Inventing Galicia: Messianic Josephinism and the Recasting of Partitioned Poland
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“Je vais partir pour la Galicie; altri guai!” (I am going to depart for Galicia; more problems!) wrote the Emperor Joseph II to his brother Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany, in July 1773. Joseph had never been to Galicia before, and neither had Leopold, nor indeed any but a small number of recent visitors, for Galicia did not exist until 1772, when it was constituted and named as the Habsburg share in the first Polish partition. If there was some sense of occasion in Joseph’s French announcement of his imminent departure, it was because Galicia was truly a new world, newly created the year before, invented in the rational spirit of enlightened statecraft. Yet, the Italian exclamation—altri guai!—suggested something less than perfect imperial solemnity in his anticipation of the voyage, something more like irony or even comedy—opera buffa—in the Habsburg perspective on the newly annexed, newly named, newly invented, and newly problematic province of Galicia.

The province was designated on the map, a specified stretch of territory, an administrative entity subject to Habsburg authority, but this geopolitical formulation of Galicia offered only an outline of the unprecedented provincial invention; the outline would have to be filled in with the coloring of cultural construction. Galicia posed a discursive challenge: how to make sense out of, and inject meaning into, the suddenly undeniable geopolitical contours. The entire first generation of Galicia’s existence from the 1770s to the 1790s, in the age of the Polish partitions, constituted a period of ongoing discursive maneuvers that served to establish the province on the map of Europe. Conceived as a figment of the Habsburg imperial imagination, Galicia was made over into a plausible provincial entity whose cultural representations confirmed its territorial reality.

The imperial co-rulers, Joseph and his mother, Maria Theresa, gave the enterprise its initial political impulse, and the Habsburg chancellor Prince Wenzel Kaunitz, along with the first Habsburg governor of Galicia, Count Anton Pergen, attended closely to the province in the 1770s, in pursuit of its ultimate administrative integration within the Austrian state. The 1780s, the decade of Joseph’s sole rule, brought to Galicia a new breed of Josephine travelers, including Franz Kratter and Alphons Heinrich Traunpaur, taking stock of the province according to the values of the

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Enlightenment. Published accounts attempted to offer a summation of provincial economy, ethnography, and social structure, thus lending intellectual coherence to the concept of Galicia. At the same time, such accounts located Galicia according to the enlightened cultural geography that distinguished “Eastern Europe” from “Western Europe,” measuring the gap between backwardness and supposed civilization.

In 1790, at the death of Joseph and during the course of the French Revolution, political tensions within Galicia reflected contemporary European ideological currents, as local elites, who could be alternatively characterized as Polish or Galician, attempted to affirm provincial political prerogatives. The abolition of the Polish Commonwealth in 1795 brought about the aggrandizement of Galicia, and when the dramatist Wojciech Bogusławski presented his national pageant, *Krakowiacy i Górale* (Krakoviaks and highlanders), in Galicia in 1796, the work acquired particular dramatic significance from the Galician cultural context. By the time Bogusławski arrived in the 1790s, twenty years after Joseph in the 1770s, the province was well on the way to possessing both political coherence and a complex cultural identity. The intervening decades had already accomplished the invention of Galicia.

Stanisław Grodziski, focusing on the social and political structure of Galicia, has detailed the Habsburg assault on the Polish privileges of the nobility and the clergy, in the context of fiscally exploitative policies. Horst Glassl, in his book about the establishment of Habsburg government in Galicia, has argued that Joseph’s massive reforms, carried out “in stormy haste,” sought to transform the social order of Galicia and called forth dramatic opposition from the nobility. Derek Beales, in his biography of Joseph II, has suggested that the emperor, after his visit of 1773, “became much more concerned with the welfare of the province itself, as opposed to its exploitation for the advantage of the whole Monarchy,” including even an inclination “to give the nobility some feeling of participation in the new regime.” These important studies do not emphasize the conceptual fashioning of Galicia itself in the crucible of attempted imperial reform and emerging provincial resistance. Maria Klaińska, a Polish scholar of German literature, has pointed the way toward a different approach with her study of Galicia as the subject of German writing. Galicia, in the aftermath of its invention in 1772, must be studied as a historical problem of social and political integration and also of cultural and ideological construction.

Joseph in Galicia: "Among the Sarmatians"

In discussion with Kaunitz in 1772, Maria Theresa noted, "The word partition repels me." Her imperial repugnance paved the way for the introduction of the name "Galicia" into the Habsburg calculations concerning Poland. Kaunitz as chancellor had already encouraged research into the historical claims of the medieval Hungarian crown, and now, in 1772, the names of the medieval Rus' principalities "Halych" and "Vladimir" were suddenly floated in Habsburg discussions of Poland. The medieval Hungarian crown had laid claim to those dominions as early as the twelfth century, while Poland acquired territory in the region only later in the fourteenth century; therefore, Maria Theresa, as queen of Hungary in the eighteenth century, could nominally claim title to "the kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria," which could be construed as approximately covering Austria's share in the Polish partition. As Habsburg troops occupied portions of Poland in 1772, Vienna affirmed the "revindication" of the medieval Hungarian prerogative and thus evaded the repugnant word partition that offended the empress. The tailoring of title to territory in Galicia was only a rough fit, in any event, and had to be patched with additional incidental titles, as when Maria Theresa, through her Bohemian crown, also laid claim to the duchy of Auschwitz. She herself did not actually use the term Galicia when she tried to dissuade Joseph from making his visit in 1773, urging him to refrain from "this terrible voyage" and remain in Vienna: "Here is your place, and not in den Carpathischen Gebirgen." Shifting from French into their native German she placed a particular emphasis on the Carpathian Mountains, as if to suggest their wildness and remoteness.

Joseph summed up the circumstances of Galicia for his mother in a letter dated 1 August 1773 from Lviv, which he called Lemberg: "I already see in advance that the work will be immense here. In addition to the confusion of affairs, there already reigns here a partisan spirit that is frightful. The country seems full of good will; the peasant is an unfortunate who has nothing but the human form and physical life." The immense work that Joseph seemed to foresee was, presumably, his own revolutionary engagement in the 1780s, after his mother's death, on behalf of the enserfed peasants and against the oppressive nobility, in Galicia as elsewhere in the Habsburg monarchy. On the same day, 1 August, Joseph wrote more casually to his brother Leopold in Florence: "I am then among the Sarmatians \[Me voild donc au milieu des Sarmates\]. It is incredible everything

3. Alfred Ritter von Arneth, Maria Theresia's letzte Regierungszeit, 1763-1780 (Vienna, 1877), 2:596.
5. Arneth, Maria Theresia und Joseph II, 2:9–10 (Maria Theresa to Joseph, 20 June 1773).
that has to be done here; it is a confusion like no other: cabals, intrigues, anarchy, finally even an absurdity of principles.”7 The Sarmatians were supposedly ancient inhabitants of the region, whose name had been adopted by the Polish nobility as valorous ancestry: Sarmatian style, as reflected in long coats and curved swords, was considered a distinctively Polish alternative to French fashion. Yet, for Joseph to declare himself “among the Sarmatians” constituted an attribution of comical barbarism to the inhabitants of Galicia, denominating them as if they were the natives of some parable by Voltaire: like Candide among the Bulgars and the Avars. Indeed, Joseph’s discovery of Galicia’s characteristic “confusion” and “absurdity” was entirely consistent with Voltaire’s general vision of eastern Europe. Voltaire wrote to Catherine the Great, also in 1773, that he hoped she would bring about “the unscrambling of all this chaos in which the earth is plunged, from Danzig to the mouth of the Danube.”8 The Josephine mission in Galicia would similarly involve the unscrambling of chaos, bringing order out of confusion.

To order the province meant, first of all, constituting the newly appropriated territories as a coherent administrative unit. Pergen, the governor, a protégé of Kaunitz, was supposed to create a brand-new administration, displacing the remnants of the former Polish government and establishing a province that could be aligned and integrated with the other Habsburg lands. This fantasy of enlightened statecraft—the perfect displacement of old forms and institutions by new—was encouraged by the ideological implications of the “revindication” of Galicia. Kaunitz proposed that since the Habsburgs were, in fact, reclaiming a Hungarian province, illegitimately obtained by Poland in the Middle Ages, then all intervening Polish developments could be considered null and void.9 In particular, the extensive privileges and prerogatives of the Polish gentry in local government, along with Polish law and custom, could simply be canceled, producing a tabula rasa—Galicia—which the new Habsburg masters might cover with their own formulas. Yet Pergen, arriving in L’viv in 1772, had to deal with the practical fact that Galicia was neither a blank slate, nor a new world, but a fully inhabited territory of some two-and-a-half million people—including Poles, Ruthenians or Ukrainians, and Jews—and they could not be governed with complete disregard for their past circumstances.

When Joseph came to Galicia in 1773 he was already inclined to be dissatisfied with Pergen for his inadequate commitment to the radical overhaul of Galician society and administration. Joseph had prepared an agenda of 154 questions for Pergen. So Pergen quickly compiled an account of the province: *Description of the Kingdoms of Galicia and Lodomeria* at the moment of its “revindication” by the Habsburgs.10 These 150 pages

9. Glassl, *Das Osterreichische Einrichtungswerk in Galizien*, 44.
10. Ibid., 70; Franz A. J. Szabo, “Austrian First Impressions of Ethnic Relations in Galicia: The Case of Governor Anton von Pergen,” in Israel Bartal and Antony Polonsky, eds.,
of description made it very clear that Galicia was not a void in which the Habsburgs could act with complete disregard for abiding circumstances. Yet, even in the context of exchanging questions and answers, producing description and information, Joseph would nevertheless, at the first glance of his own imperial eye, conclude that Galicia was at best a domain of confusion. Really, it was what he had expected all along, had known that he would discover from the moment that he set out on his voyage: altri guai!

**Robinson Crusoe in Galicia: “The New and the Strange”**

Throughout the Habsburg monarchy, the decade of the 1780s witnessed the tremendous upheaval caused by Joseph’s campaign for revolutionary enlightened absolutism, later labeled Josephinism: the encouragement of administrative centralization from Vienna, the imposition of state control over religious life, the concession of religious toleration, the relaxation of censorship, the partial abolition of serfdom through the legal protection of peasants, and the corresponding assault on noble privileges. Such reforms were revolutionary everywhere in the monarchy, but the recent acquisition of Galicia, and the convenient argument for its “reindication,” meant that historic prerogatives had less weight there than in the other Habsburg lands. In the Josephine decade the government continued to seek comprehensive information about Galicia, the official knowledge that facilitated imperial power. Such knowledge also began to find its place within the public sphere of the Enlightenment, as controversies over the emperor’s reforms brought Galicia to the attention of German readers inside and outside the Habsburg monarchy.

Franz Kratter, a young man from Swabia—within the Holy Roman Empire but outside the Habsburg dynastic lands—spent six months in Galicia in 1784, visiting his brothers who had established themselves selling wine in L'viv. Kratter’s *Briefe über den itzigen Zustand von Galizien* (Letters about the present situation of Galicia) appeared anonymously in two volumes in Leipzig in 1786 and, for the first time, made Galicia into a subject for discussion in the public sphere, beyond the restricted circles and channels of the Habsburg government. Kratter remarked that travel accounts “have always been the favorite reading of the German public,” because they appealed to “its taste, its inclination for the new and the strange.”

Galicia was certainly something quite new to the reading public in the 1780s, and Kratter would seek to emphasize, indeed partly to impute, the requisite strangeness.

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Kratter promised to present not only the positive aspects of Galicia but also "the bad, the ugly, the abominable [das Schlechte, Hässliche, Abscheuliche]." He anticipated that the bad, the ugly, and the abominable might overwhelm his enlightened public: "Friends of humanity, noble, gentle, amiable souls, I must beg your pardon if I sometimes offend the delicacy of your sensibility and make your heart bleed with terrible images of inhuman tyranny, with sad depictions of oppressed human misery." Thus Kratter established the chasm that separated his public of gentle German readers from the different world of Galicia. It was, in fact, the nobility in Galicia that appeared particularly detestable to Kratter, and he aimed his account at a middle-class public who might be expected to approve the Josephine assault on noble privilege. He demanded that the "Galician nobility" be compelled "to bend its unruly anarchic spirit to the yoke of monarchy." The very notion of a "Galician nobility" was something new, something inconceivable before Austrian rule; the Habsburgs had annexed the lands of the Polish nobility, who became Galician when they lost the rights that pertained to their Polish political status. Becoming Galician was thus conceived as the imposition of Habsburg monarchical discipline.

The modern idea of "Eastern Europe" was formulated in the age of Enlightenment, as the eastern lands of the continent came to be seen as constituting a domain of backwardness, awaiting the improvements of civilization. The governing of Galicia was thus, accordingly, conceived as a civilizing project. Kratter cited "the barbarous wildness of the Polish nobility." The Polish noble had been, formerly, "the most inhuman, abominable wild thing [Wildling]" and "remote from every mannered society, from his youth destined for unlimited command, through coarse, wild and horrible actions hardened to the point of tigerish insensitivity." The nobles still demonstrated their barbarism in violent brutality toward their serfs. Kratter thus emphasized the wild, coarse, and even bestial world of the tigerlike Polish nobles in Galicia, in contrast to the mannered society of the civilized world, the world of the German reading public. Those Polish nobles were, even as Kratter wrote, being transformed, civilized, melted down, and "recast" (umgeschmolzen) as Habsburg Galician subjects. Kratter's literary mission thus served the political purpose of Habsburg vindication. Maria Theresa had cherished the pretense of traditional legitimacy that derived from the medieval Hungarian claim to Halych and Vladimir. In the age of Joseph, in the 1780s, it was possible to articulate a more modern claim to legitimacy before the public, emphasizing the displacement of barbaric cruelty by enlightened government.

Just as Joseph sought to restrict noble prerogatives throughout the Habsburg monarchy, he was simultaneously committed to striking down the privileges of the church, which he especially sought to subordinate to the state. Kratter accordingly believed that nobles and clergy were jointly complicit in perpetrating evil in Galicia.

12. [Kratter], Briefe, 1: "An den Leser."
13. Ibid., 1:159, 165, 169–70.
That is why churches and monasteries are made into whorehouses and houses of public shame for the high nobility! That is why laymen and priests remain silent when a lustful, debauched monster, in church, has a penitent praying innocent removed from the foot of the altar, and amidst the most mysterious observances of Christian worship, surrounded by his followers, violates her in the clear sight of the people! My heart is outraged! My blood is in ferment, my soul filled with horror and loathing, and at this moment my conception of humanity and the church is lowered far beyond all ugliness.  

While such writing crudely served the political purpose of justifying Joseph’s measures against the clergy, Kratter’s extravagant treatment of the subject went far beyond the conventions of polemical engagement to achieve a blasphemously pornographic representation not altogether unlike the contemporary literary effusions of the Marquis de Sade. Kratter, in the literary spirit of Sturm und Drang, actually wrote himself into a passionate frenzy, describing his own clinical symptoms of heart and blood, which might be infectiously communicated to susceptible readers.

The Uniate or Greek Catholic Church of the Galician Ruthenians, with its preservation of Orthodox ritual, seemed even more disturbing to Kratter than Roman Catholicism. He went so far as to describe the ritual as “low comic burlesque” (niedrigkomische Purleskerei) and was himself able to make it into comedy by the tone of his description. For instance, he went to Vespers on one occasion in L'viv and saw the Uniate bishop presiding over the ritual kissing of holy relics and sacred images: “They lined up with their wares [Kram], and the rest of the clergy came in procession, and kissed what was to be kissed. After came the people in a great mass, to kiss what was to be kissed. In the whole church I was the only outcast who, from I know not what sort of unpardonable chilling of zeal, did not want to become kissable.” The declaration of his own cool detachment, standing outside the comic circle of ritual kissing, clearly defined Kratter’s sense of perspective on the strangeness of Galicia.

The Jews of Galicia seemed religiously stranger still, and Kratter was well aware of their very significant numbers in the population of the province, perhaps 10 percent. As early as the 1770s the Habsburgs had sought to moderate the social, judicial, and political autonomy that Jews had enjoyed in the Polish Commonwealth. The Habsburg reorganization of the Jews of Galicia in 1776—Allgemeine Ordnung fur die gesamte Judenschaft der Königreiche Galizien und Lodomerien—involving administrative reform subordinating Galician Jews to a single body of elders, including a single rabbi, Landesrabin, directly responsible to the Habsburg government. Joseph in 1785 sought to transform the Jews’ economic condition by restricting the possibility of obtaining leases from nobles—

15. Ibid., 2:168–70.
for instance, leases for operating mills or inns. Jews had had to pay extortionate fees to the nobles for such leases and then try to make the leases profitable at the expense of the local population.

For Kratter the Josephine moment promised nothing less than the messianic transformation of the misfortunes of Jewish history. “All Galicia wishes now to be placed in different relations with the Jews… These general wishes have reached all the way up to the ears of the government, because after all, there is no Moses willing to take pity on his fellow Hebrews, free them from the yoke of despotism, and lead them into a promised land.” Kratter, while explicitly addressing the German public, also implicitly spoke in the name of a nascent Galician public opinion: “All Galicia wishes [Ganz Galizien wiinscht].” The Habsburg government supposedly responded to that Galician public and offered a “recasting” (Umschmelzung) of relations between Christians and Jews, just as it also sought a “recasting” of relations between nobles and peasants. What was being forged, in this metallurgical metaphor, was nothing less than Galicia itself. Joseph would liberate the Jews from the Egyptian despotism of Poland and establish a promised land on the same terrain where they had lived for centuries, now socially and politically transformed: Habsburg Galicia. While Joseph’s edict of toleration of 1781 already prevailed for different Christian denominations, and lifted some restrictions on Jews, a further decree of 1789 gave freedom of worship to the Jews of Galicia and the promise of equal treatment under the law: “in accordance with which the Jews are to be guaranteed the privileges and rights of other subjects.” Kratter heralded the eventual liberation of the Jews from their condition as “the most unfortunate, most deplorable, most helpless class of men” and celebrated their recasting as “brothers of their fellow men,” as “patriots in the bosom of the fatherland.” Such was the truly revolutionary Josephine fantasy of social transformation in Galicia.

When Kratter critically considered his own work, he conceded that some ideas might seem to be “the innocent dreams of a pleasantly occupied fantasy.” Dreaming and fantasy, however, had their place in any consideration of Galicia. The province had to be imaginatively envisioned in the future, ever a work in progress. “The whole is near its recasting [Das Ganze ist seiner Umschmelzung nahe],” he intimated, apocalyptically. Yet, however near the recasting might appear, it would always remain just out of reach. Kratter thus addressed the German public and conjured an image of Galicia that aimed to seduce his readers into dreaming, along with him, the fantasy of enlightened transformation.

Other writers, however, competitively laid claim to the fantasies of that same readership. Kratter’s publication in 1786 immediately provoked an-

17. Ibid., 66.
18. [Kratter], Briefe, 2:42.
20. [Kratter], Briefe, 2:54, 59.
other work in response in 1787, establishing the spirit of controversy, debate, and ongoing discussion concerning Galicia that generally characterized the nascent public sphere of the eighteenth century. Criticism, according to Jürgen Habermas, was the hallmark of the public sphere, and Kratter himself was therefore inevitably criticized in the next publication concerning Galicia, even in the phrasing of the title: Dreyssig Briefe über Galizien: Oder Beobachtungen eines unpartheyischen Mannes, der sich mehr als nur ein paar Monate in diesem Königreiche umgesehen hat (Thirty letters about Galicia: Or the observations of a nonpartisan man who has looked around this kingdom for more than just a few months).22 The work was published anonymously in German in 1787, in Vienna and Leipzig, and the author was Alphons Heinrich Traunpaur, Chevalier d’Ophanie, born in Habsburg Brussels. As an officer in the Habsburg army, he had been living in Galicia for eight whole years, which, he insisted, gave him greater credibility than Kratter with his visit of several meager months.

Traunpaur’s book included a travelogue of Galicia supposedly composed by another officer, an Italian, in the Habsburg army. The unnamed Italian traveled around the province, recording his observations. “Indeed it is just fragments,” observed Traunpaur. “Whoever puts them together will be able to obtain for himself a rather clear concept [Begriff] of Galicia’s condition.”23 This was the intellectual challenge of the Josephine observers in Galicia, to discern the coherence of a province that had been altogether arbitrarily constituted in 1772.

The declaration of nonpartisanship in the title of Traunpaur’s book was meant to suggest that Kratter was motivated by personal bias, that he was, in particular, nationally partisan in his hostility to the Poles. Traunpaur’s Italian officer, in rebuttal of Kratter, discovered a model specimen of the Polish nobility, by the name of Wikofski, living in the vicinity of Rzeszów.

He does honor to his fatherland, Galicia, and combines with true manly beauty an intelligent humor, and the most noble way of thinking. His company is pleasant, and in his house there prevails order and unrestricted hospitality. Nothing is comparable to the harmony in which he lives with his charming wife, born Miretzka. If all Poles resembled this rare pair I would wish to live among them always.24 Such emphasis on a single pair of virtuous nobles really served to suggest that the rest of the nobility was in no way comparable; yet a single specimen held out hope for the future redemption of the entire caste. Most striking was the specification of the noble’s fatherland: Galicia. The reader could infer that part of this nobleman’s virtue was his sentimental forsaking of Poland, his former fatherland, in favor of a new Habsburg polit-

23. [Traunpaur], Dreyssig Briefe, 74.
24. Ibid., 123–24.
ical affiliation. Galicia, which only came into being fifteen years before, could already be promoted to the status of a fatherland, as a token of the Habsburg commitment to recast the national dynamics of the province.

At the heart of the Italian officer’s travelogue was a Galician encounter fraught with allegorical significance and suspiciously literary in narration. The officer set out one day for a stroll, without his uniform, so that he would be taken for “what I really am—for a human being,” rather than a Habsburg officer. With some pretension he declared himself “a second Robinson,” that is, Robinson Crusoe, cast up on an unknown island far from civilization—in Galicia. Robinson, however, was not alone on the island: “Suddenly I became aware that thirty paces in front of me something black lay stretched out on the ground. I came closer and found that it was a Jew who had fallen into a deep sleep.” When the Jew awakened, the Habsburg Robinson engaged him in conversation, and learned that he was a local rabbi. The conversation eventually came around to politics, including the subjects of the Habsburg emperor and the Polish nation:

ME: What do you say about the Emperor Joseph II?
RABBI: Ach! Sir, do you love him?
ME: Infinitely!
RABBI: And I adore him as much as you love him. He has been chosen by Providence and has been loaned to the world.
ME: How do you like the nation living here with you?
RABBI: I recognize only two nations in the world: good people and bad people.
ME: Do you sincerely believe in the coming of the Messiah?
RABBI: My duty obliges me to believe.25

This conversation was essential to the officer’s travelogue of Galicia, touching upon issues that were profoundly related to contemporary conceptions of the province: devout faith in the transformative powers of the Habsburg emperor, enlightened philosophical interest in transcending distinctions of nation, and messianic intimations of the dawning of a new epoch. Robinson and the rabbi went on to speak about Moses Mendelssohn, the enlightened Jewish philosopher who had died in Berlin the previous year in 1786, and about the German dramatist Gotthold Ephraim Lessing who had celebrated Mendelssohn in Nathan der Weise (Nathan the Wise) on the eighteenth-century stage. In fact, Traunpaur, operating through the Habsburg Robinson, presented the Galician rabbi as just such a dramatic figure, the Galician incarnation of Lessing’s Nathan the Wise.

“How were the Jews treated before the partition of Poland?” asked Robinson. “We always suffered blows,” replied the rabbi and described scenarios in which Jews were whipped and beaten in order to extort money from them.

ME: These atrocities have vanished.
RABBI: Our posterity will bless those who have made them vanish.26

26. Ibid., 117.
The dialogue sharply drew the line between old Poland and new Galicia, old atrocities and new beneficence. The Jews of Galicia, the rabbi implied with some aptness for prophecy, would bless the Habsburgs in future generations.

The Italian officer looked forward to an enduring and edifying friendship with the rabbi and went to visit him at his home the very next day. The rabbi, however, had suddenly died, and the officer could only commiserate with the widow: “I could not restrain myself from mixing my tears with hers, thus honoring the memory of this rational and righteous Israelite.” Just as the Jew had saluted Joseph II as the messianic redeemer of Galicia, so the rabbi himself posthumously appeared as a redemptive figure whose enlightened wisdom promised a hopeful future for the province. Travelogue became allegory, because Galicia was not merely topographical terrain, but the philosophical domain of enlightened fantasy.

**Magna Charta of Galicia: “The General Will of the Nation”**

In February 1790, at the age of fifty, Joseph II died; he was succeeded by his brother, Leopold II. At the time of Joseph’s death, after a decade of solitary rule, there was widespread discontent with his reforms throughout the monarchy and serious resistance in Hungary and the Netherlands. Resistance took the form of the defense of traditional noble privileges and provincial political prerogatives against the revolutionary absolutism of the emperor. Therefore, with Leopold’s succession in 1790, the nobles of Galicia took the opportunity to formulate a defense of their traditional Galician prerogatives, though Galicia itself had no provincial tradition that antedated 1772. The ensuing controversy emerged in published form: *Magna Charta von Galizien: Oder Untersuchung der Beschwerden des Galizischen Adels pohlnischer Nation über die österreichische Regierung* (The Magna Charta of Galicia: Or examination of the grievances of the Galician nobility of the Polish nation about the Austrian government). The title referred to a “charter” of political rights recently presented to Leopold by a delegation of Galician nobles, including the bibliophile collector Józef Maksymilian Ossoliniski, the future founder of the L’viv Ossolineum library. The “examination” undertaken in the volume was, however, a fierce Josephine rebuttal of the charter and its political presumptions. This anonymously published volume, though it purported to have appeared in Iași in Moldavia, was probably produced in L’viv and certainly circulated in the Habsburg monarchy and the Holy Roman Empire, conceived especially for a German public. The volume included three items: first, the Galician grievances as presented in the form of the charter addressed to Leopold (the so-called Magna Charta), written in French; second, the German translation of a Polish work that elaborated upon those grievances, *Uwagi nad rządem Galicyjskim* (Considerations on the Galician government); and third, the German rebuttal of the Galician grievances.28

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27. Ibid., 121.

Complicating the tensions surrounding the death of Joseph and the collapse of Josephinism in 1790 was the ongoing French revolution, which offered a whole new language and agenda for addressing political concerns. The Galicians of 1790 believed that they possessed certain “rights” and spoke on behalf of their “nation.” Such was the language of the charter, which was probably composed in part by Ossoliniski himself. Yet, though the Galicians might indulge in some of the phrases of the contemporary revolution, they were far more attuned to the conservative reaction against revolutionary France, which influenced the parallel reaction against revolutionary Josephinism. The ideological tensions of revolutionary politics and incipient modern conservatism thus found expression in the controversy surrounding Galicia in 1790.

The first point of the Galician charter was titled, “Droit de la propriété,” the right of property, taken from the French Declaration of the Rights of Man of 1789. Leopold was thus enjoined: “May it please Your Majesty that property, this sacred right of man, the foundation of society and the guarantee of the loyalty of subjects toward the state, may be forever solidly established.” Yet, the Galician nobles invoked the right of property in a spirit precisely opposite to that of the French Third Estate; they were implicitly protesting against Joseph’s efforts to limit their feudal right over the lands worked for them by their enserfed peasants.

Furthermore, the Galicians proposed the periodic summoning of the “estates general.” For Galicia the very idea of the estates general was a notable innovation, inasmuch as the land had never possessed any sort of distinctive political coherence before 1772. With government regulations in 1775 and 1782, as part of the program to eliminate the privileges and traditions of the Polish nobility, the Habsburg government had taken steps toward organizing society in Galicia into estates. Now, the Galicians insisted that an estates general, representing the whole province, should be “uniquely considered to be the general will of the nation.” The allusion to the “general will” was also a direct quotation from the Declaration of the Rights of Man, which was quoting in turn from Jean Jacques Rousseau’s Social Contract. Conservative nobles thus draped themselves in revolutionary rhetoric. They did not specify exactly what “nation” would be represented in its general will through the estates general. Yet, if Galicia possessed a general will, then it was also possible to conceive of a Galician nation.

Arguing that the estates general should formulate a code of laws for the province, the Galicians proposed that the laws should “conform closely to the physical and moral aspects of the country [pays], to the character [génie] of its inhabitants.” Such a bold proposal of provincial authority rested implicitly on the assumption that the province possessed a character of its own, that its physical and moral aspects formed a coherent whole: Galicia. The Galicians proposed the use of Latin and the “national
language” for administration, instead of German, and urged the assign-
ment of Galician soldiers to “national regiments”—without ever using the
word *Polish* to specify the nature of the “national.” The appeals for “na-
tional” prerogatives played upon a carefully cultivated ambiguity about
the character of the nation.

The anonymous *Considerations on the Galician Government* were trans-
lated from Polish into German and published together with the French
charter. Conceived from the same privileged noble perspective as the
charter, the *Considerations* not only offered a political agenda but also ar-
ticulated a political philosophy of aristocratic conservatism. *Considerations
on the Galician Government* seemed to echo the title of Rousseau’s *Consider-
ations on the Government of Poland*, which dated back twenty years to the pe-
riod of the partition, but the Galicians of 1790 were actually closer ideo-
logically to the landmark work of political philosophy that appeared that
same year, Edmund Burke’s *Reflections on the Revolution in France*.

The *Considerations* proposed to explore the reasons for Galicia’s de-
cline “to this degree of abjectness” (*do tego stopnia nikczemności*), and the
explanation was found in the collapse of traditional relations between
noble landowners and peasant serfs. Conditioned by “custom established
over centuries,” there had been achieved in Galicia a “tacit accord be-
tween the landowner and his subjects,” such as to “bind the well-being of
the landowner most closely to that of the subject,” and thus achieve their
mutual satisfaction. As in Burke’s *Reflections*, the Polish *Considerations*
presented organic arguments on behalf of finely tuned social hierarchies
sanctioned by venerable tradition. Both works were conditioned by the
ongoing revolutionary circumstances in France, and, in the Galician con-
text, philosophical conservatism became the basis for an indictment of
Josephinism.

The *Considerations* affirmed that formerly, in Poland, peasants had
been content; they had even enjoyed relative prosperity, which was attrib-
uted to the harmonious relations between peasants and masters: “This
securely established bond between landowners and subjects promoted
agriculture and population, and lord and subject thus became rich. Both
possessed the land communally. This was the situation of the province
when it passed under the government of the house of Austria.” The no-
tion of communal ownership put the gentlest possible interpretation on
feudal serfdom, an idyllic feudalism that supposedly existed right up un-
til the partition of Poland in 1772. Whereas Kratter and Traunpaur had
sought to demonstrate the miserable condition of Poland at the moment
when Galicia was annexed by Austria, the *Considerations* reversed that his-
torical argument and insisted that the decline and fall of Galicia began
from the moment of its creation as a Habsburg province.

The *Considerations* were published together with a hostile rebuttal
 penned by the anonymous figure behind the publication of the whole vol-
ume, identifiable as Ernst Traugott von Kortum. Born in Silesia, educated

33. Ibid., 264–65, 270–72.
34. Ibid., 277–78.
35. Ibid., 292.
in the spirit of the German Enlightenment with a particular interest in the philosophy of Immanuel Kant, also a committed Freemason, Kortum first served the Polish king Stanislaw August in Warsaw in the 1770s and then moved to L’viv in 1783 to enter the administrative service of Joseph II in Galicia. In 1790 Kortum published both the charter in French and the German translation of the Considerations in the full conviction that a middle-class reading public would be as outraged as he was by the Galicians’ aristocratic presumption. In addition to annotating the Considerations with hostile counterstatements, he contributed his own comprehensive rebuttal, an Examination of the Grievances of the Galician Nobility of the Polish Nation. As a partisan of Josephinism, Kortum regretfully declared that Joseph was an emperor who “came to the throne a century too soon.” The Galician nobles, on the other hand, were centuries behind: “the Magna Charta of Galicia—worthy indeed of the fourteenth century.” In fact, the English Magna Charta dated to the thirteenth century. There was perhaps some awkwardness in formulating a Habsburg charge of medieval backwardness against the Galicians, when it was precisely the Habsburg revival of medieval claims that justified the annexation of Galicia.

Kortum included in his volume the full text of the Galician charter and the Considerations, but he felt that these documents were so fundamentally dishonest about political motives and purposes that, in his own Examination, he permitted himself to ventriloquize Galician voices and articulate what he saw as their true meaning. The Galicians became stage villains, proclaiming their evil intentions through the lines that Kortum wrote for them. Thus he imagined them in 1772, at the moment of the partition: “We have lived till now in the fortunate situation of being able to regard every other sort of human being as insignificant, and the caste of our peasants as creatures born for subjection. Happy times! When the peasant awaited the commands of his lord with trembling! How pleasant was life when we saw thousands of hands, without pay or reward, working for our convenience.” Kortum thus ripped the mask of piety from the Galician nostalgia for the ancien régime as expressed in the Considerations.

The authors of the charter were, according to Kortum’s title, “the Galician nobility of the Polish nation,” and therefore could not claim to represent a Galician nation, if such a nation actually existed. “What is meant by the nation of Galicia?” asked Kortum, explicitly. He answered the question himself: “The nation of Galicia would thus be the embodiment [Inbegriff] of all the different classes of people who, under the laws of the state of Austria, have their fixed residence, in some fashion or other, in this land with their families.” Kortum’s contemporary political concerns were evident in his wrestling with what it meant for a nation to embody, abstract, or epitomize different peoples.

38. Ibid., 74–75.
39. Ibid., 32–33.
He emphatically rejected the idea that the Galician nation could be Polish in character, and he addressed the authors of the charter directly to let them know that he regarded them as Poles, not Galicians:

You have been waiting right up to the present day for some sort of messiah who will liberate you from the domination of the heathens, that is, the Germans. You still cannot get used to the thought that you now have another fatherland. Through a perhaps unconscious association of ideas you are always still thinking about the republic of Poland when you speak of patriotism. Language, clothing, and customs recall your former situation at every moment.\(^4\)

Kortum had a sophisticated understanding of what constituted a nation—language, clothing, customs—and he may have been reading Johann Gottfried von Herder as well as Immanuel Kant in the 1780s. The notion that the Poles were awaiting a national messiah actually seemed to anticipate by an entire generation the emergence of Polish romantic messianism in the early nineteenth century. Kortum’s point was that the Poles of Galicia were so thoroughly nationally formed as Poles, with their own sense of patriotism and fatherland, that they could not constitute a Galician nation.

“Is the Polish language really then the actual national language of Galicia?” asked Kortum. “Are then the Polish nation or the Polish nobility the original inhabitants of this land?”\(^4\) He noted that the languages and populations of the province were both Polish and Ruthenian, and—without mentioning the Jews—he proposed that the Galician nation be conceived as linguistically and ethnographically heterogeneous. He noted that much of Galicia was originally Ruthenian until annexed by Poland in the fourteenth century. Kortum thus refuted the pretensions of the Polish nobles: “You are no more and no less alien in Galicia than the Germans. You came as strangers into this land, and the long passage of time has made you forget your provenance.”\(^4\) In Kortum’s view, the Galician nation, gradually evolving, would eventually encompass diverse elements.

“Here I am then among the Sarmatians,” Joseph had remarked, and Kortum also invoked the Sarmatians, who had been classified among the ancient barbarians by Tacitus. The Polish nobles of Galicia spoke through Kortum’s ventriloquy: “We have not ceased to be Sarmatians. . . . Look at our brothers in Poland, how they throw off foreign domination, how they take off foreign clothes, and stomp upon foreign enlightenment. . . . We want to participate in the merits of our brothers, who distinguish themselves from all the peoples of Europe, in order to turn back to their ancestors from the Orient.”\(^4\) The ancient Sarmatians were regarded as Oriental, and so, through their Sarmatian heritage, the Poles supposedly assumed an Oriental identity. In 1790, however, when Poland, as Kortum noted, was seeking independence from foreign domination, the political

\(^{40}\) Ibid., 184.
\(^{41}\) Ibid., 203.
\(^{42}\) Ibid., 205.
\(^{43}\) Ibid., 18–19.
style was anything but Sarmatian. This was the moment of the Four-Year Sejm, meeting from 1788 to 1792, overturning Russian domination in Poland, and preparing the modern revolutionary constitution of 3 May 1791.

Yet, according to Kortum, the Galician nation could only be conceived as a combination of European civilizing elements and Oriental barbaric forces, the perfectly balanced expression of “Eastern Europe.” With Galicia as a sort of testing ground of the Enlightenment, Kortum proposed a hypothetical imaginative experiment:

Imagine for a moment all the German inhabitants gone from Poland and Galicia, with their industriousness and business, and then conceive of the image of those lands. Would one find any other counterpart except—Tartary, or at best [höchstens] Moldavia and Wallachia? Consider the Polish towns that once had, with their German inhabitants, a sort of prosperity, and are now the sad residence of Jews, poverty, uncleanness, and ignorance. Then deny my contention.44

Nothing could better represent the imaginative forces at play in the Enlightenment’s perspective on “Eastern Europe,” or better show how that was reflected in the Josephine view of Galicia. The idea of “Eastern Europe” was created through the deployment of a sort of demi-Orientalism that projected the otherness of the Orient onto lands that were indisputably European, characterizing them by a paradoxical combination of resemblance to and difference from an implicitly western sense of civilized Europe.

In this case, Kortum’s imaginative experiment stripped away the western aspects of the supposed Galician amalgam in order to demonstrate that what remained would be both hopelessly backward and altogether Oriental. His extraordinary geographical equation operated thus: Galicia minus the Germans equals Tartary. Eliminating the Germans would leave the towns of Galicia in the hands of the Jews, whom Kortum regarded not only in terms of poverty and ignorance but also as a biblically Oriental people, accentuating the eastern character of Galicia. Kortum in 1790 envisioned Galicia as poised between Europe and the Orient; Josephine reform and German influence wrestled with Sarmatian resistance. Galicia, as invented in 1772, was not only a political creation but also an ideological construction, and Kortum clearly demonstrated the instability of that construction when he hypothetically dissected its components in his thought experiment. Thus Kortum rebutted the grievances of Galician conservatism by representing the province according to the Enlightenment’s idea of “Eastern Europe.”

Bogusławski in Galicia: “Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser!”

In 1792 a Polish poem was published with the attribution “by a Galician” (przez Galicyjana). Addressed to King Stanisław August, it was presumably intended to circulate in Poland, though the literary moment was infelici-

44. Ibid., 205–6.
tous. In that year Catherine canceled the Polish constitution of 1791 and invaded Poland to reestablish Russian domination. The title of the poem was *Skutki dzieł Woltera* (Consequences of the works of Voltaire), and the message was one of hostility to the European Enlightenment as represented by the French philosophe. Like the *Considerations* of 1790, the poem of 1792 established a distinctly Galician perspective for rejecting the Enlightenment and articulating principles of ideological conservatism in an age of revolution.

The poet began by defining his Galician identity with reference to the reign of Stanislaw August, to whom the poem was dedicated and addressed.

Urodziłem się naiśniejszy panie!  
Twoim Poddanym, i w szlacheckim stanie:  
A gdy los w czasach, rozrządzyły Nieba,  
Szukać musialem, w Galicyi chleba.  
(I was born, most illustrious lord, / your subject, and of noble condition: / and as the heavens have determined destiny at times, / I had to seek my bread in Galicia.)

The invention of Galicia was thus attributed to providential destiny, while the assumption of Galician identity was related to economic necessity. The partition in 1772 may have been providentially unprecedented, but by 1792 it was already sanctioned by the passage of a generation.

For twenty years, the poet remarks: “with my sons I am a subject of the emperor.” What then was the relation between Galician and Polish identity?

Przecież natura z siebie czyni dziwy;  
Krew wemnie mówi, żem Polak prawdziwy,  
Serce Polaka wemnie tchnie, i bieje:  
Przysięgłem: wiernie Cesarzowi żyje.  
(Yet nature by itself brings about wonders; / The blood in me declares, that I am a true Pole, / The heart of a Pole breathes and beats within me: / I have taken an oath: to live loyal to the emperor.)

Physiology and sentiment of heart and blood, nature itself, thus formed the inner Polish dynamics of the Galician, while destiny made him, in his life and action, the loyal subject of the Habsburgs. He felt himself a Pole but lived as a Galician. The signature of the dedication expressed the depth of his sincerity: “Z naglejśzych najglejśzy, Gallicyan.” He was “Galician” from the deepest depths, but the paradox was evident, for to be Galician was an externally lived relation to the viscerally experienced feeling of Polish heart and Polish blood.

The Galician poet composed his poem in 1792, and that year also witnessed the sudden death of Leopold, whose accession two years before had seemed to offer such a promising political opportunity to the Galicians. He was succeeded by his son Franz, who found himself almost im-

46. Ibid.
Inventing Galicia

mediately at war with revolutionary France. What remained of Poland became the site of the Kościuszko insurrection against Russian domination in 1794, and the military suppression of the Polish forces led to the third and final partition of Poland in 1795, eliminating that country altogether from the map of Europe. The Habsburgs gained about a million and a half subjects in a stretch of Polish territory that was immediately designated West Galicia. The name could be varied as “new,” “later,” or “younger” Galicia, but it was unquestioningly regarded as an extension or completion of Galician territory, in spite of the fact that it bore absolutely no relation to the medieval vicinity of Halych and Vladimir. Previouly Galicia had extended almost to the city of Kraków, the medieval Polish royal capital, which was now casually incorporated into the Habsburg possessions. From a Polish perspective, the poet Kajetan Koźmian recorded in his memoirs the experience of discovering that, with the abolition of the Polish state, he had become suddenly Galician, and he noted “the christening of this part of Poland under the name of western Galicia.”

The artifice of renaming was perfectly evident to him. Maria Theresa’s scruples concerning legitimacy already belonged to the lost world of the ancien régime, and West Galicia, established on the basis of Habsburg power in 1795, would be politically canceled purely on the basis of Napoleon’s power fourteen years later, when he assigned it to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. The Grand Duchy, in turn, would last only as long as Napoleonic power in Europe.

When Emperor Franz’s newly appointed governor of West Galicia, Johann Wenzel Margelik, came to Kraków in 1796, his crucial qualification for the post was his Galician experience in the 1780s under Joseph. The Josephine project was now to be extended to a more broadly delineated Galicia. The Kraków welcoming ceremonies in 1796, according to the Gazeta Krakowska, involved deputations of merchants, teachers, priests, and Jews, all greeting Margelik. The staging of dynastic allegiance in Kraków accompanied the political integration of the newly aggrandized Galician domain. In 1796 an anonymous work was published in Vienna: Geographisch-historische Nachrichten von Westgallizien oder den neu erlangten österreichisch-polnischen Provinzen (Geographical-historical report about West Galicia or the newly acquired Austrian-Polish provinces). This report was intended not only to mark the assumption of Habsburg political power but also to continue the intellectual work of Kratter and Traunpaur in placing Galicia before the public.

The report affirmed that Kraków had experienced “devastation” (Verwüstung) under Poland in the eighteenth century. In accordance with

47. Grodziski, Historia ustroju, 28.
49. Izabela Kleszczowa, Ceremonie i parady w porozbiorowym Krakowie, 1796–1815 (Kraków, 1999), 16–18.
51. Ibid., 35, 67.
Josephine ideology, the city was now expected to begin to recover under the Habsburgs: “Now that Kraków has come under the Austrian government, it can once again become a brilliant center of commerce and one of the most flourishing cities.” The better business conditions in the Habsburg monarchy would make economic progress inevitable in West Galicia—“as the example of East Galicia may notably convince us.”52 The seemingly symmetrically conceived administrative domains of West Galicia and East Galicia were, in fact, formulated in a relation of subtle asymmetry, since, just as Galicia had been presumed to be backward with respect to the Habsburg monarchy in 1772, now West Galicia was supposed to be a generation behind East Galicia, and in need of catching up. With the figleaf of medieval dynastic claims no longer relevant to the new territories, the Habsburgs were all the more insistent on the ideological justification that derived from a program of enlightened reform and economic progress.

The Geographical-Historical Report found a spiritual counterpart for Joseph by delving into medieval Polish history and discovering King Casimir the Great.

He reigned in the fourteenth century but his spirit was raised up far beyond his epoch. He greatly enlarged the possessions and the power of Poland, and, what is more important, he first gave the nation wise laws and sought to draw it out of its wildness. . . . On account of his great sympathy for the humble classes of people, especially for the peasants, the nobles mockingly called him the peasant king, a title that only made him more precious in the eyes of every friend of humanity.53

Thus, Casimir the Great was resurrected by a Habsburg apologist in 1796 and represented as the medieval twin of Emperor Joseph II. Casimir’s alleged mission of civilizing the wild Poles and saving the peasants from the nastiness of the Polish nobility was, in fact, precisely the enlightened Josephine project in Galicia.

In L’viv in 1796 Wojciech Bogusławski staged his opera Krakowiacy i Górale, which had first been performed in Warsaw in 1794, at the moment of the Kościuszko insurrection. With music by the Bohemian composer Jan Stefani, Bogusławski offered a drama about regional tensions between villagers in the vicinity of Kraków and the highlanders who resided in the Tatra Mountains. With the encouragement of a scientifically minded student, who improvised a “miracle” based on the principles of electricity, the villagers and mountaineers were eventually brought together in solidarity. This scenario proved particularly compelling to the Warsaw public in 1794 at a time when Tadeusz Kościuszko was seeking to bring the Polish peasantry into the national insurrection against Russia. Bogusławski was himself a partisan of the insurrection, and, when it was defeated, he decided to leave Warsaw and take refuge in Habsburg Galicia.

“I cannot describe the joyful wonder which my heart felt at the sight of the Galician capital,” recalled Bogusławski in his memoirs, writing

52. Ibid., 54, 125.
53. Ibid., 51.
about L'viv, which he called Lwów, as he noted the presence of refugees from Poland like himself during the carnival season of 1795. “The Galicians [Galicyanie], desiring to give proof of most sympathetic hospitality to their compatriots [spółbrodakom swoim], through daily banquets and balls and every kind of amusements, sweetened the memories of freshly sustained losses and voluntary exile. The mild Austrian government seemed at that moment to share kindly the endeavor of brotherly love.” Bogusławski clearly felt that the “Galicians” constituted a recognizable category of identity, though they were at the same time “compatriots” of Poles from Poland. Since Poland simply ceased to exist as a state in 1795, Galicia would no longer be territorially distinguishable from Poland, and the corresponding categories of identity—“Galician” and “Polish”—would become all the more ambiguously intertwined.

With his favorable view of the Habsburg government and the inhabitants of L'viv, Bogusławski prepared to pursue in the new Galician context his old career as an actor, a dramatist, and theatrical impresario. Though German theater had been preeminent in L'viv in the 1780s, Bogusławski’s arrival provided new energy for Polish theater in the 1790s. In L'viv he found a busy winter theater season, at carnival time, and he had the idea of next establishing a sort of summer festival. “Though the demand of the public [żądanie Publiczności], foreseeing pleasant amusements in summer-time, guaranteed a good attendance at the amphitheater, the most certain thing seemed to me the possibility of producing there the national opera: Krakowiacy, which was the only one of all Polish pieces forbidden in Galicia and the one the public most desired.” Bogusławski hoped to fund his summer festival by staging Krakowiacy i Górale, and therefore applied for permission to the Habsburg governor, Joseph Gallenberg. The governor, according to Bogusławski, was “a man generally loved by both nations”: German and Polish. Gallenberg asked Bogusławski to make some changes in the opera, which was finally submitted for censorship in Vienna and returned with government approval. There were three performances in the summer of 1796, and the opera returned to the stage every year until Bogusławski left L'viv to return to Warsaw in 1799.

Bogusławski claimed that the government asked him to make only slight changes in the opera, but there must have been some serious official deliberation about whether to permit the staging of a drama that, only two years before, in Warsaw, had been closely associated with political insurrection. The Polish scholar Jerzy Got has suggested that the changes in the text were perhaps more substantial than Bogusławski admitted in his memoirs. The libretto was adapted to eliminate possible political interpretations. For instance, in the song of Basia, the miller’s daughter, there

54. Wojciech Bogusławski, Dzieje teatru narodowego: Na trzy części podzielone, oraz Wiadomość o życiu sławnych artystów (Warsaw, 1820), 85–86.
57. Ibid., 107.
58. Ibid., 100; Jerzy Got, Na Wyspie Guaxary: Wojciech Bogusławski i Teatr Lwowski, 1789–1799 (Kraków, 1971), 113–16.
was a notable variation between the Warsaw and the L'viv versions. In Warsaw she sang, “Każdy pragnie wolności” (Everyone desires freedom). In L'viv, however, she sang, “Każdy pragnie miłości” (Everyone desires love). 59 Romantic frustrations and community tensions were emphasized in L'viv, and expedient revisions eliminated any potentially political allusions.

A review of the 1796 L'viv production was published in the Allgemeines Europaeisches Journal, a German-language journal in Brno, in Habsburg Moravia. According to the review, this opera (or Singspiel) had “grown completely upon Polish ground and terrain” (auf polnischen Grund und Boden). 60 Yet now, in 1796, it was being performed on different terrain. The crucial difference between the Warsaw and L'viv productions would have appeared, not necessarily in the text of the libretto, but in the context of the performances. While Krakowiacy i Górale had been originally created completely on Polish terrain, the work was now transformed by its performance in the new Galician context. Bogusławski had intended his work as a national opera, conceived to dramatize the spirits and circumstances of Polish peasants and mountaineers, and the Warsaw public of 1794 had hailed those characters as heroes of the Polish national cause at the moment of the Kościuszko insurrection. Yet, the actual geographical setting of the opera become thoroughly Galician after the final partition of Poland: the Tatra range of the Carpathian Mountains, the peasant villages in the vicinity of Kraków, and finally Kraków itself. This terrain was mostly Galician after 1772, and entirely Galician after 1795; the drama created “completely upon Polish ground and terrain” in 1794 was actually set on completely Galician ground and terrain in 1796, and performed in the Galician capital of L'viv. What appeared as a drama of Polish national unity in 1794 could also appear as a representation of Galician provincial unity in 1796.

Beyond the circumstances of geographical terrain, however, the political implications of Krakowiacy i Górale were notably transformed in the shift from the Polish context of 1794 to the Galician context of 1796, even without major alterations in the libretto. The celebration of peasant spirit, which seemed to encourage Kościuszko’s insurrectionary purpose in Warsaw in 1794, could also have seemed entirely consistent with the Josephine ideology of Galicia. After all, Joseph had made the protection of the peasantry into the hallmark of his imperial career. The Galician peasants were the heroes of Bogusławski’s drama, which the Habsburg government of Franz could therefore approve in the spirit of enlightened Josephine patronage. The student Bardos, whose part was performed by Bogusławski himself, soliloquized enthusiastically about peasant virtues: “O jak swą szczerością te chłopy / Przejeli duszę moją!” (Oh, how with their sincerity these peasants / Take possession of my soul!). 61 Josephine ideology gave such paeans to the peasantry a particular political meaning in Galicia. Bogusławski insisted that Krakowiacy i Górale was being produced to meet the

60. Ibid., 307.
demand of the public of Lviv, and the public, of course, could have taken away from the drama a variety of messages, even ambivalent or conflicting messages. The public could have applauded the work for its Polish national significance or for its Galician provincial significance.

Joachim Denisko launched a Polish insurrection in Galicia in 1797 and was quickly crushed by the Habsburgs. On the occasion of Franz's birthday in 1797, Bogusławski had his performers in the theater sing the new Austrian anthem composed by Joseph Haydn, “Gott erhalte,” three times, with the audience joining in on the third round. According to the Allgemeines Europaeisches Journal in Brno, “Mr. Bogusławski has earned our most ardent gratitude for this homage to our beloved monarch.” In Kraków in 1797, in West Galicia, the birthday was also celebrated with the singing of the anthem in Polish and German: “Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser!” and “Boże zachowuj Cesarza!”

Twenty years later, in 1817, after the restoration of Galicia by the Congress of Vienna, there was a performance of Krakowiacy i Górale in Lviv that coincided with a visit to the city of Emperor Franz; for the occasion, a cantata in his honor was performed between acts.

Thus the Polish “national opera” of the 1790s could be fully domesticated as a Galician drama, even interposing the most explicit ceremonial celebration of Habsburg loyalty.

Conclusion: Galician Botany

In 1796 Bogusławski presented in German the drama Das Mädchen von Marienburg (The girl from Marienburg) written by none other than Franz Kratter, whose celebrated account of Galicia had been published ten years before. Chatinka, the maid of Marienburg, or Malbork, came originally from Poland, but she had been abducted by Russian troops and now found herself at the summer palace of Peter the Great, Peterhof, outside St. Petersburg. Peter fell in love with the virtuous maid and, though tempted to wield his arbitrary power, finally resolved to respect her virtue, marry her, and make her his tsarina. Kratter also celebrated the tsar’s political purposes: Peter struggling against “fanaticism that fears the light of day—ancient barbarity—and bloody insatiable oppression”; Peter striving “to bring a barbarous people from the yoke of superstition and savage customs, to obedience through his wise laws.”

This was quite consistent with the celebration of Peter in the age of Enlightenment, most famously by Voltaire, but it was also strikingly similar to the rhetoric in which Joseph had been celebrated by his admirers for his efforts in Galicia in the 1780s. Kratter himself, of course, had been a prominent advocate of Josephinism in Galicia, and it would have been obvious to the public in Lviv, watching Das Mädchen von Marienburg in 1796, that the drama’s reflections on Peter in Russia were also relevant to Habsburg Galicia. Bogusławski’s presentation of Kratter’s drama suggested the complexity of the encounter be-

tween the Polish national perspective, after the demise of the Polish state, and the crystallization of the Habsburg ideology of Galicia at the conclusion of the eighteenth century.

The Josephine writers—Kratter, Traunpaur, and Kortum—sought to describe the process of development that supposedly led from backward Poland through the progress of Galicia to the civilization of Europe. In so doing they also attributed meaning and coherence to the whole concept of Galicia. In 1790 both the conservative Galician nobles of the charter and their enlightened Josephine opponents dramatized the existence of Galicia even as they contested its social and political features. “The whole is near its recasting,” commented Kratter, affirming also the coherence of Galicia as a meaningful whole. Yet, the recasting could never be fully achieved, for Galicia was, by definition, a work in progress.

In 1809, the year of the Napoleonic transformation of Galicia, a Latin botanical treatise on the native plants of Galicia, *Primitiae Floriae Galiciae Austriacae Utriusque* by Willibald Swibert Besser was published in Vienna. The title specified “both” parts of Galicia, east and west, though West Galicia was abolished that same year and joined to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. The book treated Galicia as a whole, with its two volumes divided not geographically between east and west, but rather, according to Linnæan principles of classification; the first volume covered Monandria-Polyandria, based on the number of stamens, while the second volume discussed Didynamia-Dioecia, based on the principle of botanical sexual differentiation. Most astonishing, in historical retrospect, was the author’s completely casual acceptance that Galicia, which had only been invented in 1772, was of such self-evident coherence that it was possible to discern and describe its native plants while treating the province as a unified botanical domain. Besser noted the obstacles to botanical collection in Galicia: the Carpathian Mountains, the “most terrible forests” (*sylvarum horridissimarum*), the “treacherous marshes” (*paludum infidarum*). He paid tribute to Joseph II and also to Franz, as imperial patrons of science.65 Besser himself was only born in 1784, during Joseph’s reign. As he collected his scientific specimens and collated his botanical reports, culminating in the publication of 1809, Besser could never have doubted the political, topographical, or botanical reality of Galicia. Invented in 1772, by 1809 Galicia had already existed for his entire lifetime.