alike stressed how Galicia’s dominating Polish-speaking class used the state railways company as a ‘job machine’ for their sons while Bukovinians were excluded.⁷²⁸ Another problem was the prominent visibility of the railways and, its general directorate being Galician, the use of the Polish language. This urged Bukovinian Governor Pino in 1889 to write

*... that printed materials and notices intended for this crownland are issued in Polish, Ruthenian and German and also often only in German and Polish, so that the customary Romanian language appears not to be considered at all. As the Polish language is not a customary language in these parts and as it is understood by only a tiny fraction of the population, and finally, since the leading circles most firmly abhor the use of the Polish language in public life, the repeated appearance of such announcements and notices has caused great excitement and discontent.*⁷²⁹

⁷²⁵ *Gegen den polnischen Einfluß auf die wirthschaftliche Entwicklung der Bukowina (eine Abwehr, kein Angriff)* – III, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 03.02.1884, p. 1

⁷²⁶ *Nach zwei Jahren*, *Czernowitzer Presse*, 01.03.1899, p. 1.

⁷²⁷ Straucher, Benno, *Das Schicksal der Bukowina*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung/Czernowitzer Tagblatt* (Gemeinsame Kriegsausgabe), 02.12.1917, pp. 1-2.

⁷²⁸ *Folgeübel*, *Bukowinaer Post*, 19.11.1893, pp. 1-2.

⁷²⁹ “...daß Drucksorten u Kundmachungen, welche für dieses Kronland bestimmt sind, in polnischer, ruthenischer u deutscher und auch oft nur in deutscher u polnischer Sprache erlassen werden, so daß die rumänische Landessprache gar nicht berücksichtigt erscheint. Da die polnische Sprache hiezulande keine Landessprache ist, auch nur von einem ganz kleinen Bruchteil der Bevölkerung verstanden wird, und da endlich von den maßgebenden Kreisen der Gebrauch der polnischen Sprache im öffentlichen Leben auf das Heftigste perhorrescirt wird, so hat die wiederholte Erscheinung solcher Kundmachungen und Drucksorten eine große Erregung und Unzufriedenheit hervorgerufen”. Pino von Friedenthal, Felix, *Resolution betreffend die Sprachen in welchen die Kundgebungen der Staatsbahnen in der Bukowina abgefaßt werden*, Z. 1738 praes, Czernowitz, 19 November 1889/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 5391.

The fact that by 1903, Bukovinian train tickets still had only German and Polish print on them made *Bukowinaer Post* wonder if Czernowitz was a Galician instead of Bukovinian city.⁷³⁰ Generally, the fact that the railways were managed from Galician Stanislau (Pol.: Stanisławów, present-day Ivano-Frankivsk in Ukraine) was perceived as continuous dependence, or, as *Bukowinaer Journal* put it in 1901, 'independence from Galicia - this being the innermost core of the desire for the creation of a railway operations directorate - had not been achieved'.⁷³¹ When this goal was finally attained in 1904, it did not stop the Bukovinian press from warning its readers for 'the voracious appetite for Bukovina' which would keep Galicia 'infringing on Bukovinian autonomy'.⁷³²

This kind of 'infringement' continued to exist in the field of the judiciary. *Bukowinaer Rundschau* stated in 1896:

*A free land, a free population is its own judge and needs no foreign wisdom to determine contentious jurisdiction and undo injustice. However, Bukovina is forced to pay attention to the Galician capital in order to receive decisions on contested legal cases from its Supreme Court. As long as our land does not have its own court of second instance, it will experience the dependence of Galicia bitterly and will be sadly aware of the fact that love and loyalty are not enough to save it from a step-motherly treatment.*⁷³³

The topic was discussed and criticised in the regional diet,⁷³⁴ but, although there was a regional court in Czernowitz as well as district courts in Suczawa, Radautz, Solka, Gurahumora, Kimpolung and Dornawatra, they all remained subjected to the Higher Regional Court (*Oberlandesgericht*) throughout the days of Austrian rule.⁷³⁵ Claims persisted in Bukovina that Galician jurists occupied positions in Bukovina which should rightfully be reserved for natives, but it could hardly be denied that equally, Bukovinians were appointed at Lemberg's Higher Court. However, a Bukovinian newspaper with the nerve to address such contentious nuances was completely out of tune with the dominant discourse on the subject. Subsequently, it was dubbed 'treacherous' and accused of 'directly relinquishing the interests of the land's natives to the benefit of the Galicians'.⁷³⁶

Be it Galicians working for the railways and the courts, or Galician newspapers reporting on apparent tensions in Bukovina,⁷³⁷ the sentiment prevailed that Galicians were found in Bukovina in places where they did not belong. This feeling was enhanced by the conviction that it was nowhere harder for Bukovinians to find an administrative job than in Galicia. In a way, there was even envy regarding the extent to which Galicians were said to protect their

⁷³⁰ *Liegt Czernowitz in Galizien?* (*Tagespost*), *Bukowinaer Post*, 30.04.1903, p. 3.

⁷³¹ *Editorial*, *Bukowinaer Journal*, 21.11.1901, p. 1.

⁷³² *Ein Vorstoß gegen unsere Autonomie*. *Bukowinaer Post*, 20.03.1910, pp. 1-2.

⁷³³ *Des Reiches Stiefkind*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 15.08.1896, p. 1.

⁷³⁴ See for instance Schönbach et al., *Interpellation des Abgeordneten Schönbach und Genossen an den Herrn k.k. Landes-Präsidenten*, Czernowitz 1872/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 3645.

⁷³⁵ Scharf 2010, p 178.

⁷³⁶ *Schutz den Landeskindern*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 13.12.1905, pp. 1-2.

⁷³⁷ *Hetzapostel*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 1168, 31.07.1892, pp. 1-2.

‘native children’ against ‘outsiders’ who wanted to work in the land.⁷³⁸ Bukovinian nationalists, predictably, applied a tactic of ‘pick and choose’ when attacking Galician intrusion: while the Romanian press agitated against Galician Poles and Ruthenians alike,⁷³⁹ Young-Ruthenians fulminated exclusively against the Poles ‘and their Jesuit allies’.⁷⁴⁰

As widespread as the notion was, illustrated by the pet child - stepchild dichotomy, that Vienna treated Galicia better than Bukovina,⁷⁴¹ reality was that in the state’s headquarters a distinction between the two was rarely made.⁷⁴² In certain cases, particularly when Bukovina made headlines in corruption affairs⁷⁴³ or when it was implicated in organised crime,⁷⁴⁴ the local press admitted embarrassedly that comparisons between the two crownlands were sometimes justified, but in general Bukovinian circles abhorred how ‘Galicia and Bukovina’ were seen as one in Austrian geography textbooks and complained how the ‘poor little homeland suffered from it like from an obsolete rot-spreading disease’.⁷⁴⁵ By 1901, *Bukowinaer Rundschau* specifically blamed Bukovinian parliamentarians and their incompetence for the fact that in Vienna, Bukovina remained obstinately associated with Galicia:

*Admittedly for many decades we have to put up with the fact that Galicia and Bukovina are lumped together. Whenever the Poles receive attention from the government, it is always about ‘Galicia and Bukovina’. That Bukovina always comes away empty-handed, the gentlemen in the West do not want to understand. (...) ... Whenever semi-Asian conditions are brought up, whenever there are reports on corruption, it is no longer Galicia alone, but Galicia AND Bukovina. The gentlemen out there who are at home in the Bohemian villages, always have a preference to document their erroneous views on the relations between Galicia and Bukovina. As many times as they mention Galicia, they also need to include Bukovina, and cannot comprehend at all that with such an approach they manifest a stupendous degree of ignorance of the actual conditions. (...) Bukovina is a self-contained province, with its own unique population situation, with its specific educational and cultural conditions and with the single misfortune that it looks closed off from the west of the Empire by large Galicia. We reject any common ground with the Galician conditions and we only sorely regret our representatives have not yet succeeded in averting the greatly damaging influence of Galicia on the hard-pressed Bukovina, both transport-politically and economically.*⁷⁴⁶

In parliamentary discussions on constitutional reforms, Bukovinian deputies continued to oppose any reform which aimed at a ‘special status’ of sorts for Galicia and Bukovina. If such a status was granted, Bukovinian politicians argued, it should be related to Bukovina alone:

⁷³⁸ *Bukowinaer Landeskinder*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 22.06.1890, pp. 1-2.

⁷³⁹ *Șerpele încălđit la sinul nostru*, *Deșteptarea*, 15.01.1893, p. 1.

⁷⁴⁰ Kupczanko 1887, p. 179.

⁷⁴¹ ‘*Ein Jammerruf*’, *Bukowinaer Post*, 17.01.1897, p. 1.

⁷⁴² *Vor den Osterferien*, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 01.04.1906, p. 1.

⁷⁴³ *Das Reichsstiefkind*, *Bukowinaer Nachrichten*, 03.04.1890, p. 1.

⁷⁴⁴ *Halbasiatisches*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 04.08.1907, p. 1.

⁷⁴⁵ *Wie lange noch?* *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 26.02.1899, p. 1.

⁷⁴⁶ *Die Bukowina im Reichsrathe*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 25.04.1901, pp. 1-2.

conditions in Bukovina were sufficiently different from those in Galicia to demand a fully separate relationship with the central powers.⁷⁴⁷

Then again, it could not be denied that being glued to a powerful, big neighbour was also advantageous for small Bukovina: when the Polish Club in parliament succeeded in getting a law adopted which caused tax revenues from liquor and beer sales largely to be transferred directly to crownland authorities, Bukovina also profited from it. The unexpected gain compelled *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* to question the old dogma. It concluded that 'there was indeed no doubt that Bukovina benefited from Galicia's successes and thus it did not seem inappropriate to reconsider the term 'national autonomy' and to pay some fresh attention to the slogan 'Away from Galicia'. *Allgemeine* went on to quote the influential jurist and sociologist Ludwig Gumplowicz, who had observed no differences in the social structures of Eastern Galicia and Bukovina. Although it refused to adhere to this view, the newspaper admitted that economic, religious and linguistic similarities could not be denied and that as a result, both crownlands shared a considerable number of interests. As such, it warned against prejudices against Galicia which were only nurtured by 'myopic or malicious people'.⁷⁴⁸ Years later, the same newspaper broke a lance for Galicia as a tourist destination, because 'this great and blessed land had ancient monuments galore, museums and libraries, ancient castles and stately homes of historic significance'. Moreover, Galicia was the neighbouring crownland, and therefore it was deemed unfitting that Bukovinians 'only flew through the land in an express night train with covered windows'.⁷⁴⁹

Arguably, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* was not the only Bukovinian periodical with a sense of proportions and the accompanying amount of reasonability: Ruthenian *Bukovyna* had regarded it 'completely natural' that Bukovinians knew more about Galicia than the other way around, for 'the smaller always has a larger interest in the bigger, the bigger does not pay attention to the smaller and does not see him, and will dictate him in given cases'.⁷⁵⁰ *Bukowinaer Rundschau* commented that Bukovinians heroically demanded full independence from Galicia, but at the same time, relying on Galicia to solve his problems had become 'second nature to every Bukovinian'.⁷⁵¹

Maybe because Galicia was bigger, powerful and threatening, or even had an 'annoying' location (*Bukowinaer Rundschau* once commented that 'Bukovina was separated from Western culture by Galicia like a large sea'),⁷⁵² Bukovinian views on the big neighbour were overall far from rosy. In the most general of characterisations, Bukovinians saw themselves as more civilised than Galicians. Franzos had written in 1875 that a traveler arriving in Czernowitz after a train journey through Galicia 'suddenly found himself back in the West,

⁷⁴⁷ *Sonderstellung*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 12.11.1905, p. 1.

⁷⁴⁸ *Bukowina und Galizien*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 29.09.1905, p. 1.

⁷⁴⁹ *Akademische Studienfahrten*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 17.3.1912, p. 1.

⁷⁵⁰ *Русини, Німці і Волохи – II*, Буковина, 16.01.1898, pp. 1-2.

⁷⁵¹ *Die vergessene Bukowina*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 21.01.1900, pp. 12.

⁷⁵² *Nr. 5000*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 01.02.1906, p. 1.

where education, civilisation and white table linen could be found'.⁷⁵³ When members of the (Galician) Ruthenian Club in the Austrian parliament demanded the opening of a Ruthenian-language secondary school in 1894, they met with a rebuff from *Bukowinaer Post*: it snubbed that 'if there had been no contradictions in Galicia, if only concord and peace had prevailed there among the two nationalities, one could even understand that the existing zest for action looked for a sphere of activity and strayed to Bukovina'. However, *Post* concluded, 'in Galicia, there was plenty to do and even more to set straight'.⁷⁵⁴ Prime-Minister Koerber, who visited Bukovina 1904 after having been in Galicia, was expected to arrive in Czernowitz as the survivor a sort of jungle expedition, 'breathing a sigh of relief, (...) exhausted after having taken account of the pretentious claims of the Polish gentry, the aspirations of nationalities full of discord, the complaints and needs of an oppressed people and the wishes of the classes and individuals'.⁷⁵⁵ *Bukowinaer Rundschau* had even been more outspoken in 1899:

*You only need to put the epithet 'Galician' before a word indicating a public or private institution in order to pronounce the worst assessment in everyone's eyes of this very institution. Galician policy means the policy of ruthless repression and incitement of the people; Galician education means illiteracy and popular stultification (Volksverdummung); Galician business ethics means the embezzlement of the hard-won nest eggs of the poor (...) or the sacrilegious abuse of economic community institutions to support fraudulent, bankrupt Polish noblemen (Slachzizen).*⁷⁵⁶

However, as the years passed, even Bukovinian newspapers had to admit that Galicia developed new dynamism while the situation on Bukovina seemed to stagnate. Especially Galicia's efficiency in parliament in order to receive state support for its economic development evoked admiration:

*In all areas of economic life in Galicia, it stirs, sprouts and shoots, the local diet, the various economic associations, the parliamentary deputies of that crownland do not let a single opportunity pass to realise a renewed contribution to its economic prosperity, and to that purpose use the help of the state as well as the participation of the land to its full extent. That every now and again political agitation and national exuberance are involved we do not necessarily approve, but we accept it as part of the otherwise utilitarian aspirations.*⁷⁵⁷

The same discriminatory politics which frustrated Bukovinian hopefuls with ambitions to work for the Galician administrative organs were admired from the point of view of 'protection of the natives'. Galicia, contrary to Bukovina, was perceived as being able to overcome nationalist discord with the aim of general advancement.⁷⁵⁸ The powerful position

⁷⁵³ Franzos 1901, p. 205.

⁷⁵⁴ *Ist die Bukowina ein Kreis von Galizien?* *Bukowinaer Post*, 24.04.1894, p. 1.

⁷⁵⁵ *Der Ministerpräsident in der Bukowina*, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 03.09.1904, p. 1.

⁷⁵⁶ *Wie lange noch?* *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 26.02.1899, p. 1.

⁷⁵⁷ *Galizien und Bukowina*, *Bukowinaer Nachrichten*, 25.10.1891, p. 1.

⁷⁵⁸ *Landespolitik*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 19.10.1901, pp. 1-2.

of its Polish Club in the Austrian parliament was a source of envy and appreciation.⁷⁵⁹ Whereas Galicia ‘for many decades had been the classic land of poverty and backwardness’ while ‘for countless Galician people, for Ruthenians, Jews and Poles at that time, Bukovina had been the Promised Land (*Land der Sehnsucht*) with better working conditions, perceptible cultural progress in cities and villages and liberal sentiments characteristic of the whole of public life’, traditional pejoratives like ‘Galician management’ and ‘Polish inefficiency’ now made way for jealousy: Galicia had established an industrial bank in order to attract investments in industry, agriculture was booming and wood and oil production increasing. In Bukovina however, with ‘its cities impoverished, with its farmers full of discontent, with poverty and misery in every street, the village school had become a popular meeting point for assemblies and sedition, politics and politicking did not stop before the house of God while fruitless quarrel and insults filled the small land from the far north to the Transylvanian border’. The times had changed, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* concluded, Galicia had become Bukovina’s teacher and it could only be hoped that ‘this teacher would find attentive, eager and grateful students’.⁷⁶⁰ Czernowitzers were advised to leave their apathetic, dozy city and visit the neighbouring towns of Galicia, ‘where there was being built, carpentered and painted at every turn, vibrant tourism brought new blessings every day and (...) everything moved like with previously withheld resilience’.⁷⁶¹

5.7 Metropolitan Czernowitz?

Such feelings of insecurity regarding the crownland capital had bothered Bukovinians earlier: when there had been discussion in 1905 whether Czernowitz should host an exhibition while Bucharest already organised a similar event, it was quickly concluded that the ‘not particularly well-reputed embryonic metropolis (*Großstadtembryo*)’ Czernowitz could not hold a candle to the booming Romanian capital.⁷⁶² Undisputedly, the establishment of the Franz Joseph University in 1875 had been a major step towards the development of ‘big city status’.⁷⁶³ In 1906, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, devoted two pages to let prominent inhabitants have their say on whether Czernowitz was to be considered a town or a city. The general consensus was that the place was still largely under development and on its way to become a modern big city, or in the words of the manager of the local postal service Edler von Posch:

Where our town is now, there were only a few miserable huts a little over a hundred years ago. (...) Nobody can reasonably expect Czernowitz to have become in the hundred years of its existence what another several hundred years old city in the West maybe already is. (...) I

⁷⁵⁹ *Auch eine Auferstehung*, Bukowinaer Post, 07.04.1901, pp. 1-2; *Ein Bukowiner Industriellenbund* (*Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten*), *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 20.01.1905, p. 3.

⁷⁶⁰ *Galizien als Lerhmeister*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 17.04.1910, p. 1.

⁷⁶¹ *Die kleine Großstadt*, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 29.03.1914, pp. 1-2.

⁷⁶² *Unsere Landesausstellung* (*Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten*), *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 30.04.1905, pp. 4-5.

⁷⁶³ *Studentische Brutalitäten*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 23.05.1895, p. 1.

point out only as an example the street lighting system, sewerage, water supply, the street cleaners, the paving of streets and squares and the construction of pavements and the tram. All this and much else was achieved over the last twelve years.

Still, in spite of the positive overtone, the interviewees also mentioned 'oriental eccentricities', the oddity of grazing cattle in front of the university, dirt in the streets and a lack of economic activity.⁷⁶⁴ Other authors mentioned the large number of illiterates and the striking contrast of the closeness of a western-style university and the 'proud stronghold of the belief in miracles' (Sadagora).⁷⁶⁵ A spirit of highlighting recent modernisations also typified the celebrations in honour of the city's 500th anniversary in 1908: Czernowitz was likened to a Sleeping Beauty kissed awake by 'noble prince' Austria and keen to proudly show everything that had been created in just a few years, for 'in spite of half a millennium, the town as it presented itself now was barely a few decades old'.⁷⁶⁶

By 1914, 'big city rhythm' was still strikingly lacking or rather, in decline. Economic hardship was visible and the upbeat mood of a budding metropolis had changed to one of 'an external image dominated by barren emptiness where once flourishing trade and busy traffic used to dominate, (...) where every now and then only an unemployed person passed by'. If it had not been for some school children, 'the tram conductors would have had to ride the streets uphill and downhill without any passengers'. The lack of activity was, more than the absence of commercial dynamics itself, blamed on the presumed unhealthy development of Czernowitz which had 'shot up from a randomly grown larger community with an unhealthily rapid growth into a large city'.⁷⁶⁷

On top of that, all the recent developments and modern amenities had not changed Czernowitz from being 'a city which let the society for improving its appearance wither away, a city from which one had to wring every bit of green with violence, a city that could not accommodate any congress within its walls because it did not have a single representation hall, a city that had a nice art collection but not a museum, a city of which the gateway resembled an old Tartar corner, a city in which the big residence was situated like a mission hotel in Peking - in the middle of the wilderness, a city in which a collapsed town hall balcony needed a year to be restored'.⁷⁶⁸

Czernowitz had long been battling a state of 'oriental disorder': periods of rainy weather caused flooded streets to the extent that 'a joker believed to have discovered the difference between Czernowitz and Venice in spite of an otherwise strong resemblance; in both cities the sea moistened the walls of the houses, only Venice it actually consisted of water, while in Czernowitz, unfortunately, it consisted of a particular substrate - of dung'.⁷⁶⁹ Strangers

⁷⁶⁴ *Czernowitz - Großstadt?* Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 24.12.1906, pp. 4-6.

⁷⁶⁵ Weißberg, Josef, *Eine Kulturfrage*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 25.02.1906, pp. 2-3.

⁷⁶⁶ *Czernowitz*, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 20.09.1908, p. 1.

⁷⁶⁷ *Die kleine Großstadt*, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 29.03.1914, pp. 1-2.

⁷⁶⁸ *Fremdenverkehr*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 29.06.1912, p. 1.

⁷⁶⁹ *Straßenmisère*, Bukowinaer Journal, 40, 24.12.1901, p. 4.

accidentally ending up in Czernowitz were said to believe they were ‘in an Arab city where begging seems innate to the people’.⁷⁷⁰ Begging children filled the streets and the city’s busiest promenade ‘provided such a parade of all sorts of crippled (*eine Revue aller Bresthaften*) that every stranger was shown more misery during a half-hour walk than compatible with the most elementary civil laws on care for the poor and the ailing’.⁷⁷¹

For the sake of clarity and overview, the different elements of (often indistinguishable) auto- and hetero-images applicable to Bukovina have been isolated here as much as possible. A certain overlap certainly remained, but the point should be made that in the daily discourse during the Habsburg years, those elements were almost inextricably entwined. ‘Unknown Bukovina’, ‘Semi-Asia’ and neglect were often used in the same breath, just like Galicia, the threat to the livelihood of the ‘native children’ and the ‘stepchild lament’. In other contexts, it was Galicia, obscurity and the lack of official visits which were bundled for the occasion. The ingredients presented here were combined, extrapolated, manipulated if deemed necessary, but, like a deck of well-preserved cards, reshuffled throughout the existence of Habsburg Bukovina. Some of the elements gained steam as modern times progressed and certain ‘modern inventions’ like tourism, urban sanitation and railroad infrastructure demanded a more prominent position. With some imagination, even the growing consensus that the crownland should build its own strength instead of begging for help, which spread with the emergence of the Freethinking Alliance, could be regarded a modern development. Other elements such as the perceived ‘Galician threat’, were vividly applied shortly after autonomy was obtained and then underplayed for a while and gained momentum only when the possibility of an independent Polish state became an uncomfortable probability at the end of the World War.

⁷⁷⁰ Bettel- und sonstiges Unwesen in Czernowitz, Bukowinaer Journal, 24.08.1902, p. 4.

⁷⁷¹ Weißberg, Josef, *Eine Kulturfrage*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 25.02.1906, pp. 2-3.

6 Displaying Bukovinian Identity: Parades, Exhibitions and Commemorations

Once Bukovina was firmly established as an independent crownland, matters of presentation and representation quickly came to the fore: Highlights of Habsburg history obviously needed to be celebrated, or at least commemorated, but it soon became clear that history was a tricky subject in the era of nationalism. On top of that, there was a growing tendency of regional identification which had to be taken into account. A number of those occasions serve here to illustrate how these elements at times competed with each other or complemented each other, with a focus on how Bukovinians actively strove to distribute their auto-image. As Joep Leerssen concludes in relation to national historiography: “The notion that myths and history merely underpin and rationalise a given national identity is a simplification. The rivalry and mutual counterpositioning of different national groups begins in, and relies upon, reconfigurations and divisions, retrievals and appropriations, of the past”.⁷⁷² The centenary of hundred years of Habsburg Bukovina was a first test for Czernowitz in dealing with this sensitive subject matter. Whereas regional identification was not so much debated here, but rather Habsburg cultural superiority vs. Romanian nationalism or Austrian centralism vs. Romanian irredentism, the way in which the issues eventually escalated into the ‘Arboroasa’ treason trial provided a valuable lesson.⁷⁷³ The early 1900s offered ample opportunity to address celebration and representation questions: in 1901, there was the 200th anniversary of 41st Infantry Regiment (the ‘Bukovinian’ regiment) in Czernowitz, in 1904 the 400th anniversary in the Bukovinian village of Putna of the death of Stephen the Great, in 1906 Bukovina participated in the Bucharest Jubilee Exhibition in the Romanian capital, and in 1908 in the Emperor’s Jubilee Parade in Vienna. These events and the way Bukovinians debated their participation in them will be discussed in the following section.

6.1 Inverted Images of a Historical Event: Hundred years of Habsburg Bukovina

In Bukovina, the first occasion for a large-scale official celebration was the centennial of one hundred years of incorporation into the Habsburg Monarchy, with the establishment of the university as its undisputed highlight. That is, to those who regarded the centenary as a reason for celebration at all. Opposing the public fundraising, the adulatory books by Hermann Bidermann, Adolf Ficker and Andreas Mikulicz⁷⁷⁴ and the festivities surrounding the new

⁷⁷² Leerssen, Joep, *Retro-fitting the past: Literary historicism between the Golden Spurs and Waterloo*, in: Dunthorne, Hugh and Wintle, Michael (ed.), *The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Britain and the Low Countries*, Brill, Leiden 2012, 113-131, p. 129.

⁷⁷³ See paragraph 3: The Empire, the Nation and the Region: Competing Identifications in Bukovina/3.3: Cracks in the Layer of Loyalty.

⁷⁷⁴ Bidermann, Hermann Ignaz, *Die Bukowina unter österreichischer Verwaltung 1775-1875*, Selbstverlag des Verfassers, Vienna 1875; Mikulicz, Andreas, *Cultur-Zustände im Herzogthume Bukowina. Tableau, zusammengestellt von Andreas Mikulicz, Secretär der Handels-und Gewerbekammer in Czernowitz*. Czernowitz 1875; Ficker, Adolf, *Hundertjahrfeier der Vereinigung der Bukowina mit Österreich*, Statistische Monatsschrift, Vol. 1, Vienna 1875.

university were Romanian nationalists who equalled Austria's acquisition of the territory to theft. In turn, they did not escape severe criticism by Karl Emil Franzos, who asserted:

*But who today, in the year of salvation 1875, earnestly aims for German culture to be eradicated in Bukovina, for the land to be ceded to Romania is not a traitor who deserves punishment, but a poor fool because this little land is like an oasis in the desert of Eastern barbarism.*⁷⁷⁵

In Franzos' view, the inhabitants of Bukovina had been 'liberated' from a Turkish-Moldavian yoke back in 1775. To counter this claim, Romanian nationalists revamped the figure of Grigore Ghica III, the Moldavian prince who had ruled the territory for the Ottomans until the Habsburgs took over. Ghica, who had actively opposed the transaction, had eventually annoyed the Porte to such extent that he was unceremoniously beheaded. His Phanariot family was probably from the area of today's Albania. Phanariots, named after the Constantinople area of Phanar, were Greek-speaking administrators who were deployed to rule on behalf of the Porte in the Danubian principalities. Rulers like Ghica had to assure that the Ottomans duly received tax profits from their domains.⁷⁷⁶ In view of this background, Ghica seemed a less than likely role model for Romanian nationalists who admittedly did little to deny their hero's uncomfortable background.⁷⁷⁷ Still, his symbolic value as an opponent of the Austrian 'occupation' was hard to resist. In the Romanian city of Iași, the festive opening of the Franz Joseph University in Czernowitz was countered with the unveiling of a Ghica bust by mayor Nicolae Gane, who described Ghica as 'a man who loved the country and in return was loved by it, and whose single vice had been his wish to defend his ancestral soil'.⁷⁷⁸ Prominent poet and nationalist Mihai Eminescu depicted Ghica as a modern ruler who explained the benefits of taxes to the people and who turned corrupt officials into genuine servants of the state, a modest man who in the few years of his reign had managed to bring peace and prosperity to Moldavia. Anachronistically, Eminescu assessed how Ghica 'had worked for the integrity of his fatherland until the last moment of his life'.⁷⁷⁹

Thus, whereas the Austrian centennial celebrations were meant to stress the transition from medieval Ottoman rule to modern Austrian administration, Romanian nationalists did their best to invoke an inverted image by representing Ghica as the enlightened regent overthrown by a conspiracy between Ottoman and Austrian oppressors. The portrayal of a national leader fighting for the integrity of his country clearly suited the irredentist nationalist celebration of the late 1800s better than the eighteenth century administrator it was meant to honour.

It was not so much the imaginative interpretation of history and the role Grigore Ghica III played in it which worried the Austrian authorities, but rather the implication that Bukovina should not be Austrian but Romanian instead. Though opinion makers such as Franzos asserted that 'only a few dozen set the secular celebrations against the commemoration of

⁷⁷⁵ Franzos 1901. pp. 208-209.

⁷⁷⁶ Wagner 1979, p. 9.

⁷⁷⁷ (Kogălniceanu, Mihail), *Răpirea Bucovinei*, Biblioteca Populară 'Minerva', Bucharest 1907, p. 8.

⁷⁷⁸ Nistor 1991, p. 219.

⁷⁷⁹ Eminescu, Mihai, *Grigore Ghica Voevod*, Curierul de Iași, No. 109, 1876.

some dark Dacian man of honour', ⁷⁸⁰ Suczawa school teacher Wilhelm Schmidt abhorred 'the unprincipled selfish chauvinism of neighbouring Romania, intoxicated by megalomania'. He accused the country of 'fantasising about some inexcusable theft committed against Moldavia with newspaper pages framed in black during a general day of prayer and repentance while the loyal population of Bukovina organised a grand centennial celebration at the occasion of the Austrian occupation of the land'. ⁷⁸¹ Shortly after the centennial celebrations, the Ghica commemorations led to the 'Arboroasa' case, which made Romanian nationalists suspect of treason and irredentism for years to come.

In circles of Bukovinian Romanian nationalists, the polarisation between the Austrian centennial and the Romanian Ghica commemoration caused unease. By 1899, folklorist and academic Ion Sbiera recalled how Bukovinian Romanian nationalists had been ready to join in the Austrian celebrations if some room had been created in it for a 'Romanian element'. Now, they had felt isolated by those wanting only to proclaim German cultural superiority without understanding how one could be a loyal supporter of the Monarchy and a national patriot at the same time. ⁷⁸²

In Romanian historiography since 'Iași 1875', the debate continued to focus on the question of the legitimacy of the Habsburg takeover in 1775, on exactly how independent the Moldavian principalities had been from their Ottoman rulers ⁷⁸³ and on the perceived injustice done to Ghica in the process. In 1907, Bukovinian-Romanian historian Dimitre Onciul repeated the claim that Ghica had been fighting 'a violation of the country's integrity', ⁷⁸⁴ and this still resounded in 2000. ⁷⁸⁵ Ghica was seen as 'Bukovina's last legitimate regent', ⁷⁸⁶ who was not even consulted by the Ottomans concerning the upcoming land transfer. ⁷⁸⁷ Historians from the German cultural realm continued to underline Ghica's 'non-Romanian' roots and the harshness of his rule, maintaining that 'precisely Ghica had been the Phanariot who had loaded large farmers and small peasants alike with high taxes in favour of the landowners' and that 'therefore it had been primarily the farmers, who after the occupation had unambiguously opted for incorporation of Bukovina into Austria'. ⁷⁸⁸ No matter how diametrically opposed their views, neither the Romanian nor the German sources have withstood the temptation of applying terms of governance and democracy to a time and place where they do not belong: the Romanian nationalist version speaks of 'political independence' and decision-making powers on the part of the Ottoman vassal Ghica who

⁷⁸⁰ Franzos 1901, pp. 208-209.

⁷⁸¹ Schmidt 1887, p. 674.

⁷⁸² Sbiera 1899, pp. 284-285.

⁷⁸³ Roman, Viorel, *Bucovina și Basarabia: omagiu istoricului la 60 de ani*, Editura Artemis, Bucharest 2000, p. 14.

⁷⁸⁴ Onciul, Dimitre, *Din trecutul Bucovinei, Extras din 'Convorbiri Literare' XLIX, No. 6-7*, Institutul de Arte Grafice 'Speranța', Bucharest 1907, p. 33.

⁷⁸⁵ Mihăescu, Dan, *Bucovina și Basarabia (pornind de la numele lor)*, Technopress, Iași 2000, p. 37.

⁷⁸⁶ Nistor 1991, p. 220.

⁷⁸⁷ Corbea-Hoisie 2004, pp. 13-14.

⁷⁸⁸ Wagner 1979, p. 9.

apparently fought ‘for the integrity of his state’ - its German counterpart suggests that the opinions of Bukovinian peasants actually played a role in the territorial takeover of what was to become Bukovina.

6.2 The 200th Anniversary of the 41st Infantry Regiment in 1901

The 41st Infantry Regiment of the Austrian Imperial Army, known as ‘the Bukovinian Regiment’ was significantly older than the crownland itself: it was established in 1701 and as such one of the oldest regiments in the Monarchy, but from the year 1863 its ranks were filled exclusively by Bukovinian recruits. By 1905, 11,000 men served on active duty while 17,000 were registered as members. After having had lower noblemen as commanders,⁷⁸⁹ the appointment of Archduke Eugen and the subsequent renaming of the Regiment to ‘Bukovinian Infantry Regiment Archduke Eugen No. 41’ were seen as a sign of appreciation for the Regiment, but also for Bukovina as a whole.⁷⁹⁰ The Emperor himself was said to have publicly praised the Regiment when he visited Bukovina in 1880, calling it ‘the most brilliant one in Bosnia’⁷⁹¹ and ‘a regiment the city could be proud of’.⁷⁹²

Between 1855 and 1882, the Regiment had been stationed outside of Bukovina. When it returned to the city, large numbers of citizens attended the welcoming ceremony at the Czernowitz railway station. Mayor Klimesch commented how ‘after twenty-seven years of absence, the native Regiment returned to the regional capital’ and how ‘like a mother lovingly pressed the long-lost child to her chest, Bukovinians opened their arms to warmly welcome their sons’. Newspapers mentioned ‘tumultuous enthusiasm’ (*eine stürmische Begeisterung*) and the mayor’s analogy was reportedly brought to life quite literally when, upon seeing the arrival of the troops in the streets, a peasant wedding party forgot all about the wedding and started to hug and kiss the surprised soldiers.⁷⁹³

Nationalist Bukovinian periodicals devoted equally warm words to the Regiment, emphasising the all-Bukovinian makeup of its troops and the love for the native Regiment.⁷⁹⁴ When Galician Ruthenian nationalist and *Syč* pioneer Kyrylo Trylovsky had allowed himself derogatory comments regarding the 41st Regiment, a veteran of the Regiment angrily responded in a public letter defending what he called a ‘Romanian-Ruthenian regiment’ and

⁷⁸⁹ From 1778 until 1798 Baron Bender, from 1817 until 1823 Baron Marshal[I] Perelat. *Schriften des Vereins für Geschichte und Naturgeschichte der Baar und der angrenzenden Landesteile in Donaueschingen*, Vol.12, Donaueschingen 1909, p. 157.

⁷⁹⁰ Dvořák, Karl, *Geschichte des k. und k. Infanterie-Regiments Erzherzog Eugen Nr. 41 bearbeitet von Karl Dvořák, k. und k. Oberst, Regimentskommandant, III, 1888-1905*, R. Eckhardts'sche kk. Universitätsbuchdruckerei (Josef Mucha), Czernowitz 1905, p. 86.

⁷⁹¹ The regiment had been active when Austria occupied Bosnia in 1878.

⁷⁹² Trebic, Paul, *Das Bukowiner 41. Infanterie-Regiment im Feldzuge 1878 (Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten)*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 09.04.1909, p. 4.

⁷⁹³ *Ein Jubiläum des 41. Inf.-Regiments (Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten)*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 18.08.1907, p. 4.

⁷⁹⁴ 200 літ, Руска Рада, 13.04.1901, p. 1.

adding that by attacking the virtue of the Regiment, Trylovsky had attacked his fellow Ruthenians as well.⁷⁹⁵

The 200 year anniversary of the Regiment on 25 April 1901 was reason for extensive, patriotic celebrations in Czernowitz. The presence of the commander of the Regiment himself, Archduke Eugen, added to the excitement. The entire Bukovinian high society welcomed him at the railway station: the Orthodox Metropolitan, the mayor of Czernowitz, the members of the regional diet, lots of civil servants plus a large number of other invited guests.⁷⁹⁶ The specific nature of multilingual Bukovina asked for creative solutions in order to make the event a success. Practicality prevailed:

The nature of such an anniversary celebration calls for the most outstanding military feats of the Regiment and its heroes to be presented to the troops. Such a representation must be made with oratorical verve in the mother tongues of the men, clearly audible to each and every one of them and free from disturbing influences, which is completely unfeasible in front of such a large number of troops with its multitude of languages. It seemed most appropriate to transfer that presentation to the houses of worship and entrust to the clergy to devote a homily to the glorious deeds of the Regiment after a solemn mass.⁷⁹⁷

As such, services in the Roman-Catholic and protestant churches as well as in the synagogue were held in German, in the Uniate church in Ruthenian and in the Orthodox Cathedral in both Romanian and Ruthenian.⁷⁹⁸ The consecration of the flag was treated in the same way: although regulations demanded that the new flag be consecrated according to the Catholic rite, the Emperor had allowed for once for it to be blessed the Orthodox way as well since most of the troops were Orthodox.⁷⁹⁹ In spite of the elaborate preparations and the mentioned exception to the Austrian regulations, the local press adopted a rather deadpan attitude towards the pomp. It was reported how ‘the festivities on Thursday had started with the usual festive services which had been attended very well since there was never a lack of gawkers eager to see who showed up’.⁸⁰⁰ The authorities had clearly meant the Regiment’s anniversary to be a demonstration of popular adherence to Austria and the dynasty and had therefore sought active public participation:

There was (...) no doubt that the Regiment will find the whole land at its side for this meaningful and rare celebration, all the more so as the much hoped-for presence of Archduke Eugen offered Bukovina the opportunity to express its dynastic sentiments and simultaneously its sympathies towards the native Regiment. Under such felicitous auspices one could be sure of the most heartfelt interest of the entire land; yet this obliged the Regiment to organise its

⁷⁹⁵ M.F., *Das Bukowiner 41. Infanterie-Regiment im Feldzuge 1878 (Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten)*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 31.03.1909, p. 4.

⁷⁹⁶ Dvořák 1905, p. 99.

⁷⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 87.

⁷⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 97.

⁷⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 90.

⁸⁰⁰ *Das Regimentsjubiläum*, Bukowinaer Post, 28.04.1901, p. 3.

*celebrations in a way that would also enable the population at large to participate in one way or another.*⁸⁰¹

Apart from the consecration of the flag, which was deemed ‘particularly suited to promote the patriotic and military sense of the population’, the celebrations aimed at enthusing mainly Bukovinian schoolchildren: the officers of the 41st Regiment offered to donate portraits of the Emperor to Bukovinian schools at the occasion of the anniversary,⁸⁰² and *Bukowinaer Post* expressed its surprise when after dinner, the Archduke went to greet the gathered schoolchildren of Czernowitz rather than the lined-up Regiment. “It will be hard to find any correlation between the Regiment’s celebration and schoolchildren, apart from the fact that both have eager beavers wanting to stand out at all costs”, *Post* snubbed, and then went on to decry how the scantily-dressed children had to wait outside for hours and how even the poorest of them had to pay for black-yellow sashes out of their own pockets.⁸⁰³

Naturally, the official part of the festivities was marked by the inevitable speeches about Bukovina’s multi-ethnic harmony and devotion to the Emperor. Governor Bourguignon maintained in his address to the Archduke that ‘the population of Bukovina saw the Army as the embodiment of the unitary state concept and honoured it as the guardian not only of their material, but also of their highest and most important spiritual capital’. Then it was the turn of the troops of the 41st Regiment to show their best:

*National songs and dances alternated with each other. Swabians, Romanians, Ruthenians, Poles, Hungarians, Jews, Gypsies and Lippovans, all in their distinctive costumes, vied with each other to demonstrate their national peculiarities to their best abilities and joy and had the pleasure to excite His Imperial Highness’s approval and interest. A downright life-threatening throng developed around the groups where His Imperial Highness lingered a bit, just because everyone wanted to be near to His Imperial Highness - a wish which should be granted to everyone.*⁸⁰⁴

Unfortunately, the stories which surfaced in the local press once the celebrations were over gave a different impression of the univocal sense of well-being the official sources had so ardently tried to disseminate. *Bukowinaer Rundschau* depicted scenes which obviously clashed with the harmonious image of joint civilian and military merriment:

One expected entertaining national dances, fun and games - and saw or even received rifle butt blows instead! Things got so wild that around five o’clock, the crowd panicked as a result of the attack by the ‘order-creating’ troops and while they ran from the rifle butts, they fell and all ended up on one big heap. Only when the loud wails of women attracted an officer, the persecution of ‘civilians’(!), as the military contemptuously put it, was abandoned. There were repeated scenes between military and plain clothes attendees, and - it must be said - many people were sorry to have come to Austria Square only to be hit with rifle butts. When His Imperial Highness appeared on the square and left his vehicle, the audience respectfully created space by forming rows. This seemed not enough for the soldiers, for zealously they

⁸⁰¹ Dvořák 1905, pp. 86-87.

⁸⁰² 41st Regiment, *Letter to Governor*, Czernowitz, 1875/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 4010.

⁸⁰³ *Das Regimentsjubiläum*, *Bukowinaer Post*, 28.04.1901, p. 3.

⁸⁰⁴ Dvořák 1905, p. 108-111.

punched right and left in the masses with their fists and elbows. One of them captured a peddler's soda water trolley, dashing its lurching owner to the side and rolling it with such force into the middle of the dense crowd that it was a miracle that no disaster occurred. A sergeant gave a soldier who had come too close to him such a slap in the face that blood spouted from the poor guy's mouth and nose. One officer slapped a corporal because he had not pushed back the audience 'energetically' enough. These and many more turbulent scenes which we will not describe here because it would go too far, contribute to a less than rosy picture of the troops' festivities, even if their intentions may have been the best.⁸⁰⁵

A tangible irritation caused by the insistent government propaganda stressing the harmony between the military and civilians had preceded the reported disappointing turn of events and, *Bukowinaer Post* commented, 'had bordered on servility'. Moreover, *Post* argued, with all the rigmarole of the role of Bukovina's native sons in the army some more attention might have been given to the dire position of its native sons in the local civil service, who were still being ignored in favour of candidates from outside the crownland.⁸⁰⁶ Another critic of the festivities also chose a broader perspective: Radautz lawyer Ferdinand Chomed argued that the entire affair was superficial, that the Bukovinian bourgeoisie was 'Byzantine' and its patriotism 'obsequious' (*Hurrah-Patriotismus*), focused only on the figure of the Emperor. On top of this, Chomed took the opportunity to decry what he saw as appalling living conditions in the Imperial Army, with physical abuse sometimes resulting in death and related suicide cases. According to figures presented in parliament, the suicide rate in the Austrian army easily topped those of other European armies. It would have been a true act of patriotism, Chomed maintained, if the all the money spent on decorating Czernowitz for the anniversary had been allocated to a fund for 'the victims of militarism'.⁸⁰⁷ The reference to army suicides must have struck a sensitive chord with the Austrian authorities, for the phenomenon had not been unheard of in the 41st Regiment, either: in 1890, *Bukowinaer Nachrichten* had been confiscated because it had reported on the numerous cases of suicide among the 41st - more precisely because it had connected these cases to the way the men were treated by their superiors and as such there was 'little doubt that such slander and revelations of facts could lead to hatred and contempt for the regimental superiors in question'.⁸⁰⁸ However, only one year later *Bukowinaer Rundschau* devoted its editorial to the fact that, again, within only six days no less than three soldiers from the 41st Regiment had taken their own lives. The newspaper held the military leadership responsible, because Bukovinian peasants, and therefore Bukovinian recruits, were simply not the type:

For our peasants can endure and tolerate a lot, they are passive by nature and the respect for the educated classes in general and for their superiors in particular is deeply rooted. So the

⁸⁰⁵ *Zum Regimentsjubiläum*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, 28.04.1901, p. 2.

⁸⁰⁶ *Ein Sieg der Liebe für unsere Landeskinder*, *Bukowinaer Post*, 25.04.1901, pp. 1-2.

⁸⁰⁷ According to the statistics quoted by Chomed, per 100,000 soldiers England counted 20 suicides, Belgium 24, France 33, Italy 40, Germany 63 and Austria no less than 131. Chomed, Ferdinand, *Hurrah-Patriotismus*, *Bukowinaer Post*, 14.05.1901, p. 1.

⁸⁰⁸ "Es dürfte kaum zweifelhaft erscheinen, daß derartige in eine Druckschrift aufgenommenen Schmähungen und Enthüllungen von Thatsachen Reden zum Hasse und zur Verachtung gegen die oben bezeichneten Regimentsvorgesetzten aufzureitzen geeignet sind". k.k. Staatsanwaltschaft, *Note an das lobliche k.k. Landes Präsidium*, Z. 4381, Czernowitz, 2 July 1890/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 5486.

*circumstances must already be most extraordinary in order to bring these children of nature - who have hardly ever heard about suicides - to such a step, prohibited to them by the religion they deeply honour and deem sacred.*⁸⁰⁹

Next to the anniversary festivities, the Regiment's officers claimed a more permanent memorial 'to redound to permanent embellishment of the regional capital, to promote the patriotic military sense of the people and to deepen and maintain in all circles of this land the feelings of reverent gratitude to the brave men who in loyal devotion to duty died heroically for Emperor and Fatherland'. A committee was established to plan and design a monument and to ensure the necessary fundraising. The regional diet readily contributed 10,000 crowns, the Orthodox consistory 5000, the city of Czernowitz 3000 plus the necessary construction site, the Bukovinian Savings Bank 5000 and an additional 14,000 crowns were gathered by the joint communities of Bukovina. As the collectors proudly added, 'all communities without exception had been involved, even those which for years had ceased to be part of the territorial recruiting district of the Regiment'.⁸¹⁰

The jubilant tone of the Regiment's chronicler Karl Dvořák, who claimed that 'the success of the appeal had justified all expectations brilliantly', carefully hid the fact that raising the necessary means had actually been quite a headache: for instance, the contribution by the consistory came from Church Fund resources. As such it was merely a subsidy granted by the Austrian Ministry of Culture and Education and not 'yet another example of the excellent way the Orthodox Church Fund performed at all patriotic occasions'.⁸¹¹ A note from the ministry to the governor in Bukovina shows that the governor had actively requested Vienna to allocate Church Fund means for the monument. Although Vienna was willing to grant the request, from the figures the Governor had presented regarding the funds raised so far it had become painfully clear that, even when Church Fund means were applied, there was still a considerable gap to be filled. As a result, the unveiling ceremony of the monument would be taking place well after the official anniversary festivities. This also gave the ministry in Vienna the time to allocate extra means to the 1902 Church Fund budget, which in turn would ensure the completion of the project.⁸¹²

⁸⁰⁹ *Die Selbstmorde in unserem Regimente*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 30.06.1891, p. 1.

⁸¹⁰ Dvořák 1905, pp. 92-94.

⁸¹¹ "Wie bei allen patriotischen Anlässen hat sich auch diesmal der griechisch-orientalische Religionsfond in hervorragender Weise betätigt". Ibid.

⁸¹² "(...) daß ich nicht abgeneigt wäre, die Bewilligung des beantragten weiteren Beitrages von 5000 K. aus dem Bukowinaer griech. orientalischen Religionsfonde zu den Kosten des anlässlich des 200-jährigen Bestandes des bukowinaer Infanterie-Regimentes Erzherzog Eugen No. 41 zu errichtenden Denkmals in Aussicht zu nehmen. Da jedoch auf dem im Berichte ziffermäßig dargestellten Ergebnisse der bisherigen Sammlungen von Beiträgen für das in Rede stehende Denkmal die Gesamtkosten desselben selbst unter Hinzurechnung des weiteren Fondsbeitrages noch lange nicht gedeckt erscheinen und somit die Fertigstellung und Enthüllung dieses Denkmals im laufenden Jahre wohl fraglich ist, so ersuche ich Eure Excellenz mir vorerst noch mittheilen zu wollen, aus welchen anderen Mitteln die erforderlichen Summen aufgebracht werden sollen und ob nicht für den Fall, daß die Enthüllung des in Rede stehenden Denkmals erst im nächsten Jahre erfolgen könnte, auf die Bewilligung des angesprochenen weiteren Fondsbeitrages auf das nächste Jahr zu verschieben wäre, wo sodann

The object itself required little participation from Bukovina proper: the seven-meter high granite obelisk was designed by Viennese sculptor R. Marschall, while the bronze was cast by the equally Viennese Beschorner firm.⁸¹³ Cunningly, the monument committee had specifically requested granite from Archduke Franz Ferdinand's stone quarry in Bohemia. The official reason was the outstanding quality of the material, but of course, with regard to the specific purpose of the order, the Archduke was asked to provide a discount - which he did.⁸¹⁴ In German, Romanian and Ruthenian, the text on the pedestal read: 'From the grateful Bukovina for the members of the 41st Archduke Eugen Regiment who fell on the field of honour'.⁸¹⁵

On 2 December 1902, the monument was finally ready to be revealed. Again, like a year earlier, the festivities were not free of blemishes. Whereas the officialdom as well as the public at large gathered once more in their respective houses of worship and on the site itself, the management of the city theatre had decided to attract the local bourgeoisie 'regardless of their social standing, nation or religion' with a soiree 'fully suited to sustainably satisfy their patriotic spirit' (*vollauf geeignet den patriotischen Sinn nachhaltig zu befriedigen*). However, apart from the governor, the chief magistrate and the officers of the 41st Regiment hardly any of its representatives showed up:

As such, the officers were absent, as well as the higher civil service (...), the official representatives and all those men from public life who always act as if they alone have a unique claim on patriotism. Also missing were those elements who think they need to prove their patriotism by supporting blindly and on command each and every government action, whether these are elections or appointments of honorary citizens; that certain 'tout Czernowitz' was lacking, those who want to be everywhere where it matters to be seen. And summing up all absentees, the shameful and distressing result is: the Austrian spirit was missing!

Bukowinaer Post blamed the toxic influence of nationalist politics in Bukovina for this mood swing. Just like Ferdinand Chomed had done before, the editor criticised the superficiality of Bukovinian patriotism and the servilism of local politicians. "They raise hurray-bawlers, not patriots," *Post* concluded.⁸¹⁶

selbstverständlich für die Bedeckung dieser Auslage im bezüglichen Voranschlage vorgesorgt werden müßte". Ministerium für Cultus und Unterricht, *Ministerium für Cultus und Unterricht an den Herrn k.k.*

Landespräsidenten in Czernowitz, Z. 15729, Vienna, 6 June 1901/ DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 2, spr. 18793.

⁸¹³ In December 1949 the Soviet authorities blew up the obelisk, but the remaining pedestal with inscription can still be found in today's Chernivtsi at the corner of Vulitsya Holovna and Vulitsya Chervonoarmyska.

⁸¹⁴ Dvořák 1905, p. 95.

⁸¹⁵ DIE DANKBARE BVKOWINA DEN AVF DEM FELDE DER EHRE GEFALLENEN ANGEHOERIGEN DES INFANTIEREREGIMENTS ERZHERZOG EUGEN NRO. 41/ ȚEARA BVCOVINEI VITEJILOR OSTAȘI AI REGIMENTVLVÎ DE INFANTERIE ARCHIDVCELVÎ EVGEN NRO. 41 CĂDVȚÎ PE CÂMPVL DE ONOARE CA SEMN DE RECVNOSCINȚĂ/ ПОЛЯГЛИМ НА ПОЛЮ СЛАВИ 41-ГО ПИХОТНОГО ПОЛКУ ІМЕНІ АРХІКНЯЗЯ ЕВГЕНЯ ВДЯЧНА БУКОВІНА. Dvořák 1905, pp. 95-96.

⁸¹⁶ *Patriotismus*, *Bukowinaer Post* 04.12.1902, p. 1.

The battles of the World War brought the 41st Regiment back in the Bukovinian spotlights once more. Their contribution to the Austrian successes against the Italian army in the infamous battles of the Isonzo was widely praised. In 1917, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* published a poem of praise by Grete Sölch which read:

*On the tenth day of the Isonzo battle/ As they furiously grappled with the enemy/ As they accomplished the impossible - not even then the flag slipped from the brave hand / The flag which now everybody knows/ From the 41st Regiment Archduke Eugen.*⁸¹⁷

In November 1917, the 41st Regiment was sent back to Bukovinian soil. Emperor Karl, inspecting the Austrian troops at the Bukovinian front near Storozynetz in December of that same year, declared that it had been ‘only thanks to the brave endurance of the division and especially to that the 41st that the twelfth battle of the Isonzo had been possible at all’ and that he had sent the Regiment to its home region as a token of gratitude. For the greater part of the war and during all three times Bukovina had been besieged by Russian troops, the 41st Regiment had been deployed elsewhere, leading to frustrations with its troops. Homesickness and the desire to defend their native region had plagued many a soldier. Once the Regiment had returned, expected defense tasks proved to be obsolete and time was spent on the necessary reconstruction activities.⁸¹⁸

6.3 The 400th Anniversary of the Death of Stephen the Great in 1904

Southern Bukovina, with its rich monastic history dating back to the days of the Moldavian princes, has played a central role since the early days of Romanian nationalism. In this respect, Putna is its pre-eminent lieu de mémoire. The small village is home to the monastery with the tomb of Stephen the Great (*Ștefan cel Mare*) and thus symbolises both worldly and saintly power. Stephen III (1433-1504) ruled over Moldavia for no less than forty-seven years and during this period, he fought to maintain the territory’s independence against Hungary and Poland (but in fact was a vassal of the King of Poland).⁸¹⁹ Most importantly, he succeeded in keeping the Ottomans at bay - at least temporarily - and was honoured for this by Pope Sixtus IV.⁸²⁰ With the emergence of Romanian nationalism in the nineteenth century,

⁸¹⁷ “Am zehnten Tage der Isonzoschlacht/ Als mit dem Feind sie rangen wutentbrannt/ Als sie das Übermenschliche vollbracht – Selbst da entglitt die Fahne nicht der tapfern Hand!! Die Fahne, die nun jeder kennt/ Vom 41er Regiment Erzherzog Eugen”. Sölch, Grete, *Erzherzog Eugen-Regiment Nr. 41 (Vom Tage)*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 30.09.1917, p. 3.

⁸¹⁸ Reiner, Max, *Die 41er und die Heimat*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung/Czernowitzer Tagblatt* (Gemeinsame Kriegsausgabe), 31.03.1918, pp. 2-3.

⁸¹⁹ Dvornik, Francis, *The Slavs in European History and Civilization*, Rutgers University Press, Piscataway 1962, p. 238.

⁸²⁰ On the historical instrumentalisation of Stephen the Great, see: Zach, Krista, *Ștefan der Große: Landesfürst, Nationalheld und Heiliger in Rumänien*, in: Samerski, Stefan (ed.), *Die Renaissance der Nationalpatrone: Erinnerungskulturen in Ostmitteleuropa im 20./21. Jahrhundert*, Böhlau, Cologne 2007, pp. 152-180; some interesting statistics on how Stephen the Great’s symbolic value is regarded in modern Romania in: Boia, Lucian, *România, țară de frontieră a Europei*, Humanitas, Bucharest 2002, pp. 212-214; for details regarding the

Stephen the Great swiftly became a leading national symbol and the personification of the collective identification with the Romanian nation. Once the Romanian state had been established, an official Stephen cult developed with processions, commemorations and masses.⁸²¹

Habsburg authorities were well aware of the sensitivities connected with having such a prominent place of pilgrimage for Romanian nationalists within the confinements of the Austrian border. In the mid-1850s, the authorities had already initiated a program of restoration and new building works at Putna which saw the precincts enlarged, the walls rebuilt and extended and the monastic buildings augmented, although at the cost of Stephen's residence, which was demolished. This, and especially the fact that Stephen's grave had been opened during the works, was seen as desecration by Orthodox believers. Austrian architect Karl Romstorfer, appointed by the Central Commission for Arts and Historic Monuments in Austria-Hungary, subsequently carried out extensive renovation work on the church and monastic buildings in 1902.⁸²²

When in August 1869 two Bukovinian students called for a festive commemoration to honour the monastery's foundation 400 years earlier, the war between France and Germany soon demanded all attention. The manifestation was thus postponed until August 1871, but matters were complicated by the change of government in Vienna: the conservative-autonomist Potocki government had been replaced by the liberal-centralists of Hohenwart, who had considerably less patience and consideration with nationalist initiatives.⁸²³ The organisers this time were students Mihai Eminescu and Ioan Slavici, who would become a leading nationalist and anti-Semite as well. They planned to combine the Putna commemoration with a meeting of Romanian youth to establish a strategy for the future and to this end, they called upon students from Romania, Transylvania, Bukovina and Banat to attend.⁸²⁴ In a solemn appeal they declared:

*The celebration of Putna will bring together the Romanian nation in commemoration of the past, in the high spirits of the present and in hope for the future. (...) There, where the almighty shadow of Stephen the Great appears, we want to gather at his grave in his memory, to join hands and let the whole world know that we had a past and we will have a future, too.*⁸²⁵

Putna celebrations: Popa, Anghel, *Serbările naționale de la Putna*, Ed. Fundației culturale 'Alexandru Bogza', Câmpulung Moldovenesc 2004.

⁸²¹ Zach 2007, pp. 153-160.

⁸²² Eagles, J.L.M. (2011) *The reign, culture and legacy of Ștefan cel Mare, voivode of Moldova: a case study of ethnosymbolism in the Romanian societies*, Doctoral thesis, UCL (University College London), p. 143; Zach 2007, p. 157. Romanian nationalists questioned the Austrian efforts and maintained that 'the German' Romstorfer was brought in only to restore what previous Austrian reconstruction works had ruined. See Drăgușanul 2000, p. 64.

⁸²³ Nistor 1991, pp. 204-205.

⁸²⁴ Weigand, Gustav, *Zehnter Jahresbericht des Instituts für rumänische Sprache (rumänisches Seminar) zu Leipzig*, Barth, Leipzig 1904, pp. 277-278.

⁸²⁵ Zach 2007, p. 157, footnote 11.

Indeed thousands participated, but the Bukovinian aristocrats decided not to put their cordial relations with Vienna to the test and stayed away. Romanian nationalists from Bukovina had the unpleasant task of explaining this situation to their high-ranking visitors from abroad, as Bukovinian folklorist Ion Sbiera recalled when he was confronted with the outrage of political heavyweight Mihail Kogălniceanu from Romania:

*Only after I told him the reason for their absence, and after I had asked him with tears in my eyes to save them from his biting criticism - for they are so bitter in their soul because of the unsuccessful political battles they put up on a daily basis - he calmed down and promised me to remain silent.*⁸²⁶

The celebrations surrounding the 400th anniversary of Stephen the Great's demise in 1904 did not have a character remarkably different from their predecessors with its meetings, masses, prayers and receptions. The initiators as well as the scale however were: instead of a group of passionate students from Vienna, the 1904 organising committee was dominated by exactly those who had stayed away thirty-three years earlier, the Bukovinian boyars. Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki headed the committee of forty Romanian nationalists from Bukovina which made sure that in every Romanian-language periodical in the Monarchy and beyond, a convocation was published. In Bukovina proper, only officials received a personal invitation: the general public was invited through the local press. Extra trains were reserved for attendees and a sum of 10,000 crowns was requested from Vienna out of Church Fund means.⁸²⁷ Telling for the atmosphere of tolerance was the excitement of the local Jewish community of Putna and the fact that Metropolitan Repta welcomed the high-ranking Jewish representatives holding the torah.⁸²⁸ Meanwhile, the German-language local press showed only limited interest for the Putna events and was largely preoccupied by the upcoming diet elections - with the Freethinking Alliance as exciting newcomer - as well as with the death of Zionist leader Theodor Herzl.

It is illustrative of the increased permissiveness of the state authorities regarding nationally-flavoured gatherings that the local noblemen felt safe enough to embark on an adventure their enemies could easily brand as 'hostile towards Austria'. With the memory of 1875 with its Austrian centennial, Ghica commemoration and the subsequent 'Arboroasa' trial still relatively fresh, the 'Putna 1904' committee did not take unnecessary risks and decided that their celebrations would have an Austrian as well as a Bukovinian character next to the obvious Romanian one. To this end, Hurmuzaki and Metropolitan Repta first of all sent a telegram to the Emperor, stating that 'the Bukovinian Romanian community (*Rumänenschaft*), gathered for the celebration of Prince Stephen, gratefully remembered the glorious deeds the Church owed to Prince Stephen, Emperor Joseph II and His Majesty'.⁸²⁹

⁸²⁶ Sbiera 1899, pp. 257-59. Kogălniceanu coined the term 'theft of Bukovina' (*răpirea Bucovinei*) a few years later.

⁸²⁷ www.putna.ro, visited 23.02.2012; Kirchenfrage 1906, p. 51.

⁸²⁸ *Die Stefansfeier*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung 17.07.1904, p. 3.

⁸²⁹ *Die Stefan-Feier in Putna*, Pester Lloyd, 17.07.1904, p. 3.

This wording contributed to the Austrianisation of a local and national hero and would make the Stephen cult more palatable to the Viennese taste.⁸³⁰

Czernowitzer Tagblatt underlined that Stephen had fought against Tatars and Turks on what was to become Bukovinian soil and as such had played a decisive role in its cultivation and - through the establishment of monasteries and churches - in its institutional development. Therefore he should be regarded as a hero by all Bukovinians. Yet, *Tagblatt* overstretched its creative historical interpretation when it maintained that Stephen had founded the Orthodox Church Fund, which had clearly and detectably been a Habsburg invention. Now, the revered Prince was adorned with 'the creation of an institution which had become a source of economic and cultural blessings for the whole of Bukovina'.⁸³¹ *Bukowinaer Post*, firmly aligned with the Freethinking Alliance, cried foul since it regarded the festivities hijacked by the Alliance's political enemies, the Romanian conservatives. Similar criticism was ventilated by Iancu Dolinski from student association 'Bucovina', who complained how his organisation in spite of its a-political nature was ignored by the organising committee.⁸³² *Post* expressed outrage that the conservatives who collaborated so closely with Polish landowners in Bukovina claimed Stephen as their own hero, while in his days the prince had been battling those very Poles. *Post* furthermore highlighted that during the reign of Stephen the Great, Romanians and Ruthenians had been living together in peace. This was yet another striking contradiction with the Romanian-conservative line of thinking. *Post* predicted furthermore that the entire move would not help the 'boyar party' anyway, since 'the remembrance ceremony for Stephen the Great would be their own funeral'. Governor Hohenlohe's presence was seen as a gesture towards all Bukovinians, a sign that they were no longer seen as irredentists and now the conservatives tried to abuse that gesture for their own personal gain. Apart from party politics, *Post* also offered a more general analysis:

*In Bukovina they have neglected so far to arouse and maintain a sense of history of the homeland in school and at home. (...) Bukovina becomes one with Austrianness. This way everything is seen in and perceived as 'decently Austrian' (gutösterreichisch) and therefore the general public left unchallenged that a significant historical event of the land was converted to one of just one group.*⁸³³

In spite of all the efforts to represent Stephen as a Bukovinian and even some sort of Austrian hero, the undeniable Romanian-national character of the Putna celebration was accentuated by the arrival of large groups of Romanian nationalists from abroad and especially from the

⁸³⁰ The case of Stephen the Great was not unique in this respect; compare with the Andreas Hofer cult in Tirol as discussed in Cole, Laurence: *The Construction of German Identity in Tirol, c. 1848-1945*, in: Ther, Philippe & Sundhaussen, Holm, *Regionale Bewegungen und Regionalismen in europäischen Zwischenräumen seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Tagungen zur Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung (Herder-Institut), Marburg 2003, 19-42, pp. 30-31.

⁸³¹ *Die Stefanfeier in Putna*, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 17.07.1904, p. 1.

⁸³² Dolinski, Janku, *Eine politische Stefan-Vodă-Feier (Eingesendet)*, *Bukowinaer Post* 03.07.1904, p. 6. Not entirely surprising maybe, Dolinski became a prominent figure in Aurel Onciul's Rural Party a decade onwards.

⁸³³ *Ein historischer Gedenktag*, *Bukowinaer Post*, 17.07.1904, pp. 1-2.

neighbouring Romanian state, where the Stephen cult was firmly embedded: when Alexandru Ioan Cuza was elected ruler over both Wallachia and Moldavia and as such the formal process of Romanian unification had started, Mihail Kogălniceanu had announced that ‘Cuza had ascended to the throne of Stephen the Great’. After the Putna celebrations of 1871 and the centennial celebrations of Habsburg Bukovina in 1875 which Romanian nationalists had perceived as a provocation,⁸³⁴ the Stephen cult was increasingly instrumentalised to juxtapose ‘Habsburg occupation’ and ‘Romanian historical rights’.

At the 1904 Putna event, historian and prominent public figure Nicolae Iorga put the tolerance of his hosts to the test by holding a speech at Putna in which he advocated the goal of uniting all Romanians in one state.⁸³⁵ Politicians from Romania were more tactful and made conciliatory remarks such as: “The alliance of Romania with Austria has received the consecration of the people in the days of Putna and our admiration for Austria and its Emperor has no limits.”⁸³⁶ It was these words which found their way into the local press. Comments like Iorga’s were carefully ignored. *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, however, also seized the opportunity to emphasise how well-off the Bukovinian members of the ‘Romanian tribe’ actually were:

*The Romanian people in Bukovina have developed mightily in recent decades, they have worked with restless pursuit towards their cultural completion and have always found sympathetic support with the Austrian government. When today politicians and scientists from the Kingdom of Romania will make the pilgrimage to Stephen’s grave, they will be able to convince themselves that their brethren within the black-yellow boundary posts abide by the traditions of their people, they have remained true to their nation and have been allowed to and that the bones of Stephen the Great do not rest in foreign soil.*⁸³⁷

While the Putna festivities had progressed in harmony, the different elements of the historical discourse continued to play a role in the public debate in the following years. A year after the festivities when the Czernowitz town council had to produce new street names, council member Wallstein invoked Stephen the Great and the events of 1904 to show that Bukovina could boast its own history. He stated that ‘even if Czernowitz and Bukovina were not old enough to let the historic moment take centre stage, even if the number of great men in the land was not that large, yet the Stephen celebrations in Putna had shown that Bukovina had historical memories as well’.⁸³⁸

In 1914, when Iorga and his Cultural League intensified their campaign from Romania to decry the ‘oppression’ of Romanian-speaking Bukovinians, Romul Reut, member of the Austrian parliament for Onciul’s newly-erected Rural Party, specifically recalled the Putna

⁸³⁴ Zach 2007, pp. 167 and 158.

⁸³⁵ Hausleitner 2001, p. 58.

⁸³⁶ *Die Stefanfeier in Putna (nachträgliches)*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung 19.07.1904, p. 4.

⁸³⁷ *Die Stefanfeier*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung 17.07.1904, p. 1.

⁸³⁸ *Aus der vertraulichen Sitzung (Erlauschtes und Erschnüffelt)*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 14.01.1905, p. 4.

celebrations to debunk the allegations. He mentioned that ‘in 1904, on the occasion of the commemoration of the Romanian national hero Prince Stephen the Great, the Austrian government had allowed the organisation of that celebration at the Putna monastery and had lent special lustre to the national commemoration of all Romanians through the official presence of the then governor, Prince Hohenlohe’. In this context, it obviously seemed more opportune to accentuate the Romanian-national character of the 1904 festivities.⁸³⁹

6.4 Bukovina and the Bucharest ‘Jubilee Exhibition’ of 1906

Inspired by the very successful 1900 ‘Exposition Universelle’ in Paris, which had included the opening of the first Parisian metro line and the building of three new railway stations (Gare d’Orsay, Invalides, Gare de Lyon) and which had attracted over fifty million visitors,⁸⁴⁰ the young Romanian Kingdom decided to organise its own ‘Grand Exhibition’ in 1906. It was baptised the Jubilee Exhibition (*Expoziția Jubilară*) since it celebrated ‘Carol I’s forty years on the throne of which twenty-five as king as well as the 1800 years since Emperor Trajan arrived in Dacia’⁸⁴¹ and was meant ‘to present the evolution of Romania’s achievements in the economic, social, political and cultural spheres’ in the forty years of the King’s reign.⁸⁴² It was planned between 6 June and 23 November.

World fairs, great exhibitions or ‘expositions universelles’ had long been restricted to the grand capitals of Europe and in the large cities of the United States of America. Their crucial role in communicating ideas about the identities of the exhibiting nations (and their relation to other cultures) and in showcasing contemporary art and design was not wasted on nationalists. Thus, in the heyday of these spectacular events, smaller cities and regional centres worldwide, staged their own ‘great exhibitions’ modelled on those held in the national (or imperial) centres. These smaller shows usually had large ambitions and tried to engage not only the local population but also national and international audiences and exhibitors.

While nation-states in western Europe as ‘large’ public spheres had created the prerequisites and conditions for success of large exhibits already two generations earlier, most of the free development of national public spheres was missing in eastern Europe, where the political landscape was dominated by multi-national monarchies. In Prague, a Bohemian exhibition had been planned in 1891, but the tensions between the Czech and German national movements eventually led to a cancellation by the German-language exhibitors. As such, the event became a celebration of the Czech national movement instead of a crownland-patriotic

⁸³⁹ Reut, Romulus, *Die rumänische Kulturliga und die österreichischen Rumänen*, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 12.04.1914, p. 1. Especially Aurel Onciul and his political circle vehemently opposed the grim picture Romanian nationalists from Romania painted of the situation of Romanian-speaking Bukovinians argued that general conditions in Romania were far worse.

⁸⁴⁰ See for details on Paris: Ory, Pascal, *Les expositions universelles de Paris*, (‘Les Nostalgies’ Vol. 9), Editions Ramsay, Paris 1982.

⁸⁴¹ Iordache, Anastasie, *Take Ionescu*, Editura Mica Valahie, Bucharest 2001, p. 100.

⁸⁴² Popescu-Puțuri, Ion and Deac, Augustin, *Unirea Transilvaniei cu România, 1918*, Editura politică (Institutul de Studii Istorice și Social-Politice de pe lângă C.C. al P.C.R.), Bucharest 1978, p. 346.

one.⁸⁴³ A similar attempt in Galicia in 1894 to host a crownland exhibition had also put a central focus on Galician patriotism, but in reality turned out to be dominated by Polish national sentiments, while the Ruthenian element in Galicia played second fiddle. The crucial question at the Lemberg event seemed to be to what extent the Polish nationalists were entitled to represent Galicia as a whole and how such a representation could coexist with the Polish-national principle. Meanwhile, Ruthenian exhibitors presented their ‘non-dominant nation’ as a cliché of the crownland’s agrarian-traditional element. Because of this discord, the exhibit had precisely the opposite effect of what it had sought to achieve. Instead of a proud presentation of local upturn and the dazzling spectacle of local history, ‘Lemberg 1894’ was perceived as a reality check of Galician nuisances: low levels of investment and industrialisation compared to the high population density, technological backwardness in agriculture, the lack of a rural middle class and a continuation of feudal patterns due to the dominance of aristocrats.⁸⁴⁴

In comparison, the first Bukovinian crownland exhibition in 1886 had been a harmonious and less ambitious affair. Although the local press had complained that the exhibition hall had looked more like an ordinary market or a fair where local shopkeepers had tried to rid themselves of shelf warmers, it had basically offered a pragmatic overview of Bukovina’s agricultural and (modest) industrial production. It had lasted a month only.⁸⁴⁵ Talks of a next exhibition in 1906 or 1908 were already going when the Romanian government announced the plans for the Grand or Jubilee Exhibition in Bucharest in 1906. In Czernowitz, a clear sense of proportion and reality prevailed: a ‘miserable fiasco’ was predicted were a crownland exhibition to be held in Czernowitz in the same year as a large National Exhibition in the capital of neighbouring Romania, the booming and glitzy ‘New Paris of the East’:

The Bukovinian Romanians, which we particularly need to take into account here, would find themselves in an awkward situation: national exhibition or crownland exhibition? This question, which would be hard to answer for the participants in question, could not only lead to very unpleasant misunderstandings and complications, but could also greatly jeopardise the success of the Bukovinian crownland exhibition. Let us consider just how many Romanian large landowners and local notables, who are expected to be active collaborators or supporters of our second major crownland exhibition, would have either to flitter away their energies or to stay away from both events. Just ask Transylvanian Romanians once which of the two concurrent exhibitions would interest them more or would be closer to their hearts? And the foreigners from the West? If they have the choice between the embryonic metropolis of Czernowitz with its still rather bad reputation in the West and the proud residence of the

⁸⁴³ Hofmann, Andreas R., *Utopien der Nation: Landes- und Nationalausstellungen in Ostmitteleuropa vor und nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg*, in: *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung*, 2009, 58/1-2, 5-32, pp. 7-12.

⁸⁴⁴ Wendland, Anna Veronika, *Eindeutige Bilder, komplexe Identitäten. Imperiale, nationale, regionale Identitätskonzepte und ihre Visualisierung auf der galizischen Allgemeinen Landesausstellung in Lemberg 1894*, in: *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung*, 2009, 58/1-2, 111-161, pp. 152-160.

⁸⁴⁵ *Von der Ausstellung*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 12.09.1886, p. 3.

*Romanians, where elegance and beautiful women, fiery Moldavian wine and ancient oriental magic irresistibly lure - which one would they pick?*⁸⁴⁶

Indeed, the plans for a Bukovinian exhibition were postponed and all attention was from then on focused on 'Bucharest 1906'. However, the dilemma of 'national' versus 'regional' reappeared on the agenda once the Bukovinian Diet had to decide on the crownland's participation in Bucharest. Ruthenian politician Mykola Vasylo, who supported Bukovinian participation, brought the idea to a vote. It was initially accepted and the diet allocated 10,000 crowns for the preparations. However, the fact that the Freethinking Alliance had collapsed not long before worked against Vasylo: His former ally Aurel Onciul and his Romanian faction blocked the resolution in the diet's executive council - which was to decide on the budget allocation - without explaining why.⁸⁴⁷ Remarkable enough for a Ruthenian politician in Bukovina - and a 'deserted Romanian' on top of that - Vasylo thereupon received letters and telegrams from Romanian politicians and newspapers in Bucharest to support his initiative and to decry Onciul's narrow-mindedness (*Kleinlichkeit*).⁸⁴⁸ It was equally obvious how little popularity Onciul enjoyed with the Romanian authorities: in June 1906, when he traveled to Bucharest as a member of the Viennese committee assigned to congratulate the Romanian king on his forty years on the throne, all delegates were officially received - only Onciul was denied an audience with Carol I.⁸⁴⁹ In Bukovina proper, *Bukowinaer Post* did its share to depict Vasylo as the true defender of the Freethinking spirit and of the crownland as a whole and as the living example of a man able to serve Bukovina without depriving his own nationality.⁸⁵⁰

An explanation by 'the Onciul Romanians' - as they were dubbed by the local press - behaviour followed a few days later: executive council assessor Ioan Volcinschi declared how the diet had incorrectly assumed that the Bucharest exhibition would be an international agricultural exhibition and participation would lead to stronger ties between Romanian and Bukovina in this particular area. Ample study of the program, however, had revealed that the event would be a purely national one, aimed showing the world what Romanians inside and outside of the borders of Romania had achieved in economy, science and culture. This way, those from the Kingdom could boast their development under the forty years under King Carol I, while those from Bukovina would be able to show how much development sixty years under the Emperor had brought. Since the only pavilion to which foreign nations were admitted was the one for agricultural machinery, a branch utterly absent in Bukovina, Volcinschi continued, participation on crownland level was ruled out. Moreover, bilateral relations were a matter between Bucharest and Vienna and therefore not to be decided in

⁸⁴⁶ *Unsere Landesaustellung (Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten)*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 30.04.1905, pp. 4-5.

⁸⁴⁷ *Nach dem Landtage*, Bukowinaer Post, 26.11.1905, pp. 1-2.

⁸⁴⁸ *Der Landesausschuß und die Ausstellung in Bukarest*, Bukowinaer Post, 28.11.1905, p. 2.

⁸⁴⁹ *Zum Regierungsjubiläum König Karols von Rumänien*, Bukowinaer Post, 03.06.1906, p. 5.

⁸⁵⁰ *Bukowina in der Fremde*, Bukowinaer Post, 21.06.1906, pp. 1-2.

Czernowitz. The executive council thus encouraged private initiatives from Romanian Bukovinians for a delegation of their own.⁸⁵¹

A committee of Bukovinian Romanians was duly formed by Romanian nationalist aristocrats like Modest Grigorcea, Florea Lupu and Nicu Flondor and set about its task energetically, forming subcommittees to prepare contributions to the different sections of the exhibition.⁸⁵² But, as it turned out, at least one argument in Volcinschi's reasoning had been correct: decisions on participation in international events were not taken on the level of crownlands, but on that of the state. Once the organisers in Bucharest had revised the purely national character of the exhibition and changed into a truly international one, it became a topic on the agenda of the Austrian central authorities.⁸⁵³ Apart from France and Hungary, Austria was the only participating foreign nation; next to Bukovina, the other represented regions outside of Romania with a significant Romanian-speaking population were Transylvania, Bessarabia and Macedonia. The participation of both parts of the Dual Monarchy involuntarily highlighted an ongoing issue between the Monarchy and Romania: In order to protect its own - in practice the Hungarian - agricultural sector, it kept its borders largely closed for Romanian produce.

Vienna had thus decided that Austria was to be represented in Bucharest and that each crownland had to form a preparatory committee, which in turn was to send representatives for the umbrella state committee. As such, further local discussion was made redundant. In Bukovina, where the overall feeling was that the crownland was generally ignored on state level, the explicit invitation (or rather, the order) to become involved only added to the ardour in Czernowitz - all the more since a specifically Bukovinian pavilion was to be erected.⁸⁵⁴ Bukovina's special position with regard to Romania was acknowledged by the formation of a separate Romanian section within the Bukovinian preparatory committee in which the Bukovinian Romanians could continue their preparations for a historical-ethnographical display in an equally separate pavilion.⁸⁵⁵ With this display, the local press expected, the Bukovinian Romanians could pride themselves on their achievements under the Austrian flag, but, like their co-nationals in the Kingdom, they would also have to admit that one central element in their development was lagging behind: a middle class.⁸⁵⁶

The feeling that Bukovina was finally taken seriously took a severe blow when it became publicly known that the strict Romanian border controls had been lifted for the duration of the Jubilee Exhibition, with two exemptions only: Russia and Bukovina. Apart from the anger that Bukovina would miss extra income since the Berlin-Bucharest railway passed Bukovina and all the extra passengers would now surely travel over Hungary, *Bukowinaer Post* felt humiliated by Bucharest and again treated as the 'poor cousin' by Vienna, where this

⁸⁵¹ *Expoziția din București 1906*, Voința Poporului, 49, 03.12.1905, p. 1; *Aus dem Landesausschusse*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 01.12.1905, p. 3.

⁸⁵² *Bukarester Ausstellung 1906*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 08.12.1905, p. 4; *Die Beteiligung der Rumänen an der Bukarester Ausstellung*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 17.01.1906, p. 3.

⁸⁵³ *Die Bukarester Ausstellung 1906 (Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten)*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 11.03.1906, p. 4.

⁸⁵⁴ *Die Bukowina auf der Bukarester Ausstellung*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 11.03.1906, pp. 1-2.

⁸⁵⁵ *Bukarester Jubiläumsausstellung*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 20.03.1906, p. 3.

⁸⁵⁶ *Die Bukowiner Rumänen auf der Bukarester Ausstellung*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 25.03.1906, p. 1.

announcement had apparently been received without protest. Adding insult to injury, Bukovina had been compared to 'barbarian' Russia. According to *Post*, a general boycott of the exhibition was in order.⁸⁵⁷ However, when the exhibition opened its gates on 17 June 1906, travel restrictions for Bukovinians had neither been eased, nor had the call for a boycott been honoured.⁸⁵⁸

In any case, travel restrictions at the Bukovinian side of the Austro-Romanian border had not deterred one particular prominent traveler. The Christian-Social mayor of Vienna and well-known anti-Semite Karl Lueger had decided to attend the opening of the Bucharest exhibition and made the journey by train - via Czernowitz. There he was greeted by a delegation of Bukovinian Romanian students who, much to the dismay of Jewish circles in the crownland, cheered him for being 'a true friend of the Romanian nation'.⁸⁵⁹ It was more than his participation in the Bucharest festivities that had brought about the student's enthusiasm for Lueger, though: Vienna's mayor was also a sworn enemy of the Monarchy's Hungarian half⁸⁶⁰ and shared this enmity with Romanian nationalists who felt humiliated by the way Budapest treated Romanian-speakers in Transylvania. His attendance of the Jubilee Exhibition's opening, the fact that he was received by King Carol I in Bucharest and that a Bucharest street was named after him at the occasion of his visit were closely connected to the message he wanted to send to the Hungarian government.⁸⁶¹ Not only in Bukovina, but also at railway stations in Romania Lueger and his delegation were ardently welcomed. Those popular gestures met with warm words from Lueger, who repeatedly declared his love for Romania, and culminated in a pompous reception in Bucharest.⁸⁶²

In June 1906 the exhibition premises were opened for to press and public. The Bukovinian contribution with regard to art history consisted mostly of religious art from the Putna, Suczewitza and Dragomirna monasteries.⁸⁶³ *Bukowinaer Rundschau* expressed contentment with the results of the Bukovinian preparations: especially the estate administration of the Church Fund elaborately displayed its activities on sections about agriculture, forestry, mining and logging, embellished with photo exhibits, hunting trophies and promotion for spa retreats at Dornawatra. The representation of the commercial sector was seen as disappointing, for which the short notice for participation was blamed. The solo effort of Bukovinian Romanians generated the byproduct of the somewhat peculiarly named residual section 'Cottage industry products of non-Romanian ethnic groups of Bukovina'. Ironically, this separation of exhibits

⁸⁵⁷ *Nur die Bukowina!*, Bukowinaer Post, 20.05.1906, pp. 1-2.

⁸⁵⁸ *Rüsten!* Bukowinaer Post, 17.06.1906, pp. 1-2.

⁸⁵⁹ *Lueger in Czernowitz*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 17.06.1906, p. 1.

⁸⁶⁰ Boyer, John W., *Political Radicalism in Late Imperial Vienna: Origins of the Christian Social Movement, 1848-1897*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1995, p. 216.

⁸⁶¹ Geehr, Richard. S., *Karl Lueger: Mayor of Fin de Siècle Vienna*, Wayne State University Press, Detroit 1990, pp. 162-163.

⁸⁶² *Primarul și consilierii Vienei în București*, Familia (Nagyvárad/Oradea), 22, 11.06.1906, pp. 263-264.

⁸⁶³ Stadje, Nils, *Die byzantinische und osmanische Keramik von Agios Elias und Palaiochori*, in: Grotowski, Piotr L. and Skrzyniarz, Sławomir (ed.): *Towards rewriting? New Approaches to Byzantine Archaeology and Art*, (Series Byzantina Vol. 8), prus24.pl, Warsaw 2004, p. 271.

only accentuated the similarities between what was presented as ‘Romanian’ handicraft on one side – collected by Erich Kolbenheyer who would be the jury of the folk costume competition on the Kapri estate in Jakobestie four years later - and ‘Ruthenian’ on the other.⁸⁶⁴ The resemblance was not lost on the visiting Romanian royal family, either.⁸⁶⁵

Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung abundantly praised the way the Romanian section of the Bukovinian pavilion had been equipped,⁸⁶⁶ but in Bukovinian-Romanian circles disappointment was voiced over the less-than-ambitious way the progress made by Romanians in Bukovina had been represented: the Orthodox Church and the Church Fund dominated completely, while other Romanian national institutions were almost absent. The focus on very old religious art and artifacts also seemed to implicate that Romanian national pride in Bukovina was based on little more than ancient history, while contemporary achievements and literature were barely acknowledged. A critic remarked that a good deal of the display would have looked exactly the same fifty years earlier and as such did not do justice to what Bukovinian Romanians had accomplished.⁸⁶⁷

Even though the Romanian government had put aside the idea of a purely ‘Romanian’ exhibition, this did not mean the event was not fully used to promote ‘Romanian solidarity across the borders’. To this end, two thousand Bukovinian farmers and peasants were invited to the agricultural section of the exhibition. Their trip was paid for by the Romanian state and a large crowd warmly welcomed the Bukovinian delegation in Bucharest with patriotic song and exclamations like ‘long live the Bukovinians!’ The next day, the entire group was marched to the exhibition premises accompanied by military music, while they were sure to yell a ‘long live our Emperor Franz Joseph’ when passing the Austrian pavilion.⁸⁶⁸ The Bukovinian press saw it as a sign of less tense times that the Romanian government had such a big share in the (financial) organisation of the visit without the ‘anti-Romanian’ press crying foul against ‘irredentism’. *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* stated that with calm and self-confidence, the Bukovinian visitors could take pride in both the achievements of the Kingdom of Romania as well as of those reached under the rule of the Habsburgs.⁸⁶⁹

Indeed, in Bukovina under Austrian rule the matter of participation in ‘Bucharest 1906’ was discussed in a tone very different from the one heard in Budapest when the involvement of Transylvanian Romanians in the event was discussed. In December 1909, Transylvanian-Romanian nationalist (and later prime-minister in Greater-Romania) Alexandru Vaida-Voevod noted in his reports to the Chancellery of Archduke Franz Ferdinand:

⁸⁶⁴ *Bukarester Jubiläumsausstellung*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 14-16-17-19-20.06.1906, pp. 1-2.

⁸⁶⁵ *Die Bukarester Ausstellung (Korrespondenzen)*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 21.06.1906, p. 5; *Părechia regală română în pavilionul bucovinenilor*, Familia (Nagyvárad/Oradea), 23, 18.06.1906, p. 276. Also see Part II, 2.2: Popular Culture, Apathy, Indifference and National Ambiguity among Romanian and Ruthenian speakers/ Dividing Bukovinian Popular Culture along National Lines.

⁸⁶⁶ *Die Bukarester Ausstellung*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 17.06.1906, pp. 1-2.

⁸⁶⁷ *Die bukowinaer Rumänen auf der Bukarester Ausstellung*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 07.08.1906, p. 1-2.

⁸⁶⁸ *Societatea Dacia cu țărănimea la expoziția din București*, Agricultoriul, 18/19, 01.10.1906, p. 172.

⁸⁶⁹ *Die Exkursion nach Bukarest*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 06.09.1906, p. 1.

While the Austrian government was doing everything to enable the Bukovinians a worthy demonstration of their culture, the Hungarian government was preparing all imaginable trouble to keep [Transylvanian Romanians] from this 'irredentist' operation. As a result of the fact that a contribution was sent to the exhibition anyway, the Romanian representatives were frequently was accused of 'treason' ('Vaterlandsverrat') in the Hungarian Parliament.⁸⁷⁰

In later Romanian nationalist historiography, the subtleties of regional versus national participation, the differences between the Austrian and the Hungarian debates and issue of Bukovinian-Romanian loyalty to the Habsburg Emperor were briskly swept aside to make room for another interpretation of events: the large delegations from Transylvania and Bukovina which had come to visit the Jubilee Exhibition of 1906 were portrayed as masses demonstrating their wish for unification with Romania.⁸⁷¹ As such, the absence of irredentist motives which had enabled Bukovinian participation first of all was turned upside down in order to represent the 1906 event as a prelude to the 1918 Romanian unification.

6.5 Bukovina and the Emperor's Jubilee Parade of 1908

Emperor Franz Joseph's fifty years on the throne in 1898 had been meant to be the occasion for a splendid celebration, but the assassination of Empress Elisabeth in Geneva on 10 September of that year largely overshadowed the festivities planned for 2 December. There were the obvious speeches, religious commemoration ceremonies and public merriment, but the Emperor himself spent the day in Wallsee with family members.⁸⁷² In Bukovina, the official period of mourning resulted in equally solemn commemorations. Some employers granted their personnel a day off, but public celebrations did not take place.⁸⁷³ Instead, a 'nursing home for incurable mental patients' was inaugurated to mark the occasion.⁸⁷⁴

It was obvious that a decade onwards there was all the more reason to make an extra effort. As early as from May 1907, a committee carefully developed plans for a jubilee parade in Vienna, but it took them almost a year to convince the reluctant centre of attention - the Emperor himself - of the merits of the project. The argument that it would strengthen the sense of Austrian patriotism had apparently won him over.⁸⁷⁵ However, the press assessed that

⁸⁷⁰ Hitchins, Keith, *The Nationality Problem in Austria-Hungary: The Reports of Alexander Vaida to Archduke Franz Ferdinand's Chancellery*, (Studien zur Geschichte Osteuropas Vol. 18), Brill Archive, Leiden 1974, p. 114.

⁸⁷¹ See for instance Pascu, Ștefan, *The Making of the Romanian Unitary National State 1918*, (Bibliotheca Historica Romaniae: Monographies Vol. 24), Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, Bucharest 1988.

⁸⁷² Beller, Steven, *Kraus's Firework – State Consciousness Raising in the 1908 Jubilee Parade in Vienna and the Problem of Austrian Identity*, in: Maria Bucur, Nancy M. Wingfield (ed), *Staging the Past: The Politics of Commemoration in Habsburg Central Europe, 1848 to the Present*, Purdue University Press, West Lafayette 2001, 46-71, p. 51.

⁸⁷³ *Tagespost*, Bukowinaer Post, 02.12.1898, p. 5.

⁸⁷⁴ *Zum 2. Dezember 1898*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 02.12.1898, p. 4.

⁸⁷⁵ Beller 2001, p 53.

‘the damages which would be caused to tourism and business if the parade was cancelled had made the gracious Monarch decide to allow it to continue’. The event was set for 12 June 1908.

In Bukovina, 1908 was a year of multiple anniversaries: a hundred years earlier, the first state Gymnasium had been established and, more importantly, the city of Czernowitz was to celebrate its five hundred year existence. Probably inspired by the preparations in Vienna, the Czernowitz city council had come up with the idea of a parade of school children in festive costumes and black-yellow sashes in May 1908, culminating in the performance of a festive hymn at the Austria monument.⁸⁷⁶ The provincial celebrations with their focus on the Austrian state formed an interesting contrast to the parade planned in Vienna, where the crownlands were expected to present themselves in all their ethno-national diversity. To this end, nationalist leaders were to inspire their communities to participate and, as the Romanian nationalists from *Apărarea Națională* experienced, sometimes encountered downright apathy. They warned their constituents that ‘if the Romanian nation did not participate in the festival, the general public would not even know that in Bukovina a Romanian population existed and those who did know of its existence would take them for disloyal and anti-dynastic irredentists, so that in both cases irreparable damages would be caused’. The newspaper hastened to add that most of all, participation was required in order to demonstrate ‘feelings of love and veneration for the old Monarch’. Still, it had addressed sensitive issues: next to the obvious pressure to participate in the 1908 Jubilee Parade, to many outside of its borders Bukovina was still *terra incognita*.⁸⁷⁷

Yet the discussions in Bukovina were easily dwarfed by the nationalist issues which confronted the Viennese organisers. It had soon become clear that an all-encompassing Austro-Hungarian manifestation would be illusory. The Transleithanian part of the Empire only started counting from the year of the Compromise 1867 in which Franz Joseph had been crowned King of Hungary. According to this logic, Franz Joseph would have to wait for quite a few years more to celebrate sixty years on the throne and thus Budapest abstained from participation. Then there was the Czech question: part of the planned jubilee festivities had been a number of guest performances in Vienna by the Czech National Theatre, but German nationalists had campaigned against the idea and had been backed by Vienna’s mayor Karl Lueger: he had declared that performances in Czech ‘did not suit the German character’ of the capital. In reaction, the Czech nationalists did not only call off their drama performances, but withdrew from the anniversary activities altogether. The two cornerstones of the fragile harmony in the Monarchy, the Hungarians and the Czechs, were therefore conspicuous by their absence. On top of that, the history of the Empire as depicted by the parade led to furious reactions from different national groups. Especially the representation of the revolutionary year 1848 caused discord: Tyrolean Italians objected to the way Radetzky’s crushing of the Italians in that year was celebrated, while Croats refused to be depicted as looters in the 1848

⁸⁷⁶ *Das Jubiläumsjahr*, Bukowinaer Post, 19.04.1908, pp. 1-2.

⁸⁷⁷ *Editorial*, *Apărarea Națională*, 4, 26.01.1908, p. 1.

reenactment. It took the organisation in Vienna many lengthy discussions and adjustments to keep all participating groups on board.⁸⁷⁸

It was in exactly this respect that the Bukovinian organisers thought to provide a unique asset to the royal display of complete interethnic harmony. The day before the parade, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* noted:

Of course it will also be noticed in Vienna that some are not there. First, the Magyar gentlemen who have been calculating with the assistance of their ever so complex constitutional law calendar that the 'King of Hungary' does not celebrate any anniversary. But Bukovina, this stand-by reservoir of all nationalities of the monarchy outsmarts even these 'Éljen-patriots'.⁸⁷⁹ Even 'Éljen' cheers will be heard in Vienna tomorrow. Real Magyars adorned with black and yellow rosettes will produce them, the Magyars from Hadikfalva, Andrásfalva and Istensegits. Black-and-yellow decorated Hungarians in Vienna are certainly not a bad answer to the calendar tricks of the Transleithanian Magyars.⁸⁸⁰

The coordinating committee of the Jubilee Parade had decided that the two sections of the event were to reflect both the glorious history of the Habsburg Empire and its contemporary ethnic diversity. As such, the first section included groups depicting the early years of Rudolf the Founder, a tournament from the time of Frederick II, the double marriage between the Habsburgs and the Jagellons, the first siege of Vienna by the Turks and the Thirty Years' War. The second section represented the second siege of Vienna by the Turks, the troops of Prince Eugen, the era of Maria Theresia, *tableaux* from the Seven Years' War and life under Joseph II, the war against the French Republic, Archduke Karl, The Tyrolean *Landsturm* of 1809, a *Praterkorso* from the time of the Vienna Congress, street scenes from the early 1800s and finally Radetsky's troops in 1848.⁸⁸¹ The historical overview strongly focused on the Habsburg dynasty and the German-speaking nobility and devoted little attention to non-German elements. Oddly enough, it did not feature any achievement from Franz Joseph's six decades on the throne either, which had been, after all, the reason for the festivities.⁸⁸²

The contemporary part of the parade started off with a representation of Viennese society after which the elaborate 'nationalities parade' commenced in order of listing in the Emperor's title; the Bohemian Woods, Budweis, Dalmatia, Galicia, Lower Austria, Upper Austria, Salzburg, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Silesia, Bukovina, Moravia (minus its Czechs), the Austrian Littoral and Tyrol (minus its Italians).⁸⁸³ The fact that the 'nationalities parade' followed the structure of the famous 'Kronprinzenwerk' (*Die Österreich-ungarische*

⁸⁷⁸ Beller 2001, pp. 53-54; Agnew, Hugh LeCaine, *The Flyspecks on Palivec's Portrait - Franz Joseph, the Symbols of Monarchy, and Czech Popular Loyalty*, in: Cole, Laurence and Unowsky, Daniel L., *The Limits of Loyalty: Imperial Symbolism, Popular Allegiances, and State Patriotism in the late Habsburg Monarchy*, Berghahn Books, New York 2007, 86-112, p. 105.

⁸⁷⁹ 'Éljen!' is the Hungarian equivalent of the exclamation 'Long live!'

⁸⁸⁰ *Der Huldigungsfestzug*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 12.06.1908, p. 1.

⁸⁸¹ *Der Huldigungsfestzug – Wien vor dem Festzug*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 13.06.1908, p. 4.

⁸⁸² Beller 2001, pp. 60 and 66.

⁸⁸³ *Die Kronländer im Nationalitätenzuge*, *Neue Freie Presse*, 13.0-6.1908 (morning edition), p. 3.

Monarchie in Wort und Bild), the big patriotic project managed by Crown Prince Rudolph before his death in 1889, was no coincidence: the parade's honorary chairman, Count Hans Wilczek, was a coeditor of this series. In the spirit of 'black-yellow liberalism' the idea of the *sacrum imperum* prevailed, with the Empire as the mediator between all groups within its borders.⁸⁸⁴ In the volume of the 'Kronprinzenwerk' dedicated to Bukovina, the crownland and its inhabitants were discussed strictly divided along ethno-national lines. In his correspondence with the volume's editors in 1893, Bukovinian diet president Ioan Lupul had underlined how Bukovina with all its ethnic diversity was in fact a miniature version of the Empire. Both this ethno-national division and the image of 'little Austria' were reflected in the Bukovinian parade contribution.⁸⁸⁵

The setup of the crownland part of the parade provoked a wave of self-confidence in Bukovina. No matter how often the Bukovinian press had complained about the way Vienna consistently ignored the smallest crownland, when the zenith of the Emperor's jubilee year was to display a kaleidoscope of ethnic diversity, Bukovina was hard to beat. The coordinators in Czernowitz decided to exploit this element to the fullest and left the detailed organisations to national committees, thus turning the Bukovinian part of the event into a national competition. As *Bukowinaer Post* commented, 'it was understandable that they had made an effort to select only beautiful people' and that all groups had made sure to pick only their most athletic menfolk. Each group was directed by a designated folklorist who often, like Erich Kolbenheyer, had been involved in earlier representative events such as the Bukovinian contribution to the Bucharest Jubilee Exhibition of 1906. The resulting lineup was headed by a group of horsemen representing all nationalities and carrying the Bukovinian coat of arms, followed the Romanian section, depicting bucolic shepherding and forestry scenes while finishing with the reenactment of a village wedding with live music. Next, the Magyars from the five Magyar settlements near Radautz rode their horses dressed in white lined and adorned with the Hungarian tricolour. The rural Germans portrayed a homely scene accompanied by brass music. Poles marched in their national costumes and a small assembly Old-Believers or Lippovans, 'guaranteed to cause a sensation in Vienna' showed their abundant equestrian splendour. Ruthenians, divided into sections of 'Ruthenians from the plains' and 'mountain Ruthenians' (Hutsuls) closed the Bukovinian performance, those from the plains enacting harvesting scenes and the Hutsuls with - again - a wedding scene which stood out because of the large number of female participants.

There was more than self-confidence in the air; in a way, Bukovina saw the opportunity to not only mesmerise arrogant Vienna, but also to baffle the audience with a multi-national variety which would turn the spoiled inhabitants of the state capital into astonished provincials for a change. *Bukowinaer Post* predicted that 'hardly any province would be able to present such a multi-coloured picturesque image in the parade of the nationalities' and that 'one could be

⁸⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 68.

⁸⁸⁵ Hryaban, Viktoriya, *Ambivalente Wissensproduktion. Die Volkskunde der Bukovina zwischen Ethnonationalismus und Habsburgpatriotismus*, in: Fischer, Wladimir et al. (ed), *Räume und Grenzen in Österreich-Ungarn 1867-1918*, Francke Verlag, Tübingen 2010, 243-292, pp. 274-275.

curious as to what impression the march would make on the Viennese, to whom the different types from Bukovina were not an everyday sight and who were not yet insensitive to this colourful beauty'.⁸⁸⁶ It can be questioned if the carefully staged abundance was such an 'everyday sight' for Bukovinians themselves: when the separate groups arrived in Czernowitz for the big dress rehearsal prior to their departure for Vienna, the local press compared the public excitement and awe to the days of Buffalo Bill's Wild West performance which had enthralled Czernowitz two years before.⁸⁸⁷ *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* had high expectations of Bukovina's success in Vienna:

*When Bukovinian farmers stayed in the capital city a few weeks ago on the occasion of the cattle show, the Viennese could barely hide their surprise at the appearance and clothing of these 'strange characters', as the newspapers put it. Now, what will they say when they see the subgroup of Lippovans pass by in the ceremonial procession, on horseback and in costumes which are extraordinarily dazzling even to native Bukovinians! Or the symbolisations of a Romanian and a Ruthenian wedding, with the women and girls with their ornate hairstyles, the men in their typical festive clothing, the original cymbal music and the colourful details which can only be fully captured on this very occasion. (...) The Lippovan group will undoubtedly be one of the biggest 'hits' (Schlager) of the procession.*⁸⁸⁸

Once the different groups of participants had arrived by train in Czernowitz from all over Bukovina for the big rehearsal, they were hosted according to a nationally segregated scheme remarkably similar to the electoral register system which was being developed in that same period: the performers were met at the railway station by a committee of their 'co-nationals', who were also responsible for distraction in the capital. All groups had their own nationally-specific excursions, spent the evenings in the respective National Houses and were lodged in the same ill-fitting clusters which would provoke critics of the register system a few years later: Romanians and Magyars were accommodated in the Romanian boarding school for boys, Ruthenians, Hutsuls and Lippovans in its Ruthenian equivalent, while Germans and Poles had boarding schools of their own to find shelter.

On 9 and 10 June, the transfer of the 617 participants and 140 horses took place by special trains from Czernowitz to Vienna.⁸⁸⁹ Consistent with the entire operational sequence so far, the carriages were separated along national lines, provoking the obvious bickering:

Whoever will watch the train on its long journey will recognise at once that it comes from 'Little Austria', the land with the colourful mixture of peoples. (...) In two cars of the first and second class, the leaders of each group are seated, followed by Hungarians, Romanians,

⁸⁸⁶ *Die Bukowina im Jubiläumsfestzuge*, Bukowinaer Post, 11.06.1908, p. 2.

⁸⁸⁷ *Die Bukowiner Gruppe*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 07.06.1908, pp. 6-7. Buffalo Bill's Wild West show from the United States had performed in Czernowitz on 24-25 July 1906, causing widespread excitement - and outrage because of the steep prices of the entry tickets. For a detailed account on Buffalo Bill's tours in this part of Europe, see Ionescu, Adrian-Silvan and Stroe, Aurelian, *Buffalo Bill printre Români*, in: *Muzeul Național*, Vol. 12 Bucharest 2000, pp. 151-212.

⁸⁸⁸ *Die Bukowiner Gruppe*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 07.06.1908, pp. 6-7.

⁸⁸⁹ *Ibid.*; *Die Bukowina im Huldigungsfestzuge*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 11.06.1908, p. 4.

*Germans, Ruthenians, Poles, and in the last carriage the Lippovans. (...) Everything seemed just fine, when the Germans left the train and flatly declared that they would not leave unless they got another carriage for the trip. Soon the matter had become a political crisis. Deputy Diet President Dr. Smal'-Stotsky and commissioner Zachar came to the German group and tried to intervene. "We will not stand for this," the Germans shouted at him, "the other nationalities are partly seated in first and second class and in this box we will not be able to endure the entire way to Vienna". One word led to another. Dr. Stotsky replied curtly: "Then you stay here!" Finally, a compromise was reached, and the Germans boarded the carriages once more.*⁸⁹⁰

Upon arrival in Vienna, the groups were lodged in Red Cross barracks and divided their time between rehearsals and the marvels of the state capital, which most of them had never visited before. *Neue Freie Presse* enthused about the exotic appearance of the Bukovinian section as well as about the large number of participants from the most distant crownland,⁸⁹¹ but in this respect Bukovina was not alone: the payment and conditions were far more attractive for participants from the poorest and remotest parts of the Empire and thus Tyrol, Dalmatia, Galicia and Bukovina were overrepresented compared to the Austrian 'heartland' crownlands such as Lower Austria. The policy for all participants to wear folk costumes plus the fact that the industrially-developed Czechs refused to take part presented by 1908 a rather distorted view of an empire solely inhabited by picturesque, premodern peasants.⁸⁹²

If this was what the Bukovinian organisers had seen as a the ultimate occasion to build a reputation in Vienna and to do away once and for all with Bukovina's persistent standing of a corrupt, Byzantine and provincial backwater, they had been sorely mistaken. First, as said, by following Vienna's orders to send a delegation in bucolic costumes, the image of backwardness was only enforced. Second, by leaving the contributions' logistics to local nationalist leaders, the local government missed the chance to present the crownland as a whole and now only came up with a sum of its parts. Parts, that is, as they were perceived by the dominant ethno-segregationist discourse of the time. Other significant parts of Bukovinian life were strikingly absent. The Orthodox Church was one example, although with some creativity one could argue that this segment was covered by the Romanian/Ruthenian section of the parade. Urban life was ignored altogether and as such, so was a prominent part of its representatives, the Jews.

Interestingly, this peculiar omission was not even debated in the - exclusively Jewish-owned - German-language press in Bukovina. Some educated guesses as to the reasons why are not hard to make. Formally speaking, the second part of the parade was called a 'Parade of the Nationalities' and obviously, Vienna refused to recognise the Jews as such. Then, it is hard to

⁸⁹⁰ *Die Bukowiner Gruppe im Huldigungsfestzug - Die Abfahrt von Czernowitz*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 10.06.1908, pp. 3-4.

⁸⁹¹ *Die Kronländer im Nationalitätenzuge*, Neue Freie Presse, 13.06.1908, p. 3.

⁸⁹² Beller 2001, pp. 62- 63.

imagine how Bukovinian Jews could be represented in a parade focused on folk costumes: assimilated urban Jews did not have any and in the case shtetl Jews or the followers of the Sadagora rabbi had been willing to participate, they could be assured that assimilated Jews would strongly oppose to be represented by them. Another matter was the anti-Semitic atmosphere in Karl Lueger's Vienna: in order not to provoke an angry reaction from the crowd, the Jewish element of Austrian society was wise not arouse any attention during the parade.

The day itself was unanimously considered a big success. The weather was nice, there were no incidents and, in spite of previous fears of chaos because of the disorderly organisation, everything went remarkably well as the 12,000 participants marched past the 200,000 spectators. Crowds cheered and the Emperor expressed his satisfaction. There had been a particularly unfortunate situation with Ruthenian peasants from Galicia, who had been transferred from Lemberg to Vienna in substandard carriages only to find their rations far too small and of appalling quality, while they were told more or less to spend the night in the open air. As Viennese satirist Karl Krause acidly remarked, 'the fact that they still showed up for the parade was only proof of the invigorating effect of patriotism'.⁸⁹³

Bukovina indeed impressed the audience with its colourful contribution, and the Czernowitz press made sure all newspaper reports from Vienna regarding the Bukovinian section were meticulously quoted.⁸⁹⁴ Still, not all evaluations were limited to prettifications of Bukovina being the culmination of Austria's multi-national feelgood festival. The Social-Democratic minority in Vienna's municipal council had wondered if all the sad events which had happened during the Emperor's reign were reason for celebration and if the personal and material dominance of the Austrian high nobility invited charges of social elitism. *Bukowinaer Post* bitterly criticised how the organisers in Bukovina had carefully selected the few available prosperous and healthy-looking peasants for the event, while the rest of their miserable lot was kept hidden from the Franz Joseph's view:

Do the prosperous figures of Bukovina in Vienna tell of the worries of their own land? Each nation strove to appear with greater pomp and splendour before the Emperor, in order to enlarge the lie about the condition of their lot. Can the gentlemen from Vienna, on whom our weal and woe depends, guess the misery of the Bukovinian peasantry from those pretty equestrian troops? Do they realise that each year hundreds of peasants end up in hospitals and mental institutions because their miserable food takes both power and mind away, and that they waste away miserably from the horrible consequences of pellagra?⁸⁹⁵ Can they imagine that thousands of peasants squander their last belongings each year under the

⁸⁹³ Kraus, Karl, *Nachträgliche Vorurteile gegen den Festzug*, *Die Fackel*, Vol. 257-258, 19.06.1908, p. 8.

⁸⁹⁴ *Der Huldigungsfestzug*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 14.06.1908, p. 3; *Die Bukowina im Jubiläumsfestzuge in Wien*, *Bukowinaer Post*, 16.06.1908, p. 2; *Die Bukowina im Festzuge*, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 16.06.1908, p. 1.

⁸⁹⁵ Pellagra is a niacin deficiency disease common in people who obtain most of their food energy from maize. In Bukovina, where the disease was widespread, it was caused by the staple diet of 'mamaliga', a maize porridge similar to polenta.

*pressure of relentless creditors, gather their few possessions and indifferently and desperately turn their back on the land that fed their fathers and forefathers?*⁸⁹⁶

Apart from what *Post* saw as a hypocritical distraction from gloomy Bukovinian reality, there was dissatisfaction with the way Vienna had responded to the Bukovinian presentation. *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* complained that ‘obviously, the troops from Bukovina had appeared like something exotic and novel, something previously unknown and misunderstood and something which had refused to be understood’. Bukovina was still such an obscure *quantité négligeable*, that the Emperor had felt compelled to correct the president of the parade committee when the latter confused Bukovina with Silesia. For most of the audience it was a novelty that the Empire harboured such exotic species like the Hutsuls.⁸⁹⁷ The Viennese audience was reproached for having failed to acknowledge the real Bukovinian qualities:

*They knew nothing of this breed of people, emerging in a rapid upturn, toiling under circumstances twice as hard to obtain their share of the cultural blessing of the whole Empire. They knew nothing of the centripetal force which is inherent in this mixture of peoples, of their sincere and genuine loyalty to the Emperor.*⁸⁹⁸

It seems odd to blame the audience for having an impression of Bukovina which the Bukovinian parade organisers had very much instilled themselves. In hindsight, the presentation of Bukovina at the Jubilee Parade was in perfect concordance with the cliché of ‘Little Austria’, cherished in Bukovina as well as in Vienna. Peculiar flaws in the grand scheme of the event found their equivalents in the Bukovinian contribution and led in both cases to the obvious question why the occasion had not been used to paint a more accurate picture of the state of affairs. On the state level, the glaring omission had been any reference at all to what the Emperor had achieved himself during his sixty years on the throne. The entire transition from the dynastic, German-speaking world to the constitutional and multinational state which had developed during the reign of Franz Joseph had been left unaddressed. As such the parade itself remained an empty shell.⁸⁹⁹ A parade with a prominent role for Franz Joseph’s reign and achievements seems to have been the initial plan, but this was dropped for unknown reasons. It is suggested that every possible depiction of those decades would have led to endless bickering over the appreciation of the period’s history: the aftermath of 1867 alone would have led to discord between different nationalist groups in the Monarchy, while more recent exploits such as the annexation of Bosnia were still too controversial.⁹⁰⁰

The Bukovinian part of the parade struggled with similar shortcomings. In principle, the parade might have offered an excellent opportunity to combat the prejudices from which the

⁸⁹⁶ *Festzugsgedanken*, Bukowinaer Post, 14.06.1908, pp. 1-2.

⁸⁹⁷ See Part II: 2.1: Historical Claims/ 2.1: Ruthenian speakers in Bukovina/ Hutsuls.

⁸⁹⁸ *Die Bukowina im Festzuge*, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 16.06.1908, p. 1.

⁸⁹⁹ Beller 2001, pp. 66-67.

⁹⁰⁰ Grossegger, Elisabeth, *Der Kaiser-Huldigungs-Festzug Wien 1908*, Verlag der Oesterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna 1992, pp. 37-40.

crownland so often claimed to suffer: corruption, feudalism, backwardness could have been countered with a glorious representation of a growing Bukovinian (urban) society with as its most obvious treasure the university, conveniently named after the celebrated Emperor himself. Instead, the local organisation had delivered the perfect picture material to back the persistent cliché of the colourful backwood peasant bunch somewhere far away. The question just to which extent this result had been ordained from Vienna or had been the outcome of local deliberations remains unanswered.



Czernowitz postcards from the turn of the century, invoking its modern, Austrian image.





Restaurant „Bristol“.

Ab 1. Februar täglich

Doppel-Konzert
 der 1. Bukarester Zigeuner-Kapelle
 unter Leitung ihres Kapellmeisters
Michal Nutzulescu
 welche vom rum. König mit Auszeichnungen ver-
 sehen ist.

Anfang 8 Uhr

Zur

Ball-Saison

neueste Muster!

im Mode-Manufaktur-Geschäft
Jakob Kochstädt, Czernowitz, Hauptstr. 9

Newspaper advertisements reflecting Czernowitz's active cultural life: a restaurant offers daily concerts of a prominent gypsy orchestra from Bucharest, while a local tailor prepares for the upcoming ball season.



Ethno-groupist depictions of Bukovinian society, customary around the turn of the century. Above: the leaders of different national sections in the 'Bukovinian' 41st regiment 'Archduke Eugen'; below: two postcards, one explicitly, the other one implicitly dividing Bukovinians into ethno-national categories.





The architects of the Freethinking Alliance (*Freisinniger Verband*). Left to right: Mykola Vasylyko (1868-1924), Benno Straucher (1854-1941) and Aurel Onciul (1864-1921).

Verlag von Duncker & Humblot in Leipzig.

Aus Halb-Asien.

Culturbilder
aus Galizien, der Bukowina, Süd-Russland u. Rumänien.
Von
Karl Emil Franzos.

2 Bände in Octav. 44 Bogen auf feinem Papier.
Preis geheftet 10 Mark; elegant in 3 Calicobänden 12 Mark.

Inhalt des ersten Bandes: „Aus Halb-Asien.“ (Einführung). — Der Auf-
stand von Polowce. — Jüdische Polen. — Schiller in Barmen. — Von
Wien nach Czernowitz. — Jüdische Dilettanten und Dilettanten. — Ein Culturbild.
— Das Jubiläum der Bukowina, die Gründung der Universität Czernow-
itz. — Rumänische Frauen. — Janca der Richter. — Gouvernanten und
Geiseln. — Tolle Seelen. — Ein jüdisches Volksgesicht. — Der schwarze
Abraham. — Nur ein Ei.

Inhalt des zweiten Bandes: Kosak-Bogden. — Auch ein Hochverräter. —
Der lateinische Kanonier. — Der Schachbretter. — Im Kiste. — Wladislaw
und Wladislaw. — Im Haken von Dorfk. — Die Leute vom „wahren
Glauben.“ — Der Richter von Biela. — Nikolaj Pawloff.

Vom Don zur Donau.

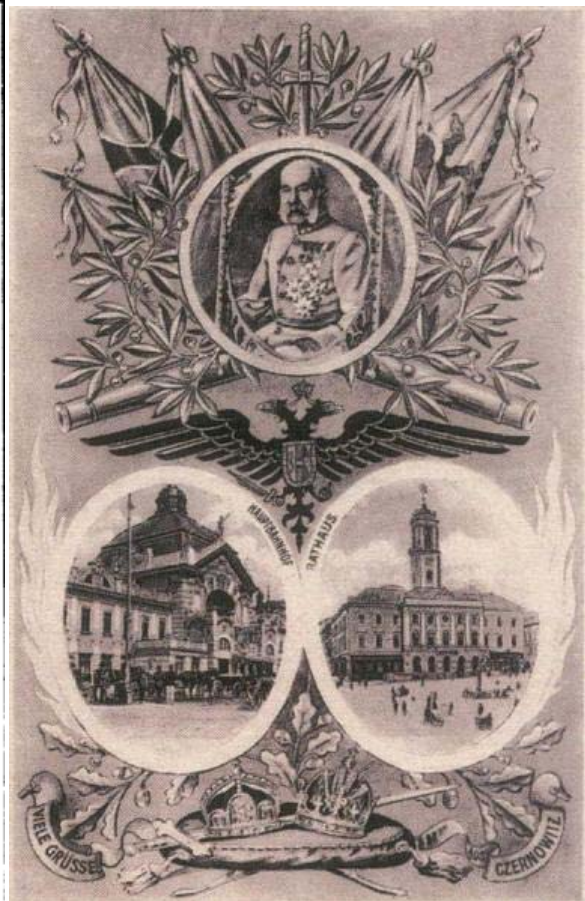
Neue Culturbilder
aus HALB-ASIEN.
Von
Karl Emil Franzos.

2 Bände in Octav. 44 Bogen auf feinem Papier.
Preis geheftet 10 Mark; eleg. geb. 12 Mark.

Inhalt des ersten Bandes: Mein Onkel Bernhard. — Martin der Kubel. —
Die Kleinrussen und ihr Säng. — Die geistigen Strebungen der Bulgaren.
— Thobias. (Des rumänische Volksleben von Einst und Jetzt.) — Rumänische
Vort. — Rumänische Sprichwörter.

Inhalt des zweiten Bandes: Die Geymungenen. — Partitag in Barcom. —
Der milde Starost und die schöne Julia. — Penker und Bojzjo. — In Vesh
Verbrechsböhlen.

Vorrätig in
**R. Lechner's k. k. Univ.-Buchhandl., Wien,
31 Graben 31, „Aziendahof“.**



Left: *Neue Freie Presse* from Vienna advertises K.E. Franzos' 'From Semi Asia' in 1877; right: a postcard from Czernowitz prominently featuring Emperor and Empire.



Bukovinian Governor Rudolf von Meran speaks with Austrian troops in Czernowitz at the start of the World War.



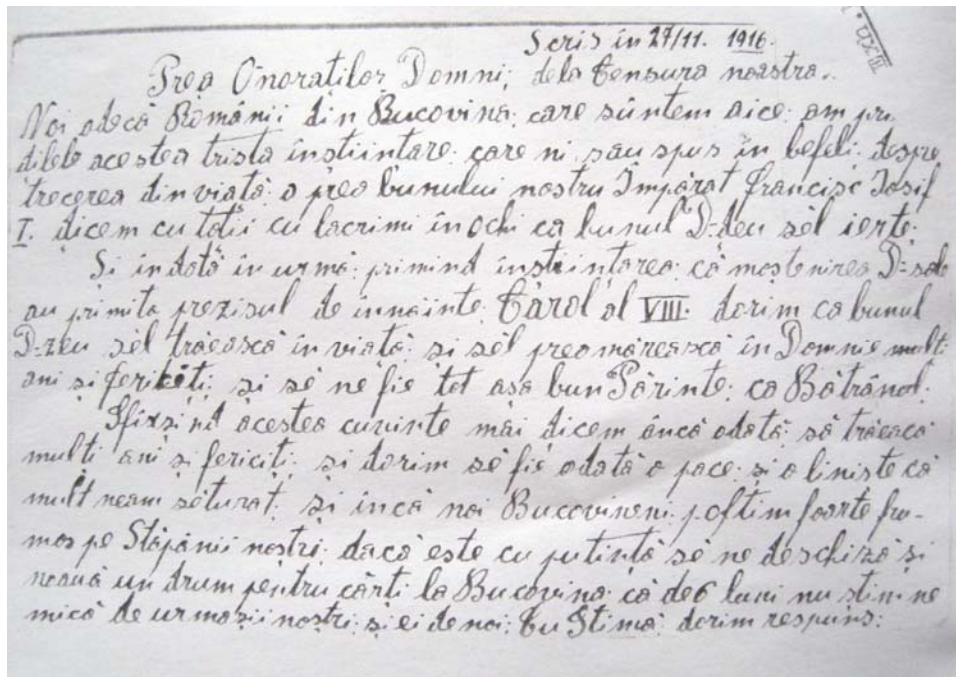
Soviet troops invade Czernowitz for the third time, 1917.



Depiction of a Bukovinian battle scene.



After the defeat of the Soviet troops, Emperor Karl visit Bukovina in 1917.



Postcard in Romanian addressed to the Austrian censorship authorities in 1916, expressing sadness regarding the death of Emperor Franz Joseph while simultaneously requesting better correspondence facilities between PoWs and Bukovina.



The last joint war edition of Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung and Czernowitzer Tagblatt, announcing the occupation of Bukovina by the Romanian army.



The Austria monument, unveiled on Austria Square in Czernowitz on the occasion of the centenary of Habsburg Bukovina in 1875.



Tomb for Moldavian ruler Grigore III Ghica, inaugurated by the mayor of Iași (Romania) in response to the centennial celebrations in Bukovina in 1875.



The premises of Franz Joseph University, established in 1875 during the celebrations of the Bukovinian centenary.



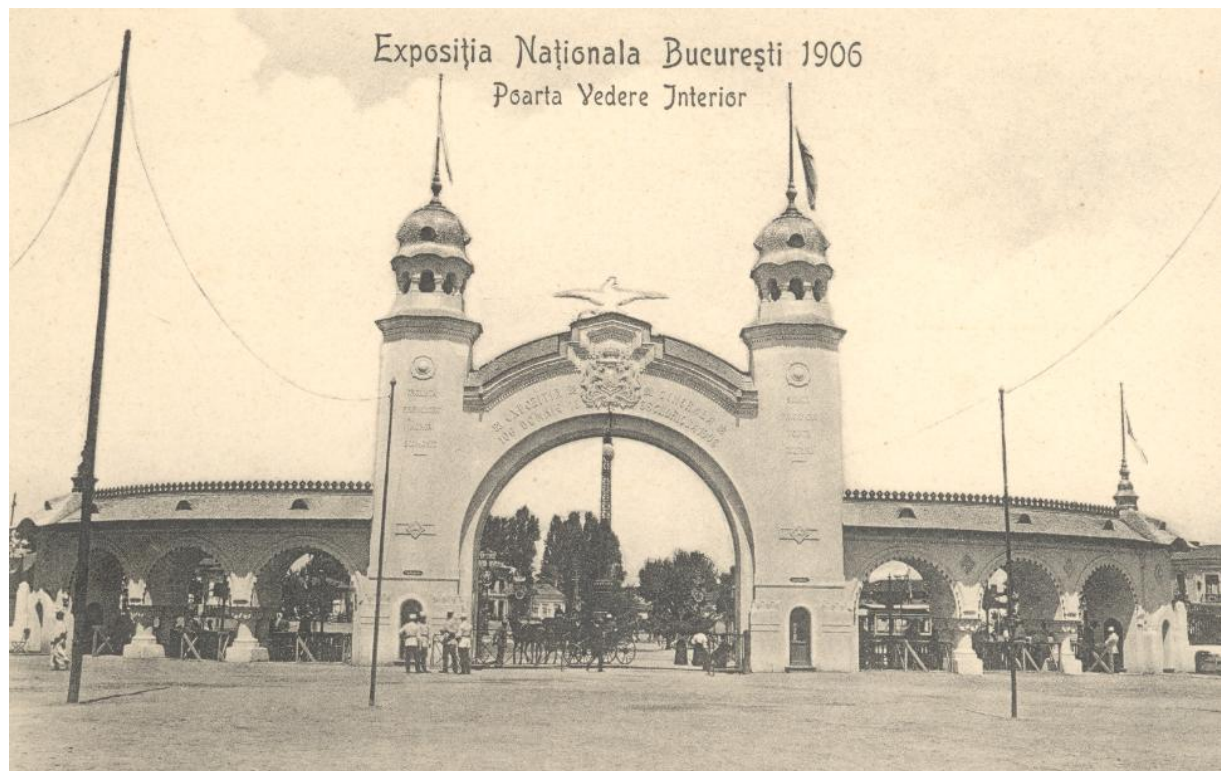
Parade on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the 41st Regiment in Czernowitz in April 1901.



Inauguration of the monument to the 41st Regiment in Czernowitz,
December 1902.



The remnants of the monument in present-day Chernivtsi. The seven meter high obelisk disappeared and was later replaced by a crucifix.



Postcard images of the 'Jubilee Exhibition' of 1906 in Bucharest.

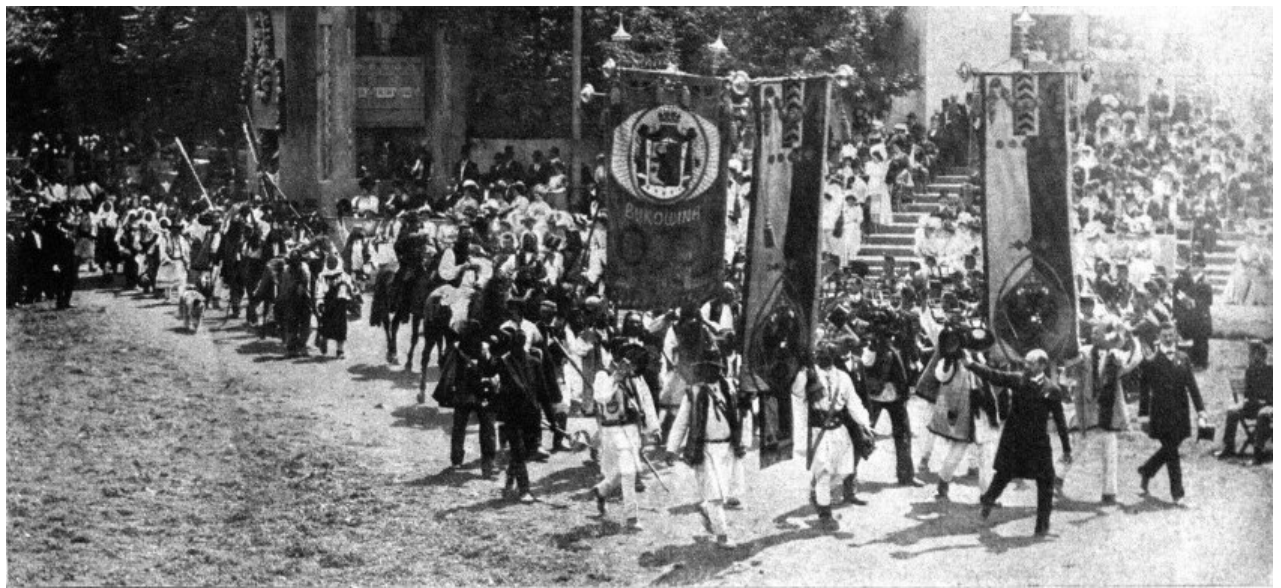




Jubilee edition of Czernowitzer Tagblatt in honour of Emperor Franz Joseph's 60 years on the throne, 7 June 1908.



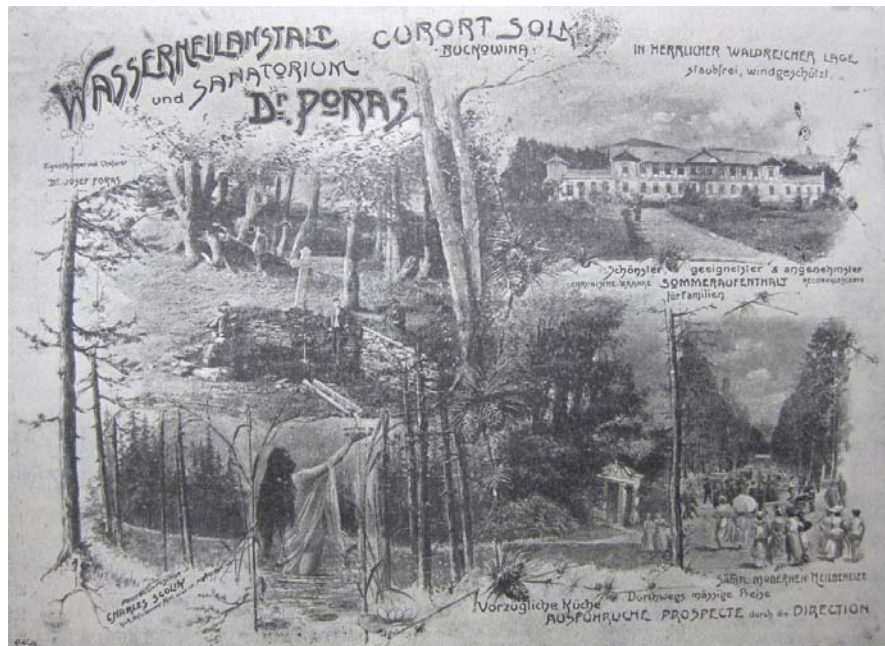
Postcard depicting the preparations for Bukovina's participation in the Emperor's Jubilee Parade of 1908 in Vienna.



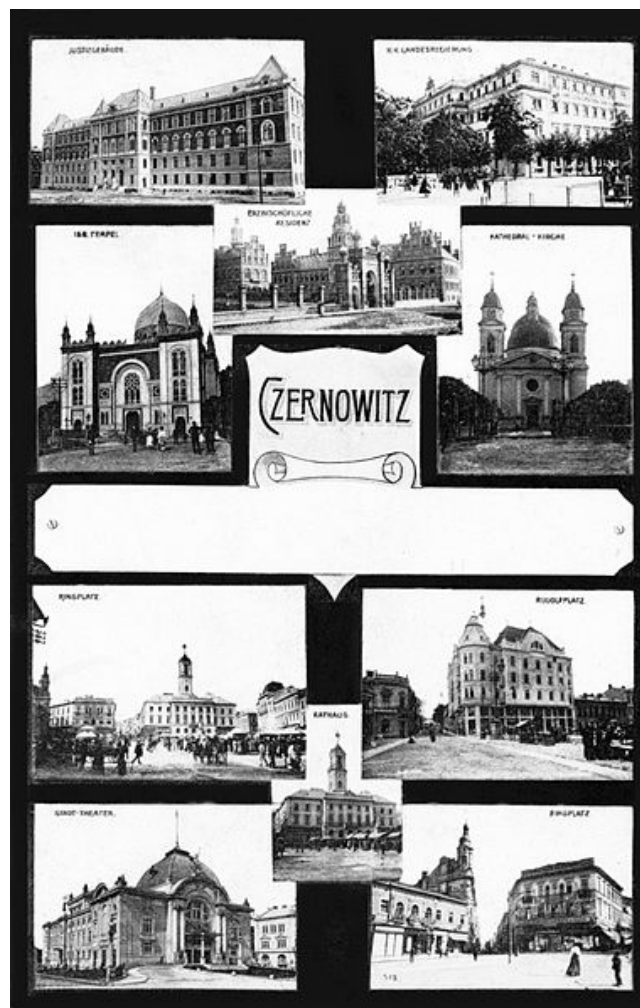
The Bukovinian delegation presents itself in Vienna, 1908.



The Emperor inspects the parade held in his honour, Vienna 1908.



Two postcards from the early 1900s flaunting Habsburg Bukovina's attractions. Above the spa resort of Solka, below the crownland capital Czernowitz.



PART IV: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

1.1 Summary

The first travel accounts about Habsburg Bukovina rely heavily on the exotic appearance of the wild eastern corner of the Empire. To some, ‘uncivilised Bukovina’ promised fertile ground for evangelisation. The first signs of diffusion of Daco-Romanian nationalism were already visible. Reports on the ‘indigenous’ Romanian- and Ruthenian-speaking population of Bukovina are diverse and depend strongly on the backgrounds, positions and political agendas of the ‘spectors’. While descriptions by nationalists (Hungarians, Ruthenians) who found themselves in competition with their Romanian adversaries can be useful and mildly entertaining, their obvious subjectivity makes them less useful when Romanian speakers are discussed in an analytical sense. Reports by both Romanian and non-Romanian speakers inside Habsburg Bukovina mainly focus on stereotypes such as ‘tolerance’ and ‘hospitality’, which have survived in Romanian nationalist historiography to this day. Sloppy farming and proneness to alcohol abuse are the negative traits which continue to be addressed in recent publications focusing on ‘the Austrian civilising mission’. Bukovinian Romanian nationalists have provided useful accounts, mostly inspired by frustration and disbelief about the lack of fervour they found with those they claimed to represent. They commented on how Romanian speakers were looked down on and how, by their willingness to adjust to and mingle with other language communities, they seemed to agree with this view. Nationalists vehemently denounced the public displays of affinity with German *Leitkultur* by the upper class as displayed by the likes of baron Mustatza as well as the ease with which the lower classes adjusted to the Ruthenian language. Class differences were a hindrance of Romanian nationalist ambitions in their own right: whereas intellectuals were said to snub the working class, intellectual social climbers in turn complained that they were ignored by Bukovinian nobility.

Some early sources mentioned Ruthenian or Slavic speakers in Bukovina, others did not. Mostly, sources from the Habsburg era highlighted poverty and illiteracy among Ruthenian speakers aggravated by dependency on (Jewish) usurers. Their status of ‘historical inhabitants’ as opposed to ‘immigrants from Galicia’ would remain an apple of discord in the competition about ‘vested rights’ between Romanian and Ruthenian nationalists. In Galicia, the entire concept of ‘Ruthenians’ was called into question by those who saw them as ‘an invention of Count Stadion’, an artificial Viennese instrument to curb Polish ambitions. Romanian nationalists in Bukovina readily adopted this vision. Moreover, Ruthenian nationalists faced fundamental internal problems. Old-Ruthenians, or Russophiles and Young-Ruthenians (later: Ukrainians) differed bitterly on identity and language issues and did not hesitate to take their discord to the Austrian Parliament, to the amusement of some and to the horror of others. As in Galicia, Young-Ruthenians were to gradually dominate the Ruthenian debate in Bukovina.

The fact that the mountain people called ‘Hutsuls’ were so hard to classify ethnically made them an attractive set piece for quarrelling Romanian and Ruthenian nationalists, who each tried to prove that the Hutsuls were part of their respective tribe. Adding another chunk of the population to one’s own was a vital element in a time dominated by census results and this battle would eventually be won by the Ruthenian side. The Hutsul reputation of rebelliousness, violence and loose morals contributed to their exoticism. Yuriy Fed’kovych was the first to publish Hutsul poetry. He did so in Ruthenian and therewith did his bit to incorporate the Hutsul element in the Ruthenian national canon. Hutsul Lukyan Kobylitsia and his peasant revolt provided a second pillar: whereas Ruthenian nationalists glorified him as a warrior against Romanian boyars, their Romanian adversaries vilified him as a traitor of Emperor and Empire and readily expanded this element of disloyalty to all Ruthenians.

Meanwhile, ethnographers and folklorists struggled when they tried to separate Romanian and Ruthenian traditions according to the fashion of the time: Kolbenheyer concluded that handicraft was typically more ‘Bukovinian’ than Romanian or Ruthenian, while Simiginowicz-Staufe was reproached by Franzos for having the audacity to name his anthology ‘Bukovinian Fairytales’. Orthodox Metropolitan Repta had similar difficulties to divide his flock into Romanians and Ruthenians and the masses did not seem to be bothered by matters of nationality, either: considered to be apathetic in general, nationalism did not generate much enthusiasm. Those who were aware of state and national affairs usually limited their passion to issues of more mundane importance. Accordingly, nationalist periodicals struggled to have copy submitted and subscription fees settled.

Austrian authorities and their local representatives, the governors, regarded the peasantry as one and did not distinguish between Romanians and Ruthenians. The first Bukovinian peasant parliamentarians in Vienna reflected this attitude and although historians tried to apply a national division between them later on, the shoe stubbornly refused to fit. Most of them were illiterate and when it came to taking position in a matter as fundamental as the ‘Landespetition’, the deputies did not act in accordance with what could ‘nationally’ be expected of them. A closer look into the biographies of four prominent Bukovinians shows a familiar pattern of national ambiguity and flexibility: Romanian nationalist Metropolitan Morariu has Galician-Ruthenian roots. Archimandrite Călinescu purposely swapped his Ruthenian-speaking background for a Romanian one, seemingly for career purposes. Ruthenian nationalist politician Mykola Vasylo was born the son of a Bukovinian nobleman of Romanian orientation, but resorted to the Ruthenian cause in order to rise to political prominence. Constantin Tomasciuc may have embodied the *homo bucovinensis* to the fullest by being an Austrian centralist, an Orthodox Christian and a Romanian speaker of mixed Ruthenian-Romanian descent.

The Orthodox Church was the quintessential Bukovinian institution. Habsburg authorities regarded its radical reform as vital for the wellbeing of land and people. Initially, the Church owned an overwhelming part of the land’s resources, exercised feudal rule by means of servitude and played a limited social role while its clerics were badly educated. The most radical reform under the new Austrian rulers had been the establishment of the Church Fund, which resorted directly under Vienna and comprised all worldly possessions of the Orthodox

Church. By separating the Bukovinian Church from the Iași Metropoly and bringing it under the Metropolitan in Karlowitz, Vienna brought it in its entirety under the Austrian flag. When Bukovina obtained autonomous crownland status in 1861, Galician claims to Church Fund assets were halted. The 1867 Compromise between Austria and Hungary obstructed Transylvanian ambitions to unite all Romanian Orthodox in the Empire in one Metropoly, but the subsequent Bukovinian church autonomy and the appointment of the Romanian nationalist metropolitan Morariu-Andrievici turned the Bukovinian Consistory into a battlefield for Romanian and Ruthenian nationalists. The Romanian side tried to maintain its traditional dominant position, with its Ruthenian competitors attempted to break it. It was no longer possible to keep religious and national affairs separate. Austrian governors who tried to balance the situation were invariably attacked by Romanian nationalists. Metropolitans with similar intentions like Hacman and Czuperkowicz shared this fate. It was rapidly becoming clear that there was no possibility of following a policy which would not cause indignation on at least one side. The Bukovinian press - and at times even nationalist periodicals - deplored the polarised situation. Especially the German-language newspapers appealed to the belligerent parties to keep nationalism away from religion. Church authorities only involved themselves actively in the strife when they considered attacks too personally or too directly aimed at the church hierarchy.

The idea of a church split into a Ruthenian and a Romanian Orthodox Church for Bukovina originally came from the Young-Ruthenians, who fiercely campaigned against what they labelled the 'Romanisation' of Bukovina. As the years passed, the Ruthenians saw their influence as well as their numerical preponderance (according to the official censuses) rise and started to ponder over their initial zeal: becoming the dominant factor in the still-united Orthodox Consistory might have been more attractive after all. By contrast, Romanian nationalist warmed to the suggestion of a church split since they saw a possibility of getting rid of their Ruthenian antagonists without having to part with Church Fund assets. Meanwhile, insistence from Vienna to have a Ruthenian appointed as vicar general (and as such the first in line to eventually succeed the metropolitan) was more or less openly opposed by Metropolitan Repta and led to mass rallies organised by Romanian nationalists. With a Ruthenian candidate appointed eventually, Romanian nationalist outrage and subsequent Austrian press censorship did little to improve relations between Vienna and Bukovinian Romanian politicians.

On a local level, Young-Ruthenian parliamentarians from Bukovina industriously gathered cases of what they deemed infringements of Ruthenian rights in Orthodox parishes. Whereas some of their complaints were justified, a closer examination of the cases submitted in the Austrian Parliament reveals that many of them had in fact little to do with nationalist conflicts or ethnic tensions. They were of a personal nature, dealt with local envy, inappropriate cleric behaviour (including sexual harassment) and were nationally framed to claim maximum attention in Vienna for the concerns of Young-Ruthenians in Bukovina. Since language was the main - and maybe the only - distinguishing mark in Orthodox communities, many of the Young-Ruthenian attempts to disqualify 'Romanising' priests concentrated on their alleged lack of Ruthenian language skills. It is doubtful that this was really the source of tension

which plaintiffs claimed it to be, since almost all priests had a command of both languages and their flock was used to mass being celebrated in Romanian. Nevertheless, Austrian authorities applied pressure on the Orthodox Consistory to do its utmost to harmonise the mother tongue of local parishes with that of the cleric to be appointed in order to avoid further unrest. Then again, in at least one case they ordered exactly the opposite: the governor told the metropolitan to transfer an Old-Ruthenian troublemaking priest to a 'Romanian' district to isolate and defang him. Patterns similar to those related to complaints about discrimination and language deficits are found in the matter of conversions from the Orthodox to the Uniate Church. Although often depicted as acts of despair caused by oppression of Ruthenians, they were generally speaking inspired by more practical causes of dissatisfaction and local grievances. Once the source of discontent was taken away, converts not seldom returned to their church of origin.

The position of Bukovinians with a German linguistic and cultural orientation differed profoundly from that of the Orthodox community. The overwhelming majority of German speakers, Jewish and not, arrived after the Austrian occupation. Especially in the Romanian and Ruthenian nationalist discourse, they represented the new ruling power and as such they were branded 'foreigners' or 'strangers'. In nationalist debates, both German nationalists and their opponents depicted German culture increasingly as specific for the German 'tribe' and not as an all-compassing Austrian 'civilisation vehicle'. As a consequence, its so far undisputed mediating role was now scrutinised and threatened while Vienna was accused of pursuing Germanisation policies. Simultaneously, German ethno-nationalists tried to evict Jews from the German cultural community.

The most obvious element of the omnipresent German culture was its language. With its status as *lingua franca* of the Empire, it substantially enlarged the career possibilities of Bukovinian German speakers and cemented a new, cosmopolitan Bukovinian elite. A specific brand of Bukovinian German language developed its own dialectal peculiarities. Apart from the elite, however, it remains difficult to assess what the general level of German language knowledge was in Habsburg Bukovina. The situation as envisaged by the Austrian authorities of a crownland where basically everybody was capable to communicate in the three official languages - German, Romanian and Ruthenian - remained utopian: sources suggest that the peasantry had only a very basic knowledge of the language and encountered difficulties when they were confronted with it in court or in other encounters with Austrian officialdom. Austrian government officials who were only temporarily assigned to Bukovina mostly lacked any knowledge of Romanian and Ruthenian, while educated Romanian and Ruthenian speakers in general only mastered German next to their mother tongue. For nationalists who rebelled against what they regarded as cultural imperialism from Vienna, the German language was a major stumbling block. First and foremost, they criticised its dominance at the Franz Joseph University, but their actions gradually spread even to small-town municipalities.

The German speakers from rural areas had little in common with the Austrian 'cultural imperialists' targeted by Romanian and Ruthenian nationalists, but the progressive confusion

of cultural and ethno-national Germanity dragged them into the public debate just the same. In general, their fellow Bukovinians perceived them as diligent, decent, distant and, probably also because of their limited knowledge of languages other than German, somewhat arrogant.

The first German nationalist movements were established in Vienna and soon spread to other parts of Austria, mostly as a reaction to the nationalist forces in the Austrian crownlands which questioned the dominant position of German. Since the major force behind this 'threat' were Slavic nationalists, Romanian and German nationalists in Bukovina discovered a common enemy: Ruthenian nationalists. From this moment onwards, Romanian-German cooperation would remain an important factor in Bukovina's typical politics of national coalitions. Political anti-Semitism was another new element. It led to a separate movement of 'Christian Germans' and would become a crucial stimulus for Jewish nationalism in Bukovina. Although anti-Semitism was not a political success right away, this changed when charismatic Karl Lueger and his Christian-Social Party entered the stage in Vienna. The party became a dominant force in entire Cisleithania. In Bukovina not only the German, but also the Romanian nationalists joined their ranks. The Bukovinian flirt with the Christian Socialists was short-lived, but their anti-Semitic legacy persevered.

In the final years of the Habsburg Empire, Bukovinian Raimund Friedrich Kaindl opted for a more regional approach of German nationalism with his Association of Carpathian Germans. According to Kaindl, Germans in the East were the gatekeepers of European civilisation and just like the preceding German nationalist movements, he used the 'Christian' argument to exclude German-oriented Jews. In the end, it was exactly this attitude which turned German nationalist influence in Bukovina into a '*quantité négligeable*': German culture in Bukovina strongly depended on its Jewish supporters. By excluding the Jews, the small number of Bukovinian German ethno-nationalists had rendered themselves insignificant.

Although Jews had been in Bukovina long before the Austrians arrived, their number rose significantly after the occupation because the living conditions the young crownland offered were significantly better than those in the surrounding areas. In general, the new rulers pursued an active immigration policy, but their position with regard to Jewish immigrants was inconsistent. Nevertheless, as government regulations further enhanced the position of its Jewish citizens, the number of Jews coming to Bukovina continued to rise. Their presence in agriculture was negligible and they were mainly active in trade (including alcohol) and money lending. Jewish Bukovinians eagerly embraced the newly created possibilities to send their children to school and as such greatly improved chances for Jews on the labour market. However, the focus on secondary and university education held in the different nationalist but to an even greater extent in Jewish circles also caused tensions: Bukovina lacked trained craftsmen and farmers and saw itself confronted with a large surplus of academics. There was a successful Jewish business elite in Bukovina, but also a substantial proletariat. When the local economic situation deteriorated in the late 1800s, many of the emigrants from Bukovina were Jews.

Poor living conditions in Bukovina had always been closely related to irresponsible money borrowing and excessive alcohol consumption. Since money lending and spirits trade were mainly in Jewish hands, Jews were generally blamed for the ensuing misery. The nationalist discourse of the time was best served by the image of classless national solidarity and not by tensions between an exploitative upper class and an irresponsible peasantry. As such, the Jews were the perfect scapegoats. Aware of their vulnerable position, they regarded the Viennese authorities as the essential guarantee for their well-being in Bukovina and had the reputation of being very loyal to Empire and Emperor.

The capital Czernowitz was the prime example of the large Jewish influence in Bukovina. There was hardly a city in nineteenth-century Europe where Jews represented such a large percentage of the population. The bourgeois upper crust was mainly Jewish, and although Czernowitz never had an official ghetto during the Habsburg years, its poorer quarters clearly resembled one. Contrasts were not only a matter of wealth and poverty, as nearby Hasidic Sadagora illustrated. The seat of the Friedman dynasty of 'wonder rabbis' embodied a substantial part of those Bukovinian Jews who had not adopted a German-oriented urban way of life. Abhorred by many for resisting modern development and encouraging superstition, Sadagora also significantly contributed to Bukovina's exotic reputation in- and outside the Habsburg Empire. The struggle between those in favour of Jewish Enlightenment and those opposing it also affected urban Czernowitz, where for a short time the Jewish religious community was even split in two. Jews in rural areas more often had a traditional, Orthodox profile and largely because of this, they were less integrated in the non-Jewish section of their respective communities. Reports on the relations between Jews and non-Jews provide a mixed image: while some complained about the rising number of Jews in some villages, other (mainly Jewish) sources mentioned a peaceful coexistence. In the later Austrian years, Jewish life in rural Bukovina started to modernise as well.

Zionism and socialism provided the first alternatives to German acculturation for Bukovinian Jews. That said, the populist and nationalist brand of Benno Straucher's politics became the undisputed force of the Bukovinian Jews. Straucher was an omnipresent pragmatist who defined Bukovinian Jewish identity outside of the German realm and who actively opposed anti-Semitism. Whereas nationalism in those years relied heavily on linguistic identity, Jewish nationalists often embraced the Yiddish language. Straucher did not promote the position of Yiddish in Bukovina, but lawyer Max Diamant did: as one of the organisers of the first international conference of Yiddishists in 1908, Diamant was a prominent initiator of the lobby for official recognition of the Yiddish language in Austria. Radical Jewish students in Czernowitz uttered similar demands and requested to be registered as Jews in the university records. Eventually, and uniquely, they were granted this privilege in 1912. Efforts to have Yiddish recognised as an official language, and thus as a 'language of conversation' which would be admitted to the 1910 census, failed. Similarly, Straucher and his supporters were refused a separate register in the 1911 Bukovinian electoral reform, although a gerrymandering trick secured Jewish representation. This way, Straucher remained the only deputy in the Austrian parliament who was elected on a specifically Jewish ticket. Still, his failed 'national mission' had weakened his power base in Bukovina.

With the necessary caveats, historians have in general found relatively little anti-Semitism in Bukovina. Nicknames like ‘the Jewish El Dorado’ are mostly interpreted in a positive sense. Admittedly, part of the positive imaging originated from Jewish memoirs which inevitably compare the situation under Habsburg rule with the agony that was to follow. For a long time, the Czernowitz press had claimed that political anti-Semitism was decidedly un-Bukovinian, but in fact forms of state anti-Semitism had existed before and after Austrian occupation.

Romanian, Ruthenian and German national movements all had their own specific attitudes towards Jews. Generally speaking, all nationalist movements in Bukovina originated outside of the crownland and all of them had strong anti-Semitic inclinations. With nationalism, Bukovinian politics also imported political anti-Semitism. The fact that it seemed the strongest with the German nationalists is closely connected to the fact that German culture was claimed by both Jews and non-Jews. As such, German ethno-nationalists, unlike their Romanian and Ruthenian counterparts, could not claim that ultimate national treasure: an exclusive language. Therefore they resorted to the next best divisive tool, religion. ‘Christian Germans’ now distanced themselves as explicitly as possible from German-oriented Jews.

Romanian nationalist anti-Semitism was rooted in the socio-economic hardship of its adherents. Jewish social climbers with their language skills provided stiff competition for Romanian speakers while Jewish usury and spirits trade were blamed for peasant misery. This often added an anti-Semitic twist to sobriety campaigns initiated by Orthodox village priests. The early 1900s saw an increase of anti-Semitic agitation in the Bukovinian Romanian press under the influence of the strong anti-Semitic currents among Romanian nationalists from Transylvania and the Kingdom. It got even more intense once Bukovinian Romanian nationalists joined Lueger’s Christian-Socialists: instead of blaming their own followers at least partly for the dire straits they found themselves in as they had done in earlier days, Romanian nationalists now exclusively charged the Jews with all local economic misery. Anti-Semitism provided a convenient common denominator for the traditionally divided Romanian nationalists in Bukovina, but forced the Bukovinian Orthodox Church to perform a delicate balancing act: on the one hand, it could not afford to alienate the nationalists, but on the other it had to fend off attacks from activists like Iorga who accused the Church of being philo-Semitic.

Anti-Semitism among Ruthenian nationalists in Bukovina became less vocal in press and debates once Vasylo and Straucher had joined forces to counter the Romanian-German coalition in Bukovina in 1904. Before that time, Anti-Semitism had found its way into Bukovinian Ruthenian nationalism from Galicia, where Jews were often accused of siding with the Polish oppressors. Ruthenian local associations had the reputation of being strongly anti-Semitic. It was therefore not surprising that the Bukovinian (Jewish) press was suspicious when Jewish and Ruthenian parties decided to cooperate and as time passed, the marriage of convenience started to show significant cracks.

Since the most important (liberal and German-language) newspapers were in Jewish hands and since the voice of Benno Straucher was a powerful political force in both Czernowitz and

Vienna, protests against anti-Semitic agitation in Bukovina could easily be ventilated. Straucher's open battle against political anti-Semitism in Bukovina enhanced his popularity.

The fact that political anti-Semitism was clearly an import product does not mean that anti-Semitism as such had thus far been unknown among the population. Sources reveal peasant resentment against exploitation by Jews and popular imaging of 'the evil Jew'. In villages where Ruthenian speakers (often Hutsuls) and Jews built the majority, anti-Semitic unrest and threats against Jews were at times serious enough for the government authorities to take action. In general, the Austrian authorities kept a watchful eye on anti-Semitic ranting, not in the least because it was often linked to animosity towards Empire and Emperor. The distribution of anonymous threatening pamphlets – which occurred regularly – was taken less seriously and the threats they contained were never executed.

With nationalism's claim to exclusivity and its accompanying religious overtones put into perspective, other identifications need to be addressed with the focus on the roles of 'Bukovinian' and 'Bukovinianness'. Two institutions seen as quintessentially 'Habsburg Bukovinian' as well as their achievements and reputations are therefore examined more closely. First, there is the most prominent political forum of the crownland, the regional Diet or Landtag. Although Bukovina was to obtain regional autonomy after the 1848 Revolution, it took until 1861 before this promise was fulfilled and its rightful political representative organ was installed. The diet drafted laws which, after they had attained the necessary majority, were forwarded to the governor who negotiated them with the central powers in Vienna where they eventually had to be approved by Imperial signature. The second track which conveyed the Bukovinian voice to Vienna was the Imperial Parliament with its crownland representatives. The Bukovinian Diet principally communicated in German, but also allowed Romanian and Ruthenian since these were the other two customary languages. Traditionally, the diet was dominated by the increasingly nationally-defined Romanian-speaking aristocracy which over the years produced some influential political dynasties. Of all the initiatives the diet took, the one leading to the establishment of the university might have been one of the most important. With its different national factions, Bukovinian politics were coalition politics by definition. The fact that conservative forces were largely defined 'Romanian', peasants mostly 'Ruthenian' or 'Romanian', and urban-bourgeois voters were largely 'Jewish-German' blurred the distinction of what was to be considered a 'political party' and a 'nationality' in Bukovina.

The early 1900s saw a split in all Bukovinian national parties between the 'Young' and the 'Old', with the Young as the defenders of social and electoral reforms. In order to broaden their base, they agreed to put 'national interests' second and to cooperate as a united platform, the 'Freethinking Alliance'. It was thus easy for their conservative competitors to label the Alliance 'traitors of the national cause' and as a result, the theme of 'state loyalty' was a prominent feature in the 1904 election campaign. The Alliance won the elections and backed by Bukovina's progressive governor Prince Hohenlohe, the newly elected politicians launched reform proposals. They also introduced a national segregation of educational facilities since

they believed national(ist) issues were best kept outside of the common political arena. The Alliance cooperation suffered from personal ambitions and animosities, however, and not even managed to stay in power for a year. Their elections reforms agenda did - as well as their notion of 'defending Bukovinianness' - and under influence of the 'Moravian Compromise', which was the result of a division of Czech and German voters along ethno-nationalist lines, Bukovina set out to develop a compromise of its own. Since the former Freethinking allies all had political capital to gain from a separate voters' register, they found each other once more. The very complicated result of the 'Bukovinian Compromise' did not satisfy all nationalist interest groups: Lippovan Old-Believers were simply added to the Ruthenian register, Magyars to the Romanian one and since Vienna refused to acknowledge Jews as a separate nationality, both German and Jewish factions disgruntledly remained stuck together. Liberal voices complained that the system, designed for the much more bitterly divided Moravian crownland, did not defang national hatred in Bukovina but rather encouraged it. Political adversaries expected different things from the new system: where Austrian centralists hoped it would lessen national tensions, nationalists welcomed it as a promising step towards complete segregation. The effects of the new system remain largely unknown: the first and only election held according to national registers took place in 1911, only three years before the World War ended political life in Habsburg Bukovina.

Although Bukovina's diet was initially seen as a triumphant symbol over Galician dominance, the growing unpopularity of Bukovinian politicians soon cast a shadow over its local reputation. The emergence of the Freethinking Alliance with its figureheads Onciul, Vasylo and Straucher added to the liveliness of diet debates, but also to the deterioration of social graces. An additional problem was the inability of Bukovinian parliamentarians to unite in a 'Bukovinian Club' in Vienna. Nationalist divisiveness proved stronger than the dire economic conditions in Bukovina and as such, parliamentarians tended to gang up with their 'co-nationals' from other crownlands rather than with their fellow Bukovinians. Moreover, the small number of Bukovinian representatives failed to take part in the larger Austrian debates: they limited themselves to specific local demands and complaints which were perceived ineffective at home and boring and repetitive in the Imperial capital.

In later scholarly work, analysis of Bukovinian parliamentary life remains largely restricted to the phenomena of the Freethinking Alliance and the Bukovinian Compromise. The Alliance is generally appreciated as open-minded and selfless enough to go beyond national boundaries in order to improve the fate of the rural population, as home-grown 'reconciliatory Bukovinism', while a more accurate study reveals an occasional coalition with national segregation on crownland level as its most striking accomplishment. Even that did not do anything to improve relations between nationalist factions: when schools and voters had been duly separated, Romanian and Ruthenian activists moved to the now even more fiercely contested area of the Bukovinian Orthodox Church.

The second institution which can be considered a cornerstone of Habsburg Bukovinian society is the Franz Joseph University. Established as a personal gift from the Emperor at the occasion of the centenary of the Austrian appropriation of the territory, the German-language educational facility was meant to bring 'culture' to the easternmost part of the Empire while,

at the same time, it was expected to facilitate access to higher education for the local population: after universities in Transylvania had been Magyarised and the Lemberg university Polonised, Bukovinian students had only Vienna left to go to and this option was too expensive for many. The university's founding was a specific request from the Bukovinian elite and enjoyed large local support. However, it had to battle a disputable reputation from its earliest days. The university had unique features such as chairs for Romanian and Ruthenian linguistics as well as for Orthodox theology. Still, in the early decades especially university staff came from the western parts of Austria and regarded their posting in Czernowitz as either a way to grab a quick promotion somewhere else or as a punishment for unwelcome political activism. They not only added fuel to the flame of nationalist tensions, but also voiced their personal discontent with their positions and repeatedly suggested to move the entire facility to another part of the Monarchy altogether.

In Bukovina proper, the persisting lack of a medical faculty was a constant reminder of the perceived inferior status of both crownland and university. Critics denounced the Bukovinian university as an uninspired production facility for the necessary local reservoir of priests, officials and pharmacists. In later years when education increasingly became a status symbol of nationalist movements, a serious imbalance emerged when the growing quantity of university graduates started to outnumber the badly needed craftsmen. This in turn led to what was called 'an academic proletariat': instead of a tool to advance Bukovina's prosperity, its university was now seen as a hampering element.

The influx of university staff and a student population had a profound influence on Bukovina and on its capital Czernowitz especially. Students organised themselves in associations with either a general Austrian or a specific nationalist orientation. This way, typical Bukovinian debates (Romanian-Ruthenian competition, the Jewish national question, language demands) entered the academic realm and with them the occasional unrest and brawls. Following the pattern of Bukovinian nationalist politics, fights and open conflicts occurred more regularly between different associations with the same national affiliation than between those of different national groups.

The World War brought the activities of the Franz Joseph University to a halt. There was general disillusionment in Bukovina with the perceived lack of solidarity from the struggling Empire: Czernowitz academic staff had difficulties finding employment elsewhere and once more, the permanent relocation of the university had been made became a topic of discussion. Once it became clear that under the Romanian flag the university would lose its German-language character, most scholars decided to leave.

In later appraisals, views on the Czernowitz University and its merits for Austrian Bukovina varied between the extremes of admiration for the 'civilising influence' the German-language institute had exercised and criticism of its 'colonial intentions'. Apart from these 'intentions', nationalist sources also admit the decisive role the university played in the education of key figures in the different national movements. Paradoxically, the university which had been created to bring the 'soothing and unifying effect of German scholarship' had also been instrumental for the import and the production of nationalism.

Whereas the 'Austrian identity' is commonly ignored in studies of particular 'nationalities', it should be noted that the Austrian self-image had a strong presence in Bukovina. From the early days, during which allegiance to the state primarily had the character of military support, there was a general mood of contentment with Austrian rule. Although some of the pledged popular support for the Austrian state was clearly enforced by the local authorities, there was a strong sense of loyalty to the state and the imperial dynasty which strengthened local self-confidence in comparison with other regions in the Dual Monarchy. Feelings towards the Habsburg dynasty were evidently stronger than towards the more abstract notion of 'Austria'. Particularly the shadow of Emperor Franz Joseph, whose reign almost exactly coincided with the period of Bukovinian autonomy and who was therefore widely regarded as a father figure, loomed large over the crownland. Next to more general praise, the Emperor was praised for giving Bukovina its autonomy and its university. Cases of *lèse majesté* only occurred sporadically. Nationalist groups vied for the status of 'the Emperor's favourite nation' and ensured that he was made aware of their devotion. Especially among the Young-Ruthenian movement it was a widely felt that they owed their national development to the Emperor's benevolence and expectations regarding a future Ruthenian/Ukrainian autonomous region under his rule were equally high. Next to Franz Joseph, there was also attention for other Habsburg family members from both past and present. Crown Prince Rudolph occupied a special place in Bukovinian adulation because he had visited the region shortly before his tragic death, and student memorial preparations even led to public unrest in 1889.

Bukovinian loyalty was not met with blind trust from Vienna. Cases of possible disloyalty were carefully investigated; suspects were tried but regularly acquitted in cases the authorities feared for a public reaction in favour of those suspects. The most widely published 'treason case' in Habsburg Bukovina was centred around the Romanian nationalist 'Arboroasa' students' association which had ties to the Romanian government and which had shown sympathy for counter festivities in Romania surrounding the centenary of Habsburg occupation of the Bukovina territory. The subsequent trial attracted attention in both Austria and Romania and although the students involved were released, the affair remained firmly embedded in the collective conscience. Next to Romanian irredentist activism, it was Russophile propaganda which demanded most attention from the authorities. The fact that both movements were linked to foreign powers explains why this focus only intensified once the World War had started.

Nationalist movements not only pledged loyalty to the Emperor, they generally advocated compatibility between their allegiance to both the Austrian state and the respective nation in a time when the nation-state was not automatically the envisaged goal. Most nationalists in Bukovina were devoted to the Habsburg state as long as it could guarantee undisturbed national development within its borders. This balance was disturbed once war broke out. The three periods of Russian occupation of Bukovina put the area beyond Austrian state control and almost the only way to monitor state loyalty was through the interception of private mail. The impression of a throughout loyal population prevailed, its pro-Austrian attitude being further encouraged by Russian war atrocities. Once the occupying forces had left, Austrian investigators concluded that while the Bukovinian peasantry had remained loyal to Empire

and State, the same could not be said about nationalist activists. The most prominent Bukovinian with a blemished record was Orthodox Metropolitan Repta, who had openly said prayers for the Russian Czar and consequently was forced to abdicate upon the return of the Austrian troops.

Local newspapers with a tendency to promote a stronger regional affiliation among their readers faced the dominant nationalist rhetoric and the readily available accusation of being unfaithful to the nation. Just like nationalists had combined national and state loyalties, the Bukovinian press carefully ensured that regional identification was often presented as an enhancement to the national one. Even the introduction of national registers was seen by some as a step towards stronger regional cooperation: once national insecurities were reassured by safely fencing them in, the focus would naturally shift to common regional interests. Nationalists would often declare their love for 'nation' and 'homeland' alike, but were irritated when solidarity between Bukovinians with different mother tongues proved stronger than their own ardently promoted ties between 'co-nationals' from different regions. Sometimes those co-nationals proved too intrusive, as especially Bukovinian-Romanian nationalists experienced when from Romania, Nicolae Iorga's anti-Austrian campaigning damaged their reputation and annoyed them by portraying the living conditions in Romania as much more positive than in Bukovina. For Ruthenian nationalists, who had neither the comfort nor the discomfort of a powerful Ruthenian nation across the border, the national vs. regional debate was complicated by the proximity of the large number of Ruthenian-speakers in Galicia: whereas for Young-Ruthenian propaganda reasons the similarity between Galician and Bukovinian Ruthenians was stressed, Old-Ruthenians endeavoured to underline the differences between true 'Bukovinian Orthodox Russians' and 'Galician Uniates'. When solidarity conflicts emerged between 'nation' and 'region', there was still the diminution solution: instead of defining oneself as either, say, Romanian and Bukovinian, one could resort to the subset of 'Romanian Bukovinian' or 'Bukovinian Romanian'.

The idea of a 'Bukovinian homeland' sat rather comfortably with national identifications, much opposed to that of a 'Bukovinian people', since the latter competed directly with the core notion of nationalism. Still, the term appeared regularly - in nationalist publications as well. 'Bukovinianness' as a dominant identification emerged from the early years of crownland autonomy, though it may be argued that the notion was a prerequisite for the demand for autonomy first and for all. The initial component of 'Bukovinianness' thus was 'non-Galician', soon followed by concepts of shared history and shared historical figures, both from before and during the Austrian days. Most German-language newspapers of the crownland presented themselves as the mouthpiece, if not the embodiment of Bukovinianness.

Bukovina's swift development soon compared favourably with neighbours Moldavia and Galicia. Especially the contrast between Bukovina and its Habsburg 'big brother' Galicia, enhanced by the positive reports on exotic yet cosmopolitan Czernowitz, can be regarded as the first building block of what was to become the 'Bukovinian myth': the notion that in Bukovina, the enlightened and civilising Austrian influence had created a harmonious multicultural society from which an Austrian role model emerged, the *homo bucovinensis*. In part, Bukovina shared this multicultural, tolerant image with Galicia, while much of the

‘Bukovinian myth’ served as a *pars pro toto* of a utopian view of the entire Habsburg Empire. Its supranational character made ‘Bukovinism’ a target for Romanian nationalists who depicted it as a deliberate Austrian design to sabotage their cause, and who to this day deny the existence of a *homo bucovinensis*. Experts on Habsburg Bukovina have so far contributed neither to the clarification nor to a consistent application of the term ‘Bukovinism’ and, apart from the question of its actual existence, usually operate in the grey territory between ‘phenomenon’ and ‘conscious doctrine’.

With the emergence of regional identification came a more or less fixed set of images and stereotypes. Bukovinians took pride in exotic features such as the Hutsul tribe, the Lippovan Old-Believers and Sadagora’s wonder rabbi as well as in their position of ‘the Emperor’s border guard in the East’. From the first geographical publications on Bukovina came the stubborn image of a colourful society of tolerant, but in essence very different - and segregated - groups of people which was soon depicted as a ‘miniature Austria’. When it became gradually clear that just like other Austrian regions, Bukovina would not remain untouched by political nationalism, initial designations in the ‘exemplary crownland’ category made room for sharp self-criticism and depreciation. Depending on the critic’s political views, certain groups were blamed for all things wrong in Bukovina, but there was also a strong sense of blaming the population as a whole and the persisting state of ‘still developing towards a cultured province’. The local press consistently operated the images of ‘Semi-Asia’ (coined by Bukovinian author Franzos), ‘Austria’s penal colony’ and the State’s ‘stepchild’ or ‘Cinderella’. ‘Semi-Asia’ appeared when Bukovinians congratulated themselves on having overcome earlier barbarism, when they chastised themselves for still being stuck in primitivism or when they complained about how they were viewed in arrogant Vienna. The term thus aptly covered the confused feelings among Bukovinian prominents with regard to the creator of this label, Karl-Emil Franzos. The ‘penal colony’ image, which initially referred to the crownland as a whole, obtained a more specific connotation once the Czernowitz University reputedly served to ‘exile’ troublesome or inadequate Austrian scholars. It was applied by both Bukovinians and non-Bukovinians, unlike the ‘stepchild’ and ‘Cinderella’ images which were undoubtedly Bukovinian creations, meant to underline how underprivileged Bukovina was in comparison to other Imperial regions and crownlands. Equally, when the early 1900s witnessed a growing regional consciousness and a regionally inspired political agenda under the Freethinking Alliance, in Bukovina impatience grew with the tendency to blame others for Bukovinian misery and with the repetitive Bukovinian complaining in the Imperial Parliament which so far had only harvested indifference.

Being deliberately discriminated against was still better than being not known at all. The general perception in Bukovina was that nobody was aware of its existence. In Vienna, the crownland was said to be confused with regions like Bosnia or Herzegovina. Locally, the situation was not much better with less than minimal attention for local history in the school curriculum and among local scholars. Economically, obscurity was felt to be the reason for a lack of railway developments and preferential treatment of Austrian regions with a more powerful industry sector. Another way Bukovinians measured the degree of neglect was the frequency of visits to Bukovina. The most prestigious guests were understandably members of

the Imperial family, first and foremost the Emperor. The emotional reactions in Bukovina after the death of Crown Prince Rudolph in 1889 were unquestionably linked to his recent Bukovinian visit. A second category consisted of government ministers, who were accused of steering clear of the crownland - an accusation simply transplanted from Vienna to Bucharest when Bukovina was united with Romania. Once modern tourism started to blossom around the turn of the century, Bukovinian tourism associations began to promote the region as a travel destination, but soon resorted to the well-known complaints about disregard when tourists did not come in droves. Again, a lack of railway development was deplored as a reason for the disappointing numbers of visitors. Here as well, Bukovina was presented as 'miniature Austria', since it was commented that Austrians in general hardly cared for visiting the Empire's own beauties - and the situation in Bukovina was not much better. Bukovinian tourism promoters invited journalists to the land and published a first tourist guide to the region, but also wondered if Bukovina was such an attractive destination to begin with: the crownland, its capital and its inhabitants were possibly too backward, the facilities too primitive and once the anti-Semitic Christian-Socials had entered the political arena, aspiring Jewish travellers might be scared off, too.

In the other direction, there was plenty of movement. From the later 1880s there were initiatives from Budapest to bring Bukovinian Magyar speakers 'home', while Russia tried to repopulate its war-ravaged zones with Bukovina's Lippovans. Around the turn of the century, however, most large scale emigration from Bukovina was bound for the Americas. The local press mostly published scary stories of ruined immigrants and poetry full of yearning for the homeland. Strikingly, in those poems the 'region' and not the 'nation' dominated. Ambitious professionals mostly took to Vienna, and Bukovinian newspapers eagerly and proudly mentioned when these attempts were successful. In 1904, the Viennese Bukovinian community (mostly from Czernowitz) numbered almost 3000 and consisted, next to the obvious group of Bukovinian parliamentarians, of urban professionals and students. The community sense among those Bukovinians resulted in the formation of associations which, next to their entertainment function, tried to lend a helping hand to their less fortunate compatriots in Vienna.

The growing sense of a Bukovinian identity and the related sentiment that Bukovinians had to stand up for their own rights enhanced the urge to defend the 'native children' against 'foreigners'. Staunch criticism was reserved for Austrian state officials who only came to the crownland for a few years, meddled in its political scene and left to obtain a better position somewhere else, but generally speaking, those 'foreigners' were Galicians accused of dominating Bukovinian institutions and taking Bukovinian jobs. Galicia was an obvious and easy target for Bukovinian politicians, anyway: collectively, the days in which Bukovina had resorted under Lemberg were not fondly remembered and a demand to cut the last administrative ties (railways and judiciary) still connecting Bukovina to the former 'oppressor' was always sure to go down well with the electorate. In Vienna, the distinction between the two crownlands was not always so clear. It was a further cause for Bukovinian indignation to be mentioned in the same breath as the big neighbour, which was not only regarded a big bully by the Bukovinian upper crust, but uncivilised on top of that. They had to

acknowledge, however, that there were benefits to be reaped of Galicia's effective and powerful parliamentary lobby in the Imperial capital. As the years progressed, there was repeated envy for the dynamics of Galician development which were seen against a background of Bukovinian misery and stagnation. That negative image was often projected on the land's initial pride and joy, Bukovina's 'Little Vienna' Czernowitz. The city was now being criticised for its uneven development, its 'Oriental' characteristics and its lack of facilities and sanitation.

Bukovina's autonomous status and the growing general tendency to identify with the region required careful manoeuvring at local, Austrian and foreign events. The 1875 centennial celebrations with their counter manifestations in Romania and the related 'Arboroasa' affair had amply made clear that different views on common history were tricky material: what Austrian circles celebrated as the arrival of civilisation after barbaric Ottoman oppression, nationalists in Romania mourned as the loss of Romanian land and the illegitimate execution of the territory's last 'Romanian' ruler. The return of the 'Bukovinian' 41st Regiment to native soil in 1882 had provided ample opportunity for the authorities to emphasise the warm relations between Vienna and Bukovina; the celebrations surrounding its 200th anniversary in 1901 provided an extra chance to underline the close ties between the Austrian army, its regional regiment and the Bukovinian population. However, local response was not as spontaneous and excited as those in charge of the event would have liked to see: participants were mainly schoolchildren who had to be actively encouraged while speeches were bland and predictable. In spite of the jubilant image official sources tried to convey, the local press reported on misbehaviour of the troops against the civil population, on brawls and violent incidents. Even worse, the Bukovinian media took the opportunity to address a general situation of abuse in the Austrian army which was said to have led to cases of suicide among Bukovinian recruits as well. The process of collecting the necessary funds for a monument - which was produced entirely from materials outside of the crownland - to mark the occasion was such a tiresome affair that its inauguration took place only a year after the festivities. Then it was only attended by a very modest number of Bukovinian prominents.

The so-called Putna celebrations surrounding the cult of Stephen the Great provided a careful balancing act for the Austrian authorities: they were first and foremost an occasion for Romanian nationalist pilgrims and therefore a security risk for the government. Then again, Vienna had been sensitive to the nationalist sentiments and had renovated the burial church of the Moldavian king. In the final decades of the 19th century the celebrations had been mainly organised by students, visited by leading figures from Romania and avoided by Bukovinian noblemen who feared for their relations with the central authorities. In contrast, by 1904, when the 400th anniversary of Stephen's death was to be commemorated, those Bukovinian noblemen who were now nationalist politicians themselves played an important role in the preparations. To keep the government happy and suspicions of irredentism at bay, in public communication and in local press releases the revered king was more and more presented as a Bukovinian rather than a specifically Romanian hero. Guests from Romania - with the predictable exception of Nicolae Iorga - equally tried not to offend their Austrian hosts. When

Austria was criticised later on for the way Bukovinian Romanian speakers were treated, the Stephen commemorations served as tool to debunk those allegations.

In the age of 'Grand Exhibitions' with a predominantly national character, regions also carefully considered similar events. A modest Bukovinian fair had taken place in 1886, but when in the early twentieth century a new initiative was considered and it turned out that in Bucharest the Romanian government planned a large-scale national exhibition, the Bukovinian plans were quickly dismissed and a discussion started on if and if so, how Bukovina would participate. First, there were Romanian nationalists in Bukovina who claimed the event was for Romanians only and second, Bukovinians who embraced the opportunity to present the land as a whole. When it became clear that non-Romanian foreign states were also invited, it was decided that there would be a Bukovinian pavilion with a separate Romanian section. Contrary to the Bukovinian nationalist intentions, the difference between the Bukovinian and the Bukovinian-Romanian exhibits were not that striking. There was a feeling of disappointment that the Romanian section of the Bukovinian pavilion had not focused on more recent accomplishments and now made a rather dusty impression. The Romanian government had meanwhile provided visits for 'Romanians from across the borders' and had paid for their journey in full. Though those groups from Bukovina reportedly made sure to accentuate their loyalty to the Austrian Emperor in Bucharest - Austria had made participation for Romanian speakers from its realm a lot easier than Hungary - Romanian nationalist sources would later claim that those visitors had demonstrated a massive longing for unification with the Romanian Kingdom.

The ultimate chance to show 'arrogant Vienna' what Bukovina had accomplished and what it had on offer came when in 1908 Franz Joseph's sixty years on the throne was celebrated with a giant parade through the Austrian capital, the first part representing highlights from Habsburg history and the second an overview of contemporary society. Czernowitz had commemorated its 500th existence shortly before with a parade focusing on Austrian accomplishments and symbols; the Vienna event however was meant to highlight ethno-national diversity and thus nationalist leaders in the regions of the Empire were sought to inspire their constituents to form committees and to delegate groups. For different reasons, Transleithanian Hungarians as well as Czechs were absent. Moreover, the way Austrian history was represented- and especially events connected to the revolutionary year 1848 - had to be lengthily negotiated. In the Bukovinian preparations, the image created in the 'Kronprinzenwerk' of an ethnically segregated but harmonious society was maintained. Feelings of self-confidence about the colourful spectacle would offer the languid capital city prevailed. Ironically, the images the crownland prepared to send to Vienna where exactly those which the local press had been fighting for decades: those of the faraway, peasant-oriented barbaric yet colourful 'Orient'. Next to that, the character of national subdivisions reduced Bukovina (and other regions) to only the sum of its national(ist) parts. The opportunity was missed to show elements not confined to nationalist parameters - modern Czernowitz society and its bourgeoisie might have been granted some space in that case and the now conspicuously absent Jews as well. It was hardly surprising that in the press the

traditional criticism surfaced again: nobody in the West really knew about Bukovina and the cheerful folksy tableaux on display hid the persistent economic misery in the land.

1.2 Conclusion

Historiography on Bukovinian identity during the Habsburg years has traditionally been a compilation of competing national versions. Although each version reserved some space for the Bukovinian specifics which over the years turned into commonplaces such as ‘hospitality’ and ‘multi-ethnic tolerance’, national identification remained the dominant and undisputed factor. The four nationalist movements discussed here were the ones dominating the political spectrum at the time: Romanian, Ruthenian, German and Jewish. Other ethno-national groups such as Poles, Magyars and Armenians and gypsies had no political representation in Bukovina or were so insignificant in number that their national agendas hardly left a mark on identity issues in local politics. Bukovinian Magyars as well as gypsies had no political organisations of their own.

If national movements in Bukovina shared one feature, it was that they were all import products. Only Benno Straucher’s brand of Jewish nationalism might claim local origins up to a point (though most of the ideological input came from Russia and Vienna), but Ruthenian activists relied heavily on influences from Russia and Galicia, their Romanian adversaries looked to the Romanian Kingdom and to Transylvania, while German nationalists got their inspiration from the German lands and Austria proper.

A close analysis reveals that, contrary to what has often been maintained, Bukovinian nationalisms did not develop autonomously and synchronically: partly as the result of external influences and partly as the result of internal Bukovinian dynamics, the main four Bukovinian currents developed in chronological order and as consecutive reactions to on their predecessors. Romanian nationalism focused on the ‘Slavic enemy’ and thus paradoxically inspired a Ruthenian response; both Romanian and Ruthenian nationalists then questioned German cultural dominance which opened the door to German ethno-nationalism in response. Strong anti-Semitic currents within German nationalism in turn gave impetus to specifically Jewish solo efforts.

The predominant nationalist conflict was the one between the Romanian and the Ruthenian factions. The key problem was rather their similarities than their differences: both national ideologies were based on the indigeneity principle and as such both groups claimed rights and privileges based on their alleged historical presence. It also meant that fruitful cooperation between the two was as good as impossible, since one’s victory would automatically result in the other’s defeat. In the years preceding German and Jewish nationalism, the bourgeois German-oriented liberals could be regarded as a buffer between the two competitors.

However, once German ethno-nationalism emerged in Bukovina and consecutively encouraged Jewish separatism, Romanian and Ruthenian nationalists realised that only strategic cooperation with either the German or the Jewish faction would secure influential representation in the local political arena. For several reasons, Germans were logical partners for the Romanians. Both nationalist groups struggled with many internal issues, but they had a strong point in common: their respective national identity claims were unquestioned inside

and outside their own circles and received a moral boost with the emergence of Germany and Romania as independent countries (although this also meant German and Romanian nationalists in Bukovina ran more of a risk of being accused of treason by the Austrian authorities in case they identified a bit too blatantly with those newly established nation-states). Both the German nationalist forces in Austria and the Romanian nationalists in the Romanian Kingdom fostered strong anti-Semitic tendencies which in turn were incorporated in the German and Romanian nationalist movements of Bukovina. As a building block for a joint political agenda, anti-Semitism was crucial when the Romanian and German nationalists in Bukovina bonded under the flag of Karl Lueger's Christian Socials.

In turn, Ruthenians and Jews appeared as allies by default. Still, their respective nationalist development had essential common traits: in general, both 'nations' were still deeply divided on the issue of their national identity, on the question if there was one to begin with, if there was an actual common language and if so, which one it was. These identity issues were connected to the relatively recent emergence of Ruthenian and Jewish nationalist thought. Whereas German and Romanian nationalist movements in Bukovina aimed at maintaining the powerful position they claimed to be rightfully theirs (with Romanian nationalists invoking the argument of being the legitimate successor of historical Moldavia and German nationalists claiming to be the logical guardians of the civilisatory German language and culture) and as such were conservative by nature, Ruthenian and Jewish national movements could not rely on similar positions and appealed to emancipatory sentiments. It is not surprising that in Bukovina these movements were headed by the talented populists Mykola Vasylo and Benno Straucher. Their personal friendship further enabled their political partnership.

The emergence of political nationalism in Bukovina increasingly obscured a more fundamental divide in the 'internal colony': that of the Orthodox rural population and the post-occupation immigrants. Although Romanian and Ruthenian nationalists seized every opportunity to claim essential cultural and historical distinctions between the two 'tribes', day-to-day reality presented a different picture. The Bukovinian peasantry was homogenous in their traditions and in their way of life. Rather than nationality, it was religion which dominated identification. The often automatically linked set of 'language and culture' (as in 'Romanian language and culture' or 'Ruthenian language and culture') was not the matter of course in Bukovina. Where the two dominantly spoken languages obviously differed, the dividing line could not simply be extended to the area of culture. Whether it was poetry, embroidery or food, or, most importantly, religion, a nationality label did not seem to fit. Logically, Romanian and Ruthenian nationalists turned to the only dividing element they possessed: language. With this weapon they attacked the strongest unifying institution in rural Bukovina, the Orthodox Church. A lack of religious dispute notwithstanding, in the final years of Habsburg Bukovina a split of the Bukovinian Orthodox Church into separate Ruthenian and Romanian dioceses seemed the most likely result of these efforts.

Exactly the opposite occurred when nationalism entered the scene of Bukovina's population with a German cultural orientation. Whereas the unifying element of most of the mainly urban, post-annexation Austrian immigrants and their descendants was German *Hochkultur* and the German language, German anti-Semitic nationalists had to resort to another divisive

tool in order to rid their target group of Jews. 'Religion' was the obvious answer, and by introducing the term 'Christian Germans' (as in the Association of Christian Germans) they successfully attained the isolation of non-Jewish German speakers.

In Bukovinian society with the Orthodox Church as well as the affinity with German language and culture as its most defining elements, nationalist activism applied the same mechanism to further split the cornerstones of the Bukovinian population in two. However, the two processes were each other's mirror image: in the case of the Orthodox religious community, nationalists used language as the instrument to shape Romanian and Ruthenian nationalities. In case of the German-oriented language community, religion was used to distinguish between 'ethnic Germans' and Jews.

This closer look at the way nationalist activism proceeded to assure national affiliation also requires a more critical view of the cliché of Habsburg Bukovina's excellent interethnic relations and the remarkable tolerance between its different cultures. First, as the Romanian-Ruthenian discussion has shown, multilingualism does not automatically imply multiculturalism. Second, in order to claim tolerance between the different nationalities, the alleged members of these nationalities should first of all possess a clear national awareness. In Habsburg Bukovina, signs of such awareness only surfaced on a more general scale in the final decades of the crownland's existence. Earlier, 'indifference to nationalism' seems to have prevailed. Sources referring to interethnic tolerance and harmony on Bukovina thus apply, consciously or subconsciously, nationalist vocabulary. Only under the influence of nationalist historiography the alleged uniqueness of a 'multi-ethnic' Bukovinian society could flourish. Nationalists had introduced the notion of a 'community of different nationalities and their languages/cultures', and once this had sufficiently penetrated local politics, coalition building was the only way forward. Almost all combinations were tried, but because of the specifics of the different national movements, a Romanian-German versus a Ruthenian-Jewish block proved to be the most sustainable. As such, the nationalist representation of political interests obscured the dichotomy between 'colonisers' (who were now split into German and Jewish factions) and 'colonised' (now divided into Romanian and Ruthenian nationalists).

The way the different brands of nationalism had found their way into Bukovina has not passed unnoticed at the time. Bukovinian journalists often critically highlighted their advancement and foreignness. The mere fact that such a large number of nationalisms was found on such a small piece of territory also enhanced the 'party status' of those different groups, since it was hard not to see all those 'heroic struggles for historical justice' in the sobering perspective of day-to-day politicking. The divisive effect of nationalist agitation also was a constant headache for the centralist-liberal press in Czernowitz, which made no secret of what it blamed for increasing levels of discord: imported nationalism. Additionally, for many Bukovinians the possible choice to adopt a national identification was still open. Large segments of urban Jews wanted to be seen as Germans, Bukovinian Orthodox smoothly went in and out Ruthenian and Romanian language realms and nationalist leaders found it increasingly difficult to hide their frustrations regarding this situation.

Another notion already brought forward by several authors in relation to Habsburg Bukovina is the degree to which different religious and linguistic communities actually interacted. It is hardly a revelation that the urban German-oriented bourgeois contingent only had very little business with the rural Orthodox peasantry, but also rural Jews - which tended to be less 'westernised' than their urban pendants - seem to have confined themselves largely to the limits of their own religious community. Lippovans ('Old Believers') and Magyar speakers inhabited their own small separate settlements and only sporadically appear as more than exotic props in the grand discourse of Austrian Bukovinian multicultural harmony.

The commonplace of Bukovinian tolerance is often linked to the assumption that anti-Semitism found no fertile soil there during the Habsburg years. First voiced in the Czernowitz press of the early 1900s with the hope of discouraging anti-Semitic movements like the Christian-Social Party, the idea of 'a Jewish El Dorado' in Austrian Bukovina gathered steam in the works of later memoirists who favourably compared the situation under the Austrians with the misery which was to follow. Indeed, unlike its surrounding territories, Bukovina did not experience pogroms or other forms of serious physical violence, but forms of popular anti-Semitism can be traced throughout the area the Austrians named Bukovina.

With regard to specific regional identification, observers are confronted with two essential Habsburg-Bukovinian characteristics: the fact that the Austrians had created the region and had given it its name and the fact that autonomous Bukovina in fact only existed for a few decades. It has been argued that therefore identification with the region as such was impossible, but a look at relatively recently independent states with borders determined by the former colonisers quickly renders such reasoning invalid. The notion of 'Bukovinism' and the claimed existence of a 'homo Bucovinensis', no matter how vague or ambiguous this terminology and its instrumentalisation mostly are, already indicates that there was something 'different' about the land and its inhabitants.

With its autonomous status and - later - with its university, Bukovina obtained two important institutions vital for its self-image. Naturally, such institutions were not unique in Habsburg Austria and therefore it matters more to study how their functioning was perceived than the mere fact that they existed. The regional diet was a logical product of Bukovina's autonomous status, but its coalition politics were not: they resulted from Bukovinian demographics, with its local nobility which identified with the Moldavian past and later increasingly with Romanian nationalism and with its growing class of German-Jewish 'newcomers' which largely represented urban bourgeoisie. Ruthenian speakers, who lacked an upper class, were represented by nationalist leaders (Young-Ruthenians) who logically represented peasant interests. As such, the basics of Bukovinian political life looked divided along national lines but actually represented social programs. It is therefore not surprising that the terms 'nationality' and 'party' were regularly used interchangeably. Around the turn of the century, a new generation of politicians emerged with an agenda of social and electoral reforms and joined forces across national lines. Later analysts too readily assume that this cooperation was a unique example of regional interests defying nationalist politics. In fact, the short-lived coalition only came into being because the parties needed each other's voters to obtain a

majority for their reform agenda. They aimed to defuse possible conflicts by keeping their respective national pursuits out of the collective political discourse. Yet by nationally segregating educational facilities and, later on, by promoting the introduction of segregated electoral registers with the introduction of the 'Bukovinian Compromise', the spiritual fathers of the 'Freethinking Alliance' are to be regarded as the architects of Bukovinian national division rather than champions of provincial cooperation and tolerance. It is equally questionable if the Austrian goal to create 'a haven of harmony under the soothing influence of German culture' was attained with the establishment of a Bukovinian university: the newly-acquired academic staff from outside of Bukovina brought nationalist ideas with them. Local nationalists regarded the swift creation of their own academic elite a matter of prestige and thus flooded the university with their offspring, indifferent of the limited career perspectives the small land had on offer for all those graduates. This way, the university itself had become the producer of a large valve of frustrated nationalists and a stumbling block for the creation of the much-needed class of skilled craftsmen.

Being a Habsburg-Austrian creation with a university named after Emperor Franz Joseph, Bukovinians identified amply with the ruling dynasty. Austria was often considered a rather abstract notion often equalled to 'arrogant Vienna' and indifferent politicians, although Bukovinians would equally pride themselves on being Austrian when compared to neighbouring regions or countries they perceived as backward - notably Romania and Russia. The Habsburgs and most of all Franz Joseph, whose reign overlapped almost completely with the existence of the autonomous crownland, evoked intimate feelings of familiarity. The image of the Emperor as a father for his Bukovinian children became stronger once the ruler came of age and befitted the parental image even better. Nationalists generally knew better than to attack the figure of the Monarch, but combined their loyalty to the strict condition of 'unhampered national development'. Nevertheless, the Austrian authorities took no risks and investigated each possible case of treason meticulously. The clear identification of Bukovinians with the ruling house made the contrast with the sentiments of neglect, contempt and marginality all the more hurtful.

In Bukovina, the most obvious benchmarks from which to extract crownland self-identification were the 'West' and 'East'. Whereas 'the West' could imply Western Europe and (Western) Austria in general, it was usually Vienna which was seen as cosmopolitan, civilised and clean on the one hand, but arrogant, indifferent and ignorant on the other. 'The East' meant Russia certainly, but in the Bukovinian context predominantly referred to neighbours Galicia and Romania: Galicia as the barbaric obstacle on the road to Vienna and Romania - mainly to Bukovinian Romanian nationalists - as the Ottoman-influenced Balkan region with the nerve to criticise Austrian Bukovina. The local press experienced difficulties when determining Bukovina's exact location: they often situated it as an island of German cultural civilisation, separated by 'the Galician sea' from likeminded regions, but just as often confessed to being 'a piece of Orient' themselves. In later studies, civilised urban 'Czernowitz' generally came to represent Bukovina as a whole and this pars pro toto obscures the ambiguous image Habsburg Bukovinians had of their homeland.

Although there were expressions of pride regarding the land's position as Austrian watchtower and cultural beacon, its exotic features and its urban, academic capital city, regional identification was mainly epitomised by negative markers like Semi-Asia, stepchild and neglected backwater: when common interests were at stake, nationalist Romanians, Germans and Ruthenians quickly became Bukovinians, 'native children' in need of protection from Viennese indifference and Galician aggression. Even over the short period of several decades, those auto-images shifted. A more prominent position of Bukovinian regional identification allowed acknowledgement of a proper regional responsibility for its own well-being and development; vilification of Galicia gave way to appreciation for Galician accomplishments in parliament and for the dynamism of its economic activities; complacency about the homeland's acclaimed absence of nationalist fanaticism and anti-Semitism turned into the insight of maybe not being so different from other crownlands after all.

Bukovina's hetero-image was primarily shaped in Vienna, where it was mostly associated - if at all - with exotic rural circumstances and ethics to match. Bukovinian indignation did not change much about the fact that in the Austrian capital, the land was simply perceived as too small, too far away and by some even as too different to even be part of the Empire. This image was to remain, also after Bukovinian authorities actively sought to promote the crownland through the organisation of and active participation in festive and commemorative events. When at home, Bukovinian commemorations and celebrations mostly underlined the crownland's Austrian character and its adherence to the Throne and mainly served to bring home to the public once more how lucky they were to be Austrians. A Romanian nationalist symbol like Stephen the Great was moulded into a Bukovinian hero. When abroad, Bukovinian organisers, much against what local opinion makers always campaigned for, persistently failed to convey a more adequate image of their homeland. They obediently stuck to what they thought was expected of them: depictions of merrily celebrating national groups in traditional attire without any reference to the land's urban culture and its modernisations. Moreover, the differences between national folklore nationalists were so eager to underscore were not so obvious to the public.

In conclusion, a number of assumptions about Habsburg Bukovina, some dating back to the Austrian days, others having emerged in post-Austrian studies with divergent origins and agendas, need to be reconsidered. First and foremost, there is the image of 'the harmonious society of different ethno-national groups'. This terminology is nationalist in itself, since it presupposes the existence of such ethno-national groups. In the case of Bukovina it is particularly clear how complicated, ambiguous and volatile linguistic, religious and social identifications often were and how each and every nationalist ideology gradually penetrating Bukovinian society was an import product. All in all, Bukovina and nationalism were a bad match. This does not mean nationalism was not successful, eventually. It was rather a matter of time. Bukovina's autonomous status and its actual implementation only came into being in the early 1860 and then had to build a political culture from scratch. Once established, political agendas brought forward under the guise of being nationalist were actually of a social nature. This not only explains why 'nation' and 'party' were often synonyms in

Bukovina, but also shows that intellectual circles in Bukovina were acutely aware of the not-so-organic rising influence of nationalist currents.

Gradually, national segregation infiltrated Bukovina in the same way it had in other crownlands, with the same negative results: in the final days of its existence, Bukovina faced an Orthodox church split along Romanian-Ruthenian national lines without there being a single religious reason for it; the university produced large numbers of unemployable graduates because education was a nationalist prestige object and this way distorted the local economy; the small number of Bukovinian members of the Imperial Parliament failed to operate effectively because they refused to ignore national divisions. The Freethinking Alliance, in later years often revered for its constructive approach of regional cooperation and seen as a symbol of 'Bukovinism' played an instrumental role in this process of national segregation.

Who then promoted identification with Bukovina? Romanian nationalists who continuously claim a Viennese agenda behind the creation of a 'homo bucovinensis' fail to back their allegations and archives refuse to reveal anything pointing in this direction. Austrian policy aimed at instilling affinity for Empire and Emperor, at keeping the peace by promoting culture and development and at restoring order when its interests seemed at stake. There never was an a-national political party focusing entirely on common crownland interests. The most obvious reason for this was the dominance of nationalist discourse which insisted that separate national development with a strong focus on language and culture was the natural and the only way: any party proposing an alternative approach was quickly accused of 'betraying the national cause' and hence dismissed. It also overstretches creativity to see the Freethinking Alliance as more than a (very) temporary coalition aimed at social and electoral reforms. Though initially mitigated as being 'of secondary interest', the coalition partners never abandoned their respective nationalist principles and, as said, were the principle designers of national segregation in Bukovina and the introduction of the electoral registers known as the 'Bukovinian Compromise'.

The most ardent defenders of 'Bukovinianness' were the local German-language press. The Jewish editors of Bukovina's those periodicals mostly identified with liberalism and Austrian centralism and as such saw most nationalist tendencies as contrary to Austrian and Bukovinian interest. Not only did most newspapers openly admit to one cause only, the Bukovinian one; they also kept a watchful eye on developments detrimental to the crownland's interests indifferent whether these perceived threats were coming from the Viennese authorities, nationalist propagandists or from apathy in Bukovinian society.

1.3 «Een Sanguïnisches Stelletje» - Regionale Identificatie in Habsburgs Boekovina, 1774-1919

In Oostenrijk-Hongarije was het kleine en meest oostelijk gelegen kroonland Boekovina een uitzonderlijk geval. De in vele opzichten puur Habsburgse creatie Boekovina werd met haar veelheid aan talen en religies in toenemende mate als voorbeeld gepresenteerd toen nationalistische agenda's het openbare leven begonnen te overschaduwen. Dit beeld ging een eigen leven leiden nadat Boekovina na de Eerste Wereldoorlog deel ging uitmaken van Roemenië en in nog veel sterker mate na de verwoestingen en deportaties die de Tweede Wereldoorlog met zich meebracht. Toen het gebied na de ineenstorting van het communistische systeem weer in het vizier van Europa kwam, nam ook de belangstelling weer toe voor Boekovina als 'model voor een verenigd Europa'. Dit idee was niet volledig uit de lucht gegrepen: Gedurende de Habsburgse jaren had het kleine en afgelegen kroonland daadwerkelijk een grote politieke en culturele levendigheid tentoongespreid. Ironisch genoeg is dit kleurrijke gebied bijna uitsluitend geanalyseerd langs nationalistische lijnen, hetgeen heeft geleid tot een sterk verkokerde beeldvorming. Aandacht voor de vraag wat Boekovieners dan 'Boekoviens' maakte, voor een regionale identificatie, is er amper geweest. De centrale vraag is hier dan ook in welke mate een regionale identificatie ervaren werd en hoe hierover werd gedebatteerd gedurende de het bestaan van het kroonland Boekovina. Om deze vraag te beantwoorden moeten allereerst de door nationalisten opgeroepen beelden van etnisch onderscheid en nationale solidariteit en zelfbewustzijn worden onderzocht. Daarna komen de voor regionale identificatie cruciale elementen en instituties aan de orde om zo uiteindelijk een beeld te krijgen van de intensiteit, de verschijningsvormen en de persoonlijkheden die het blijvend doorklinkende concept van 'Boekoviensheid' hebben bepaald.

De eerste reisverslagen over het Boekovina van de Habsburgers leunen zwaar op het exotische beeld van de wilde oosterse uithoek van het rijk. Sommigen zagen 'onbeschaafd Boekovina' als vruchtbare grond voor evangelisatie. De eerste tekenen dat Daco-Roemeens nationalisme zich reeds begon te verspreiden waren toen al zichtbaar. Verslagen over de 'inheemse' Roemeens- en Roetheens-sprekende bevolking van Boekovina zijn veelvormig en hangen sterk samen met de achtergrond, situatie en politieke agenda van de 'spectator' in kwestie. Beschrijvingen door nationalist (Hongaarse, Roetheense) die zich in directe concurrentie bevonden met hun Roemeense tegenstanders zijn soms nuttig en bij vlagen amusant, maar de overduidelijke partijdigheid maakt dergelijke bronnen minder waardevol voor een analytische benadering van Roemeenssprekenden. Verslagen geschreven door zowel Roemeens- en niet-Roemeenssprekenden beperken zich voornamelijk tot de stereotypen van 'verdraagzaamheid' en 'gastvrijheid', die tot op de dag van vandaag voortleven in de nationalistische Roemeense geschiedschrijving. Negatieve eigenschappen als slechte agrarische bedrijfsvoering en alcoholmisbruik komen ook nu nog ter sprake in recente publicaties die vooral de 'Oostenrijkse beschavingsmissie' willen benadrukken. Boekovina-Roemeense nationalist hebben nuttige beschrijvingen aangeleverd, voornamelijk wanneer deze waren geïnspireerd door frustratie en ongeloof over het gebrek aan enthousiasme dat zij aantroffen bij degenen die zij beweerden te vertegenwoordigen. Zij verhaalden over hoe er op

Roemeenssprekenden werd neergekeken en hoe dezen met dit *dédain* leken in te stemmen door de mate waarin zij bereid waren zich aan te passen aan en te begeven onder andere taalgemeenschappen. Nationalisten spraken hun afschuw uit over openbaar gedweep met de Duitse *Leitkultur* door de vertegenwoordigers van de elite zoals Baron Mustatza en over het gemak waarmee lagere sociale klassen zich aanpasten aan de Roetheense taal. Klasseverschillen vormden een obstakel op zich voor Roemeense nationalistische ambities: Terwijl intellectuelen ervan werden beschuldigd de werkende klasse geen blik waardig te keuren, beklaagden intellectuele stijgers op de maatschappelijke ladder zich erover dat de adel van Boekovina hen negeerde.

Sommige vroege bronnen maakten melding van Roetheens- of Slavischsprekenden in Boekovina, andere niet. De meeste bronnen uit de Habsburgse periode benadrukten armoede en analfabetisme onder de Roetheenssprekenden, omstandigheden die nog eens werd versterkt door hun afhankelijkheid van (Joodse) woekeraars. Hun status van ‘historische inwoners’ tegenover die van ‘immigranten uit Galicië’ zou een twistappel blijven in de tweestrijd tussen Roemeense en Roetheense nationalisten over ‘gevestigde rechten’. In Galicië werden bij het gehele concept ‘Roethenen’ vraagtekens gezet door stemmen die hen bestempelden als ‘een uitvinding van Graaf Stadion’, een kunstmatig Weens instrument om Poolse ambities in toom te houden. Roemeense nationalisten in Boekovina namen deze zienswijze met graagte over. Bovendien moesten Roetheense nationalisten fundamentele interne problemen het hoofd bieden. Oud-Roethenen of Russofielen en Jong-Roethenen (later: Oekraïners) verschilden compleet van mening over identiteits- en taalkwesties en aarzelden niet om hun meningsverschillen in het Oostenrijkse parlement uit te vechten, tot vermaak van de een en tot afschuw van de ander. Net als in Galicië zouden de Jong-Roethenen stapsgewijs het Roethenendebat in Boekovina gaan domineren.

Het feit dat het bergvolk met de naam ‘Hoetsoelen’ etnisch zo lastig te classificeren viel maakte het een aantrekkelijke speelbal voor Roemeense en Roetheense nationalisten, die beide probeerden aan te tonen dat de Hoetsoelen onderdeel van hun respectievelijke volksstam uitmaakten. In een door volkstellingen gedomineerd tijdperk was het van strategisch belang om delen van de totaalbevolking aan de eigen stam toe te kunnen voegen. De strijd werd uiteindelijk in het voordeel van het Roetheense kamp beslecht. Een reputatie van opstandigheid, gewelddadigheid en een losse moraal droeg bij aan de exotische status van de Hoetsoelen. Yuriy Fed’kovych publiceerde als eerste Hoetsoelse poëzie. Aangezien hij dit in de Roetheense taal deed, droeg hij zo actief bij aan de inlijving van het Hoetsoelse element in de Roetheense nationale canon. De Hoetsoel Lukyan Kobylitsia en zijn boerenrevolte voorzagen in een volgende bouwsteen: Daar waar Roetheense nationalisten Kobylitsia bezongen als een strijder tegen de Roemeense bojaren, maakten hun Roemeense tegenstanders hem zwart als verrader van Keizer en Keizerrijk en veralgemeniseerden deze onbetrouwbaarheid als een kenmerk van alle Roethenen.

Ondertussen viel het etnografen en folkloristen zwaar Roemeense en Roetheense traditie te scheiden zoals toen gangbaar was. Kolbenheyer kwam tot de slotsom dat de lokale kunstnijverheid eerder ‘Boekoviens’ was dan Roemeens of Roetheens, terwijl Simiginowicz-

Staufe door Franzos de mantel werd uitgeveegd omdat hij de euvele moed had gehad zijn verzamelbundel de naam ‘Boekoviense Sprookjes’ mee te geven. De orthodoxe Metropoliet Repta had vergelijkbare moeite met het onderverdelen van zijn gelovigen in Roemenen en Roethenen en de dwarsdoorsnede van de bevolking, die nogal eens als ‘apathisch’ werd gekenschetst, had blijkbaar evenmin belangstelling voor nationaliteitenkwesties. Diegenen met belangstelling voor staats- en nationaliteitsaangelegenheden richtten hun aandacht in de regel eerder op kwesties van alledag. In overeenstemming met deze lauwe belangstelling ondervonden nationalistische bladen en tijdschriften moeilijkheden met het vergaren van kopij en het innen van abonnementsgelden.

De Oostenrijkse autoriteiten en hun plaatselijke vertegenwoordigers, de gouverneurs, beschouwden de boerenstand als een en dezelfde en maakten geen onderscheid tussen Roemenen en Roethenen. De eerste Boekoviense boerenparlementariërs gaven van een soortgelijke instelling blijk en hoewel historici naderhand poogden hen langs nationale lijnen te onderscheiden, wilde het maar matig lukken een dergelijke onderverdeling aannemelijk te maken. De meeste van deze parlementariërs waren analfabeet en wanneer het erop aankwam stelling te nemen in fundamentele kwesties als de ‘Landespetition’ handelden zij niet in overeenstemming met wat ‘nationaal’ gezien van hen verwacht kon worden. Een nadere bestudering van de levensloop van vier vooraanstaande Boekovieners levert een inmiddels bekend patroon van nationale ambiguïteit en flexibiliteit op: De Roemeens-nationalistische Metropoliet Morariu had Galicisch-Roetheense wortels. Archimandriet Călinescu ruilde zijn Roetheenssprakige achtergrond, naar het zich laat inzien uit loopbaantechnische motieven, bewust in voor een Roemeenssprakige. Mykola Vasylo werd geboren als de zoon van een Roemeens-georiënteerde Boekoviense Edelman, maar nam zijn toevlucht tot de Roemeense zaak als vehikel om carrière te maken in de politiek. Constantin Tomasciuc was als Oostenrijkse centralist, orthodoxe christen en Roemeensspreekende van gemengd Roetheens-Roemeense oorsprong wellicht de meest volledige belichaming van de *homo bucovinensis*.

De Orthodoxe Kerk was het Boekoviense instituut bij uitstek. De Habsburgse overheid beschouwde een grondige hervorming van de Kerk als voorwaarde voor het welbevinden van het kroonland en zijn bevolking. De Kerk was aanvankelijk in bezit van verreweg het grootste deel van de lokale productiemiddelen, voerde een feodaal bewind met een systeem van lijfeigenschap en speelde in maatschappelijk opzicht slechts een beperkte rol. Geestelijken waren slecht opgeleid. De meest verregaande hervorming onder Oostenrijkse heerschappij was de stichting van het Kerkfonds, dat onder rechtstreeks toezicht van Wenen stond en alle wereldlijke bezittingen van de Orthodoxe Kerk omvatte. Door de Boekoviense Kerk af te splitsen van de Metropolie van Iași en onder te brengen bij die van Karlowitz bracht Oostenrijks haar geheel en al onder Oostenrijkse vlag. Toen Boekovina in 1861 de status van autonoom kroonland verwierf, vervielen daarmee ook Galicische aanspraken op middelen uit het Kerkfonds. De *Ausgleich* tussen Oostenrijk en Hongarije van 1867 stak een stokje voor het Transsylvaanse streven om alle Roemeens-Orthodoxen van het rijk in één metropolie onder te brengen, maar de hieropvolgende autonomie van de Boekoviense Kerk en de benoeming van de Roemeens-nationalistische metropoliet Morariu-Andrievici maakte het Boekoviense kerkbestuur tot een arena voor Roemeense en Roetheense nationalisten. De

Roemeense kant probeerde zijn traditioneel overheersende positie te behouden, de Roetheense concurrentie probeerde deze te doorbreken. Het lukte niet langer godsdienstige en nationalistische aangelegenheden gescheiden te houden. Oostenrijkse gouverneurs die poogden een zeker evenwicht te bewaren werden doelwit van Roemeense nationalisten. Metropolieten met vergelijkbare intenties zoals Hacman en Cziperkowicz ondergingen hetzelfde lot. Het werd al snel duidelijk dat het onmogelijk was een lijn te volgen die niet tot verontwaardiging van een van beide partijen zou leiden. De Boekoviense pers, en soms zelfs de nationalistische bladen, betreurden de heersende polarisatie. In het bijzonder de Duitstalige kranten riepen de strijdende partijen op om nationalisme en godsdienst gescheiden te houden. De kerkelijke autoriteiten mengden zich slechts dan actief in het strijdgewoel als zij de aanvallen als te persoonlijk of als te zeer gericht tegen de kerkelijke hiërarchie achtten.

Het idee om de kerk te splitsen in een Roetheense en een Roemeense kerk voor Boekovina kwam oorspronkelijk uit de koker van de Jong-Roethenen, die een felle champagne voerden tegen wat zij zagen als de 'Roemenisering' van Boekovina. In de loop der jaren zagen de Roethenen echter zowel hun invloed als, afgaande op de resultaten van de officiële volkstellingen, hun numerieke overwicht toenemen en begonnen hun aanvankelijke oogmerk te heroverwegen: Uiteindelijk was het misschien toch aantrekkelijker om de dominante factor te zijn in een niet-opgesplitst orthodox kerkbestuur. Roemeense nationalistena daarentegen werden enthousiater over een eventuele kerksplitsing toen zij de mogelijkheid zagen van hun Roetheense tegenstrevers af te komen zonder afstand te hoeven doen van Kerkfondseigendommen. Inmiddels had Weens aandringen om een Roetheense kandidaat te benoemen als plaatsvervangend Metropoliet (en dus de eventuele opvolger voor de zittende prelaat) geleid tot min of meer openlijk verzet van Metropoliet Repta en massale protestbijeenkomsten van Roemeense nationalistena. Toen uiteindelijk daadwerkelijk een Roetheense kandidaat werd benoemd, maakten de Roemeense-nationalistische verontwaardiging en de daaropvolgende Oostenrijkse perscensuur de verhoudingen tussen Wenen en Boekovina's Roemeense politici er bepaald niet beter op.

Op lokaal niveau verzamelden Jong-Roetheense parlementariërs uit Boekovina ijverig wat zij betitelden als inbreuken op Roetheense rechten in orthodoxe gemeenten. Hoewel sommige van deze klachten gegrond waren, leert een nadere studie van de zaken die aan het Oostenrijkse parlement werden voorgelegd dat vele ervan maar weinig te maken hadden met nationalistische conflicten of etnische spanningen. Veeleer hielden zij verband met persoonlijke verhoudingen, afgunst, ongepast gedrag van geestelijken (zoals seksuele intimidatie) en werden zij in een nationaal jasje gestolekn teneinde in Wenen maximale aandacht te vragen voor de zorgen van Jong-Roethenen in Boekovina. Aangezien taal het overheersende, en wellicht het enige, onderscheidende kenmerk was in orthodoxe gemeenschappen, richtten veel van de Jong-Roetheense pogingen om 'Roemeniserende' priesters in een kwaad daglicht te stellen zich op hun vermeende gebrek aan kennis van de Roetheense taal. Het lijkt onwaarschijnlijk dat dit daadwerkelijk de bron van spanning was zoals die door de klagende partij werd aangevoerd, aangezien bijna alle dorpsgeestelijken beide talen machtig waren en kerkgangers bovendien gewend waren aan Roemeenstalige diensten. Niettemin oefenden de Oostenrijkse autoriteiten druk uit op het Boekoviense

kerkbestuur om zich in sterk te maken voor harmonisatie van de moedertaal van de betreffende priester en die van de gemeente waarin deze beroepen was om zo verdere onrust te voorkomen. Opvallend genoeg verordonneerden de autoriteiten in tenminste één geval het omgekeerde toen de gouverneur de metropoliet opdracht gaf om een lastige Oud-Roetheense priester over te plaatsen naar een ‘Roemeens’ district om hem zo te isoleren en onschadelijk te maken. Patronen vergelijkbaar met die van klachten over discriminatie en gebrekkige taalkennis komen aan het licht daar waar sprake was van bekeringen van de orthodoxe naar de uniatenkerk. Hoewel dergelijke gevallen vaak werden afgeschilderd als noodsprongen van onderdrukte Roethenen, waren zij eerder ingegeven door meer alledaagse ontevredenheid en klachten van plaatselijke aard. Zodra deze waren verholpen, keerden de bekeerlingen niet zelden terug naar hun oorspronkelijke geloofsrichting.

De positie van Boekovieners met een Duitse taal- en cultuuriëntatie week sterk af van die van de orthodoxe gemeenschap. De overgrote meerderheid van Duitssprekenden, Joods of niet, was na de Oostenrijkse bezetting in Boekovina aangekomen. Met name in het Roemeense en Roetheense nationalistische discours vertolkten zij de rol van ‘buitenlanders’ en ‘vreemdelingen’. In het nationalistische debat werd zowel door Duitse nationalisten als hun tegenstanders de Duitse cultuur in toenemende mate als specifiek voor de Duitse ‘volksstam’ afgeschilderd en niet als een alomvattend Oostenrijks ‘beschavingsvehikel’. Als gevolg hiervan werd de tot dan toe onaangevochten bemiddelende rol van de Duitse cultuur heroverwogen en bedreigd en werd Wenen ervan beschuldigd Germanisatie-politiek te bedrijven. Tegelijkertijd probeerden Duitse etno-nationalisten de Joden uit de Duits-culturele gemeenschap te verdrijven.

Het meest onmiskenbare element van de alomtegenwoordige Duitse cultuur was de taal. Als lingua franca van het rijk vergrootte deze de carrierekansen van Boekoviense Duitssprekenden en lag zij ten grondslag aan een nieuwe, kosmopolitische Boekoviense elite. Het specifieke Boekovieners Duits ontwikkelde eigen dialectale bijzonderheden. Het blijft echter gissen in hoeverre, afgezien van de elite, de bevolking van de Habsburgse Boekovina de Duitse taal daadwerkelijk machtig was. Het beeld dat de Oostenrijkse autoriteiten voor ogen stond van een kroonland waar in feite iedereen in staat was zich in de drie officiële talen Duits, Roemeens en Roetheens verstaanbaar te maken bleef utopisch: Schriftelijk bronmateriaal geeft aan dat de boerenbevolking slechts een zeer rudimentaire kennis van de taal had en in moeilijkheden kwam als zij er in de rechtbank of bij andere Oostenrijkse staatsinstellingen mee werd geconfronteerd. Oostenrijkse ambtenaren die slechts tijdelijk naar Boekovina uitgezonden waren hadden meestal geen enkele kennis van het Roemeens en Roetheens en beter opgeleide Roemeens- en Roetheenssprekenden beheersten in het algemeen slechts het Duits naast hun moedertaal. Voor nationalisten die ageerden tegen wat zij zagen als Weens culturimperialisme was de Duitse taal een steen des aanstoots. Waar zij aanvankelijk hun acties richtten op Duits als voertaal aan de Frans-Jozef-Universiteit, breidden zij deze zich naar verloop van tijd uit tot aan kleine gemeenten.

Duitssprekenden op het platteland hadden weinig gemeen met de Oostenrijkse ‘cultuurimperialisten’ waar Roemeense en Roetheense nationalisten hun pijlen op richtten,

maar de toenemende verstrengeling culturele en etno-nationale Duitsheid maakte dat ook zij in het openbare debat verzeild raakten. In het algemeen zagen hun mede-Boekovieners hen als ijverig, fatsoenlijk, afstandelijk en, waarschijnlijk mede vanwege hun beperkte kennis van talen anders dan de Duitse, enigszins arrogant.

De eerste Duitse nationalistische bewegingen ontstonden in Wenen en breidden zich snel uit naar andere delen van Oostenrijk, veelal in reactie op nationalistische geluiden in kroonlanden waar de dominante positie van de Duitse taal ter discussie werd gesteld. Aangezien de drijvende kracht achter deze ‘bedreiging’ van het Duits vaak uit Slavische nationalisten bestond, ontdekten Roemeense en Duitse nationalisten in Boekovina een gemeenschappelijke vijand: Roetheense nationalisten. Vanaf dit moment zou Roemeens-Duitse samenwerking een belangrijk element blijven voor de typerende Boekoviense politiek van nationale coalitievorming. Politiek antisemitisme vormde een ander nieuw aspect. Dit leidde weer tot een afzonderlijke beweging van ‘Christenduitsers’ en zou een belangrijke stimulans worden voor Joods nationalisme in Boekovina. Ofschoon antisemitisme niet onmiddellijk een politiek succes was, kwam hier verandering in toen de charismatische Karl Lueger en zijn Christelijk-Sociale Partij in Wenen ten tonele verschenen. Zij speelde al spoedig een dominante rol in heel Cisleithanië. In Boekovina sloten niet alleen de Duitse, maar ook de Roemeense nationalisten zich hierbij aan. De Boekoviense flirt met de Christelijk-Socialisten was slechts van korte duur, maar hun antisemitische erfenis bleek hardnekkig.

In de laatste jaren van het Habsburgse Rijk koos de Boekovieners Raimund Friedrich Kaindl met zijn Vereniging van Karpatenduitsers voor een meer regionale benadering van het Duitse nationalisme. Kaindl zag de Duitsers van het Oosten als de poortwachters van de Europese beschaving en net als voorgaande Duitse nationalistische bewegingen gebruikte hij het ‘Christelijke’ argument om Duits georiënteerde Joden buiten te sluiten. Uiteindelijk was het precies deze opstelling die de invloed van Duitse nationalisten in Boekovina tot een ‘quantité négligeable’ maakte: De Duitse cultuur in Boekovina was sterk afhankelijk van Joodse aanhangers. Door de uitsluiting van deze Joden had het kleine aantal Bukovina-Duitse etno-nationalisten zichzelf gemarginaliseerd.

Hoewel er Joden in Boekovina aanwezig waren lang voordat de Oostenrijkers het gebied in handen kregen, steeg hun aantal aanmerkelijk na de bezetting omdat het jonge kroonland aanzienlijk betere leefomstandigheden bood dan de omringende gebieden. Hoewel de nieuwe machthebbers een actieve immigratie-politiek bedreven was hun beleid ten opzichte van Joodse immigranten inconsequent. Toch bleef hun aantal toenemen naarmate het overheidsbeleid de positie van Joodse burgers verder verstevigde. Joden waren in de landbouw nauwelijks vertegenwoordigd en verdienden de kost voornamelijk in zaken (inclusief de handel in alcohol) en kredietverlening. Joodse Boekovieners maakten dankbaar gebruik van de nieuwe mogelijkheid om hun kinderen naar school te laten gaan en vergrootten zo hun de kansen op de arbeidsmarkt aanzienlijk. De focus op hoger en universitair onderwijs in nationalistische maar vooral in Joodse kringen veroorzaakte echter ook spanningen: Er was in Boekovina een tekort aan ambachtslieden en boeren en in toenemende mate een overschot aan academici. Het land kende een succesvolle Joodse

zakenelite, maar eveneens een substantieel Joods proletariaat. Toen de economische situatie aan het eind van de negentiende eeuw verslechterde, bestond een groot deel van de daaropvolgende emigratiegolf uit Joden.

De lage levensstandaard in Boekovina was altijd al nauw verbonden geweest met onverantwoordelijk lenen en bovenmatig alcoholgebruik. Aangezien kredietverstrekking en de handel in destillaten voornamelijk in de handen van Joden waren, kregen zij veelal de schuld van de hieruit voortvloeiende ellende. Het nationalistische discours in die tijd was gebaat bij de beeldvorming van een klassenloze nationale solidariteit en niet bij die van een uitbuitende bovenlaag en een onverantwoordelijke boerenstand. De Joden vormden dus de ideale zondebokken. Bewust als zij zich waren van hun kwetsbare positie zagen zij de Weense autoriteiten als basisgarantie voor hun welbevinden in Boekovina en hadden zij de reputatie zeer trouw te zijn aan Keizer en Keizerrijk.

De hoofdstad Czernowitz was wellicht het beste voorbeeld van de grote Joodse invloed in Boekovina. Negentiende-eeuws Europa kende amper een stad waar Joden een dergelijk groot percentage van de bevolking uitmaakte. De hogere bourgeoisie was hoofdzakelijk Joods en ofschoon Czernowitz in de Habsburgse periode nooit een officieel getto had gehad, vertoonden de armere delen van de stad er alle kenmerken van. De contrasten binnen de Joodse gemeenschap waren niet alleen een kwestie van rijk en arm, zoals nabijgelegen Hassidisch Sadagora duidelijk maakte. Deze zetel van de Friedman-dynastie van 'wonderrabbijnen' belichaamde een wezenlijk gedeelte van de Boekoviense Joden die de Duits-georiënteerde stedelijke levensstijl niet hadden overgenomen. Verafschuwd aan de ene kant vanwege het verzet tegen moderne ontwikkeling en het aanmoedigen van bijgeloof, leverde 'Sadagora' aan de andere kant een belangrijke bijdrage aan Boekovina's exotische reputatie zowel binnen als buiten de grenzen van het Habsburgse Rijk. De strijd tussen voor- en tegenstanders van de Joodse Verlichting drong ook door tot stedelijk Czernowitz, waar de Joodse geloofsgemeenschap voor korte tijd zelfs in twee delen was opgesplitst. Joden in landelijke gebieden hielden er vaak een traditionele, orthodoxe levensstijl op na en waren zodoende minder geïntegreerd in het niet-Joodse gedeelte van hun woonplaats. Meldingen over de verhoudingen tussen Joden en niet-Joden geven geen eenduidig beeld: Sommige bronnen klagen over het stijgende aantal Joden in bepaalde dorpen, andere (voornamelijk Joodse) melden een vreedzaam samenleven. In de latere Oostenrijkse jaren begon ook het Joodse leven in ruraal Boekovina zich te moderniseren.

Zionisme en socialisme vormden de eerste alternatieven voor aanpassing aan de Duitse cultuur voor Joden in Boekovina, maar al snel bleek dat de populistische en nationalistische stroming van Benno Straucher een onbetwiste machtspositie in zou nemen. Straucher was een alomtegenwoordige pragmatist die de Joodse identiteit buiten de Duitse invloedssfeer plaatste en actief ten strijde trok tegen antisemitisme. Daar nationalisme in die jaren zwaar leunde op taalidentiteit, zetten Joodse nationalistenvaak in op de Jiddische taal. Waar Straucher zich niet bezighield met het bevorderen van Jiddisch in Boekovina, deed advocaat Max Diamant dit wel: Als een van de organisatoren van de eerste internationale Jiddische taalconferentie in Czernowitz in 1908 was Diamant een vooraanstaand lobbyist voor officiële erkenning van de

Jiddische taal in Oostenrijk. Radicale Joodse studenten in Czernowitz kwamen met soortgelijke eisen en wilden als Joden ingeschreven worden in de universiteitsregisters. Dit laatste werd toegestaan in 1912 en was daarmee een Oostenrijks unicum. Pogingen om Jiddisch erkend te krijgen als officiële taal en dus als ‘omgangstaal’ volgens de criteria van de volkstelling van 1910, slaagden echter niet. Evenmin werd Straucher en zijn aanhangers een afzonderlijk Joods register toegewezen bij de hervorming van het Boekoviense kiesstelsel van 1911, hoewel listigheid bij de indeling van de kiesdistricten Joodse vertegenwoordiging voortaan zou garanderen. Op deze wijze was Straucher het enige Oostenrijkse parlamentslid dat met een specifiek Joods mandaat. Het feit dat zijn ‘nationale missie’ had gefaald verzwakte echter zijn machtsbasis in Boekovina.

Met de nodige mitsen en maren hebben historici in het algemeen weinig antisemitisme bespeurd in Habsburgs Boekovina. Bijnamen als ‘het Joodse El Dorado’ krijgen meestal een positieve interpretatie. Gedeeltelijk is deze positieve beeldvorming terug te voeren op Joodse memoires die de toestand onder de Habsburgers onvermijdelijk vergelijken met de bezoeken die zouden volgen. Lange tijd had de Czernowitzer pers volgehouden dat politiek antisemitisme pertinent ‘on-Boekoviens’ was, maar in realiteit hadden vormen van officieel verordonneerd antisemitisme zowel voor als na de Oostenrijkse bezetting bestaan. Roemeense, Roetheense en Duitse nationale bewegingen hadden allemaal een eigen opstelling tegenover Joden. In het algemeen genomen hadden alle nationalistische bewegingen in Boekovina hun wortels buiten de grenzen van het kroonland en hadden zij allemaal sterk antisemitische neigingen. Tezamen met nationalisme had de Boekoviense politiek ook politiek antisemitisme binnengehaald. Dat dit het sterkst leek bij Duitse nationalisten is sterk verbonden met het feit dat de Duitse cultuur zowel door Joden als niet-Joden werd opgeëist. Op deze wijze werd het Duitse etno-nationalisten onmogelijk gemaakt om aanspraak te maken op de ultieme nationale trofee: een unieke taal. Zij namen dus hun toevlucht tot wat bij benadering het dichtst in de buurt kwam bij dit onderscheidend instrument: godsdienst. ‘Christen-Duitsers’ namen nu op alle mogelijke wijzen afstand van Duits-georiënteerde Joden.

Roemeens-nationalistisch antisemitisme vond zijn oorsprong in de sociaal-economische moeilijkheden van zijn aanhangers. Joodse stijgers op de maatschappelijke ladder boden Roemeenssprekenden stevige concurrentie terwijl Joodse woekerpraktijken en handel in sterke drank werden gezien als de veroorzakers van boerenellende. Deze koppeling gaf vaak een antisemitische draai aan de drooglegcampagnes die werden aangevoerd door orthodoxe dorpspriesters. Sterke antisemitische stromingen onder Roemeense nationalisten uit Transylvanië en het Koninkrijk Roemenië veroorzaakten in de eerste jaren van de twintigste eeuw een sterke toename van antisemitische agitatie in Boekoviense Roemeense pers. Dit werd nog heviger toen de Roemeense nationalisten zich aansloten bij Lueger’s Christelijk-Socialen: Gaven zij in vroeger dagen hun eigen volgelingen tenminste gedeeltelijk de schuld van de benarde omstandigheden waarin dezen zich bevonden, nu legden Roemeense nationalisten de verantwoordelijkheid voor alle economische malaise volledig bij de Joden. Antisemitisme mocht de traditioneel verdeelde Roemeense nationalisten dan als gemeenschappelijke noemer goed van pas komen, het dwong de Boekoviense Orthodoxe

Kerk tot een lastige balans: antisemitisme omhelzen zou de traditionele goede verhoudingen met de Joodse gemeenschap schade berokkenen, het verwerpen zou verdere kritiek van felle antisemieten als Nicolae Iorga in de hand werken.

Roetheense nationalisten lieten aanmerkelijk minder antisemitische geluiden horen in pers en debat nadat Vasylo en Straucher hun krachten in 1904 hadden gebundeld om samen op te trekken tegen de Roemeens-Duitse coalitie. Voor die tijd had antisemitisme een ingang gevonden tot Boekoviens-Roetheens nationalisme via Galicië, waar Joden er in de regel van werden beschuldigd samen te spannen met de Poolse onderdrukkers. Plaatselijke Roetheense verenigingen hadden de reputatie sterk antisemitisch te zijn. Het wekte dus geen verbazing dat de (Joodse) Boekoviense pers argwanend was toen Joodse en Roetheense partijen besloten samen te werken. Naarmate de tijd verstreek begon dit verstandshuwelijk dan ook in zijn voegen de kraken.

Daar de belangrijkste (liberale en Duitstalige) kranten in Joodse handen waren en Benno Straucher zowel in Czernowitz als Wenen prominent aanwezig was, konden protesten tegen antisemitische agitatie in Boekovina goed worden geventileerd. Straucher's openlijke gevecht tegen politiek antisemitisme in Boekovina deden zijn populariteit geen kwaad. Het feit dat politiek antisemitisme een importproduct was wil niet zeggen dat antisemitisme bij de bevolking tot dan toe een onbekend verschijnsel was. Bronnenmateriaal wijst op wrok onder de boeren jegens Joodse uitbuiting en populaire beeldvorming rond 'de slechte Jood'. In dorpen waar Roetheenssprekenden (vaak Hoetsoelen) en Joden de meerderheid vormden, waren antisemitische spanningen en bedreigingen aan het adres van Joden soms ernstig genoeg voor de autoriteiten om in actie te komen. De Oostenrijkse overheid hield door de bank genomen antisemitische uitwassen scherp in de gaten, niet in de laatste plaats omdat dit vaak was verbonden met vijandigheid richting Keizer en Keizerrijk. De verspreiding van anonieme dreigschriften - die met een zekere regelmaat voorkwam - werd minder serieus genomen en de bedreigingen die zij bevatten werden nimmer waargemaakt.

Nu de nationalistische claim van exclusiviteit en de daarbij behorende godsdienstige elementen in perspectief zijn geplaatst, kan er gekeken worden naar andere identificaties met betrekking tot 'Boekoviens' en 'Boekoviensheid'. Twee instituties die net als hun verworvenheden en reputatie beschouwd kunnen worden als puur 'Habsburg-Boekoviens' worden derhalve onder de loep genomen. Ten eerste is daar het meest vooraanstaande politieke podium van het kroonland, het regionale parlement, de 'landdag'. Hoewel Boekovina na de Revolutie van 1848 regionale autonomie had moeten krijgen, duurde het nog tot 1861 voordat deze belofte werd ingelost en het daarbij behorende vertegenwoordigende politieke orgaan werd geïnstalleerd. De landdag diende wetten in die, nadat zij de noodzakelijke meerderheid hadden vergaard, werden doorgestuurd naar de gouverneur die voorstellen vervolgens uitonderhandelde met de centrale autoriteiten in Wenen. Daar moesten zij uiteindelijk door Keizerlijke ondertekening worden bekrachtigd. Het tweede orgaan om de stem van Boekovina in Wenen te laten horen was het Keizerlijk Parlement met zijn afgevaardigden per kroonland. De Boekoviense landdag had in principe Duits als voertaal, maar stond ook Roemeens en Roetheens toe omdat deze de twee andere gewoontalen in het kroonland waren.

Traditiegetrouw werd de landdag gedomineerd door de zich in toenemende mate nationaal definiërende Roemeenssprekende aristocratie die in de loop der jaren enkele invloedrijke politieke dynastieën voortbracht. Van alle wetsontwerpen die de landdag voordroeg was hetgeen dat leidde tot de oprichting van de universiteit wellicht het belangrijkste. Met alle verschillende nationale facties was de Boekoviense politiek per definitie een coalitiesysteem. Het gegeven dat de conservatieve krachten voornamelijk werden gebrandmerkt als 'Roemeens', de boeren meestal als 'Roetheens' of 'Roemeens' en de stedelijke bourgeoisie als 'Joods-Duits' vertroebelde het onderscheid tussen wat in Boekovina als een 'politieke partij' en wat als een 'nationaliteit' gezien kon worden.

De vroege twintigste eeuw was getuige van een splitsing in alle Boekoviense nationale partijen tussen een 'Jonge' en een 'Oude' tak, waarbij de 'Jongen' zich presenteerden als voorvechters van sociale en electorale hervormingen. Om hun basis te verbreden besloten zij 'nationale belangen' op de tweede plaats te zetten en samen te werken als een verenigd platform, het 'Vrijzinnig Verband'. Op deze manier was het eenvoudig voor hun conservatieve tegenstrevers om het Verband neer te zetten als 'verraders van de nationale zaak' en aldus werd 'staatsloyaliteit' een overheersend aspect van de verkiezingscampagne van 1904. De verkiezingen werden desalniettemin door het Verband gewonnen en gesteund door Boekovina's progressieve gouverneur Prins Hohenlohe lanceerden de versgekozen politici een reeks hervormingsvoorstellen. Zij introduceerden tevens een nationale segregatie van onderwijnsinstellingen aangezien zij geloofden dat national(istisch)e kwesties het beste buiten de reguliere politieke arena gehouden konden worden. Het Verband ging echter gebukt onder persoonlijke eerzucht en vijandigheden en viel binnen een jaar al uit elkaar. De beoogde hervorming van het kiesstelsel overleefde echter, evenals de door het Verband gepropageerde 'verdediging van Boekoviense eigenheid', en onder invloed van het 'Moravisch Compromis', hetgeen het resultaat was van een opdeling van Tsjechische en Duitse kiezers op etno-nationalistische basis, begon Boekovina aan de ontwikkeling van een eigen 'compromis'. Daar alle voormalige bondgenoten van het Verband garen sponnen bij gescheiden kiesregisters, zochten zij elkaar weer op. Het zeer ingewikkelde resultaat van het 'Boekoviener Compromis' stelde niet alle nationale groepen tevreden: Lippovaanse 'Oud-Gelovigen' werden simpelweg aan het Roetheense register toegevoegd, de Magyaren (Hongaren) aan het Roemeense en aangezien Wenen weigerde Joden als een aparte nationaliteit te erkennen, bleven Duitse en Joods facties tot wederzijds ongenoegen tot elkaar veroordeeld. Uit liberale hoek klonk de kritiek dat het systeem, dat aanvankelijk was ontwikkeld voor het veel dieper verdeelde Moravische kroonland, nationale haat in Boekovina niet neutraliseerde maar veeleer verhevigde. Politieke tegenstanders koesterden verschillende verwachtingen van het nieuwe systeem: Waar Oostenrijkse centralisten hoopten op een vermindering van nationale spanningen, begroetten nationalisten het als een veelbelovende stap richting volledige segregatie. De gevolgen van het nieuwe systeem blijven grotendeels in nevelen gehuld: De eerste en enige verkiezingen volgens nationale registers werden in 1911 gehouden, slechts drie jaar voordat de Wereldoorlog het politieke leven in de Habsburgse Boekovina lamlegde.

Hoewel Boekovina's landdag aanvankelijk werd beschouwd als een symbool van triomf over de Galicische overheersing werd zijn lokale reputatie al snel overschaduwd door de groeiende impopulariteit van de Boekoviense politici. De opkomst van het Vrijzinnig Verband met kopstukken Onciul, Vasylo en Straucher droeg bij aan de levendigheid van landdag-debatten maar ook aan een verschraving van parlementaire omgangsvormen. Een bijkomend probleem was het onvermogen van Boekoviense parlementariërs om zich in Wenen te verenigen in een "Boekoviense Club". Nationalistische verdeeldheid bleek sterker dan de benarde economische situatie in Boekovina zodat parlementariërs ertoe neigden zich eerder met hun 'co-nationalen' uit andere kroonlanden te verbinden dan met hun mede-Boekovieners. Bovendien hield het kleine aantal Boekoviense afgevaardigden zich afzijdig wanneer de volksvergadering grotere, algemeen-Oostenrijkse onderwerpen behandelde: Zij beperkten zich tot specifieke lokale eisen en klachten die door hun thuisbasis als zinloos en door de Keizerlijke hoofdstad als saai en repetitief werden beschouwd.

In latere wetenschappelijke publicaties blijft analyse van het Boekoviense parlementaire leven veelal beperkt tot het Vrijzinnig Verband en het Boekoviense Compromis. Het Verband wordt in het algemeen geduid als ruimdenkend en genereus genoeg om nationale grenzen te overschrijden teneinde het lot van de plattelandsbevolking te verbeteren, als 'verzoenend Boekovinisme' van eigen bodem, terwijl accurater onderzoek niet meer prijsgeeft dan een gelegenheidscoalitie met nationale segregatie op kroonlandniveau als haar meest in het oog springende prestatie. Ook dit leverde geen enkele verbetering op in de relaties tussen nationalistische facties: Toen scholen en kiezers volgens plan gescheiden waren, verplaatsten Roemeense en Roetheense activisten hun activiteiten naar de nu nog feller betwiste Boekoviense Orthodoxe Kerk.

Het tweede instituut dat beschouwd kan worden als een pilaar van de Habsburg-Boekoviense samenleving is de Frans-Jozef-Universiteit. Gesticht als geschenk van de Keizer ter gelegenheid van de viering van honderd jaar Oostenrijkse toe-eigening van het gebied, werd de Duitstalige onderwijsinstelling verondersteld 'cultuur' te brengen naar het oostelijkste deel van het Rijk terwijl tegelijkertijd verwacht werd dat zij de plaatselijke bevolking toegang tot hoger onderwijs zou verschaffen: Nadat de universiteiten in Transylvanië waren gemagyariseerd en die van Lemberg was gepoloniseerd hadden Boekoviense studenten alleen Wenen nog over als uitwijkmogelijkheid en deze optie was voor velen onbetaalbaar. De oprichting van de universiteit was geschied op specifiek verzoek van de Boekoviense bovenklasse en genoot plaatselijk brede steun, maar zij moest zich van meet af aan verdedigen tegen een twijfelachtige reputatie. De universiteit had bijzonderheden te bieden zoals leerstoelen voor Roemeense en Roetheense taalkunde en orthodoxe theologie, maar vooral in de eerste decennia na oprichting kwamen verreweg de meeste stafleden uit de westelijke delen van Oostenrijk en zagen zij hun plaatsing in Czernowitz als een springplank naar een snelle promotie elders dan wel als een afstraffing voor ongewenst politiek activisme. Zij droegen niet alleen wezenlijk bij tot de toename van nationalistische spanningen, maar klaagden openlijk steen en been over hun situatie en stelden herhaaldelijk voor de gehele instelling maar naar een ander deel van de Monarchie te verhuizen.

In Boekovina zelf was het aanhoudende ontbreken van een medische faculteit een permanente herinnering aan de gevoelde minderwaardige status van zowel kroonland als universiteit. Critici deden de Boekoviense universiteit af als een onbevlogen productie-eenheid voor de noodzakelijke lokale voorraad priesters, ambtenaren en apothekers. Toen in latere jaren onderwijs in toenemende mate een statussymbool werd voor nationalistische bewegingen, ontstond een zorgwekkende kloof tussen het overschot aan universitair geschoolden en het gebrek aan broodnodige ambachtslieden. Dit leidde vervolgens tot het ontstaan van wat een ‘academisch proletariaat’ ging heten: In plaats een instrument om Boekovina’s welstand te bevorderen, werd de universiteit nu gezien als een hindernis.

De komst van universitair personeel en een studentenbevolking had een grote invloed op Boekovina en in het bijzonder op de hoofdstad Czernowitz. Studenten organiseerden zichzelf in verenigingen met een algemeen Oostenrijkse dan wel een specifieke nationalistische oriëntatie. Op deze wijze deden typisch Boekoviense debatten (Roemeens-Roetheense wedijver, het Joodse nationale vraagstuk, taaleisen) hun intrede in de academische sfeer, vergezeld van de nodige onlusten en vechtpartijen. Overeenkomstig het patroon van nationalistische Boekoviense politiek was er vaker sprake van relletjes tussen verschillende verenigingen met dezelfde nationale affiniteit dan tussen die van verschillende nationale groepen onderling.

De Wereldoorlog betekende het einde van de activiteiten van de Frans-Jozef-Universiteit. In Boekovina heerste wijdverspreide teleurstelling over het ondervonden gebrek aan solidariteit vanuit het zieltogende Keizerrijk: Academisch personeel uit Czernowitz had grote moeite gehad ergens anders emplooi te vinden en wederom waren er stemmen opgegaan om de universiteit permanent naar een ander rijksdeel te verhuizen. Zodra duidelijk werd dat onder Roemeense vlag het Duitstalige karakter van de universiteit verloren zou gaan, kozen de meeste wetenschappers ervoor Czernowitz te verlaten.

In latere beoordelingen varieerden de visies op de Universiteit van Czernowitz en haar meerwaarde voor Oostenrijks Boekovina tussen de uitersten van bewondering voor de ‘civiliserende invloed’ die het Duitstalige instituut had uitgeoefend en kritiek op de ‘koloniale bedoelingen’ ervan. Afgezien van deze ‘bedoelingen’ geven ook nationalistische bronnen toe dat de universiteit een rol van betekenis had gespeeld in de opleiding van sleutelfiguren van de verschillende nationale bewegingen. Paradoxaal genoeg had de universiteit die toch was geschapen ‘om het kalmerende en verenigende van de Duitse academia’ te bezorgen tevens een cruciale bijdrage geleverd aan de invoer en productie van nationalisme.

Ondanks het feit dat ‘de Oostenrijkse identiteit’ veelal wordt genegeerd in onderzoek naar bepaalde ‘nationaliteiten’, moet worden opgemerkt dat het Oostenrijkse zelfbeeld dominant aanwezig was in Boekovina. Vanaf de beginjaren, toen staatstoegenegenheid voornamelijk het karakter had van militaire steun, heerste er een algemene tevredenheid over de Oostenrijkse heerschappij. Hoewel een gedeelte van de beleden steun aan de Oostenrijkse staat zonder twijfel was afgedwongen door de plaatselijke autoriteiten, bestond er een sterk gevoel van loyaliteit jegens de staat en de keizerlijke dynastie hetgeen het lokale

zelfvertrouwen versterkte ten opzichte van andere regio's in de Dubbelmonarchie. De gevoelens voor de Habsburgers waren duidelijk sterker dan die voor de meer abstracte notie van 'Oostenrijk'. In het bijzonder de schaduw van Keizer Frans-Jozef, wiens regeerperiode bijna precies samenviel met het tijdperk van de Boekoviense autonomie en die daarom algemeen gezien werd als een vaderfiguur, reikte ver in het kroonland. Afgezien van meer algemene lofzangen kreeg de Keizer de eer toegewuifd dat hij Boekovina autonomie en een universiteit had geschonken. Gevallen van majesteitsschennis waren schaars. Nationalistische groepen wedijverden over de status van 'des Keizers meest geliefde natie' en zorgden ervoor dat hun toewijding niet onopgemerkt bleef. Vooral bij de Jong-Roetheense beweging heerste een sterke overtuiging dat de nationale ontwikkeling voor een groot gedeelte te danken was aan de Keizer's goedertierenheid en aldus waren de verwachtingen aangaande een toekomstige Roetheense/Oekraïense autonome regio evenzeer hooggespannen. Naast Frans-Jozef mochten ook andere leden van de Habsburg-familie uit zowel heden als verleden zich in belangstelling verheugen. Vooral Kroonprins Rudolf nam een belangrijke plaats in, omdat hij de regio kort voor zijn tragische dood nog had bezocht. Herdenkingsbijeenkomsten voor de kroonprins georganiseerd door studenten in Czernowitz leidden zelfs tot verstoring van de openbare orde in 1889.

Boekoviense trouw werd niet beantwoord met blind vertrouwen uit Wenen. Gevallen van mogelijk verraad werden zorgvuldig onderzocht; verdachten werden voorgeleid maar meestal weer vrijgelaten indien de autoriteiten vreesden voor publieke bijval voor die verdachten. De meest opzienbarende zaak van 'hoogverraad' in Habsburgs Boekovina draaide om de Roemeens-nationalistische studentenvereniging 'Arboroasa', die banden had met de Roemeense regering en sympathie had getoond voor de contrademonstraties in Roemenië rond de viering van honderd jaar Oostenrijkse bezetting van het Boekoviense grondgebied. Het hieropvolgende strafproces trok zowel in Oostenrijk als in Roemenië ruim de aandacht en hoewel de aangeklaagde studenten uiteindelijk werden vrijgelaten, bleef de kwestie stevig verankerd in het collectieve geheugen. Naast Roemeens irredentisme genoot vooral Russofiële propaganda de bijzondere aandacht van de autoriteiten. Aangezien beide bewegingen banden hadden met vreemde mogendheden nam deze belangstelling nog toe na de aanvang van de Wereldoorlog.

Nationalistische bewegingen zwoeren niet alleen trouw aan de Keizer, zij zagen in het algemeen ook geen tegenstelling tussen hun trouw aan de staat en die aan de natie – dit in een tijd dat de natiestaat nog niet automatisch het einddoel was. De meeste nationalisten in Boekovina waren de Habsburgerstaat toegenegen zolang deze hun ongestoorde nationale ontwikkeling binnen de staatsgrenzen garandeerde. Zodra de oorlog uitbrak, werd dit precaire evenwicht verstoord. Gedurende de drie perioden dat Russische troepen Boekovina bezet hielden, was bijna de enige manier om de mate van plaatselijke loyaliteit te controleren het onderscheppen van privépost. De algemene indruk was dat die loyaliteit overeind bleef en nog werd versterkt door de wijze waarop de Russische bezetter zich misdroeg. Nadat deze definitief de aftocht had geblazen, stelden Oostenrijkse controleurs vast dat de boerenbevolking de staat trouw was gebleven, maar dat dit niet gezegd kon worden van nationalistische activisten. De meest vooraanstaande Boekoviener met een besmeurd blazoen

was de orthodoxe Metropoliet Repta, die openlijk gebeden had opgedragen voor de Russische Tsaar en als gevolg hiervan werd gedwongen af te treden nadat de Oostenrijkse troepen waren teruggekeerd.

Plaatselijke kranten met de neiging een sterkere regionale verbondenheid uit te dragen zagen zich geconfronteerd met het dominante nationalistische discours en de voor de hand liggende beschuldiging dat zij verraad pleegden aan de natie. Op dezelfde wijze als de nationalistische nationale en staatsloyaliteiten hadden gecombineerd, zorgde de Boekoviense pers er nauwgezet voor dat regionale identificatie vaak werd gepresenteerd als een versterking van de nationale. Zelfs de invoering van nationale kiesregisters werd door sommigen beschouwd als als een stap richting sterkere regionale samenwerking: Zodra nationale onzekerheden op bevredigende wijze zouden zijn voorzien van een veilige afrastering, zou de aandacht automatisch verschuiven naar gemeenschappelijke regionale belangen. Nationalisten uitten in de regel genegenheid voor zowel de 'natie' als de 'Heimat', maar raakten geërgerd wanneer solidariteit tussen Boekovieners met verschillende moedertalen sterker bleek dan de door nationalistische zo fervent beleden banden tussen 'co-nationalen' uit verschillende regio's. Op andere momenten bleken dergelijke 'co-nationalen' te bemoeizuchtig, zoals in het bijzonder Boekovina-Roemeense nationalistische moesten ervaren toen hun reputatie schade opliep door de anti-Oostenrijkse campagne die Nicolae Iorga voerde vanuit Roemenië en die, tot hun ergernis, de leefomstandigheden in Roemenië veel rooskleuriger voorstelde dan die in Boekovina. In het geval van Roetheense nationalistische, die de lusten noch de lasten mochten smaken van een machtig Roetheens buurland, werd het debat over nationaal tegenover regionaal gecompliceerd door de nabijheid van het grote aantal Roetheenssprekenden in Galicië: Terwijl de Jong-Roetheense propaganda de overeenkomsten tussen Galicische en Boekoviense Roethenen benadrukte, putten Oud-Roethenen zich uit in het onderstrepen van de verschillen tussen echte 'Boekoviense Orthodoxe Russen' en 'Galicische Uniaten'. Mochten desondanks solidariteitsconflicten ontstaan tussen 'natie' en 'regio', dan was er altijd nog de mogelijkheid van 'categorieversmalling': In plaats van zich te moeten identificeren als, bijvoorbeeld, Roemeen en Boekoviener, kon men ook zijn toevlucht nemen tot de subcategorie 'Roemeense Boekoviener' of 'Boekoviense Roemeen'.

De idee van een 'Boekoviense *Heimat*' was goed te combineren met nationale identificaties, zeer in tegenstelling tot dat van een 'Boekoviens volk', aangezien de laatste directe concurrentie vormde voor de basisgedachte van het nationalisme. Toch dook de term regelmatig op, ook in nationalistische uitgaven. 'Boekoviensheid' als dominante identificatie werd voor het eerst waargenomen gedurende de eerste jaren van autonomie van het kroonland, hoewel ook gesteld kan worden dat dit bewustzijn een voorwaarde was voor de autonomie-eis an sich. De wortel van 'Boekoviensheid' was aldus 'niet-Galicisch', al snel gevolgd door concepten als gedeelde geschiedenis en gezamenlijke historische figuren, zowel stammend uit de pre-Oostenrijkse periode als uit de Oostenrijkse tijd zelf. De meeste Duitstalige kranten in het kroonland presenteerden zichzelf als de spreekbuis of zelfs als de belichaming van Boekoviensheid.

Boekovina's rappe ontwikkeling stak al snel gunstig af tegen die van burens Moldavië en Galicië. In het bijzonder de tegenstelling tussen Boekovina en de Habsburgse 'grote broer' Galicië, nog versterkt door de positieve berichtgeving over exotisch en kosmopolitisch Czernowitz, kan gezien worden als de eerste aanzet van wat de 'Boekoviense mythe' zou worden: de opvatting dat in Boekovina de verlichte en beschavende Oostenrijkse invloed een harmonieuze multiculturele maatschappij had geschapen waaruit op zijn beurt een Oostenrijks rolmodel te voorschijn kwam, de *homo bucovinensis*. Boekovina deelde dit multiculturele, tolerante imago tot op zekere hoogte met Galicië. Tegelijkertijd diende de 'Boekoviense mythe' als *pars pro toto* voor een utopische visie op het gehele Habsburgse Rijk. Dit supranationale karakter maakte 'Boekovinisme' tot een schietschijf voor Roemeense nationalistinnen, die het afschilderden als een doelbewuste Oostenrijkse strategie om nationalistische ambities te dwarsbomen en die tot op de dag van vandaag het bestaan van een *homo bucovinensis* ontkennen. Specialisten op het gebied van Habsburgs Boekovina hebben weinig bijgedragen aan de verduidelijking dan wel een consequente toepassing van het begrip 'Boekovinisme' en, nog afgezien van de vraag of iets dergelijks daadwerkelijk bestaat of bestaan heeft, manoeuvreren zij meestal in de grijze zone tussen 'verschijnsel' en 'bewuste doctrine'.

Met de opkomst van regionale identificatie verscheen een min of meer vast aantal soorten beeldvorming en stereotypen. Boekovieners waren trots op exotische elementen zoals de Hoetsoelenstam, de Lippovaanse Oud-Gelovigen en de wonderrabbijn van Sadagora, evenals op hun positie van 'des Keizers grenswachter in het Oosten'. De eerste aardrijkskundige uitgaven over Boekovina waren de bakermat van het halsstarrige beeld van een kleurrijke maatschappij van verdraagzame, maar in essentie zeer verschillende – en afgescheiden – groepen mensen die al snel werd neergezet als een 'miniatur-Oostenrijk'. Toen langzaam duidelijk werd dat, net als andere Oostenrijkse regio's, Boekovina niet verschoond zou blijven van politiek nationalisme, maakte de aanvankelijke zelfcategorisering als 'voorbeeldkroonland' als snel plaats voor scherpe zelfkritiek en gebrek aan zelfrespect. Afhankelijk van de politieke denkebeelden van de criticaster in kwestie werden bepaalde groepen verantwoordelijk gemaakt voor alle misstanden in Boekovina, maar er bestond ook een sterke neiging om de bevolking als geheel alsmede de status van 'ontwikkelingsgebied' de schuld te geven. De plaatselijke pers deed een consequent beroep op beelden als 'Half-Azië' (een schepping van de Boekoviense auteur Franzos), 'de strafkolonie van Oostenrijk' en het 'stiefkind' of de 'Assepoester' van de staat. 'Half-Azië' verscheen ten tonele wanneer Boekovieners zichzelf op de borst klopten voor de wijze waarop zij zich aan de barbarij hadden onttrokken, wanneer zij zichzelf verweten in primitivisme te zijn blijven steken of wanneer zij zich beklagden over hoe zij werden gezien in het arrogante Wenen. De term dekte derhalve op adequate wijze de verwarde gevoelens die Boekoviense notabelen koesterden jegens zijn schepper, Karl-Emil Franzos. Het 'strafkolonie'-imago, dat aanvankelijk verwees naar het kroonland als geheel, kreeg een specifiekere connotatie naarmate de Universiteit van Czernowitz de reputatie verloor van verbanningsoord voor lastige of ondermaatse wetenschappers. Het werd zowel door Boekovieners als niet-Boekovieners gebruikt, dit in tegenstelling tot de beelden van 'stiefkind' en 'Asspoester', die onmiskenbaar Boekoviense creaties waren, bedoeld om aan te geven hoezeer Boekovina

achtergesteld was in vergelijking met andere Keizerlijke regio's en kroonlanden. Toen dus in de vroege twintigste eeuw het regionaal bewustzijn toenam en onder het Vrijzinnig Verband een regionaal geïnspireerde politieke agenda gestalte kreeg, groeide in Boekovina het ongeduld met de neiging om anderen de schuld te geven voor Boekoviense ellende en met het herhaaldelijke Boekoviense geklaag in het Keizerlijk parlement dat tot dan toe slechts in onverschilligheid had geresulteerd.

Het was nog altijd beter om gediscrimineerd te worden dan geheel en al onbekend te zijn.. Het algemene gevoel in Boekovina was dat niemand van haar bestaan op de hoogte was. Er werd gezegd dat men het kroonland in Wenen verwarde met regio's als Bosnië of Herzegovina. Ter plaatse was de toestand al niet veel beter met een welhaast totaal gebrek aan aandacht voor lokale geschiedenis, zowel in de schoolcurricula als onder plaatselijke wetenschappers. Op economisch gebied werd onbekendheid ervaren als de oorzaak voor het gebrek aan spoorwegontwikkeling en de voorkeursbehandeling van Oostenrijkse regio's met een sterker ontwikkelde industriector. Een andere meetlat voor Boekovieners om de mate van verwaarlozing aan af te lezen was de bezoekersfrequentie. Begrijpelijkwijs waren de meest prestigieuze gasten leden van de Keizerlijke familie, bovenal de Keizer de zelf. De emotionele reacties op de dood van Kroonprins Rudolf in 1889 hadden zonder meer te maken met zijn recente bezoek aan Boekovina. Een tweede categorie bestond uit leden van de regering, die ervan werden beschuldigd het kroonland te mijden - een beschuldiging die overigens eenvoudigweg werd overgeplant van Wenen naar Boekarest toen Boekovina eenmaal onderdeel van Roemenië was geworden. Toen rond de eeuwwisseling het moderne toerisme tot bloei kwam, begonnen Boekoviense toerismeverenigingen de regio als reisbestemming aan te prijzen, maar vielen al snel terug op het aloude geklaag over veronachtzaming toen de toeristen niet en masse arriveerden. Wederom werd het gebrek aan spoorverbindingen aangewezen als oorzaak van het tegenvallende aantal bezoekers. Ook in deze context werd Boekovina neergezet als een 'miniatur-Oostenrijk', met dien verstande dat het commentaar was dat Oostenrijkers in het algemeen niet warm liepen voor de schoonheid van het eigen land – en hetzelfde gold voor Boekovieners. Boekoviense toerismebevorderaars nodigden journalisten uit het land te bezoeken en gaven een eerste reisgids voor de regio uit, maar vroegen zich tevens af of Boekovina eigenlijk wel zo'n aantrekkelijke bestemming was: Het kroonland, zijn hoofdstad en zijn inwoners waren wellicht te achtergebleven, de faciliteiten te primitief en toen de antisemitische Christelijk-Socialen de politieke arena hadden betreden kon dit Joodse reizigers ook gemakkelijk afschrikken.

De andere kant op was er echter volop beweging. Tegen het eind van de negentiende eeuw ontplooiden Boedapest initiatieven om Boekoviense Hongaarssprekenden naar 'huis' te halen en poogde Moskou Rusland's door de oorlog verwoeste gebieden met Boekovina's Lippovanen te herbevolken. De grootschaligste emigratie vanuit Boekovina ging rond de eeuwwisseling echter richting de Amerika's. In de lokale pers verschenen voornamelijk griezelverhalen over geruïneerde immigranten en verzen vol heimwee naar de *Heimat*. Opvallend is, dat in deze verzen de 'regio' en niet de 'natie' de boventoon voert. Ambitieuze hoogopgeleiden vertrokken veelal richting Wenen en Boekoviense kranten meldden vol trots

wanneer hun pogingen succesvol waren. In 1904 telde de Boekoviense gemeenschap in Wenen, die op haar beurt weer voornamelijk uit Czernowitzers bestond, ongeveer 3000 leden en was, na de logische groep volksvertegenwoordigers, samengesteld uit jonggediplomeerden en studenten. De Boekoviense gemeenschapszin resulteerde in de oprichting van verenigingen die niet alleen een gezelligheidsoogmerk hadden, maar tevens poogden hulp te bieden aan minder geslaagde streekgenoten in Wenen.

Het groeiende besef van een Boekoviense identiteit en het daaraan verwante gevoelens dat Boekovieners voor zichzelf moesten opkomen versterkte de neiging om 'landskinderen' te beschermen tegen 'vreemdelingen'. Oostenrijkse ambtenaren die slechts voor een paar jaar naar het kroonland kwamen, zich bemoeiden met de lokale politiek en vervolgens weer vertrokken om elders een betere functie te bekleden, konden rekenen op forse kritiek. Meestal echter werden met 'vreemdelingen' Galiciërs bedoeld die ervan werden beschuldigd de Boekoviense instituties te overheersen en Boekoviense banen op te souperen. Nu was Galicië sowieso een gemakkelijke schietschijf voor Boekoviense politici: De collectieve herinnering aan de dagen dat Boekovina onder Lemberg had geressorteed was niet positief en de eis dat de laatste bestuurlijke banden (de spoorweg- en gerechtsadministratie) die Boekovina nog tot de voormalige 'onderdrukker' veroordeelden nu eindelijk verbroken zouden worden, deden het per definitie goed bij de kiezers. Voor Wenen was het verschil tussen de twee kroonlanden aanmerkelijk minder duidelijk. Om in één adem genoemd te worden met de grote buur, die niet alleen als een bullebak maar ook nog als onbeschaafd werd beschouwd, was dan ook aanleiding voor tot nog meer Boekoviense verontwaardiging. Dit ten spijt moest men in Boekovina toegeven dat er ook voordelen kleefden aan de sterke en effectieve Galicische parlementaire lobby in de Keizerlijke hoofdstad. Naarmate de jaren verstreken was er regelmatig sprake van afgunst jegens de dynamiek van de ontwikkelingen in Galicië die werd afgezet tegen Boekoviense malaise en stagnatie. Dit negatieve beeld werd vaak geprojecteerd op wat aanvankelijk de trofee van het kroonland was geweest, Boekovina's 'Klein-Wenen', Czernowitz. De stad werd nu de maat genomen vanwege haar schokkerige ontwikkeling, haar 'oriëntaalse' kenmerken en haar gebrek aan faciliteiten en sanitatie.

De autonome status van Boekovina en de toenemende neiging om zich met de regio te identificeren vereiste soepel manoeuvreren bij plaatselijke, Oostenrijkse en buitenlandse manifestaties. Het eeuwfeest in 1875 met de bijbehorende tegendemonstraties in Roemenië en de daarmee verbonden 'Arboroasa'-zaak hadden volkomen duidelijk gemaakt dat verschillende visies op de gezamenlijke geschiedenis explosief materiaal vormden: Wat in Oostenrijkse kringen werd gevierd als de komst van de beschaving na de barbaarse Ottomaanse onderdrukking, werd door nationalist in Roemenië beweend als het verlies van Roemeens grondgebied en de onrechtmatige terechtstelling van laatste 'Roemeense' heerser ervan. De terugkeer van het 41ste 'Boekovina'-regiment op de thuisbasis in 1882 had de autoriteiten ruim de gelegenheid gegeven om de hechte banden tussen Wenen en Boekovina te benadrukken; de viering van het tweehonderdjarig bestaan van het regiment was vervolgens een mooie aanleiding om de goede relaties tussen het Oostenrijkse leger, het regionale regiment en de Boekoviense bevolking de onderstrepen. De lokale respons was echter minder spontaan en enthousiast dan de organisatoren van het evenement hadden gehoopt. Deelnemers

waren voornamelijk niet geheel vrijwillige scholieren en de toespraken waren vlak en voorspelbaar. De inzamelingsactie die tot doel had genoeg fondsen te verzamelen voor de oprichting van een monument voor de gedenkwaardige dag - dat overigens helemaal was opgetrokken uit materialen van buiten het kroonland - verliep dusdanig moeizaam dat het pas een jaar na de feestelijkheden kon worden onthuld. Het aantal daarbij aanwezige lokale notabelen was minimaal.

De zogenaamde Putna-vieringen rond de cultus van Stefan de Grote waren een delicate evenwichtsoefening voor de Oostenrijkse autoriteiten: In de eerste plaats was de viering bedoeld voor Roemeense nationalisten en dus een veiligheidsrisico voor de regering. Tegelijkertijd had Wenen begrip getoond voor de nationale gevoeligheden en de kerk met de tombe van de Moldavische koning laten restaureren. In de laatste decennia van de negentiende eeuw waren de vieringen voornamelijk georganiseerd door studenten, bezocht door kopstukken uit Roemenië en gemeden door Boekoviense edellieden die hun goede relatie met de centrale autoriteiten niet op het spel wilden zetten. In 1904 waren de verhoudingen echter verschoven en toen de vierhonderdste sterfdag van Stefan werd herdacht, waren die Boekoviense edellieden zelf nationalistische politici die een belangrijke rol speelden in de organisatie. Teneinde de regering tevreden te houden en verdenkingen van irredentisme te ontlopen presenteerden zij de vereerde vorst in toememende mate als een meer Boekoviense dan een specifiek Roemeense held. Gasten uit Roemenië, natuurlijk met uitzondering van Nicolae Iorga, probeerden eveneens hun Oostenrijkse gastheren niet te schofferen. Toen de Oostenrijkers later werd verweten de Roemeenssprekenden in Boekovina slecht te behandelen, konden zij de Stefan-herdenking eenvoudigweg inzetten als tegenargument.

In het tijdperk van de 'Grote Tentoonstellingen' die een duidelijk nationaal karakter hadden, werd in de regio's het organiseren van soortgelijke evenementen overwogen. In 1886 had reeds een eenvoudige 'Boekoviense beurs' plaatsgevonden, maar toen in het begin van de twintigste eeuw een dergelijk initiatief werd overwogen en bleek dat de Roemeense regering een grootschalige nationale tentoonstelling wilde organiseren in Boekarest, werden die plannen schielijk op ijs gelegd. De discussie was nu of en zo ja, hoe Boekovina aan het Roemeense evenement zou deelnemen. Zo waren er de Roemeense nationalisten in Boekovina die insisterden dat de manifestatie alleen voor Roemenen was bestemd alsmede Boekovieners die de mogelijkheid wilden aangrijpen om het kroonland als geheel te presenteren. Toen duidelijk werd dat staten zonder Roemeens bevolkingsdeel ook welkom waren, werd besloten een Boekoviens paviljoen met een separaat Roemeens gedeelte in te richten. In tegenstelling tot wat de nationalisten uit Boekovina hadden beoogd waren de verschillen tussen de Boekoviense en de Boekoviens-Roemeense exponaten niet erg opvallend. Er heerste teleurstelling over het gebrek aan aandacht voor recentere ontwikkelingen in de Roemeense tentoonstelling, die nu als nogal stoffig werd ervaren.. De Roemeense regering had ondertussen bezoeken aan de tentoonstelling georganiseerd voor 'Roemenen van over de grens' en had hun volledige reiskosten betaald. Hoewel Boekoviense deelnemers aan dergelijke reizen er naar verluidt wel voor zorgden dat in Boekarest geen enkele twijfel heerste over hun trouw aan de Oostenrijkse Keizer - Oostenrijk had participatie

van Roemeenssprekenden uit zijn grondgebied bovendien veel eenvoudiger gemaakt dan Hongarije - zouden Roemeense nationalistische bronnen later beweren dat de bezoekers in kwestie massaal hun verlangen naar eenwording met het Roemeense Koninkrijk kenbaar hadden gemaakt.

De gelegenheid bij uitstek om het 'arrogante Wenen' te laten zien wat Boekovina had bereikt en wat het had te bieden diende zich aan toen in 1908 het zestigjarig regeringsjubileum van Frans-Jozef gevierd werd met een reusachtige parade door de Oostenrijkse hoofdstad - het eerste deel met hoogtepunten uit de Oostenrijkse geschiedenis en het tweede met een overzicht van de hedendaagse maatschappij. Czernowitz had kort tevoren het vijfhonderdjarig bestaan gevierd met een parade die Oostenrijkse verworvenheden en symbolen had getoond; de manifestatie in Wenen was echter bedoeld om de etno-nationale verscheidenheid te benadrukken en zodoende waren nationalistische leiders in de regio's van het Keizerrijk aangemoedigd om comité's te vormen en groepen af te vaardigen. Om uiteenlopende redenen waren de Transleithaanse Hongaren en de Tsjechen afwezig. Bovendien was de wijze waarop de Oostenrijkse geschiedenis werd afgebeeld, en in het bijzonder de gebeurtenissen die verband hielden met het revolutiejaar 1848, onderwerp van moeizame onderhandelingen. Bij de Boekoviense voorbereidingen werd trouw vastgehouden aan het beeld zoals dat was geschapen in het 'Kronprinzenwerk': dat van een etnisch gesegregeerde maar harmonische samenleving. Overheersend was het zelfvertrouwen over het kleurrijke schouwspel dat men de blasé Weners zou voorschotelen. Ironisch genoeg beantwoordden de taferelen die het kroonland naar Wenen stuurde precies aan het beeld dat de plaatselijke pers al tientallen jaren poogde te bestrijden: dat van de afgelegen, boerse, barbaarse maar kleurrijke Orient. Afgezien daarvan reduceerde het idee van een nationale onderverdeling Boekovina (en andere regio's) tot de som van haar national(istisch)e onderdelen. Men miste zo de kans om zaken te tonen die niet beperkt werden tot nationale parameters – de moderne Czernowitzer samenleving en haar burgerij hadden dan wellicht een plaats gekregen evenals de nu door afwezigheid schitterende Joden. Het kon dan ook geen verrassing zijn dat in de pers de bekende kritiek weer opdook: Niemand had in het westen ooit van Boekovina gehoord en de vrolijke folkloristische tafereeltjes verhulden de aanhoudende economische ellende in het kroonland.

Samenvatten kan gesteld worden dat de nationalistische bewegingen in Boekovina allen importprodukten waren, met als mogelijke uitzondering de Joodse variant van Benno Straucher. De diverse nationalismen ontwikkelden zich in Boekovina niet gelijktijdig en autonoom, maar in chronologische volgorde als reactie op elkaar. Het belangrijkste nationalistische conflict, dat tussen Roemenen en Roethenen, werd niet zozeer door hun verschillen alswel door hun overeenkomsten bepaald en aangezien zij dezelfde claims hadden, was samenwerking uitgesloten. Toen ook Duitsers en Joden hun eigen weg gingen, was het 'nationale coalitiemodel' een feit. Duitse en Roemeense nationalisten waren jarenlang vaste partners, hetgeen zich door verschillende factoren laat verklaren (een gebrek aan interne onenigheid over de nationale identiteit alsmede de morele en materiële steun van 'moederlanden' Duitsland en Roemenië). Steun van nationalisten van over de kroonlandgrens bracht echter ook politiek antisemitisme met zich mee. Joodse en Roetheense nationalistenvaren als gevolg van de Duits-Roemeense samenwerking als bondgenoten enigszins tot

elkaar veroordeeld. Zij hadden met elkaar gemeen dat bij beiden de interne discussie over de nationale identiteit nog volop werd gevoerd en dat, aangezien zij zich niet op 'historische' of 'culturele' rechten konden beroepen, hun bewegingen voornamelijk een emancipatoir karakter hadden. De opkomst van politiek nationalisme verhulde een diepere tegenstelling in de Boekoviense maatschappij: die tussen de Orthodoxe 'oorspronkelijke' orthodoxe bevolking en de na de Oostenrijkse inname aangekomen immigranten. De oorspronkelijke bevolking identificeerde zich eerder met de beleden godsdienst dan met een nationaliteit – in dit opzicht moeten vraagtekens gezet worden bij de vaak automatische koppeling van taal en cultuur: Hier was, in weerwil van het gebruik van twee verschillende talen, de cultuur niet noemenswaardig afwijkend. Toen Roemeense en Roetheense nationalisten die voor hun respectievelijke agenda's noodzakelijke splitsing in de bevolking moesten aanbrengen, kon dit dan ook alleen met het onderscheidende element 'taal'. Bij de 'immigranten' was het omgekeerde aan de hand: Daar zowel Joden als niet-Joden zich bedienden van de Duitse taal, moest het onderscheid van elders komen: Hier vervulde religie die rol.

Wat tevens vraagt om heroverweging is het cliché van de 'goede interetnische verhoudingen' en de 'wederzijdse tolerantie': deze terminologie vooronderstelt de nationalistische visie van duidelijk afgescheiden, historisch bepaalde etnische groepen zonder de vraag te stellen of in de gemeenschap in kwestie die verschillen en nationale affiniteit wel zo werden ervaren. Het ziet er naar uit dat onverschilligheid ten aanzien van nationalisme in Boekovina de boventoon voerde.

In het kleine Boekovina, dat bovendien in feite maar zo'n zeventig jaar als autonome entiteit bestond, was de wijze waarop de verschillende nationalistische bewegingen zich vestigden en ontwikkelden goed zichtbaar en regelmatig onderwerp van analyse in de lokale pers. Het grote aantal bewegingen versterkte bovendien hun imago van 'een van de velen', in feite van niets meer dan politieke partijen, terwijl in andere gebieden waar slechts twee partijen tegenover elkaar stonden meer gevaren kon worden op de heroïek en het pathos van de 'eenzame onderdrukte'. Bovendien was het duidelijk dat in Boekovina de keus voor een bepaalde nationaliteit vaak nog open was: Stadsjoden wensten vaak als Duitsers gezien te worden en orthodoxen begaven zich met zichtbaar gemak tussen Roemeense en Roetheense ambiances- tot grote frustratie van nationalistische voormannen. Natuurlijk was er groepsvorming langs linguïstische en godsdienstige lijnen en de vraag is, in hoeverre tussen deze groepen interactie plaatsvond. Kleinere geloofsgemeenschappen leidden sowieso een meer afgezonderd bestaan, maar ook tussen stadsjoden en orthodoxe platelandsjoden lijkt weinig contact te zijn geweest. Ook de notie dat in Habsburgs Boekovina antisemitisme amper aan de orde was moet worden herzien: weliswaar vonden geen pogroms plaats, maar antisemitisme stak gedurende het hele tijdval overal de kop op.

Het functioneren van de Boekoviense instituties, en dan met name de politieke, vond plaats onder verschillende nationale vlaggen en verhuult op deze wijze dat die zogenaamde nationale groepen eerder sociale klassen vertegenwoordigden. Dit verklaart mede waarom in Boekovina de woorden 'partij' en 'nationaliteit' door elkaar werden gebruikt. Toen, met het Vrijzinnig Verband, gekozen werd voor inter-nationalistische samenwerking had dit echter niet het

idealistische karakter dat latere analisten het veelvuldig toedichtten: Veeleer was deze samenwerking gericht op verdere segregatie. Ook bleek het nobele streven bij de oprichting van de universiteit, ‘het creëren van harmonie onder de zalvende invloed van de Duitse cultuur’, uiteindelijk een illusie: De van buiten Boekovina aangetrokken academische staf bracht nationalisme met zich mee, terwijl lokale nationalistten een universitaire opleiding sterk aanmoedigden teneinde zo snel mogelijk een eigen intellectuele elite te scheppen. De universiteit werd zo een belangrijk producent van gefrusteerde nationalistten.

Boekovieners identificeerden zich met graagte met de Habsburgse dynastie en hoewel er vaak ergernis heerste over ‘Weense arrogantie’, was het Oostenrijkerschap een bron van trots en Wenen de meest voor de hand liggende benchmark. Dit weerhield de staat er echter niet van eventuele afwijkingen van dit patroon nauwlettend in de gaten te houden. In Boekovina werd voortdurend gekeken naar zowel ‘West’(het goede, veelal Wenen) en ‘Oost’ (natuurlijk Rusland, maar in de Boekoviense context vaker Roemenië en Galicië), met het terugkerende zelfbeeld van een eiland van beschaving, van het westen gescheiden door de ‘barbaarse Galicische zee’. Dit gold in sterke mate voor Czernowitz, dat in latere representaties geleidelijk model ging staan voor heel Boekovina en daarmee weinig ruimte overlaat voor het meer ambigue beeld dat Boekovieners hadden van hun eigen *Heimat*. Er waren elementen van trots, maar negatieve beeldvorming overheerste en bleek een bindende factor zelfs voor Boekoviense nationalistten, die elkaar wisten te vinden in een gemeenschappelijk gevoel van achtergesteldheid ten opzichte van de rest van Oostenrijk. Dat beeld verschoof evenwel over de jaren en bood ruimte aan een meer kritische zelfbenadering en respect voor de verworvenheden van anderen, zelfs als die ander het weinig geliefde Galicië bleek te zijn. Zelfingenomenheid over de eigen harmonische samenleving en het gebrek aan antisemitisme verdween naarmate ook Boekovina niet ongevoelig bleek te zijn voor deze kenmerken van het tijdvak.

Het hetero-image van Boekovina was voornamelijk afkomstig uit Wenen, waar het kroonland werd gezien als onbekend, afgelegen en onderontwikkeld. Ook toen Boekovina actief deel ging nemen aan feestelijkheden, tentoonstellingen en parades kwam hierin geen verandering. Op Boekoviens grondgebied benadrukte manifestaties vooral de trouw aan Keizer en Keizerrijk, over de grenzen voldeden Boekoviense inzendingen trouw aan het clichébeeld dat buitenstaanders van het kroonland hadden.

Samenvattend moet een aantal aannames dat in de loop der jaren over de Habsburgse Boekovina is ontstaan, worden gecorrigeerd. De ‘harmonische samenleving van diverse etnische groepen’ is nationalistische terminologie en past slecht bij de elkaar overlappende linguïstische en religieuze structuren van Boekovina. Nationalisme was voor Boekovina een zeer slecht passend model, wat overigens niet wil zeggen dat nationalisme er uiteindelijk niet succesvol was. In feite was het een kwestie van tijd voordat de late invoering van de autonome status en de vorming van een eigen politieke cultuur ook in Boekovina de bekende patronen gingen vormen. Nationalisme kreeg dezelfde trekken met als meest significante ontwikkeling de slechts door de loop van de internationale geschiedenis verhinderde de niet door wat voor religieus argument dan ook ingegeven splitsing van de Boekoviense orthodoxe

kerk; de universiteit was verworden tot een prestigeapparaat voor nationalisten en had een verstorende werking op de lokale economie; Boekovinese afgevaardigden in Wenen stonden een effectieve Boekoviense lobby in de weg omdat ze niet over de schaduw van hun nationalistische stromingen heen konden springen; het Vrijzinnig Verband, later vaak geprezen om zijn constructieve benadering van regionale samenwerking en gezien als een symbool van 'Boekovinisme', was in feite instrumenteel in het proces van nationale segregatie.

Wie waren dan de voorvechters van identificatie met Boekovina zelf? Roemeense nationalisten die vasthouden aan een bewuste 'Weense strategie' om een 'homo bucovinensis' te scheppen, kunnen hun verdachtmakingen niet met feiten onderbouwen: Het Weense beleid leek vooral gericht op het vergroten van de Keizerlijke populariteit en op het bewaken van de orde. Een a-nationale politieke partij gericht op het gemeenschappelijk kroonlandbelang is er nooit gekomen: Daarvoor was het nationalistische discours simpelweg te dominant. Als belangrijkste voorstander blijft dan de lokale Duitstalige pers over; de Joodse redacties hingen veelal het liberalisme en Oostenrijks centralisme aan en benadrukten maar één belang te dienen: het Boekoviense. Zij hielden scherp in de gaten of dat belang werd geschaad, of de bedreiging nu van de Weense autoriteiten, nationalistische propaganda of van plaatselijke, Boekoviense apathie afkomstig was.



Above: The Ukrainian Antarctic station signposts the distances to many Ukrainian cities; only in the case of Chernivtsi (in green), a region is specifically mentioned: Bukovina (© Diana Mulder and Henk Delger, December 2008). Below: Although Bukovina officially ceased to exist, references to it can be found in both Ukraine and Romania. Here: a matchbox from the Bukovyna Hotel in Chernivtsi and a bottle of Romanian mineral water named 'Bucovina'.



Appendix I: Chronology of Habsburg Bukovina with paragraph references

1774: The Habsburg Empire occupies the northern part of Ottoman Moldavia and names it Bukovina.

1781: The Josephinist patents of 17 September 1781 grant immigrants religious and other advantages.

1783: The ties it had with the Iași Metropoly in Ottoman Moldavia are severed, the Bukovinian diocese is subordinated to the Karlowitz Metropoly by Imperial Resolution (Part II, 2.3: The Bukovinian Orthodox Church / Church Fund and Bukovinian Orthodox Church Autonomy).

1786: The Church Fund is established to administer the possessions of the Orthodox Church in Bukovina (Part II, 2.3: The Bukovinian Orthodox Church / Church Fund and Bukovinian Orthodox Church Autonomy)

1820: Theophil Bendella publishes a 'Topographical and statistical overview of Bukovina' (*Topographisch-statistischen Übersicht der Bukowina*).

1823: Emperor Franz I visits Bukovina

1842: 'Wonder rabbi' Friedman moves to Sadagora and establishes his Hasidic Court (Part II, 3.5: The Jewish Presence in Bukovina/ The Social Position of Bukovinian Jews).

1848: Revolutionary Year, Autonomy request, Kobylitsia revolt (Part II, 2.1: Historical Claims/ Hutsuls), first Bukovinian deputies sent to the Austrian parliament (Part II, 2.2: Popular Culture, Apathy, Indifference and National Ambiguity among Romanian and Ruthenian speakers/ Nationally Indifferent Parliamentary Deputies and Their Political Priorities)

1849: Autonomy granted (Part III, 4: 'Bukovinian Diseases': Images, Allegories and Stereotypes/ 5.6: Galicia).

1851: Emperor Franz Joseph visits the autonomous crown land for the first time (Part III, 3: The Empire, the Nation and the Region: Competing Identifications in Bukovina/ 3.2: Bukovinians and the Habsburg dynasty/ Bukovina's Imperial Father Figure)

1853: The first Jewish school in Bukovina is established. (Part II, 3.5: The Jewish Presence in Bukovina/ Jews and the Local Economy).

1855: Emperor Franz Joseph visits Bukovina for the second time (Part III, 3: The Empire, the Nation and the Region: Competing Identifications in Bukovina/ 3.2: Bukovinians and the Habsburg dynasty/ Bukovina's Imperial Father Figure).

1861: Full crownland status, installation of the Bukovinian Regional Diet (Part III, 2: Key Institutions of Habsburg Bukovina – Landtag and Franz Joseph University/ 2.1: Landtag: Bukovinian Political Representation in Czernowitz and Vienna).

1867: Compromise between Austria and Hungary leading to the installation of the Dual Monarchy, ending the Romanian nationalist lobby for a united Romanian Orthodox Church for Transylvania and Bukovina. (Part II, 2.3: The Bukovinian Orthodox Church / Church Fund and Bukovinian Orthodox Church Autonomy).

1873: Establishment of Orthodox Metropolis of Bukovina and Dalmatia (Part II, 2.3: The Bukovinian Orthodox Church/ Church Fund and Bukovinian Orthodox Church Autonomy).

1875: Centennial of Austrian Bukovina (Part III, 6: Displaying Bukovinian Identity: Parades, Exhibitions and Commemorations/ 6.1: Inverted Images of a Historical Event: Hundred years of Habsburg Bukovina), Inauguration of Franz Joseph University (Part III, 2: Key Institutions of Habsburg Bukovina – Landtag and Franz Joseph University/ 2.2: Franz Joseph University).

1876: Karl Emil Franzos' trilogy 'From Semi-Asia' (*Aus Halb-Asien*) is published (Part I, 3/ Literature Survey 3.3.2: Writings with an Ideological Agenda and Part III, 4: 'Bukovinian Diseases': Images, Allegories and Stereotypes/ 4.1: Semi-Asia, Penal Colony, Stepchild and Cinderella: Crownland Allegories).

1877: Romanian nationalist students form the 'Arboroasa' society are charged with treason (Part III, 3: The Empire, the Nation and the Region: Competing Identifications in Bukovina/ 3.3: Cracks in the Layer of Loyalty).

1879: In Vienna, the centralist government falls and is succeeded by the autonomist coalition (the 'iron ring') under Eduard von Taaffe.

1880: Emperor Franz Joseph visits Bukovina for the third time (Part III, 3: The Empire, the Nation and the Region: Competing Identifications in Bukovina/ 3.2: Bukovinians and the Habsburg dynasty/ Bukovina's Imperial Father Figure).

1886: Customs war breaks out between the Habsburg Empire and Romania with grave economic consequences for Bukovina.

1887: Crown Prince Rudolf visits Bukovina (Part III, 3: The Empire, the Nation and the Region: Competing Identifications in Bukovina/ 3.2: Bukovinians and the Habsburg dynasty/ Bukovinians and the Extended Habsburg Family).

1888: Orthodox Ruthenian-speaking peasants convert to the Uniate Church in the villages of Rarancze, Ispas and Toporoutz because they felt mistreated by the local Romanian-language priests (Part II, 2.4: Romanian and Ruthenian Nationalists and the Bukovinian Orthodox Church/ Village Priests and Nationalism).

1889: Death of Crown Prince Rudolph; student riots in Czernowitz (Part III, 3: The Empire, the Nation and the Region: Competing Identifications in Bukovina/3.2: Bukovinians and the Extended Habsburg Family), Death of Czernowitz University Rector and Bukovinian politician Constantin Tomasciuc (Part II, , 2.2: Popular Culture, Apathy, Indifference and National Ambiguity among Romanian and Ruthenian speakers/ Prominent Bukovinians with Ambiguous National Backgrounds)

1891: First time a church split is advocated in a twelve-point programme by Young-Ruthenian political association 'Ruska Rada' (Part II, 2.4: Romanian and Ruthenian Nationalists and the Bukovinian Orthodox Church).

1895 : Death of Metropolitan Silvestru Morariu-Andrievici (Part II, 2.2: Popular Culture, Apathy, Indifference and National Ambiguity among Romanian and Ruthenian speakers/ Prominent Bukovinians with Ambiguous National Backgrounds)

1897: Anna Pawlitschek's Bukovinian novel *Ob ich dich liebe. Roman aus dem Kleinstadtleben der Bukowina*, is published in Vienna; The Bukovinian Association of Christian Germans' (Verein der Christlichen Deutschen) as a dissociation from Jewish Bukovinians (Part II, 3.4: German Nationalism).

1898: King Carol I of Romania passes through Czernowitz and is greeted by a delegation of Bukovinian dignitaries. Baron Mustatza insists to have enjoyed a 'German upbringing'. (Part II, 2.1: Historical Claims/ Romanian Speakers in Bukovina).

1899: Bukovinian Orthodox Metropolitan Czuperkowicz is attacked by Romanian nationalists at the Czernowitz railway station (Part II, 2.4: Romanian and Ruthenian Nationalists and the Bukovinian Orthodox Church). The fallout between Governor Bourguignon and the Orthodox clergy in 1899 had been a direct result of the doubts the governor was accused of expressing regarding the position of Bukovinian Romanian nationalists in this matter. (Part II, 2.4: Romanian and Ruthenian Nationalists and the Bukovinian Orthodox Church); Volume 20 of the 'Kronprinzenwerk' (*Die Österreich-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild*) appears, devoted to Bukovina.

1901: 200th Anniversary of the 'Bukovinian' 41st Infantry Regiment (Part III, 6: Displaying Bukovinian Identity: Parades, Exhibitions and Commemorations/ 6.2: The 200th Anniversary of 41st Infantry Regiment in 1901)

1902: The first and only attempt to create Bukovinian cooperation in the Austrian Parliament with a 'Bukovinian Association' (*Bukowiner Vereinigung*) quickly fails (Part II, 2.1: Landtag: Bukovinian Political Representation in Czernowitz and Vienna/ The Illusion of a Bukovinian Parliamentary Club).

1904: The 'Freethinking Alliance' (*Freisinniger Verband*) wins local elections in Bukovina (Part III, 2: Key Institutions of Habsburg Bukovina – Landtag and Franz Joseph University/ 2.1: Landtag: Bukovinian Political Representation in Czernowitz and Vienna/ The Freethinking Alliance); Karl Emil Franzos dies in Berlin (Part III, 5: 'Bukovinian Diseases': Images, Allegories and Stereotypes/ 5.1: Semi-Asia, Penal Colony, Stepchild and Cinderella: Crownland Allegories); Celebrations in Putna at the 400th Anniversary of the Death of Stephen the Great (Part III, 6: Displaying Bukovinian Identity: Parades, Exhibitions and Commemorations/ 6.3: The 400th Anniversary of the Death of Stephen the Great in 1904).

1905: In an official letter to the Czernowitz University senate, Jewish students insist on being registered as Jews for the 1905/1906 semester (Part II, 3.6: Jewish Nationalism in Bukovina); In Moravia, elections are held for the first time using an electoral register based on nationality; The 'Freethinking Alliance' majority in the Bukovinian Diet collapses (Part III, 2: Key Institutions of Habsburg Bukovina – Landtag and Franz Joseph University/ 2.1: Landtag: Bukovinian Political Representation in Czernowitz and Vienna/ The Freethinking Alliance); Michael Sawka's novel 'Autumn... a story from Bukovina' (*Herbst... Eine Geschichte aus der Bukowina*) appears (Part III, 5: 'Bukovinian Diseases': Images, Allegories and Stereotypes/ 5.4: Bukovinians Abroad).

1906: Bucharest 'Jubilee Exhibition' (Part III, 6: Displaying Bukovinian Identity: Parades, Exhibitions and Commemorations/ 6.4: Bukovina and the Bucharest 'Jubilee Exhibition' of 1906).

1908: The Bukovinian branch of the Christian Social Party is established (Part II, 3.4: German Nationalism); Czernowitz hosts the first-ever conference on the Yiddish language (Part II, 3.6: Jewish Nationalism in Bukovina); Old-Ruthenian association 'Pravoslavna Chytalnya' is disbanded after hosting Pan-Slavic leader Count Vladimir Bobrinsky (Part III, 3: The Empire, the Nation and the Region: Competing Identifications in Bukovina/ 3.3: Cracks in the Layer of Loyalty); 500th anniversary of Czernowitz: Emperor Franz Joseph 60 years on the throne, Jubilee Parade in Vienna (Part III, 6: Displaying Bukovinian Identity: Parades, Exhibitions and Commemorations/ 6.5: Bukovina and the Emperor's Jubilee Parade of 1908).

1909: In March the new communal law is approved with universal suffrage for all males older than twenty-four (Part III, 2.1: Landtag: Bukovinian Political Representation in Czernowitz and Vienna/ The Bukovinian Compromise); Austrian authorities refuse entry into Austrian territory (and thus into Bukovina) to Romanian nationalist Nicolae Iorga (Part II, 3.7: Anti-Semitism and Bukovina: Attacks and Vindications/ Bukovinian National Movements and Anti-Semitism).

1911: Local elections according to the register system, Romanian and Ruthenian nationalists as well as the Jews dominate the results (Part III, 2.1: Landtag: Bukovinian Political Representation in Czernowitz and Vienna/ The Bukovinian Compromise); Raimund Friedrich Kaendl coins the collective term 'Carpathian Germans' (Karpatendeutsche) for the German-language population of Galicia, Bukovina, Hungary, Slavonia, Transylvania and Romania (Part II, 3.4: German Nationalism).

1912: Large demonstrations of Romanian nationalists against the pending appointment of a Ruthenian vicar-general of the Bukovinian Orthodox Church in Czernowitz, Suczawa, Radautz, Kimpolung, Gurahumora, Dornawatra and Storożynetz (Part II, 2.4: Romanian and Ruthenian Nationalists and the Bukovinian Orthodox Church).

1913: Appointment of Ruthenian Artemon Manastyrski as vicar-general of the Bukovinian Orthodox Church (Part II, 2.4: Romanian and Ruthenian Nationalists and the Bukovinian Orthodox Church).

1914: 28 June: Murder of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria, heir presumptive to the Austro-Hungarian throne, and his wife, Sophie, Duchess of Hohenberg, in Sarajevo. Start of First World War; Russian troops occupy Bukovina from October to November and again from November 1914 to February 1915. In September, Archbishop Repta holds a mass for the Russian Czar's well-being (Part III, 3: The Empire, the Nation and the Region: Competing Identifications in Bukovina/ 3.3: Cracks in the Layer of Loyalty/ Loyalty in Times of War).

1916: Death of Emperor Franz Joseph; Russian troops occupy Bukovina from June 1916 to August 1917 Bukovina (Part III, 3: The Empire, the Nation and the Region: Competing Identifications in Bukovina/ 3.3: Cracks in the Layer of Loyalty/ Loyalty in Times of War).

1917: On 27 August, Romanian troops attack Austrian Bukovina (Part III, 3: The Empire, the Nation and the Region: Competing Identifications in Bukovina/ 3.3: Cracks in the Layer of Loyalty/ Nationalists, but good Austrians).

1918: In August, Emperor Karl relieves Bukovinian Archbishop Repta and his deputy Manastyrski of their duties (Part III, 3: The Empire, the Nation and the Region: Competing Identifications in Bukovina/ 3.3: Cracks in the Layer of Loyalty/ Loyalty in Times of War); The Austro-Hungarian Empire collapses in November, Romanian troops occupy Czernowitz on 11 November and in December, a royal decree confirms Bukovina's status as part of the Romanian Kingdom.

1919: 15 June: All university professors in Czernowitz are dismissed. (Part III, 2: Key Institutions of Habsburg Bukovina - Landtag and Franz Joseph University/2.2: Franz Joseph University/ The Final Days).

Appendix II: Bukovinian Toponyms

The following list of Bukovinian toponyms is by no means exhaustive. It is limited to the cities, town and villages featuring in this work [G = German, HU = Hungarian, PL = Polish, RO = Romanian, UR = Ukrainian/Ruthenian, YD = Yiddish]

Czernowitz (G), Cernăuți (RO), Чернівці/ Chernivtsi (UR), Черновцы/ Chernovtsy (RU), Czerniowce (PL), טשערנאָוויץ/ Tschernowitz (YD)

Andrásfalva (HU) Măneuți (RO)
Augustendorf (G), Mesteceni (RO) Банилів-Підгірний/ Banyliv-Pidhirniy (UR)
Balkoutz/ Laudonfalva (G), Bălcauți (RO), Балківці/ Balkivtsi (UR)
Banilla (G), Banila (RO) Банилів/ Banyliv (UR)
Berhometh (G), Berhomet (RO), Берегомет/ Berehomet (UR)
Bojan (G), Boian (RO) Бояни/ Boyan (UR)
Bossancze, (G), Bosancea (RO)
Botuschana (G), Botoșani (RO), Ботошани/ Botoshany (UR)
Breaza (G), Breaza (RO) Бряза/ Bryaza (UR)
Czernowka (G), Cernăuca (RO), Чорнівка/ Chornivka (UR)
Czokanestie (G), Ciocănești (RO)
Dorna Kandreni (G), Dorna Candrenilor (RO)
Dornawatra (G), Vatra Dornei (RO)
Dornestie (G), Hadikfalva (HU), Dornești (RO)
Fontina Alba (G), Fântână Albă (RO) Біла Криниця/ Bila Krynytsya (UR)
Alt-Fratautz (G), Vechi (RO), Стари Фратівці/ Stari Frativtsi (UR)
Neu-Fratautz (G), Frătăuții Noi (RO), Нови Фратівці/ Novi Frativtsi (UR)
Freudenthal (G), Vatra Moldoviței (RO)
Gurahumora (G), Gura Humorului (RO), Гурагумора/ Hurahumora (UR)
Hliboka (G), Adâncata (RO), Глибока/ Hliboka (UR)
Illischestie (G), Ilișești (RO)
Istensegíts (HU), Țibeni (RO)
Itzkany (G), Ițcani (RO)
Jakobeny (G), Iacobeni (RO), Якобень/ Yakobeny (UR)
Jakobestie (G), Fogadisten (H), Iacobești (RO)
Joseffalva (G), Józseffalva (HU) Vorniceni (RO)
Kaczyka (PL), Cacica (RO)
Kalinestie (G), Călinești (RO)
Karpokimpului (G), Capu Câmpului (RO)
Karlsberg (G) Gura Putnei (RO)
Katharinendorf (G), Cătricieni (RO)
Kimpolung (G), Câmpulung Moldovenesc (RO), Довгопілля/ Dovhopillya (UR), Moldvahosszúmező (HU)
Klimoutz (G) Climăuți (RO)
Korczestie (G), Corcești (RO), Корчівці/ Korchivtsi (UR)
Kotzmann (G) Coțmeni (RO) Кіцмань/ Kitsman' (UR)
Kuczurmare (G), Cuciurul Mare (RO), Великий Кучурів/ Velykiy Kuchuriv (UR)
Lipoweni (G), Lipoveni (RO) Липовани/ Lypovany (UR)

Lopuschna (G), Lapușna (RO), Лопушна/ Lopushna (UR)
 Louisenthal, Fundul Moldovei
 Lukawetz (G), Lucavăț (RO), Лукавці/ Lukavtsi (UR)
 Luzan (G), Lujeni (RO), Лужани/ Luzhany (UR)
 Mahala (G), Mahala (RO), Магала/ Mahala (UR)
 Mamajestie (G), Mămăești (RO), Мамаївці/ Mamaïvtsi (UR)
 Mardzina (G), Marginea (R)
 Mihalcze (G), Mihalcea (RO), Михальча/ Mykhal'cha (UR)
 Milleschoutz (G), Milișăuți (RO)
 Mitoka Dragomirna (G), Mitocul Dragomirnei (RO)
 Molodia (G), Mologhia (RO)
 Nepolokoutz (G), Nepolocăuți (RO), Неполоківці/ Nepolokivtsi (UR)
 Nowoselitza (G), Sulița Nouă (RO), Новоселиця/ Novoselitsya (UR)
 Okna (G), Ocna (RO), Вікно/ Vikno (UR)
 Petroutz (G), Pătrăuți (RO) Патрівці/ Patrivtsi (UR)
 Pojana Mikuli/ Buchenhain (G), Poiana Micului (RO)
 Prelipcze (G), Prelipcea (RO) Прилипче/ Prylypche (UR)
 Putilla (G), Putila (RO), Путила/ Putyla (UR)
 Putna (G), Putna (RO)
 Radautz (G), Rădăuți (RO) , Radóc (HU), Radowce (PL), Радівці/ Radivtsi (UR),
 ראָדעוויץ/ Radevits (YD)
 Rarancze (G), Rarancea (RO), Рідківці/ Ridkivtsi (UR)
 Ropcze (G), Ropcea (RO), Ропча/ Ropcha (UR)
 Rosch (G), Roșă (RO), Роша/ Roshia (UR)
 Sadagora (G), Sadagura (RO), Садгора/ Sathora (UR), Sadagóra (PL),
 סאדיגורא/ Sadigora or Sadiger (YD)
 Sadowa (G), Sadova (RO), Садова/ Sadova (UR)
 Sereth (G), Siret (RO)
 Slobodzia (G), Slobozia (RO), Слобода/ Sloboda (UR)
 Solka (G), Solca (RO)
 Ober-Stanestie (G), Stăneștii de Sus (RO)
 Unter-Stanestie (G), Stăneștii de Jos (RO)
 Stawczan (G), Stăuceni (RO), Ставчани/ Stavchany (UR)
 Storozynetz (G), Storojineț (RO), Сторожинець/ Storozynets' (UR), Storożyniec (PL)
 Stulpikany (G), Stulpicani (RO)
 Suczawa (G), Suceava (RO), Szucsáva (HU), Сучава/ Suchava (UR), שֻטְצָוָה/ Shots (YD)
 Suczawitza (G), Sucevița (RO)
 Tereblestie (G), Tereblecea (RO), Тереблече/ Terebleche (UR)
 Toporoutz (G), Toporăuți (RO), Топорівці/ Toporivtsi (UR)
 Uidestie (G), Uidești (RO)
 Waschkoutz (G), Vășcăuți (RO), Вашківці/ Vashkivtsi (UR)
 Ober-Wikow (G), Vicovu de Sus (RO), Верхній Віков/ Verkhniy Vikov (UR)
 Unter-Wikow (G), Vicovu de Jos (UR)
 Wiznitz (G), Vijnița (RO), Вижниця/ Vyzhnytsya (UR), וויזניץ/ Vizhnitz (YD)
 Woloka (G), Voloca (RO), Волока/ Voloka (UR)
 Zastawna (G), Заставна/ Zastavna (UR)

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Priyatel'/ Приятель (1903)

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