

The Encyclopedia of Galicia: Provincial Synthesis in the Age of Galician Autonomy

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In 1849 Hipolit Stupnicki's *Galicia*, a "topographical-geographical-historical" account of that province, including a map, was published in Lviv under the auspices of the Ossolineum. This first edition in Polish was followed by a German translation in 1853; a second Polish edition was issued in 1869. Discussing geography, Stupnicki took the opportunity to express patriotic admiration for the province: "The chief character of the Galician mountains is the wild, romantic, dark primeval forests, and rough stone formations alternate with magical valleys that can compete for beauty with any valleys on earth." Galicia was thus supposed to possess a natural and picturesque geographical coherence. "Nature has formed Galicia to be a grain-growing country," observed Stupnicki in 1849, three-quarters of a century after the partitions of Poland resulted in the creation of Galicia as an Austrian province in 1772.¹ In its origins there was nothing "natural" about Galicia. Yet Stupnicki carefully counted the number of species of flora and fauna that inhabited the province, regretting that he could not precisely count the number of insect species.

In the same spirit Stupnicki also enumerated the relevant ethnographic categories: "No land of the Austrian monarchy is inhabited by such different peoples as Galicia. Poles, Ruthenians, Germans, Armenians, Jews, Moldavians, Hungarians, Gypsies...." He also mentioned the Hutsuls, the Carpathian Ruthenian mountaineers, and the Karaites, the heretical Jews who were guided only by the Bible and rejected the Talmud along with rabbinical Judaism. In spite of such heterogeneity, it was possible to make some human generalizations across the province, and Stupnicki remarked that "the customs of the Galician peasantry are, in the same circumstances, different but collectively still very coarse." This

¹ Hipolit Stupnicki, *Das Königreich Galizien und Lodomerien, sammt dem Grossherzogthume Krakau und dem Herzogthume Bukowina in geographisch-historisch-statistischen Beziehung, mit einer Karte dieses Königreichs* (Lviv: Peter Piller, 1853), 9–10, 13.

coarseness extended to feasting, drinking, and the singing of songs. Thus the collective character of the ethnographically diverse peoples was marked by a coarseness that also corresponded to the province's geography of wild primeval forests. The Krakowiak villagers and the Góral mountaineers, the protagonists of Wojciech Bogusławski's Polish national opera in the 1790s, now appeared in Stupnicki's work as Galician ethnographic types: the Krakowiak with "great suppleness and grace in body movements" and a four-cornered crimson cap, the Góral as a "strongly built, physically agile, inventive, creative, often cunning and crafty breed" in a long collarless shirt.² Galician history, according to Stupnicki, could be divided into three periods: a medieval period of rule by Ruthenian and Hungarian princes (981–1340); the Polish period (1340–1772); and the Austrian period (from 1772). Thus Galicia was endowed not only with natural but also historical coherence, retrospectively antedating the Austrian annexation and virtual invention of the province in 1772.

The Cracow newspaper *Czas* reviewed Stupnicki's *Galicia* with interest—"a book with such a promising title"—but pedantically regretted that there were too many mistakes, both historical and topographical. "The geography of our province is something very interesting," wrote *Czas*, "very necessary for educating young people," for providing them with a "national education" (*narodowe kształcenie*).³ Yet the sort of "national education" that might be provided by a book with such a promising provincial title—*Galicia*—was unconventionally national at best and might more plausibly be interpreted as "non-national"—the word Seweryn Goszczyński deployed in his literary assault upon Aleksander Fredro in 1835. In 1849, even before reviewing *Galicia*, *Czas* had proclaimed its principle of commitment to provincial politics, to Galicia the crownland (*kraj*) rather than to Poland the fatherland (*ojczyzna*): "In the crownland through the crownland (*w kraju przez kraj*), we acknowledge for us as the only true and strong activities, the land as the only natural field for us."⁴ The territory was not named, since everyone knew that it could only be Galicia, the "natural field" for the Galicians' political efforts. The slogan "*w kraju przez kraj*" also implied the priority of Habsburg loyalism over the pursuit of Polish independence, for Galicia was created and defined with reference to Habsburg rule. If *Czas* regarded *kraj* as the fundamental domain of its journalistic mission, it was only to be expected that the newspaper would take an interest in Stupnicki's *Ga-*

² *Ibid.*, 18, 24–25.

³ *Czas*, 3 October 1849.

⁴ *Czas*, 22 March 1849.

licia. Provincial topography, geography, and history might provide the contours for a new kind of “national education” that was fundamentally Galician.

Stupnicki’s book affirmed the importance and coherence of Galicia as a provincial entity in the aftermath of the failed national revolutions of 1846 and 1848. Intellectual coherence and conceptual unity may also have seemed politically relevant in response to Ruthenian proposals for the partition of the province in 1848. The achievement of Galician autonomy after 1866, within the new political context of Austro-Hungarian dualism, would be accompanied not only by Stupnicki’s second Polish edition in 1869 but also by many other works that likewise suggested the meaningful provincial coherence of Galicia. These included an encyclopedia of Galicia, an anthropological analysis of its population, an account of the province “in word and image,” and Stanisław Szczepanowski’s celebrated sociological study *Poverty in Galicia* in 1888. It was Szczepanowski who would statistically synthesize the “average Galician.” What all such works had in common was their acknowledgment of Galicia itself, the provincial entity, as the fundamental unit of analysis: “in the crownland through the crownland.” In fact, however, they purposefully sought to construct the provincial coherence they seemed to assume as their premise. Thus Galicia, invented at the end of the eighteenth century by Habsburg policy, became a “natural field” of political and cultural operations in the nineteenth century.

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In 1868 an announcement appeared in Lviv inviting subscriptions to a tremendous work in progress, a multivolume *Encyklopedia do krajoznawstwa Galicyi* (Encyclopedia of Knowledge about the Crownland of Galicia), which was to appear in monthly installments and to cover every aspect of the province, including geography, history, statistics, topography, agronomy, and economy. This ambitious project was basically the work of a single man, Antoni Schneider, who himself stood ready to collect the addresses of interested subscribers as he prepared to write and issue the first installments. In the announcement Schneider wrote of his hopes for “this almost thirty-year labor of mine, in which I have been guided till now only by the fervent and undiscouraged desire to serve the fatherland.” He further hoped that his own dedication and “the value of this work” would receive “strong support from the honorable public.”⁵ In 1868, with the consolidation of Galician autonomy, the notion of a com-

⁵ “Zaproszenie do przedpłaty na dzieło pod tytułem: Encyklopedia do krajoznawstwa Galicyi” (1868), Biblioteka Czartoryskich, Cracow.

prehensive encyclopedia must have seemed plausible, even practical: knowledge about the region (*krajoznawstwo*), the intellectual accompaniment to Galicia's emerging political, administrative, and educational institutions.

Schneider's encyclopedia of Galicia was a Polish project conceived in the Polish language and politically calculated to appear in the 1870s, the first decade of Polish predominance in the autonomous province. Yet the project would founder, producing only two published volumes in 1871 and 1874 respectively, alphabetically covering the letters A and B in Galician lore. The encyclopedia would not find the supportive Galician public that Schneider envisioned: in fact, the very notion of a Galician public became increasingly uncertain as Polish predominance in the 1870s called forth the dissidence of increasingly articulate affirmations of Jewish and Ruthenian presences in the province.

Antoni Schneider was born in 1825, the son of a Bavarian officer in the Habsburg army in Galicia. He attended a Gymnasium in Lviv and joined the Hungarians in fighting against the Habsburgs in 1848. But then, renouncing revolution, he entered the Habsburg bureaucracy in Galicia in the 1850s. He worked particularly in the road service, which enabled him to travel around the province. His background inevitably gave him a Galician perspective, even as he associated himself with Polish culture through the literary journal *Dziennik Literacki* in Lviv in the 1860s. There he sought financial support, as well as documents and materials, for his encyclopedia project. In fact he received a free apartment, courtesy of the Ossolineum, a financial subvention from the Galician Diet, and some sponsorship from the *namiestnik* (viceroys) of Galicia, Agenor Gołuchowski.⁶ The first volume, appearing in 1871, offered an introductory apologia: "For many years voices have emerged on behalf of a broader description of our crownland, for the purpose of a more accurate recognition of its monuments and characteristics so dear to us. Alongside these voices the progress of national knowledge also requires us to engage in rivalry with the other nations of Europe."⁷ Schneider presumed that his public would feel, along with him, a sentimental attachment to Galicia ("so dear to us") and that an encyclopedic account would satisfy "national" ambitions. The name "Poland" was not mentioned, and the very nature of the project seemed to suggest that Galicia itself was

⁶ Wiesław Bieńkowski, "Schneider (Szneider, Szejder), Antoni Julian," in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 35 (Warsaw: Polska Akademia Nauk, 1994), 571–73.

⁷ Antoni Schneider, *Encyklopedia do krajoznawstwa Galicji*, vol. 1 (Lviv: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1871), iii; vol. 2 (Lviv: z drukarni J. Dorżańskiego & H. Gromana, 1874).

one of the nations of Europe, the subject of a national knowledge that cried out for representation and publication. The first volume, including the A subjects, included articles on all the Lviv archbishoprics: Roman Catholic, Ruthenian, and Armenian. The second volume, with the B subjects, covered, among many other things, “Baba, babka: a kind of cake”—and the progress from A to B, from archbishoprics to bakeries, suggested that Schneider’s eclecticism was undercutting the encyclopedia’s systematic conception.

The second volume was in fact the last to appear, but the state archive in the Wawel Castle in Cracow still preserves the massive quantity of materials Schneider assembled for his project, extending all the way from A to Z. The Galician town of Zhuravno (Polish: Żurawno) on the Dnister, for instance, was covered by a file that contained materials in Polish, German, and Latin: notes on Jan Sobieski resisting the Turks in the seventeenth century, documents from the Jesuit college in the eighteenth century, and nineteenth-century newspaper clippings from *Gazeta Lwowska* about the horse market.⁸ Schneider’s eclectic approach was in some ways conducive to representing the heterogeneity of the province, even as it compromised the coherence of the encyclopedic project.

Schneider had preserved a statistical account of Galicia from 1822, three years before his own birth, carried out under the bilingual (German-Polish) Socratic slogan “Kenne dich selbst / Znaj siebie samego” (Know thyself) with reflections on Galician heterogeneity in German. Who were the Galicians?

According to descent they are partly Slavs—to which the Poles and Russniaks belong, partly Moldavian, German, Armenian, Hungarian, and Szekler, partly a mix of several peoples, like the Lipovaners, partly Jews, and additionally a small number of Gypsies.... With regard to religion Galicia offers, like the Austrian monarchy as a whole, the image of a great and well-ordered family, in which the father embraces all the branches with equal love and concern, regardless of the difference in their characters and mentalities.⁹

The encyclopedist Schneider seemed similarly all-embracing in his data files. Maria Theresa’s Latin declaration upon the partition of Poland in 1772 was accompanied by Schneider’s penciled note, looking back to the fourteenth century, on the relevance of “the rights of Casimir the Great to Red Ruthenia.” The file on the Jews of Drohobych included Polish documents concerning the *kahal*, the Jewish communal institution,

⁸ “Żurawno,” Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, Wawel, Teka Schneidra 1782.

⁹ “Gedrängte statistische Übersicht des Königreiches Galizien (1822),” Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, Wawel, Teka Schneidra 515.

from the period of the Commonwealth, but also German documents from the Josephine period of the 1780s. These documents included correspondence with the government about the regulation of Jewish marriages in Drohobych and proposals for the reform of propination, that is, the leased monopolies on commerce in alcohol.¹⁰

In trying to understand Galicia comprehensively, Schneider could not fail to recognize the Jewish and Ruthenian aspects of the province that complicated his own predominantly Polish perspective. It was perhaps an impossible project to bring together all aspects of the province in one coherent encyclopedia project, and the intellectual tensions of such a project also reflected the national and religious tensions of the 1870s in Galicia. Having accumulated almost two thousand files of information, but having published only two volumes of the whole encyclopedia and having recognized the indifference of the hypothetical Galician public, Schneider shot himself in 1880.

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In spite of the impressive institutional support of the Sejm, the Osso-lineum, and the *namiestnik*, Schneider's encyclopedia of Galicia came to a halt with the publication of the letter B volume in Lviv in 1874. In 1876, however, there appeared in Cracow a very different sort of encyclopedic volume, sharply focused on the coherence of Galicia. Not in the least eclectic in its scope, *Charakterystyka Fizyczna Ludności Galicyjskiej* (The Physical Characteristics of the Galician Population) was a supposedly scientific effort to sum up the province according to the methods and standards of the new and modern discipline of physical anthropology. The authors, Józef Majer and Izydor Kopernicki, were working as part of the Anthropological Commission of the Jagiellonian University and the newly established Academy of Knowledge in Cracow, crucial cultural institutions of Galician autonomy in the 1870s. Majer, who was born in Cracow in 1808, became a professor of physiology at that university and was also the founding president of the academy from 1872 to 1890. Kopernicki, who may have been related to Copernicus, was born in 1825, like Schneider. Majer participated as a doctor in the Polish Insurrection of 1830–31, while the younger Kopernicki took part in the Insurrection of 1863 and settled in Galicia only after the achievement of autonomy. For both men there was clearly an important Polish dimension to their Galician identities and interests. As an anatomist and an anthropologist—indeed, one of the founding figures of the discipline

¹⁰ "Quandoquidem circumspetto (1772)," Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, Wawel, Teka Schneidra 515; "Drohobycz: Żydzi," Teka Schneidra 442.

of anthropology at the Jagiellonian University—Kopernicki dedicated himself to specific studies of Gypsies and highlanders (*górale*). He was also involved in the contemporary projects, led by Oskar Kolberg, for the collection of folklore and folksongs throughout Poland.¹¹ *Charakterystyka Fizyczna Ludności Galicyjskiej* was, however, very specifically provincial in the boundaries of its research and anything but folkloric in its radically anthropometric emphasis on physical characteristics.

The Anthropological Commission had sponsored this project of “observations on living people,” that is, “the provincial population in general” and “the three main component nationalities—Polish, Ruthenian, and Jewish.” The study included 5,052 male subjects recruited into the Habsburg army and examined by local doctors, with results made available to the researchers, thus promising a representative cross-section of Galician men. The doctors were supplied with a set of instructions for the necessary measurements to be made. Majer and Kopernicki divided the work of analysis between them, with Majer considering measurements of height, chest circumference, color of skin and eyes, and color and quality of hair, while Kopernicki dealt with the formation of skulls, faces, and noses.¹² This research conducted in the 1870s was intended for the purpose of acquiring more detailed, more accurate, and more scientific knowledge of Galicia in the age of autonomy. Similar sorts of examinations would be carried out in the name of racial science in Galicia and elsewhere in Eastern Europe under the auspices of Nazi Germany during the 1930s and 1940s, when the analysis of racial characteristics for the purpose of categorizing Slavs and Jews and distinguishing them from Aryan Germans would have eugenic and genocidal implications.

On the criterion of height, Poles were found to measure, on average, 160 to 164 centimeters—“precisely the average height of people in general”—while Ruthenians, including Hutsuls, had measurements in roughly the same range. Jews were clearly expected to be different, as attested by the authors’ remarks:

The population of this third nationality in Galicia, though not native but immigrant (*nie rodzima lecz napływowa*) and of a completely different breed (*całkiem odmiennego szczepu*), becomes an interesting and scientifically important subject of research precisely on account of its own

¹¹ Jan Hulewicz, “Majer, Józef,” in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 19 (1974), 161–64; Stefan Kieniewicz and Paweł Sikora, “Kopernicki, Izidor,” in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 14 (1994), 1–3.

¹² Józef Mayer and Izidor Kopernicki, *Charakterystyka Fizyczna Ludności Galicyjskiej* (Cracow: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 1876), 3–6 (subsequent in-text page references are to this edition).

distinctiveness ... for in spite of many centuries of existence in our country, this people, living in villages and little towns—those we dealt with exclusively in our research—did not grow from the earth so as to be able to distinguish themselves by any stamp of the locality. (15, 36)

Many Jews, of course, had been living in Poland since the fourteenth century, as the public in Cracow would surely have known after the attention to Casimir the Great in 1869, when the medieval king's remains were ritually reburied in the Wawel cathedral. The Jews, encouraged to come to Poland by Casimir's policies in the fourteenth century, were not very recent immigrants in the nineteenth century. But Majer and Kopernicki emphasized Jewish transience, of which they took a rather negative view—"avoiding hard agricultural work, and pursuing easier earnings, the Jews moved from place to place"—in order to explain why Jews would not necessarily be marked by regional characteristics. Yet in the end, when the measurements of height were analyzed, Jews turned out to be, on average, exactly as tall as Poles, with both groups only slightly shorter than Ruthenians (36–38).

In the evaluation of skin color each subject was judged as being "white" (*biały*), "yellowish" (*plowy*), or "swarthy" (*śniady*). The researchers then constructed a ratio of fair to dark subjects for each of the three nationalities. Poles and Ruthenians, with a ratio of three to two, were thus shown to be darker than Jews, with a ratio of two to one. For eyes—with each subject's eyes registered as grey, green, blue, or brown—the ratio of light to dark showed a variation among all three nationalities: Poles had the lightest eyes and Jews had the darkest, while Ruthenians were in between. Hair color, evaluated from light to dark, ranked similarly: Poles, then Ruthenians, then Jews (64, 77, 88, 90). Skulls were measured for height, width, and circumference; faces were judged to be short, oval, or long; and noses were evaluated as straight, flat, pug, and hooked. With the "scientific" discovery that Jews had statistically more "hooked" (*garbaty*) noses than Poles or Ruthenians, the researchers felt they had found what they had anticipated from the beginning. The Jews were different: "Jews in this regard are most clearly differentiated from the native population of Galicia, namely by hooked noses." This was expressed as a mathematically quantified conclusion, with the study demonstrating that "the hooked nose is undoubtedly the most statistically important mark of the Jewish type of face" (123, 137, 175). The numerical tables that summed up the whole study gave a positivist representation of the province.

The researchers' racial anthropology may seem preposterous and pernicious in historical retrospect. Clearly, they were inclined to make certain general points about the three nationalities, affirming the similarity

of Poles and Ruthenians (and thus, implicitly, rebutting any Ruthenian aspirations for the partition of the province) and identifying the intractable difference of the Jews, who lived in Galicia but could not be considered “native” to it. Yet perhaps the most important aspect of the study was its underlying assumption that Galicia was a meaningful territorial unit for anthropological analysis in the age of autonomy. Stupnicki had counted the species of flora and fauna and shown an interest in the insects of the province; Majer and Kopernicki analyzed Galicia’s human types as natural history made way for modern anthropology. They succeeded, in their anthropological fashion, in representing Galicia as a coherent human domain—marked by differences and variations, to be sure, but composed of interlocking, comparable, related elements. They published their work in Cracow in 1876, the same year that Aleksander Fredro died in Lviv, at the age of 83. In the 1820s he had represented Galician society on stage in his comic dramas; in the 1870s he would scarcely have recognized his own province as reflected in the measurements, ratios, and statistics of physical anthropology.

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Joseph Redlich, in his classic account of the reign of Francis Joseph, emphasized the creative and liberal intellectual endeavors of Crown Prince Rudolf during the the 1880s, the last decade of his life, which would end in the scandalous double suicide at Mayerling in 1889. “About the middle of the eighties, he formed a great literary plan and carried it through with all the temperamental zest native to him,” wrote Redlich concerning Rudolf’s sponsorship of the multivolume series of books on *Die Länder Oesterreich-Ungarns in Wort und Bild* (The Lands of Austria-Hungary in Word and Image). According to Redlich, “an exhaustive description of the whole realm in all its parts and of all its nationalities was to be produced by the co-operation of distinguished authors and scholars.”¹³ Already in 1884 the 150-page Galician volume, *Das Königreich Galizien und Lodomerien: und das Herzogthum Bukowina* (The Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria), appeared in Vienna in German, with “The Duchy of Bukovina,” a separate crownland since 1849, discussed in an addendum of forty pages. The author, Julius Jandaurek, exercised the same impulse to sum up Galicia that had motivated Stupnicki and Schneider. Jandaurek taught German in a Gymnasium in Lviv. His previous publications from the 1870s included texts for teaching German in Galician middle schools. In other words, he was a

¹³ Joseph Redlich, *Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria: A Biography* (New York: Macmillan, 1929), 414–15.

teacher whose pedagogical expertise had been rendered somewhat marginal by Galician autonomy, when Polish displaced German as the basic language of instruction in the province. Now, under the special patronage of the crown prince, he would sum up Galicia as an imperial possession for the Viennese public.

Beginning with a “historical overview,” Jandaurek related Polish history as Galician history, from “the oldest legends of the Slavs on the upper Vistula,” involving Krak, the mythological founder of Cracow, and the beautiful Wanda, who supposedly refused to marry a German prince and killed herself by jumping into the Vistula—an unsettling story, perhaps, for Crown Prince Rudolf.¹⁴ Jandaurek’s account of medieval history noted the Polish princes’ political weakness and the German settlers’ independent prerogatives. The advent of the Tatars in the thirteenth century brought about the “terrible desolation” of Rus’, and medieval Halych (Halicz) was mentioned in association with the Hungarian crown, implying a natural continuity from medieval to modern times. Casimir the Great annexed “Halicz (Eastern Galicia)” to Poland in the fourteenth century, and Jandaurek, while rather casually associating “Halicz,” “Eastern Galicia,” and “Galicia,” also affirmed that Russians, Ruthenians, and Poles had always been distinctive peoples in this region. Discussing Jan Sobieski in the seventeenth century, Jandaurek hailed 12 September 1683, the day Vienna was saved, as “the most glorious day of the seventeenth century” (10–16, 26). Indeed, he would have lived through the bicentennial celebration of 1883 as he was writing his book.

Jandaurek celebrated Tadeusz Kościuszko as “the noblest hero of the nation” for resisting the Russian armies in 1794 (30). Kościuszko’s heroism, like the glory of Sobieski, was illustrated with pictures, for the series specified Galicia in word and image. Curiously, the “historical overview” of Galicia virtually concluded at the point where Galician history actually began, in the late eighteenth century. The contemporary substance of Galicia, for Jandaurek, lay in its “land and people” (*Land und Leute*), the subject of the next section of the book. Here there were many more illustrations, especially to suggest the diversity of folk costumes to be found in the province. Jandaurek was sentimentally attached to the Galician landscape, whose principal features he presented as the Carpathian Mountains and the great rivers, the Vistula and the Dnister. The Dnister was represented with a romantic image, while the Vistula was fondly described with attention to the harmony between the natural land-

¹⁴ Julius Jandaurek, *Das Königreich Galizien und Lodomerien und das Herzogthum Bukowina* (Vienna: Verlag von Karl Graeser, 1884), 5–6 (in-text page references are to this edition).

scape and its human features, like the traditional “Galician raftsmen” with their straw hats: “There is life and movement here from first light to the onset of dark night. You see at various distances red fire burning on the rafts, and you hear happy fiddle sounds.” Peace came to the Vistula at night, when the moon arose to gaze upon itself in the Vistula-mirror (“*Weichselspiegel*,” 37–39).

Concerning ethnography, Jandaurek presented a great variety of Galician communities, with an emphasis on different folk costumes and sometimes common folk culture. Jandaurek generally divided the population into Poles and Ruthenians, but also into peoples of the plains and peoples of the mountains: Mazurs and Krakowiaks, Hutsuls and Boikos. The first image presented not a “Pole,” but a “Krakusse” or “Krakowiak” with a plumed cap and embroidered cape (44–45). These were the peasants most devoted to Kościuszko, wrote Jandaurek, and they were famous for their enthusiastic style of singing.

And who does not know the style of these people, known under the name of Krakowiaks, teeming with energy and lust for life [*Lebenslust*], spread all over the world by the Austrian military bands and distinguishing themselves so favorably from the melancholy style of the other Slavs? Joyously singing, the Krakusse cultivates his native earth, and, singing, he heroically stands up for the same; music and song so rightly characterize his essence; he, too, like the Galizianer in general [*wie überhaupt der Galizianer*], is an excellent rider. When Emperor Francis Joseph gladdened Galicia with his visit in the fall of 1879 [sic], it was mounted troops of Krakusse who, riding boldly, led the coach of the beloved monarch on its excursions in the environs of Cracow. (47–48)

The book included a picture of Francis Joseph in his carriage—in 1880, not 1879—surrounded by Krakowiaks on horseback raising their plumed caps in the emperor’s honor. Their gallantry and loyalty were emphasized as aspects of character and custom that were, in some respects—like riding—intended to be representative of “the Galician in general.” Jandaurek was committed to representing the diversity of Galicians but also to discovering some general aspects of what it meant to be a *Galizianer*.

The sharp distinction between Ruthenians and Poles was effaced as Jandaurek, assuming a relatively nonpartisan German perspective, explored the more subtle differences between Krakowiacy and Górale (as in Bogusławski’s national opera) or between Hutsuls and Boikos. Still, some generalizations could be made about Ruthenians: “The Little Russian people are distinguished in customs and dress from the Mazurs and Górale. The Ruthenian lets his hair grow halfway down his forehead and

combs the rest back, or shaves the head and leaves only, like the Tatars from whom he took the custom, a tuft on top, which rarely occurs nowadays" (54).

Jandaurek thus discerned Tatar Oriental accents amid the heterogeneity of Slavic Galicia. He was interested in physical anthropology, cultural traits, and even spiritual considerations of character: "The Ruthenian peasant is taller and more slender than the Pole. He is by nature also slower and more thoughtful in business. Good-natured and gentle, not boisterous, he nevertheless knows how to avenge injuries done to him, often after a long time has passed. The sad past has marked his whole being with a melancholy aspect and has made him mistrustful and reserved" (55).

For Jandaurek, melancholy was an essential part of the Ruthenian character, in this case implicitly contrasted with the cheerfully singing Krakowiak. The ethnography of Galicia involved multiple anthropological distinctions, undercutting the polarizing political conception of the province in strictly national terms.

"Up to this point, dear reader," wrote Jandaurek, "I have described to you the Galicians [*die Galizianer*] in their exterior appearance; now I want to let you have a look into their souls, into their emotional life, and I believe there is no better way to be able to do that than to make you acquainted with their folksongs, for the Pole and the Ruthenian, rich in song, accompany all of life's occasions with a song" (60). Thus Jandaurek sought to synthesize Galicia's Poles and Ruthenians as Galicians in their souls and emotional lives, as reflected in their folksongs. The apostrophized "dear reader" was clearly neither one nor the other, but perhaps someone with a perspective of civilized and gracious condescension toward peoples whose wealth could be calculated in songs: perhaps the Viennese public, perhaps Crown Prince Rudolf himself. From folksongs it was a natural transition to folk celebrations such as the Holy Evening of Christmas Eve, which Jandaurek associated with pagan Slavic religious occasions. "Now we want to see the Galician Slavs in their folk festivals," he wrote, synthesizing the Poles and Ruthenians as Galician Slavs. Ancient paganism, with its modern survivals, was part of the Slavic legacy that bound both nations together: "The Galician people [*das galizische Volk*] has still other usages originating in venerable pagan times; here and there women still perform the hemp dance on Ash Wednesday in the village tavern so that the hemp will grow well in the coming year" (63–65). Such reflections on Galician folk culture were far from the Polish conception of a historically Polish association with Western civilization. By focusing on peasants and mountaineers as the characteristically Galician people, Jandaurek emphasized the unmodern, even

pagan, aspects of the province and, from a German perspective, the backwardness of Eastern Europe.

Jandaurek's treatment of Galicia's Germans followed this logic explicitly. Though the medieval German colonists had already been mentioned, Jandaurek explained that the greatest number of colonists came in the age of Joseph II, who invited them "so that the Slavic peasant might imitate the advanced culture of the German peasant." Here again the Poles and Ruthenians were synthesized as Slavic peasants vis-à-vis the German colonists. The contemporary German virtues were enumerated as "honesty, inexhaustible industry, loyalty, eagerness to earn a living, uprightness, and a certain degree of good nature [*Gemüthlichkeit*]," as well as "discipline and order." Historically the Germans had not always been so *gemüthlich*; back in the Middle Ages, according to Jandaurek, "the Jews, driven out of Germany by terrible persecution, found protection in Poland." For the Jews of Galicia, the reign of Joseph II was also a "turning point," as they benefited from his spirit of toleration: "and today the Galician Jews enjoy the same constitutional rights as other citizens" (72–73).

Jandaurek regarded the Jews, like the Germans, as distinctive from other Galicians and noted anthropological differences: "The houses of the Jews are distinguished by their construction from the houses of the Christians" (73). In this case, the Poles and Ruthenians were synthesized as Christians, among whom the Germans were also included. At the same time the "Galician Jews" were explicitly characterized as Galician in order to distinguish them from other Jews, and a picture, captioned "Galizischer Jude," brought that figure into the array of ethnographic illustrations in typical folk costume. "The dress of the normal Jew is old Polish: a long black silk coat, black sash, fur cap, stockings, and shoes. This costume is now increasingly displaced by normal town dress. Once all Jews had beards and long locks of hair [*Peissen*] at the temples. Married women cut their hair off and wear a wig." Switching between the past and present tenses, Jandaurek suggested that the Galician Jews were living through a generation of uneven modernization, like Galicia itself: some Jews still dressed in the style of "old Poland" while others were becoming assimilated to modern customs and costumes. Surveying Jewish customs, from Hamantaschen at Purim to the broken wine glass of the Jewish wedding, Jandaurek made clear that the Jews were different from other Galicians, who were, for that very reason, more like one another (75–76).

The last fifty pages of the book offered a sort of guided tour around the province, concluding in eastern Galicia with a visit to the mountain forests, famous for their bandits and bears. The author was being guided

by an old Hutsul, “a mighty bear hunter,” who spoke from his own expertise: “‘The bear, dear sirs,’ he began, with great eyes fixed upon me, ‘is not nearly so dangerous as people think. On the contrary, he is good-hearted by nature and harms neither men nor cattle without need. It is only hunger that compels him to go out hunting, and he also shows, when he must, his great cunning and courage.’” (154)

There was a picture of a bear hunter in folk costume holding a long rifle, but no picture of a bear. The Hutsul bear hunter addressed the “dear sirs” of his visiting party, but Jandaurek transmitted that message to a broader public of “dear sirs,” the civilized urban public of Vienna, to whom the remote forests of eastern Galicia, full of bears and Hutsuls, must have seemed wild and dangerous. Yet the message was meant to be reassuring in the liberal spirit of Crown Prince Rudolf himself: the bears of Galicia were only dangerous when hungry. In decades past Galicia had been a land of recurrent famines, when not only bears, but also humans, had been hungry and needy, and among the several aspects that synthesized the peoples of the province, that constituted their common condition, poverty would increasingly be recognized as the definitive Galician trait.

* * *

In 1888 Stanisław Szczepanowski published in Lviv a landmark work of economics and sociology, *Nędza Galicyi w cyfrach* (Galicia’s Misery in Statistics), which brought numerical data to bear upon the question and showed that Galicia could be considered the poorest part of Europe. Because Galicia existed as a distinct political entity, invented by the Habsburgs in 1772 and maintained autonomously since the 1860s, it was now possible to assess its statistical character across a meaningful and measurable socioeconomic domain. Szczepanowski, however, further believed that, after a century of provincial existence, Galicia possessed a characteristic and disastrous economic tradition of its own. He apostrophized his readers in the preface—“Honorable Gentlemen!”—and urged them to “break free from the Galician tradition but join the Polish tradition.” Szczepanowski’s argument was historical: Galicia had been separated from Poland by the first partition of 1772 and had therefore failed to be influenced by the inauguration of a Polish civic tradition with the Four-Year Diet of 1788–92 and the Constitution of 3 May 1791 “tending toward the comparability of our society with civilized nations.” Galicia lacked the tradition of “civic work” that led to economic development in such nations and therefore inevitably fell farther behind, becoming “the

most unhappy, most oppressed province.”¹⁵ Because it was ruled by German bureaucrats from 1772 to 1866, Galicia never had the chance to develop its own tradition of “civic work” and had failed to break with its own socioeconomic past in the twenty years since the achievement of autonomy. In Szczepanowski’s view, poverty, underdevelopment, and economic backwardness were so deeply rooted in Galicia that they defined a Galician tradition and therefore the Galician identity. His title would brand the epithet “Galician misery” onto the body of Polish political culture, giving Galicia a tragic economic identity to associate with its cherished political autonomy.

In Szczepanowski’s statistical analysis Galicia’s diverse peoples were mathematically synthesized into the figure of the “average Galician,” whose principal characteristic was neither his nationality nor his religion, nor even his folk costume, but rather his extreme poverty. The average Galician was undernourished and underemployed: “The statistical figures show that the average Galician [*przeciętny Galicjanin*] eats half and works a quarter of [what] a person [should]. We see it equally among our peasants, among our artisans, among our clerks. But if it applies to any and every level of our population, then certainly it applies to the Jews.”¹⁶

In a climate of rising anti-Semitism, there were those who insisted upon the alien nature of the Jews in Galicia and insinuated that Jews exploited Poles and Ruthenians. Szczepanowski, however, argued that Jews were average Galicians, characterized on the whole by the same poverty, misery, and malnutrition as their neighbors.

Nędza Galicyi fully accepted the provincial framework of the age of autonomy and statistically analyzed the province not in terms of national differences, but in economic terms of poverty and backwardness. Szczepanowski’s statistical approach permitted him to synthesize the figure of the “average Galician” to represent the impoverished population of the province. He built upon the premise of provincial coherence that Stupnicki, Schneider, Majer and Kopernicki, and Jandaurek had cultivated after the Revolution of 1848, and especially after the 1860s, with the achievement of Galician autonomy. In Szczepanowski’s study, Galicia, taken as a coherent statistical whole, discovered its modern identity as a provincial homeland of extreme misery.

¹⁵ Stanisław Szczepanowski, *Nędza Galicyi w cyfrach i program energicznego rozwoju gospodarstwa krajowego* (Lviv: Gubrynowicz & Schmidt, 1888), v–vii.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 125.

and *Kratkaia redaktsiia Pravdy Ruskoi: Proiskhozhdenie teksta* (2009); and co-author of *Kyivska Rus'* (1998) and *Ukrainski proekty v Rosiiskii imperii* (2004).

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