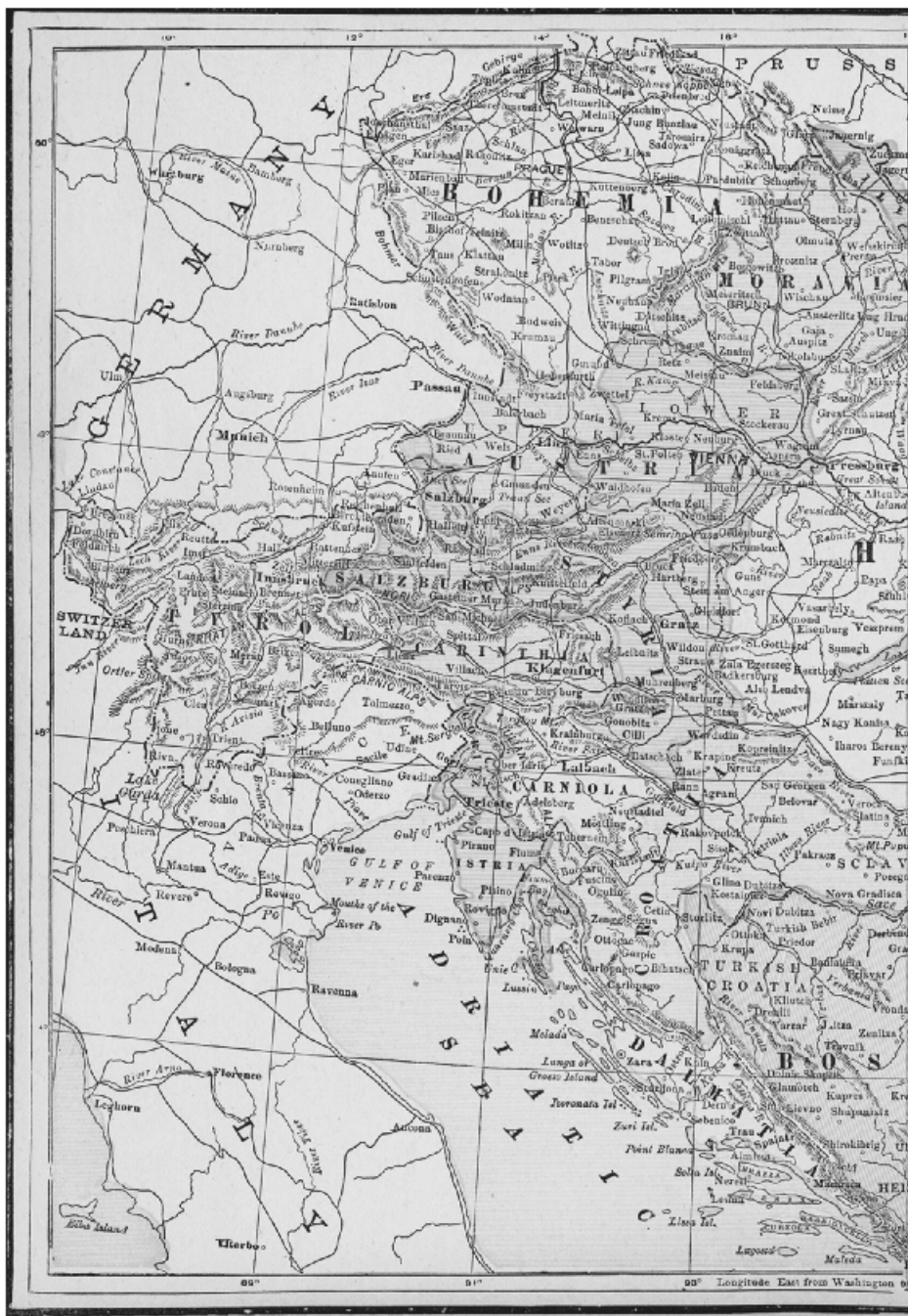

Introduction

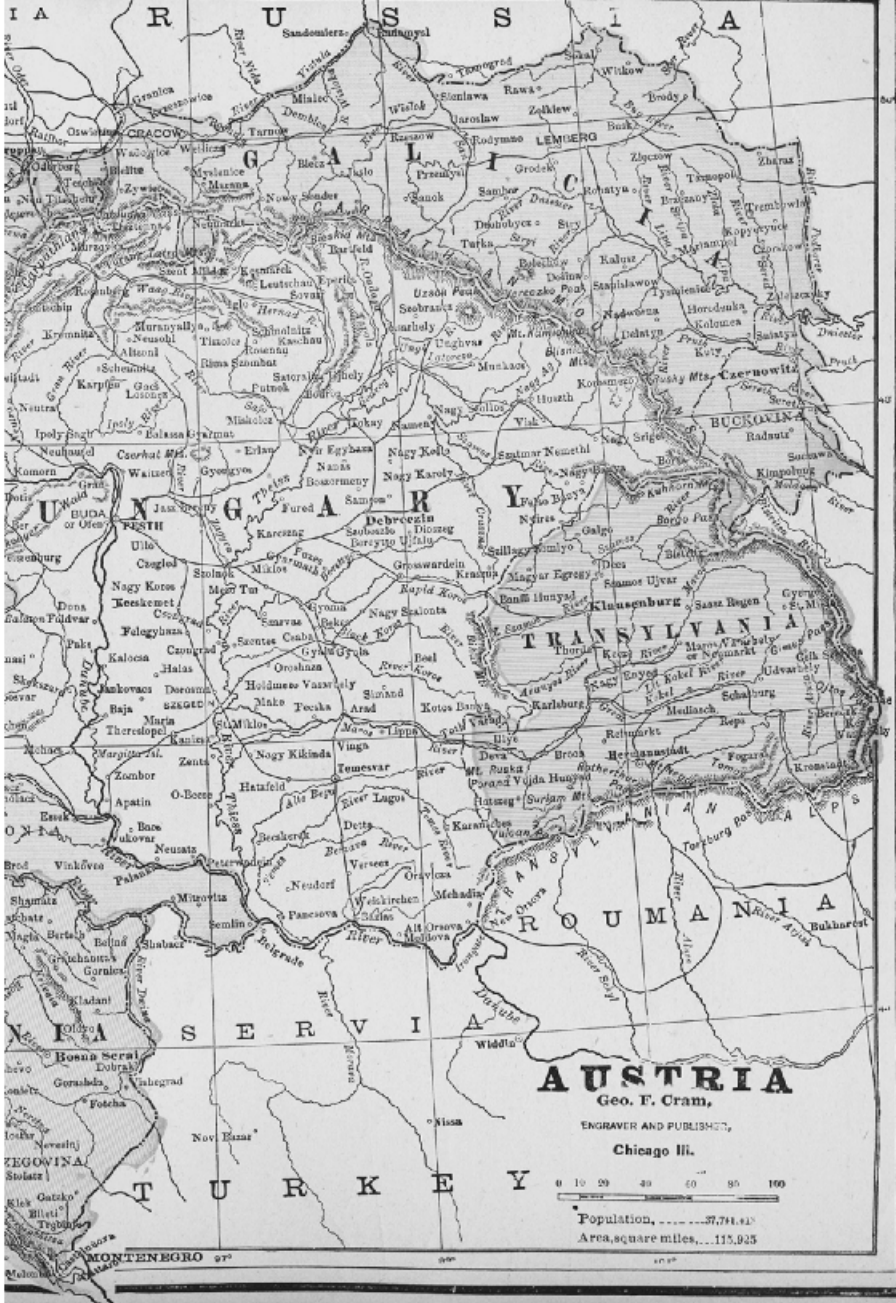


Galicia was created in 1772 at the historical moment of the first partition of Poland, when the Habsburg monarchy applied that name to Vienna's territorial portion of the partition and conceived of Galicia as a new Habsburg province. At the beginning of the century there had been an old Habsburg province of Galicia in northern Spain, but it was taken, along with Spain, by the Bourbons in the War of the Spanish Succession. The name was therefore available in 1772, serving as the Latin form of the medieval Rus principality of Halych, one of the successors of Kievan Rus in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The territories of medieval Halych coincided only roughly with those that the Empress Maria Theresa took from Poland in 1772, but the name served its purpose and continued to be used even as the Habsburg province was extended and revised during the later partitions of Poland and the Napoleonic wars. The population of the province included Poles, Ruthenians (today Ukrainians), Germans (including Austrians), and Jews. Galicia, invented in 1772, enjoyed a historical existence of less than a century and a half, from 1772 to the end of World War I and the abolition of the Habsburg monarchy in 1918. Galicia was then removed from the map of Europe, and today, almost a century later, it belongs to the category of extinct geopolitical entities.

The territory of the former Galicia now lies divided between contemporary Poland and Ukraine, and, although the Galician Jews were almost entirely annihilated in the Holocaust during World War II, the earlier emigration of Galician Jews meant that they survived outside Galicia, especially in America and Israel, where they continued to identify themselves as "Galitzianer" long after leaving Europe and well into the twentieth century. My father's parents were born in Galicia at the turn of the century, as subjects of Emperor Franz Joseph, and they remembered both the province and the emperor all the rest of their lives, which they spent in New York City. The emperor, my



Map of Austria (that is, the Habsburg monarchy, or Austria-Hungary), from Cram's *Universal Atlas* (Chicago, 1898). Galicia appears in the northeastern part of Austria-Hungary, bordering Russia.



AUSTRIA
Geo. F. Cram,

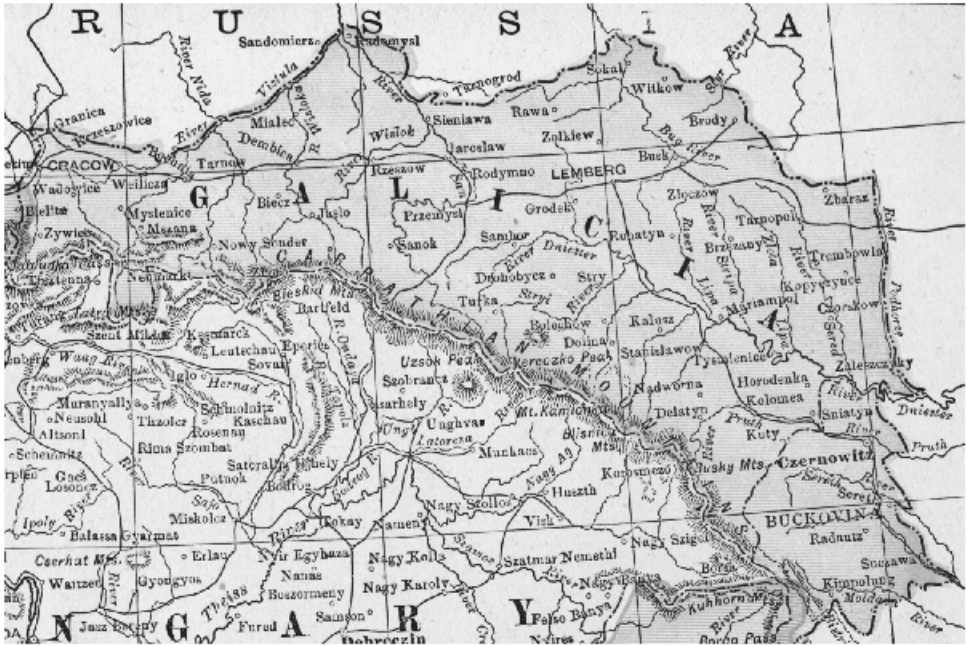
ENGRAYER AND PUBLISHER,

Chicago Ill.

Population, 37,741,411
Area, square miles, 115,925

grandmother loyally believed, was good to the Jews. This conviction was at least as old as she was, since a Viennese folklore journal of 1903 already reported that in Galicia the emperor had become, in his own lifetime, “almost a legendary figure” as represented “in the fantasy of the Jewish people.”¹ Legend and fantasy played a part in Galician political culture, dating back to the beginning, to the eighteenth-century reigns of Maria Theresa and her son Joseph II; the memory of Joseph was cherished by Galician peasants for generations after his death. Galician history, beginning so abruptly in 1772, was attended by messianic fantasies characteristic of the Habsburg Enlightenment, and when Galicia was abolished in 1918, that history became the haunted terrain of phantoms and fantasies. The Russian writer Isaac Babel came to the former Galicia in 1920, during the Polish-Soviet war, and recorded in his diary a vision of “spectral Galicians” passing through the scenes of wartime horror and brutality.² In 2007, when the very last native Galicians, born in 1918, were already almost ninety, there took place at the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York a symposium under the title “Galicia Mon Amour”—a title that resonated with profoundly ambivalent emotions.

This book offers an intellectual history of the idea of Galicia—that is, the study of a place as an idea. Beginning almost as an ideological tabula rasa, a mere name applied to a stretch of annexed territory, Galicia acquired meaning over the course of its historical existence; indeed, it accumulated multiple and shifting layers of meaning. It meant different things to its diverse populations, and acquired complex significance in the observations of statesmen and the imaginations of writers. This book considers the meaning of Galicia for such political figures as Joseph II and Metternich, for writers such as the comic dramatist Aleksander Fredro and the notorious novelist Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, for modernist cultural leaders like Ivan Franko and Stanisław Wyspiański. At the same time, the meaning of Galicia was formulated in the journals of the public sphere, and may be traced in such leading newspapers as *Gazeta Lwowska* in Lviv and *Czas* in Cracow during the nineteenth century, as well as in specialized publications like the Viennese folklore journal that featured Galician Jewish fantasies of Franz Joseph. While the idea of Galicia embraced the entire province, from the Dniester River to the Vistula River, from the Carpathian Mountains to the Wieliczka salt mines, from great aristocratic estates to small Jewish shtetls, the production of culture was principally urban, and this book is, to some extent, a tale of two cities: Lviv and Cracow, exercising their urban perspectives upon Galicia as a whole. The third crucial city was Vienna, the imperial capital, with its own metropolitan perspective on provincial Galicia, a perspective alternately sustained and contested by



Galicia, on the map of Austria, from Cram's *Universal Atlas* (Chicago, 1898). Lemberg (Lwów, Lviv), the capital city of Galicia, appears in the center of the province. Cracow (Kraków, Krakau) appears in the far western corner. This map colors Bukovina as part of southeastern Galicia, though in fact they were separate crownlands after 1849. The Carpathian Mountains form the southern border of Galicia.

the ideas that emerged from Galicia itself. The meaning of Galicia was never stable but was always contested, negotiated, redeveloped, and redeployed over the course of its entire history.

Galicia was a province, a crownland of the Habsburg monarchy, sometimes called a country [*kenj*, in Polish], but it constituted neither a national community nor the basis for any sort of aspiring political state. Called into being by Habsburg dynastic exigency, Galicia remained dynastically defined as a province of the monarchy in a manner very different from that of Habsburg Bohemia or Hungary, crownlands in possession of historic crowns and traditions to accompany them. As national movements developed among the Poles, Ruthenians, and Jews of Galicia during the course of the nineteenth century, the idea of Galicia transcended nationality in the spirit of inclusive provincial integrity. That integrity, however, required its own work of conscientious cultural construction, as in the botany of Galicia published in 1809, followed over the course of the century by the flora, the fauna, the

insecta, and in 1876 the physical anthropology of Galicia, thus transforming a geopolitical artifice of the eighteenth century into a natural space of the nineteenth century.

In 1792 an anonymous poet signed himself "Gallicjan," and from the eighteenth century to the twentieth century there were those who identified themselves as Galician, even if they simultaneously assumed other identities. Galician identity was fundamentally provincial, and its evolution suggests the importance of the provincial as an ideological force overlapping with the forces of the national and the imperial. "To see how administrative units could, over time, come to be conceived as fatherlands," Benedict Anderson has written, with particular reference to South America, "one has to look at the ways in which administrative organizations create meaning."³ Galicia was first invented as an administrative unit in the eighteenth century and only then began to accumulate cultural meanings over the course of its provincial history in the context of the Habsburg empire. Edward Said, writing with particular reference to the English and French overseas empires, has emphasized the importance of "the general relationship between culture and empire," and suggested that imperial ideology was "completely embedded" in culture: "We must try to look . . . integrally at the culture that nurtured the sentiment, rationale, and above all the imagination of empire."⁴ For the Habsburg empire, as for England and France, culture was marked by the tensions and pretensions of imperial rule, and culture was the site of those uncertain meanings and overlapping identities that defined provincial Galicia.

For the middle of the nineteenth century, based on the Habsburg census of 1857, the Galician population has been calculated as perfectly balanced between Greek Catholic Ruthenians at 44.83 percent and Roman Catholic Poles at 44.74 percent, with Jews completing the picture at 9.69 percent.⁵ This exquisite decimal precision, however, was actually based on religion rather than national identification, and at that midcentury moment the great mass of the Galician peasant population would not have felt subject to the sentiments of modern nationalism. In 1894 the province offered a dramatic representation of itself at the General Provincial Exhibition in Lviv, which was even visited by Franz Joseph. The ethnographic pavilion, with costumed mannequins in full folkloric splendor, created a kaleidoscopic ensemble by which national divisions were dissolved into shifting patterns of color and ornament, dazzling to the eye of the spectator, including the emperor. Habsburg imperial rule in Galicia, as in the other provinces of the monarchy, sought the transcendence of national differences, and the provincial idea of Galicia remained fundamentally non-national.

Scholars of the Habsburg monarchy have sought to understand how national politics and national identities imposed themselves upon a hypothetically non-national society over the course of the nineteenth century. In the case of Galicia the “non-national” was as much an ideological construct as the “national”—alternative perspectives in conceptual tension with one another. In 1835 the greatest Galician writer of the age, the Polish comic dramatist Aleksander Fredro, was publicly denounced for creating “non-national [*nienarodowy*]” literary works. The idea of Galicia suggests the importance of the “non-national” for the construction of provincial identity.

This book stands closely related to previous work of my own. My study *Inventing Eastern Europe* (1994) led me to conclude that Eastern Europe, itself an intellectual artifact of the eighteenth century, was particularly fertile imaginative terrain for the devising of new geopolitical scenarios, such as that of Galicia in 1772. This moved me to consider further the problem of how an imagined or invented entity, like Galicia in the eighteenth century, became geopolitically real, meaningful, and historical in the nineteenth century—before receding again into the domain of fantasy in the twentieth century. My study *Venice and the Slavs* (2001) attempted to explore how the Enlightenment’s ideas about Eastern Europe were deployed in an imperial context, on the Adriatic, where the political asymmetry of imperial power between Venice and Dalmatia seemed to align geographically with the emerging sense of continental differentiation. In the case of Galicia I have sought to understand how an ideology of empire, forged in the age of Enlightenment, persisted and developed over the course of the nineteenth century, and how evolving ideological tensions conditioned the end of empire in the twentieth century. In Galicia the imperial values of the Enlightenment took the particular form of Josephinism, named for Emperor Joseph II, with his commitment to revolutionary transformative absolutism, almost messianic in its application to the supposed redemption and “recasting” of Galicia. Most notably, the concept of supposed “civilization” was applied to the entire domain of Eastern Europe and the particular province of Galicia, from the reign of Joseph through the reign of Franz Joseph: Galician barbarism was to be reformed, and Galician backwardness was to be ameliorated. This book thus studies the ideological power and persistence of the Enlightenment’s idea of Eastern Europe in modern Habsburg history.

The first chapter considers the accounts of the enlightened Josephine travelers who visited Galicia in the 1780s and very critically evaluated the province; their views were countered by the internal Galician perspective that emerged in 1790 with the so-called Magna Charta of Galicia. The second chapter, focusing on the post-Napoleonic period, juxtaposes the

dominant political perspective of Metternich in Vienna with such internal Galician perspectives as the articles in *Gazeta Lwowska* and the comedies of Fredro on stage in Lviv. Chapter Three addresses the self-assumed Galician identity of the writer Sacher-Masoch, cultivated from the memories of his childhood as the son of the Lviv police chief in the 1830s and 1840s. Sacher-Masoch's literary sensibility developed in the context of emerging Ruthenian cultural currents and the folkloric exploration of the province, while his celebrated "masochism" was related to a specifically Galician sense of bondage. Chapter Four focuses on the pivotal and traumatic midpoint in Galician history, the massacre of 1846; the peasant massacre of insurrectionary Polish nobles, committed in Galician allegiance to the Habsburg dynasty, was the defining and unforgettable moment of the province's history ever after.

Chapters Five and Six make use of the Cracow newspaper *Czas* as the representative of a newly synthesized Polish-Galician hegemonic perspective, affirming Habsburg loyalty in exchange for Galician autonomy, beginning in the 1860s, such that the province became a truly meaningful geopolitical unit during the last third of the century. The hegemonic Polish-Galician perspective was, however, challenged by alternative Ruthenian-Galician and Jewish-Galician perspectives on the province, as in the literary work of Ivan Franko and Karl Emil Franzos, including the former's tales of the Boryslav oilfields and the latter's stories from *Halb-Asien*, the Galician Orient. Chapter Seven discusses fin-de-siècle Galicia in relation to broader fin-de-siècle currents inside and outside the Habsburg monarchy, considering especially Wyspiański's drama of 1901, *The Wedding (Wesele)*, as an artistic expression of Galicia's inner conflicts and contradictions at the turn of the century. Chapter Eight considers twentieth-century initiatives that sought to cut through those conflicts, such as the opening of the cabaret the Green Balloon in Cracow in 1905 (also the year of Franko's epic poem about Moses) and the assassination of the governor of Galicia in 1908 (also the year in which Martin Buber began to write about Hasidism). Chapter Nine analyzes how, semantically and ideologically, the province was removed from the map—"liquidated"—with the abolition of the Habsburg monarchy in 1918, while Chapter Ten traces the afterlife of Galicia in memory and fantasy, including the literary works of such Galician writers as Joseph Roth, Bruno Schulz, and Shmuel Yosef Agnon, in German, Polish, and Hebrew literature, respectively. While I have made every effort to consider a full variety of the perspectives on Galicia that emerged and evolved in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, the sampling remains inevitably incomplete, as every Galician political figure, public organ, and

cultural work had something to say, implicitly or explicitly, about the nature of Galicia itself.

The history of the idea of Galicia is also the intellectual history of historical writing, for history was one of the crucial genres in which the idea and identity of Galicia was cultivated and developed. In 1817, only forty-five years after the invention of Galicia, Joseph Mauss, professor of history at the university in Lviv, was working on a full history of Galicia and trying to establish retrospectively its medieval antecedents; Mauss reported in a letter that he had reached the year 1347.⁶ In 1853, the historian Walerian Kalinka published *Galicia and Cracow under Austrian Rule*, and went on to become one of the founding figures of the Cracow historical school. Later historians of the Cracow historical school would also become leading ideologues and statesmen of Galician autonomy—such as Józef Szujski, who published *The Poles and Ruthenians in Galicia* in 1882, and Michał Bobrzyński, who became the viceroy, or *namiestnik*, of Galicia in 1908.⁷ Their Ruthenian or Ukrainian contemporaries, such as Stefan Kachala and Mykhailo Hrushevsky, likewise looked to history as a means of articulating the idea of Galicia, the identity of Galician Ruthenians, and their relationship to a larger Ukrainian nation. Historians like Kachala did not hesitate to connect contemporary Galicia to medieval Halych, bridging a gap of centuries in order to affirm the continuously Ruthenian nature of the province.⁸ In the early twentieth century, Majer Bałaban in Lviv was publishing histories of the Jews of Galicia, conceived as a distinctive historical subject. These historians all contributed to a discourse of Galicia by writing the history of Galicia and Galicians while the province itself still existed.

For this reason history and historiography in this project have not always been easy to disentangle. I myself first began thinking about the history of Galicia as a student in the 1970s, half a century after the abolition of the province, when the lived experience of Galicia was already a very remote, but still surviving, memory. One pioneering work that made a great impression on me was Jan Kozik's book on the Ukrainian national movement in Galicia, published in Polish in the 1970s and in English in the 1980s. Similarly stimulating, at that time, was the collection on Galicia edited in 1982 by Frank Sysyn and Andrei Markovits.⁹ Also in the 1980s, John-Paul Himka began to publish his work on Galicia, resulting in a number of important monographs on Galician politics, society, and religion. In 1983, Paul Robert Magocsi published an invaluable book-length bibliographic guide to Galicia.¹⁰

There was new interest in Galicia in the 1990s, after the collapse of communism in Poland and the achievement of independence in Ukraine. The important scholarly work of Maria Kłańska on Galicia “in the eyes” of

German-language writers, published in Cracow in 1991, pointed toward a new way of understanding the cultural representation of the province. Two edited collections have featured new angles of scholarship on Galicia: one edited by Antony Polonsky and Israel Bartal in 1999 as a volume of *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*, the other edited by Christopher Hann and Paul Robert Magocsi, *Galicia: A Multicultural Land*, in 2005.¹¹ Young American scholars have recently turned to Galicia with important new works: Keely Stauter-Halsted's book on the nationalization of the peasantry in Galicia (2001), Alison Fleig Frank's book about Galician oil (2005), and Daniel Unowsky's book on Habsburg patriotism, including an analysis of the emperor's official visits to Galicia (2005). In 2006 there appeared Daniel Mendelsohn's compelling family memoir, *The Lost*, about returning to Galicia to discover the story of his grandfather's family, murdered in the Holocaust. In recent years new research on Galicia has been encouraged by the "Borderlands" project at Brown University, directed by Omer Bartov, and in 2007, Bartov published a remarkable travel account of the vanishing traces of Jewish Galicia.¹²

In Rzeszów, since 1994, there have been published a series of volumes under the general title *Galicia and Its Legacy (Galicja i jej dziedzictwo)*. In Cracow the International Cultural Center, under the direction of Jacek Purchla, has played an important role in the study of Galicia, including the publication of a volume on Cracow and Lviv edited by Purchla in 2003. In Lviv, Yaroslav Hrytsak has trained a new generation of students in the history of Galicia, while himself writing a series of pioneering articles that culminated in the publication of his book on Ivan Franko in 2006. Hrytsak has played a leading role in making the journal *Ukraina Moderna* and the Western-oriented website www.zaxid.net into important forums for Galician research and discussion; likewise significant is the Center for Urban History of East Central Europe, recently founded by Harald Binder in Lviv. At the University of Vienna a special interdisciplinary doctoral program has been established for the study of Galicia. In 2007 historians Andreas Kappeler and Christoph Augustynowicz, both faculty members of the Vienna program, published an edited collection on the Galician border region, while philologist Michael Moser, also a member of that faculty, published a book on the Ruthenian language in Galician primers. In 2007, further new works on Galicia included Hans-Christian Maner's study of Galicia conceived as a Habsburg borderland, and Michael Stanislawski's book, *A Murder in Lemberg*, about tensions and violence within the Galician Jewish community. In 2008, Danuta Sosnowska published a study that explored Ruthenian and Czech perspectives from inside and outside Galicia, and in 2009, Markian Prokopowych published a pioneering work on architecture and public space in Lviv.¹³

Historical reflection still today continues to preserve and revise the cultural meaning of Galicia in its phantom form, almost a century after its geopolitical demise in 1918. In the spirit of politically purposeful nostalgia, the 170th birthday of Emperor Franz Joseph was celebrated in Lviv, Lwów, Lemberg, in 2000, suggesting that Galicia still survived in memory and in fantasy. Indeed, a cultural circle of “Galician autonomists” has self-consciously cultivated that memory in Lviv. In 2001 international controversy surrounded the Galician legacy of Bruno Schulz, when murals that he had painted in his native Galician town of Drohobych, today in Ukraine, were removed to the Yad Vashem Museum in Jerusalem. This book attempts to trace the idea of Galicia from its initially figmentary conception in the eighteenth century to its phantom haunting of contemporary consciousness in the twenty-first. The history of the idea of Galicia may offer some insight into how cultural and ideological meanings have evolved in relation to geopolitical space in Eastern Europe.

In the 1780s the Polish writer Julian Niemcewicz traveled from Poland to the newly created province of Galicia—“not without heartache at seeing such a beautiful region broken off from the Polish kingdom.”¹⁴ At that moment Galicia was lamented as a loss to Poland, a territory whose significance lay only in its fractured condition. In the middle of the nineteenth century Sacher-Masoch dedicated a novel to his “countrymen,” his fellow Galicians. “Far from the homeland [*Heimat*] I send you this greeting,” he wrote. “I greet you all, for it was one land, Galicia, that gave us all birth: Poles, Ruthenians, Germans, and Jews!”¹⁵ Already a long-established Habsburg crownland, Galicia now possessed an emotional significance of its own; the province was no longer just a broken off piece of Poland, but a homeland that transcended nations and religions. In the 1930s, when Joseph Roth was writing about Galicia, it had vanished from the map of Europe and was again evocative of loss and longing, a homeland preserved only in memory. In *The Emperor’s Tomb* Roth described the plan for a Viennese expedition to Galicia to visit a particular town. “Gradually this journey became for us a passion, even an obsession,” wrote Roth. “We were convinced that we were painting an entirely false portrait of it, yet could not stop picturing this place which none of us knew. In other words we furnished it with all sorts of characteristics which we knew from the start were deliberate creations of our own fantasy.”¹⁶ From the 1780s to the 1930s, from heartache, to homeland, to passion and obsession and fantasy, the idea of Galicia has left its mark on the European map and the European mind.