

Galicia

Kingdom of the Naked and Starving
(1773–1918)

II

The Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria was created in 1773 from the acquisitions of the Austrian Empire during the First Partition of Poland, and was destroyed in October 1918 at the end of the First World War. Throughout its existence of 145 years, it was designated as a *Kronland*, one of the Empire's 'Crownlands', and the kingdom's crown was vested

from start to finish in the imperial monarchs of the House of Habsburg. In all, there were seven of them:

- Maria Theresa (r. 1740–80)
- Joseph II (r. 1780–90)
- Leopold II (r. 1790–92)
- Francis II (r. 1792–1835)
- Ferdinand I (r. 1835–48)
- Franz-Joseph (r. 1848–1916)
- Charles (r. 1916–18)

The kingdom's name was invented by Maria Theresa's advisers in Vienna in accordance with a complicated historical conceit. Many centuries earlier – before their annexation by medieval Poland – the districts of Halicz (Galicia) and Volodymyr (Lodomeria) had briefly belonged to the kings of Hungary, who had thereon assumed the title of 'dukes of Galicia and Lodomeria'. Four hundred years later, since the empress was also queen of Hungary, her advisers decided to revive the ancient ducal title, upgrade it to royal status, and apply it to a much wider area.

The kingdom's territory was increased and diminished on various occasions, but was never inconsiderable. The core area established in 1773 covered c. 30,000 square miles, similar in size to Scotland or Bavaria, and consisted of two distinct parts. Western Galicia coincided in large measure with the historic Polish province of Małopolska (Lesser Poland), whose roots went back to the eleventh century, occupying a broad tract of land between the upper valley of the Vistula and the Carpathian ridge. Eastern Galicia, beyond the River San, largely coincided with the former palatinate of Ruthenia, a province which had been annexed by Poland in the fourteenth century. Its chief city – L'viv – which the Austrians renamed Lemberg, became the kingdom's seat of government.

The kingdom's population, which was to grow dramatically during the nineteenth century, numbered some 3 million in 1773. It was mainly composed of three ethnic groups, each associated with a different religion. The Polish-speaking Poles were predominantly Roman Catholic. The Ruthenians, who spoke *ruski*, a form of old Ukrainian, were predominantly Greek Catholic Uniates (see p. 277). The Jews, if not assimilated into Polish society, mainly spoke Yiddish, and were divided between the adherents of Orthodox Judaism and of Chassidism (see below, p. 463). The population was overwhelmingly rural. With the exception of Lemberg itself, the towns were small; the villages were numerous. In western Galicia, Poles and Jews lived cheek by jowl. In eastern Galicia, Polish

nobles lived in their country houses, while Ruthenian peasants tilled the soil, and Jews formed a strong majority in their *shtetln* or 'little towns'.

The kingdom's history can be divided into three periods. During its first twenty years Galicia was deeply influenced by the enlightened reforms of Joseph II. In the next twenty, which were dominated by the Napoleonic Wars, it experienced successive bouts of political instability and territorial transformation. Only after 1815 did it settle down to the more stable but less optimistic existence which persisted until the end. One mid-century change, however, was important. In 1846 Poland's ancient capital, Kraków, which the 1815 Congress of Vienna had turned into a city-republic, lost its sovereign status and was merged with Galicia. From then on Kraków and Lemberg were rival centres.

The kingdom's character escapes easy categorization. It was determined by its artificial creation, by its geopolitical location and by its legendary poverty. Far from Vienna but close to the Empire's most vulnerable frontiers, life in Galicia was full of pains and problems. Its citizens were never in full control of their destiny, developing a strong sense of fatalism combined with a famous brand of humour. At some point, some Galician wag made play on the kingdom's name. Since *goły* means 'naked' and *głód* means 'hunger', it didn't take much to adapt the kingdom's name to 'Golicia and Glodomeria' – 'Kingdom of the Naked and Starving'.⁵

The reforms of Joseph II, an enlightened despot par excellence, were radical but mainly short-lived. A serious attempt was made, for example, to improve the lot of the illiterate, rural serfs. Taxes were imposed on landowners and numerous monasteries were dissolved to provide the income for a state-backed scheme of primary education. Yet the emperor's centralizing policies underestimated both provincial particularities and the force of conservative opposition. At the end of his ten-year reign, in the shadow of the French Revolution, he was forced to rescind much of his reform programme.⁶ The dissolution of monasteries did, however, have lasting effects. The social influence of the Roman Catholic Church was diminished, and former monastic lands were frequently used to attract German colonists and to settle them as free farmers. In several districts, compact German communities came to form a substantial minority.⁷

Galicia's fate during the French revolutionary wars was closely bound up with that of its Austrian masters. The Habsburgs, relatives of Marie-Antoinette, were viewed in Paris as the lords of reaction, and for twenty years after 1793 France and Austria were almost continually at

war. Although the revolutionary armies never set foot in Galicia, they inspired the creation of the neighbouring Duchy of Warsaw, with which conflict was unavoidable. Throughout those two decades large numbers of Galician men were conscripted into the Austrian army, and the province was obliged to pay its tribute in blood and taxes.

Such was the setting for the romantic and tragic story of the three Polish Legions, which cut a dashing figure on many a battlefield. About 30,000 Galician soldiers, who had been taken to Italy by the Austrians, volunteered in 1797 to change sides and to fight for Napoleon. Their commander, General Jan Henryk Dąbrowski (1755-1818), found favour with his men by pressing Napoleon to overthrow the Partitions of Poland (see pp. 285-90). In the event, the Legions were employed everywhere except on the road to Poland, and deep disillusionment set in. Their last, desperate mission was to Haiti, where many of them changed sides for a second time to fight against French colonialism. Nonetheless, the 'Song of the Legions', set to the tune of a lively mazurka, long outlived the original singers:

*Jeszcze Polska nie zginęła, póki my żyjemy,
Co nam obca przemoc wzięła, szabłą odbierzemy!
Marsz, marsz, Dąbrowski, z ziemi włoskiej do Polski,
Pod Twoim przewodem,łączym się z narodem.*

('Poland has not perished yet so long as we still live. / That which foreign force has seized we'll with sabres drawn retrieve! / March, march, Dąbrowski, to Poland from the Italian land. / So let us join our nation, under Thy command'.)⁸ Nearly a century would pass before these words could be freely sung in Galicia.

Having missed out on the Second Partition of Poland in 1793, the Austrian authorities participated in the Third two years later, accepting a large tract of land north of the Vistula containing both Kraków and Lublin. They renamed it 'New Galicia'. Their acquisition provided one of the causes of the brief war of 1809 with the Napoleonic Duchy of Warsaw, but the expanded territorial arrangements did not survive the Napoleonic Wars; at the Congress of Vienna, New Galicia disappeared from the map.⁹ Kraków was elevated to be a small independent republic; Lublin was given to Russia.

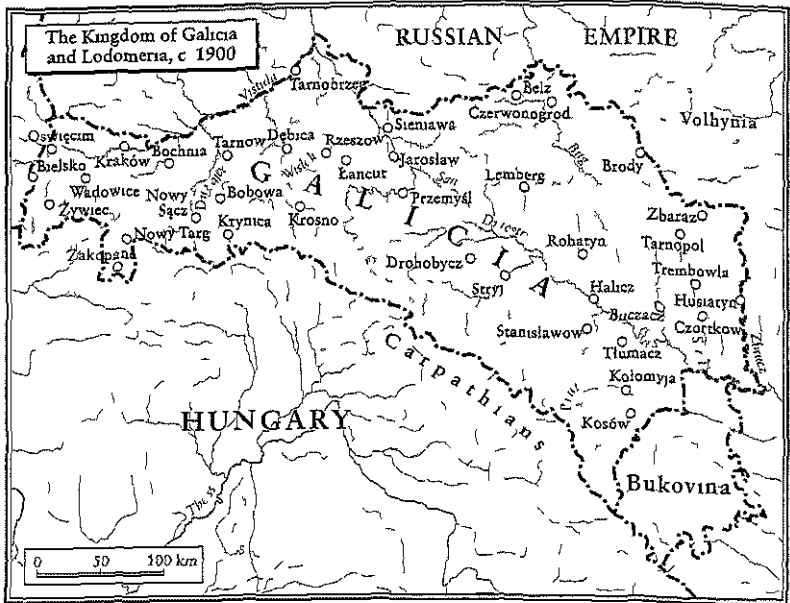
Prince Metternich, the Austrian chancellor from 1815 to 1846, famously remarked that 'Asia begins at the Landstrasse', a street in Vienna's eastern suburbs. The Viennese were apt to regard anywhere and every-

where to the east of their magnificent city as backward and exotic, and they played a prominent role in launching the stereotype of 'Eastern Europe' as a reservoir of underdevelopment and inferiority. Travellers to Galicia habitually wrote of dirty inns, bad roads and savage peasants. After 1846, however, the *Kaiser-Ferdinands-Nordbahn* linked Vienna with Lemberg. The railway provided a convenient means whereby Austrians could discover Galicia, and Galicians the rest of the Empire. The author of one well-known travelogue called it *Aus Halbasien*: 'Half-way to Asia'. 'Anyone taking that line will die of boredom,' he wrote, 'if not of hunger.'¹⁰

As the crow flies, Lemberg is some 340 miles north-east of Vienna, but the rail journey was considerably longer. The first stage crossed the provinces of Moravia and Austrian Silesia; the Galician frontier was reached either at Oświęcim (Auschwitz) or at Bielsko (Bielitz). Beyond Bielsko lay the lands of the medieval Duchy of Oświęcim and Zator. A short ride to the south lay the Habsburg castle of Żywiec (Saybusch), seat of an imperial archduke and from 1856 home to an imperial brewery. To the left, one skirted the fertile valley of the Vistula; to the right the rolling Beskid Hills. At Kęty stood the chapel of the Saint-Professor Johannes Cantius (1390-1473), patron of academic study. At Wadowice, the Austrians were to build a large barracks, and the garrison town would become the birthplace of a pope. At Kalwaria Łańcokorońa one passed a hilltop Franciscan monastery, scene of a popular annual pilgrimage. In the early days the train did not cross the river into Kraków but stayed on the south bank at Franz-Jozef Stadt (Podgórze). From 1815 to 1846, the Vistula formed the frontier between the Austrian Empire and the Republic of Kraków.

Further east, as Galicia widened out, the railway left the Vistula and made for the San. Wieliczka and Bochnia possessed ancient salt mines, once the source of great wealth. Tarnów and Rzeszów were bishoprics. Travellers pausing for refreshment might have noticed that peasants coming from the villages in the wooded hill country to the south of the line were no longer speaking Polish. They were Ruthenian Lemkos - one of several distinct ethnic communities. Przemyśl (Peremyshl) on the River San commanded Galicia's central crossroads, the dividing line between west and east. It was the site of the kingdom's largest fortress, of two cathedrals, Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic, and of several synagogues.

Despite its historic origins in a Ruthenian principality, Lemberg had become an island of Polishness. As time passed, it also attracted a



substantial Jewish community and an influential body of Austrian bureaucrats, many of them Germans from Bohemia. It was Galicia's principal centre of urban life and of refined culture, and it developed a unique personality (see below). In due course, the railway was extended beyond Lemberg, in the first instance to join Galicia with the neighbouring province of Bukovina. Later on, it linked the Austrian Empire with the Russian port of Odessa. Galicia's eastern frontier was passed at Śniatyń. In that district, locals still called the northern bank of the Dniester the 'Polish side', and the southern bank the 'Turkish side'.

The landscape of Galicia was (and still is) extremely picturesque. The rivers flowing down from the snowbound Carpathian ridge are filled with broad, deep and powerful streams feeding numerous lakes and waterfalls, and range after range of hills are piled up against the ridge, creating row after row of valleys, great and small. The woods and forests were varied and extensive. The hilltops were often crowned with dense pinewoods, while high stands of beech stretched out below the rocky summits of the main ridge. The valley floors and broad plains were filled with farmland. Agriculture was traditional, not to say primitive. The peasants lived in wooden cabins, spun yarn for their own clothes, and tilled the fields by hand in timeless routine. They donned their colourful costumes on Sundays or for religious festivals, or to ride to

the markets that were run by Jews. It was a land which tourists would increasingly seek to visit, and which peasants would increasingly want to leave.

Galicia's mountain districts presented remarkable variety, both in their inhabitants and their scenery; they were to prove attractive for hikers, ethnographers, painters, poets and photographers, especially from Germany and Austria. *Podhale*, the 'Land of the *Górale*' or 'Polish Highlanders', snuggled among the subalpine peaks of the Tatra Mountains to the south of Kraków.¹¹ It was famed for its wood-carving, its white felt clothing and its inimitably raucous music. Further east, the *Lemkivshchyna* or 'Land of the Lemkos' occupied both sides of the Carpathian ridge among the tree-clad Lower Beskid hills. The Greek Catholic Lemkos spoke a Ruthenian dialect quite different from the speech of the *Górale*, and were famed for their choral singing.¹² Beyond the San round Sambor lay the *Boykivshchyna*, the 'Land of the Boykos', another Ruthene group which included a substantial minority of Orthodox. Boyko villages were marked out by their unusual triple-domed, beehive churches.¹³ The *Hutsulshchyna* or 'Land of the Hutsuls' backed onto the mountainous frontier with Hungary to the south-east of Lemberg.¹⁴ The Hutsuls specialized in metalwork and horse-breeding, lived in widely scattered hamlets, and were said to be riddled with syphilis. All these districts boasted wild scenery, severe winters, remote pastoral homesteads, archaic dialects, vivid costumes and treasured folklore.

Galician society was formally feudal until the mid-nineteenth century, and remained traditional and pre-modern until the end of its existence. Most of the landed estates, where serfdom remained in force until 1848, belonged to a score of powerful Polish magnates. The free peasantry was largely confined to pastoral communities in the southern highlands. The middle classes were undeveloped, the commercial and professional sectors often being in Jewish hands. Religious practices were strong. Churches and synagogues usually provided the most substantial buildings.

A small number of the grandest Galician landowners could boast some of the largest fortunes in Europe. Each of them governed scores of scattered districts from their *klucz* or 'home estate' – the Branickis at Sucha, the Czartoryskis at Sieniawa, the Potockis at Łancut and Rymanów, the Sapiehas at Krasiczyn, the Dzieduszyckis at Jezupol and the Lubomirskis at Czerwonogród. These families attended court in Vienna and assumed Austrian titles. Their extravagant lifestyle, filled with balls, banquets, foreign tours and international gatherings, was

vulnerable to the vagaries of fortune. Though they prospered as a class, individual families rose and fell like football clubs in a premiership league table.¹⁵

The peasantry, in contrast, were as indigent as their masters were affluent. Men, women and children toiled in the fields from dawn to dusk. They had a few basic implements, an ox-team or possibly a horse, but before the twentieth century little or no machinery. Until 1848 the men were obliged to work for several days a week on the lord's demesne, leaving their wives and offspring to cultivate the family plot. They attempted to survive outside the money economy, suspicious of the Jews who ran it, fearful of debt, and only going to market to sell a pig or to buy a fork or a foal. Like the aristocrats, they watched their family fortunes rise and fall in response to the vicissitudes of health, weather, fertility and the birth of sons, but the tenor of their communal life was remarkably constant. Peasant speech, peasant customs and peasant dancing were all peculiar to their particular social estate. Even after the abolition of serfdom, partly thanks to illiteracy and the scarcity of alternative employment, the peasantry stayed firmly tied to the land. Polish and Ruthenian peasants in Galicia had much more in common with each other than with the rest of society.

Debates over serfdom multiplied after the Congress of Vienna, but the issue did not come to a head in Galicia until 1846, when disastrous floods coincided with a political upheaval in the Republic of Kraków. Some Austrian officials, it seems, actively encouraged serfs to rebel against their masters in order to nip the Cracovian conspiracy in the bud. A peasant called Jakub Szela from the village of Smarzewy near Tarnów assembled a gang of men intent on violence against the local nobility. When the authorities failed to intervene, bands of rebel serfs toured the countryside, beating, burning and butchering noblemen and their families. Bounties were paid for severed noble heads. At least 1,500 murders were perpetrated, and none was punished. When the military finally moved in, Szela was exiled to Bukovina, and the emperor was eventually forced to sign the decree of abolition. This *Rabacja* or 'Peasant Rising' of 1846 (otherwise known as the 'Galician Slaughter') sent ripples of horror round Europe.¹⁶ Everyone who had thought that the social order was God-given and immutable was obliged to think again.

The abolition of serfdom brought only partial relief for the peasants. The strong conservative lobby in Vienna was able to insist that the state compensation payable to the landowners for the loss of their serfs be financed from long-term mortgage payments imposed on the ex-serfs.

The supposed beneficiaries of abolition were indeed freed from bondage and were theoretically free to leave their villages, yet they were not given anywhere to go, and, if they stayed on to work the land which they still regarded as 'theirs', they moved at a stroke from serfdom to deeply indebted tenancies, typically condemned to pay off their mortgage over thirty or forty years. To make things worse, all sorts of traditional practices, such as the right to graze cattle on common land or to collect firewood in the forest, were thrown into dispute, where the advantage belonged to the landowner and his lawyers. Serfdom had provided security of tenure in exchange for bondage. Now, both bondage and security had ended.¹⁷

Nonetheless, over the decades, new horizons opened up for the former serfs, who were forced to take responsibility for their own destiny. They could buy and sell their produce more effectively, and exploit crafts for monetary gain. They looked forward to educating their children, and began to campaign for village schools. With some delay, they took to various new forms of collective activity, organizing both economic co-operatives and political parties.

All the textbooks state that in the second half of the nineteenth century Galicia's economy remained seriously retarded. Certainly it did not possess the dynamism either of its neighbour, Prussian-ruled Silesia, or of Austrian-ruled Bohemia. Yet it did not stand still either. After 1848 a wider railway network was built; export businesses increased, especially of timber, paper, sugar and tobacco; and several mechanized industries were launched.

Oil, however, supplied the only resource to promise industrial development of more than provincial importance. Discovered in the 1850s in the district of Borysław-Drohobycz, it grew explosively into a wild oil-rush area of near-unregulated drilling and exploration. Foreign investment, mainly French and German, poured in. Borysław and nearby Tustanowice saw hundreds of oil shafts spring up in the muddy fields alongside the district's only paved road, and 100 trains a day left the state refinery at Drohobycz. In 1908 the Galician oilfield claimed to be the third largest in the world after those of Texas and Persia.¹⁸

Even so, the deep-seated problems of Galicia's rural economy deteriorated. After devastating floods in the early 1880s, rural poverty reached catastrophic proportions. Famine stalked both the villages and the Jewish *shtetln* that lived from the peasants' trade. A study published in 1887, which historians now consider exaggerated, purported to show

that Galicia had become Europe's poorest province.¹⁹ Paradoxically, the population had more than doubled in less than a century, while agricultural productivity lagged far behind. Galicia appeared to be falling victim to the Malthusian nightmare which most of Europe had avoided. Overpopulation underlay all other socio-economic ills. Food production had fallen well below rates in neighbouring countries in every crop except potatoes. The birth rate soared to 44/1,000 per annum. The death rate was dropping. The total population was heading for 9 million. Galicia could no longer feed its sons and daughters.

Mass migration was the result. Migrant workers no longer returned home after a seasonal spell in Germany or in Western Europe, but went further and further afield. The coal mines of Ostrava or of Upper Silesia were a frequent destination, but once the railways were built, it was a relatively simple matter to take a train to Bremen or Hamburg and to sail for America. The station at Oświęcim provided the main point of departure. Special barracks were built to house the crowds of paupers who thronged the platforms, and fourth-class wagons were laid on to transport them to the north German ports. The exodus gathered momentum in the last decades before 1914. The annual outflow was counted in hundreds of thousands, and the total ran into millions.²⁰ Most of them would never see Galicia again. The Poles usually headed for the new industrial towns of the American Midwest like Chicago, Detroit or Cleveland, Ohio. The Ruthenians preferred the prairie provinces of Canada. The Jews made for Vienna, and then for New York.

Though many emigrants would not have known how to read and write, some did; and the letters sent back home constitute an eloquent source of information on their experiences.²¹ The pangs of emigration also form the subject of Galicia's best-loved popular song:

*Góralu, czy ci nie żal
 Odchodzić od stron ojczystych,
 świerkowych lasów i hal
 I tych potoków srebrzystych?
 Góralu, czy ci nie żal?
 Góralu, wracaj do hal!*

('Oh, Gooral, are you not weeping / to walk from your own native land, / from the pine trees, mountains and pastures, / from the silver torrent's bright strand / Oh, Gooral, are you not weeping? / Oh, Gooral, come back to home!')²² In the nature of things, Galicia's cities were untypical. The urban population never exceeded 20 per cent of the country. Yet its

importance should not be underestimated: the cities were the focal point of administrative, commercial and cultural activities that kept the kingdom functioning. Lemberg, though a Polish city in the eyes of its Polish majority, strongly exuded the flavours of the multinational Habsburg Empire. Its Jewish community, increasingly assimilated, represented perhaps a third of its population, while the other minorities – Ruthenian, German, Czech and Armenian – created a variegated ethnic patchwork.

A large number of imposing public buildings in the grandiose Viennese style sprang up round the older, historic centre. The university, refounded in 1817, the renowned *Politechnika* (1877) and the building of the Galician *Sejm* or Diet were all examples of modern neo-Gothic design. The three cathedrals – Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic and Armenian – set the tone of religious plurality, and the erection of a full range of theatres, opera house, art galleries and museums attested to the city's cultural vitality. The late nineteenth century saw the arrival of railway stations, municipal waterworks, tramways, parks, prisons and sports clubs. Lemberg was famed for its lively café life. Numerous monuments and institutions dedicated to King John (Jan) Sobieski, the 'Saviour of Vienna' (see p. 282), the district's most illustrious son, were entirely appropriate.

For the first 100 years, the Austrian authorities in Lemberg pursued a policy of steady linguistic Germanization. But from 1870, the introduction of municipal autonomy led to re-Polonization. Streets, like Sapiieha Boulevard, the main thoroughfare, were given Polish names. A statue to Poland's national bard, Adam Mickiewicz (who never visited), was placed in the Mariacki Square. And the amazing Panorama Raclawicka, a theatrical battle-scene presented 'in the round', was opened on the centenary of Kościuszko's famous victory over the Russians at Raclawice in 1794 (see p. 289). The city's motto, '*Semper Fidelis*', which had distinct Roman Catholic overtones, was now taken to refer unambiguously to the memory of Poland's tragic past.²³

By the late nineteenth century Lemberg had found its way into the leading European tourist guides:

LEMBERG – Population, c 160,000 Hotels. Hot. George, R from 3K, B. 90h; Imperial, Grand, Metropole, de L'Europe, de France. Restaurants. At the hotels, also Stadtmüller, Krakowska Str; Rail Restaurant at the chief station. Cafés. Theatre Café, Ferdinands Platz; Vienna Café, Heilige-Geist Platz. Electric Tramway from the chief station to the Wąły Hetmanskie, and thence to the Kilinski Park and to the Cemetery of Łyczaków. Horse cars also traverse the town. British Vice-Consul: Prof. R. Zaliecki . . .²⁴

Unlike Lemberg, nineteenth-century Kraków was struggling to recover from a long period of decay. When Galicia was first formed, grass had been growing through the cobbles of its magnificent medieval square, the *Rynek*. More recently, the successive collapse of New Galicia, of the Duchy of Warsaw and of the Republic of Kraków all dashed the city's hopes of regaining its former status. Kraków was smaller than Lemberg, and returned to Galicia in 1846 as a distinctly poor and battered relation. To disarm the city, the medieval walls were razed and replaced by a municipal garden, the *Planty*, encircling the central area.

Nonetheless, in the last quarter of the century Kraków's ancient splendour started to revive. The Jagiellonian University, re-Polonized and rehoused, became a powerhouse of modern Polish culture. Art, science and learning flourished as never before. And Kraków's Polishness, radiating from the most Polish part of Galicia, heralded further changes to come:

*Gdy chcesz wiedzieć, co to chowa
Nasza przeszłość w swoim łonie,
Jako stara sława płomie:
To jedź bracie do Krakowa.*

(‘If you want to see what here is bred / our heritage in its very womb / like an ancient flame that catches fire: / ride, brothers! Go to Krakow!’)²⁵

Galicia's linguistic kaleidoscope exuded both charm and complications. The main secular tongues of German, Polish, Rutheman and Yiddish were accompanied by the sacred languages of Latin, Old Church Slavonic, Old Armenian and Hebrew.

In Galicia's early days, German was less developed as a governmental and literary medium than Polish. (It was only starting to develop in those roles in Prussia.) As a result, the Habsburg bureaucrats of Lemberg cultivated a highly stilted and artificial style of their own. Galician Polish, too, was relatively archaic. The nobles held forth in forms filled with third-person titles, rhetorical flourishes and elaborate courtesies. The peasants used the second-person form, and were given to rural idioms, popular proverbs and down-to-earth vocabulary. Rutheman, that is, Galician *ruski*, which would be classified nowadays as Old West Ukrainian, was the language of illiterate serfs and their descendants, and of the Greek Catholic clergy who served them; it shared many of the characteristics of White Ruthenian *ruski* in the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania (see p. 243). Its vocabulary had been subjected to a tidal

wave of Polonisms, and its orthography long wavered between the Latin and the Cyrillic alphabets. In the mountain districts, it fragmented into numerous local dialects.

Historically, the native language of Galicia's Jews was Yiddish; they prayed and studied in Hebrew. As the nineteenth century wore on, however, the trend towards assimilation in secular matters led to the widespread adoption either of German or, especially in Kraków, of Polish. Jews in the country towns also needed to understand the language of the surrounding peasantry. Trilingualism or quadrilingualism was not uncommon.

The depth of the cultural gulf which separated town from country, and class from class, can be gleaned from the exceptional memoirs of Jan Słomka, that is, 'Jack Straw' (1848-1929), who was born in a village near Dębica in western Galicia in the last year of serfdom. As an illiterate farmboy, he writes, he had no conception of being Polish. The peasants of his district called themselves 'Mazury', having migrated from further north in Mazovia many generations earlier. The label of 'Pole' was reserved for nobles. Only when he learned to read and write in his twenties did he realize that he belonged to the same Polish nation as Prince Sapieha or Adam Mickiewicz.²⁶

Galicia's linguistic diversity was nicely demonstrated in the singing of the imperial anthem, which was adopted in 1795 with words by Lorenz Leopold Haschka and melody by Joseph Haydn:

*Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser,
Unsern guten Kaiser Franz,
Hoch als Herrscher, hoch als Weiser,
Steht er in des Ruhmes Glanz . . .*²⁷

(The music was to be adopted later by the German Empire, and sung to 'Deutschland, Deutschland über alles'.) After 1848, however, the practice spread whereby the anthem could be sung by each of the emperor's subjects in their own language. In Galicia, the Polish version competed mainly with Ruthenian:

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>Boże wspieraj, Boże ochroń</i> | <i>Bozhe, budy pokrovytel'</i> |
| <i>Nam Cesarza i nasz kraj,</i> | <i>Cisariub, Ieho kratam!</i> |
| <i>Tarczą wiary rządy osłoń</i> | <i>Krypkyj viroiu pravytel'</i> |
| <i>Państwu Jego siłę daj.</i> | <i>Mudro nai provodyt' nam!</i> |

('God assist and God protect / our Emperor and our land! / Guard his rule with the shield of faith / and hold his state in Thy hand!') The text was also available in Yiddish and Hebrew, and if necessary in Friulian.²⁸

By the turn of the century, each of the Empire's nationalities was singing their own national anthem alongside, or even in place of the imperial one. The Poles of Galicia did not favour Dąbrowski's 'Mazurek' or the 'Warszawianka' that were popular across the Russian frontier. Instead, they preferred the lugubrious choral hymn composed by Kornel Ujejski in shock from the Galician *Rabacja*:

*Z dymem pożarów, z kurzem krwi bratniej
Do Ciebie, Panie, bije ten głos . . .*

Through fiery smoke, through brothers' blood and ashes,
To Thee, O Lord, our fearful prayers ring out
In terrible lamentation, like the Last Shout.
Our hair grows grey from these entreaties.
Our songs are filled with sorrow's invocation.
Our brows are pierced by crowns of rooted thorn.
Our outstretched hands are raised in supplication,
Like monuments to Thy wrath, eternally forlorn.²⁹

The Ruthenians, for their part, adopted a song that was first printed in Lemberg in 1863. Appropriately composed by a lyricist from Kiev and a musical cleric from Peremyshl, it embodied the spiritual link between the Ukrainian national movement in the Russian Empire and the Ruthenians of Galicia, and was destined to become the national anthem of Ukraine. Its first line parodied the first line of Dąbrowski's 'Mazurek': 'Poland has not perished yet'. The pro-Ukrainian Ruthenians sang '*Shche ne vmerla Ukraina*', 'So far Ukraine has not perished'.

The Zionist anthem '*Hatikvah*', though rarely heard in conservative Galicia, was predictably composed by a Galician Jew.³⁰

Galicia's religious culture was traditional, compartmentalized and very demanding. It was designed for people who craved guidance and solace in hard, uncertain lives and who rarely questioned either the strict observances or the unbending authority of their religious leaders. Piety both in public and in private marked a way of life accepted by Christians and Jews alike.

The main branches of the Catholic faith, Roman and Greek, operated throughout the kingdom. The Roman Catholic Church was closely associated both with the Habsburg establishment and with the Polish community. In western Galicia it provided the religion of all classes: in the east, of the gentry.

The Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church, in contrast, served a Ruthenian community that was only slowly emerging from serfdom and from cultural isolation. It had retained the liturgy of its Byzantine roots, while adhering to the principle of papal supremacy. Being viewed with intense hostility by the Russian Orthodox Church across the eastern frontier, it blended well with Austria's anti-Russian political stance. Its most outstanding hierarch was Andrei Sheptytskyi (Andrzej Szeptycki, 1865–1944), metropolitan of Lemberg-Halich, who was cousin to a Roman Catholic general and nephew to the dramatist Alexander Fredro. Scion of a leading landed family and a graduate of the Jagiellonian University, he chose a Ruthenian and Uniate identity of his own free will, and became the true shepherd of his flock, both politically and spiritually. In the Second World War he was one of the few churchmen to dare to denounce Nazi crimes from the pulpit.³¹

The Russian Orthodox Church, despite (or perhaps because of) its dogged attempts to recruit Slav Christians, was not well viewed in Galicia. The so-called 'Russophiles' in the central Carpathian area were the only substantial group to embrace it.³² The old-established Armenian Church served a community of merchants and exiles who had fled Ottoman rule, and whose adherents were thoroughly Polonized in everyday life. But their cathedral in Lemberg preserved the rites and language of Christianity's oldest denomination.³³

The Protestants of Galicia were fish in the wrong sort of water. They were either German Lutherans, who had settled in a number of rural colonies, or Polish Evangelicals, who had spilled over the border from Austrian Silesia (where the Catholics were Czech and the Protestants Polish). They were strong in Lemberg, in Stanisławów and in Biała.

As defined by religious practice, the Jews formed over 10 per cent of Galicia's population and were often an absolute majority in particular localities. Yet traditional Orthodox Judaism was strongly challenged by the rise of the Hassidic sects, who had started to proliferate in the late eighteenth century. The Hassids, or Chassids, meaning the 'Pious', rejected the rabbis and their teaching of the Talmud. They observed their own strict rules of dress and diet, and lived in separate communes, each headed by its *zaddik* or 'guru'. Their emphasis lay on the mystical aspects of religion, on the practice of Cabbala and on their rapturous singing and dancing. They were especially resistant to assimilation and modernity, and increasingly set the tone for the *Galizianer*, the stereotypical 'Galician Jew'. The Karaites, who also shunned Judaic Orthodoxy, were another minority within the minority.³⁴

Monasteries had long been a feature of the Galician landscape, and they suited the kingdom's conservative ethos. Many of the dissolutions enacted by Joseph II, therefore, were reversed; many ancient foundations, Roman Catholic and Uniate, continued to flourish. Here and there – in the Benedictine ruins of Tyniec near Kraków, or of the former Basilian cloister at Trembowla – there were reminders of hostile secular forces. But they were exceptions. The approaches to Kraków continued to be dominated by the towers of the Camaldulensian monastery at Bielany, and by the imposing battlements of the Salvator convent.

All denominations made public displays of their piety. Galician life was punctuated by a great variety of saints' days, processions and pilgrimages. The Cracovian Feast of St Stanisław was celebrated in May with great pomp, while the Corpus Christi parade in June attracted still greater crowds. The annual pilgrimage in August to the Franciscan cloister at Kalwaria Zebrzydowska in west Galicia was attended by tens of thousands of peasants who dressed up in their finest clothes to camp out in the vicinity for days. (It was a central event in the peasants' marriage market.)

The Jews, too, had their pilgrimages. At Passover in the spring or at Yom Kippur in the autumn visitors would congregate round prominent synagogues or at the homes of 'miracle-working' *zaddiks*. Belz and Husiatyn were two of many favourite destinations.

Among the Catholics, the cult of the Virgin Mary was widely practised. Many Polish pilgrims headed across the frontier to Częstochowa, to the shrine of the Black Madonna, who had long been revered as 'Queen of Poland'. Attempts by the Austrian authorities to declare her 'Queen of Galicia and Lodomeria' did not meet with much success.

Galicia's secular culture has to be divided into two parts: the folk culture of the peasant majority, which was rooted in immemorial customs; and the more intellectual activities of educated circles, which were the product of growing European interchanges in science and the arts.

Despite the age of its roots, Galician folk-culture cannot be regarded as static. After the abolition of serfdom, the speech, the costumes, the music, the legends, the songs and dances and the everyday practices of various regions all became badges of pride for the newly liberated rural class, and were standardized and formalized in new ways. They also attracted the attention of early ethnographers. František Řehoř (1857–99) was a Czech who was taken in his boyhood to a farm near Lemberg, and who spent a lifetime recording Ruthenian folklore.³⁵ Semyon Ansky (1863–1920) was a Jewish socialist who made a now classic study of

Galician Jewry during the First World War.³⁶ Stanisław Vincenz (1888–1971) was a Pole born in Hutsul country who was to spend most of his life in exile. His famous analysis of Hutsul culture, *Na Wysokiej Połonie*, 'On the High Pasture', was not published until the world of his youth had been destroyed.³⁷

Education, of course, was the key to social advancement. But, despite many improvements, it remained the preserve of relatively few beneficiaries. Generally speaking, Jews who learned to read and write as a religious duty were better served than Christians, and enjoyed a distinct headstart on the route into the professions, commerce and the arts. In the early nineteenth century the provision of primary schools, largely by the Churches, was woefully inadequate. After the reign of Joseph II the Austrian state was interested in little other than the training of its German-speaking bureaucracy. From the 1860s onwards, however, important changes were made. First, though elementary education was never compulsory, the number of schools multiplied greatly. Secondly, both the secondary schools and the universities were largely taken over by Polish educators. By 1914 Galicia possessed sixty-one Polish *gymnasia* or grammar schools, but only six Ruthenian ones. The Jagiellonian University in Kraków, the University of Lemberg and the Lemberg *Politechnika* were all Polish institutions.

For obvious reasons, historians rose to special prominence. Everyone wanted to know how the old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had been destroyed, and why Galicia had been created. The Stańczyk Group of historians in Kraków – so named after a mordant royal jester – held that the Polish nation had no one to blame for its misfortunes but itself. Count-Professor Stanisław Tarnowski (1837–1917) was a central figure in the group.³⁸ Alexander Brückner (1856–1939), professor of Slavic History and Philology at Berlin, was also, despite his name, a Galician Pole.³⁹ Professor Szymon Azkenazy (1866–1935), a specialist in diplomatic history, contested the Stańczyks' 'pessimism'.⁴⁰ It was entirely fitting that one of the last governors of Galicia, Professor Michał Bobrzyński (1849–1935), was a popular Cracovian medievalist.

Yet no one was more influential in the long run than Mikhail Hrushevsky (1866–1934), the founding father of Ukrainian history. Though employed in St Petersburg, Hrushevsky could only publish freely in Lemberg, and his *Traditional Scheme of Russian History* (1904) demolished the widespread Russocentric myth that Moscow and its successors had been the sole legitimate heirs of Kievan Rus'.⁴¹ Meir Bałaban (1877–1942), a graduate of Lemberg, wrote a series of groundbreaking

works on the Jews of Kraków, Lemberg and Lublin, thereby earning the reputation as the pioneer of modern Polish-Jewish history.⁴²

Literature, too, blossomed in Galicia, partly because many foreign writers chose to live there. Thanks to the rise of national languages, Polish, Ruthenian and Jewish letters flourished in parallel. Among Galicia's native sons, the poet Wincenty Pol (1807-72), offspring of an Austrian family in New Galicia, took brilliantly to the local Polish idiom.⁴³ Count Alexander Fredro (1793-1876), whose estate lay at Surochów near Jarosław, is best characterized as the father of Galician comedy.⁴⁴ Kazimierz Tetmayer (1865-1940) was the principal promoter of the 'Tatra Legend' and of associated regional culture, and the patron of Zakopanę as a literary centre.⁴⁵ Elements of the legend included a romantic cult of the high mountains, tales of freedom-loving heroes (especially of Janosik, the 'Robin Hood' of the Tatras), and a movement for stylized regional architecture and design.

An eclectic group of artists and writers calling themselves *Młoda Polska*, 'Young Poland', made their name around the turn of the century. By far the most significant figure among them was the Cracovian Stanisław Wyspiański (1869-1907) - poet, dramatist, painter, architect, designer and professor of Fine Arts. His play *Wesele* (1901), 'The Wedding Feast', bristling both with historical references and contemporary issues, is a dramatic masterpiece.⁴⁶ *Wesele* was inspired by a real event - the marriage in the village of Bronowice near Kraków of a young university lecturer and a peasant girl. The Cracovian snobs no doubt viewed the event as a social *mésalliance*. But Wyspiański saw it as an allegory of reconciliation leading to national unity. In the play's final scene, a little girl is brought forward and asked to put her hand on her heart: 'Something is throbbing,' she says.

— 'And do you know what it is?'

— 'It's my heart.'

— 'Yes, and that's what Poland is!'⁴⁷

Wyspiański would be counted among the highest pantheon of Polish writers.

Among the many exiles who moved to Galicia, Jan Kasprowicz (1860-1926) won perhaps the greatest reputation. The child of illiterate parents, he had fled Prussia, but so educated himself that he translated Dante, Shakespeare and Dostoyevsky into Polish. He worked for thirty years in Lemberg, before retiring to his *Harenda* at Poronin near Zakopanę.⁴⁸

The Ruthenian literary movement, which started virtually from scratch in the 1830s, had a multitude of obstacles to overcome. The *Rusalka Dnistrovaia*, the very first joint publication of three writers calling themselves the 'Ruthenian Triad', was composed in Lemberg in 1837, but for fear of the state censorship was published in Budapest;⁴⁹ it was not until 1848 that activists were successful in asserting the right of Ruthenian/Ukrainian to be officially regarded as a distinct language. Henceforth, the 'Ukrainian Awakening' would proceed in parallel in Austrian Galicia and in Russian-ruled Ukraine. Its most important member, Ivan Franko (1856–1916), enjoyed little esteem during his lifetime. He was the orphaned son of a blacksmith from a village near Drohobych, an active non-Marxist socialist, a powerful prose writer, and an academic. After his death, he came to be seen alongside the poet Taras Shevchenko as one of the fathers of modern Ukrainian literature; the university from which he was expelled would later be given his name. In Galician times he made a major contribution to the cultural advance of his national community by translating the classics of European literature, including works by Dante, Shakespeare, Byron, Hugo and Goethe.⁵⁰

Vasyl Stefanyk (1871–1936) was an accomplished writer of Ruthenian short stories. Born in Pokutia, East Galicia, he studied medicine in Kraków and became acquainted with members of the *Młoda Polska* group. His chosen theme was the travails of emigration. One of the stories, '*Kaminnyi Khrest*', 'The Stone Cross' (1900), was turned into an early film, a monument to its real-life hero, who died in Canada in 1911, was raised in Hilliard, Alberta.⁵¹

Galicians often used German as a literary medium, either because they had gone off to study in Austria or because they sought to address a wider European public. Leopold von Sacher-Masoch (1836–95) fitted both criteria. He was the son of the police director of Lemberg, and was not a native German-speaker. But on returning from studies in Graz he made his name in the 1860s as a writer of short stories inspired by Polish, Jewish and Ruthenian folklore. His trademark work, however, *Venus in Pelz* ('Venus in Furs', 1869), explored his sexual proclivities, and gave rise to the psychiatric term 'masochism'.⁵²

Jewish writers plied their craft in German, Polish, Yiddish or Hebrew according to circumstance. The leading literary critic Wilhelm Feldman (1866–1919), for example, born in Zbaraż, educated in Berlin and resident in Kraków, mainly chose Polish.⁵³ Mordechai Gebirtig (1877–1942), poet and song-writer, is celebrated as Kraków's 'Last Yiddish Bard'. His

song, 'S' Brent', 'Our little town is burning', has become a Jewish standard. His 'Farewell to Kraków' can be taken as a lament for the lost world of Galician Jewry:

Blayb gezunt mir, Kroke!
Blayb zhe mir gezunt.
S'vart di fur geshpant shayn fur mayn hoyz
S'traybt der wild soyne,
Vi m'traybt a hunt,
Mit akhzoriyes mikh fun dir aroys.

('Farewell for me, my Kraków! / Farewell, my country. / The harnessed cart is waiting outside. / The wild enemy / is driving me out like a dog / to destinies unknown.')⁵⁴

Sooner or later, all attempts to describe Galicia's qualities and characteristics reach the subject of humour. Galicians tended to be both sardonic—since they had little faith in their ability to change anything—and, as a way of softening the blow, addicted to jokes. A famous story, told by Galicians about the Galician Front in 1914, says it all. A German officer reports: 'The situation is serious, but not hopeless.' An Austrian officer retorts: 'No, it's hopeless, but not serious.'

Many of the jokes centred on the long-lived Emperor Franz-Joseph. In the winter of 1851, when he visited the Jagiellonian University, the professors were told that they must stand when the emperor was standing, and sit when the emperor was seated. Outside the venerated *Collegium Maius*, the emperor slipped on the icy cobblestones and fell flat on his face. All the professors immediately flung themselves headlong onto the ice. On another occasion, the emperor lost his way when hunting in the mountains, taking refuge after nightfall in a remote tavern. The emperor knocks on the bolted door. 'Who's there?' the innkeeper calls. 'We are,' comes the reply. 'And who, for God's sake, are We?' 'We, by God's Grace,' the visitor recites, 'are His Royal and Imperial Majesty, the Apostolic King of Jerusalem, Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slovenia, Galicia and Lodomeria . . .' 'In that case,' the innkeeper relents, 'come in, but by God's grace, will We please wipe Our boots.'

True to his ascetic lifestyle, whereby he wore the same old army jacket for decades, Franz-Joseph was said to allow himself only one mistress. Anna Nakowska, wife of a Galician railway official, claimed to have made numerous discreet visits to the Hofburg in the 1870s. She

reportedly benefited from discounted railway fares, and her husband from regular promotions. But she was not alone, being superseded in the emperor's affections by his long-term companion, the actress Katharina Schratt. In 1880, during the emperor's second visit to Galicia, the station at Bochnia was decorated with a banner bearing the imperial motto, '*Viribus Unitis*'. The workmen responsible did not notice that the banner was hanging directly over the station conveniences. The combined message read: 'Strength in Union: Ladies and Gentlemen'.

In 1915 an Austrian officer of Polish descent was overheard deriding his emperor as a '*stary pierdola*'. In the ensuing court martial, three professors of the Jagiellonian University solemnly testified that the offending expression could indeed be construed as 'Old Fart'. On the other hand, they asserted, it was also an archaic form of endearment meaning 'Fine elderly gentleman'. About the same time, a Russian revolutionary was stopped on the frontier. A police officer asks him: 'For what purpose do you intend to visit Galicia?' 'My purpose is to support the international struggle of the Working Class against Capitalism!' 'In that case,' says the officer, 'since no one here does much work, and we don't have any money, please come in.'

Jokes and gossip are excellent subjects for dividing historians. The purists say, correctly, that they cannot be verified. The realists maintain, with equal correctness, that they provide vital insights into the tenor of everyday life.⁵⁵

For the first century of its existence, Galicia's government was entirely centralized. The emperor and his ministers in Vienna ruled through governors resident in Lemberg. Politics, such as it was, consisted of delivering petitions to the governor, or, for influential aristocrats, of seeking the emperor's ear at court. From 1772 to 1848, every single name on the list of governors or 'governors-general' – eighteen in total, from Graf Anton von Pergen to Freiherr Wilhelm von Hammerstein – was an Austrian German.

In 1848, during the 'Springtime of Nations', Galicia played a minor part in the Europe-wide disturbances, and Galician delegates attended the Slav Congress in Prague. The Congress assisted in the recognition of Ukrainian identity despite Russian protests, while discovering that the Poles and pan-Slavism do not mix. Little could be achieved beyond the talking. Imperial forces were on hand to bombard first Lemberg and then Kraków into obedience.⁵⁶ Nonetheless, the consequences were far-reaching. A lively Galician delegation had lobbied the emperor in

Vienna for the abolition of serfdom, and at home a rash of political organizations formed to channel the growing demands for representation. A strong body of the emperor's Galician advisers were convinced that constitutional reform was unavoidable. Among them was Count Agenor Gofuchowski, a native Galician who went on to serve several terms as governor from the 1850s to the 1870s.

Two new organizations with lasting influence were both Ruthenian in orientation. The Supreme Ruthenian Council (*Holovna Ruska Rada*, HRR) set out not just to gain influence with the Austrian government, but also to prevent the Poles from gaining a monopoly on language and educational issues. It rapidly mobilized a network of local councils, which were to be the foundation of the future Ruthenian/Ukrainian movement. The Ruthenian Congress (*Ruskyi Sobor*), in contrast, was set up by conservative landowners in order to counter the HRR's more radical aspirations. Between them, these two organizations would ensure that the Galician Poles would not henceforth have everything their own way.

After the 'Springtime of Nations', Polish leaders headed by Gofuchowski pressed for provincial autonomy in the name of political restraint. They were effectively telling Vienna that if put in charge, they would keep the lid on radicalism. At the same time, a group calling themselves the 'Podolians' followed the example of Prince Lev Sapieha and emphasized charitable works and social relief. Perhaps as a result, compared to the situation in Russian-ruled Poland, Polish national sentiment in Galicia was relatively subdued. In 1863-4, when the January Rising was raging over the border (see pp. 295-6), active support for the insurrectionaries was limited.

Galicia was finally granted autonomy in 1871 following the transformation of the Empire into the dual Austro-Hungarian monarchy four years earlier. Galicia was to enjoy less self-government than Hungary but more than other imperial provinces. There was to be a *Sejm* with three chambers; a separate Ministry of Galician Affairs in Vienna; and the governors were given the title of *namiestnik* or 'viceroy'. Polish was to be the principal language of administration and education. Conservative landowners were left in a dominant position, and the more assertive Poles began to think of the kingdom as the 'Piedmont' of a reunited Poland, that it might mirror Piedmont's role in Italy's Risorgimento. Ruthenians and Jews felt increasingly excluded. Between 1871 and 1915, every viceroy, every minister of Galician affairs and every marshal of the Galician Diet, was Polish. The Galician Diet, also domi-

nated by Poles, was notorious for long-winded speech-making and for lack of effective action. The Polish expression of *'austriackie gadanie'*, literally 'Austrian babbling', possesses similar connotations to English phrases such as 'hot air' or 'prattle'.

Nonetheless, social and political conditions in Galicia were conducive to nationalist ideas gaining most ground among the Ruthenians. One group, the 'Old Ruthenians', gathered in the parish halls of Uniate churches. A second, the Kachkovskyyi Society, named after its founder, was suspected of Russophile tendencies. A third, the *Narodovtsy* or 'Populists', gradually won the support of a clear majority. Backed by the educational Prosvita Society, they made a telling symbolic step when they established their headquarters in the Lubomirsky Palace, formerly the governor's residence. They too thought of Galicia as being like Piedmont – but of a future Ukrainian state.⁵⁷

By 1907, democratic institutions had been introduced throughout the Empire. Male suffrage, which had already functioned for several years, was replaced by universal suffrage for elections to the imperial *Reichsrat* in Vienna, where Galician deputies took their places alongside Germans, Czechs, Slovenes, Bukovinians and many others. Nationalists of many hues mingled alongside conservatives, socialists and the first Zionists. In 1908 Galicia sent the largest of all delegations, some on horseback, others on foot, and all in brilliant costumes, to the emperor's diamond jubilee celebrations.

Yet in that same year, the viceroy of Galicia was murdered in Lemberg by a Ukrainian extremist. The assassination made it to the front page of the *New York Times*:

STUDENT MURDERS GOVERNOR OF GALICIA
Count Andreas Potocki Victim of Bitter Enmity between
Ruthenians and Poles
SHOT WHILE GIVING AN AUDIENCE
Poles crying for vengeance – Great Excitement at Lemberg⁵⁸

Five years later, on the eve of the First World War, another political bombshell exploded. Austrian counter-intelligence agents checking suspicious parcels of money in Vienna's main post office, uncovered a traitorous liaison between the former chief of their military intelligence service and the Russian government. Colonel Alfred Redl (1864–1913), born in Lemberg, part Jewish and part Ukrainian, had been a brilliant officer. But he was also homosexual, and vulnerable to blackmail. Over

a decade, he is thought to have supplied the Russians with the Austro-Hungarian masterplan for war against Serbia and details of all the main fortifications in Galicia. When he shot himself in disgrace, the emperor was said to be most upset by the bad example of an officer dying in mortal sin.⁵⁹

By the turn of the century, therefore, several social and political chasms were opening up in Galicia. The aristocrats had been joined in the wealthiest sector of society by a small but very affluent bourgeois class, frequently Jewish, while the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) was mobilizing support among a small but militant working class, especially in the oil-field. A sturdy Polish Peasant Movement (PSL), markedly anti-clerical and undeferential, was courting a large constituency. Poor Jews and still poorer peasants were emigrating in droves. Above all, rival nationalist movements were eyeing each other with deepening suspicion. Galicia had little to offer to those demanding 'Poland for the Poles', 'Ukraine for Ukrainians' or 'Zion for the Jews'.

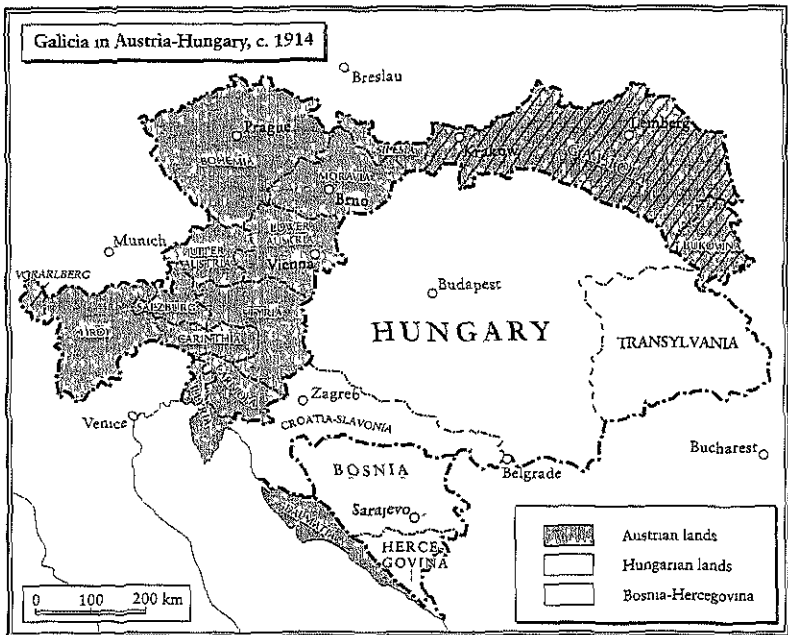
Nowhere could these divisions be seen more clearly than in Krynica, a small spa town nestling in the hills 60 miles south-east of Kraków. Mineral springs had been discovered there and a fine Renaissance-style pump-house had been built in the 1890s beneath the pine-clad slopes. Railway lines connected Krynica-Muszyna both with Kraków and with Budapest. Rich clients, many Jewish and many from Russia and Hungary, came to take the waters, to relax in the mudbaths, to stroll along the elegant Parade and to enjoy the luxurious hotels, villas and restaurants. Elegant Polish ladies showed off the latest Parisian fashions. At the same time, a half-hidden slum of Jewish paupers huddled behind the town hall, and ragged peasants from the surrounding Ruthenian villages drifted into town to seek work as servants or chambermaids, or sometimes to beg. One of them, a deaf-mute Lemko washerwoman, gave birth in 1895 to one of Galicia's most remarkable sons. Epifanyi Drovnyak, like his mother, suffered from a speech impediment, and spent much of his life begging on the Parade. Yet as 'Nikifor' he eventually won recognition as a unique, 'naive' (or stylistically 'primitive') painter.⁶⁰ Just as his contemporary L. S. Lowry painted Lancashire cotton mills and matchstick people, Nikifor loved to draw Galician train stations and their passengers.

A couple of hours on the slow local train to the north of Krynica brought one to Bobowa – an archetypal Jewish *shtetl* in the middle of verdant Polish countryside. In 1889 the village had burned down. The

original inhabitants moved out, and the followers of a Chassid *zaddik*, Salomon ben Natan Halberstam, moved in. A new *yeshivah* or Talmudic academy was founded. The old wooden synagogue was rebuilt in stone, and on feast days thousands of Chassidic pilgrims would arrive from far and wide. The owners of the town were the counts Długoszowski, refugees from Russian-ruled Poland. In the years before 1914, the son of the family, Bolesław Wieniawa-Długoszowski, was studying in Paris. But he returned home in time to fight with Piłsudski's Polish Legions during the First World War. His relations with the Jews exemplify the way in which, at their best, different Galician religions and ethnic communities could live beside each other before 1914. Photographs have survived of him in officer's uniform entertaining Salomon Halberstam's son – the silver-haired, bemedalled general with the smiling, bearded, fur-hatted Chassid.⁶¹

When war broke out in August 1914, everyone knew that Galicia's fate was precarious. It was strategically exposed, and fighting between the Austrian and Russian armies immediately took place on Galician soil. Fear of the 'Russian steamroller' was great: if the tsar's armies were victorious, Galicia would be annexed to Russia. If the Central Powers held firm, almost everyone assumed that Galicia would remain a Habsburg Crownland indefinitely.

Most Galician men who enrolled for military service served in the Imperial and Royal Army. The casualty rate among them was high. A much smaller number, perhaps 30,000, found their way either into Józef Piłsudski's newly formed Polish Legions or into their Ukrainian equivalent, the United Sich Riflemen. Both of these formations grew out of scouting, sporting or paramilitary groups that had come into being in the previous decade. Piłsudski's men, who belonged to the anti-nationalist branch of Polish patriotic opinion, upholding the country's multi-religious and multi-cultural traditions, contained a strong contingent of Jews. And, like Dąbrowski's men a century earlier, they were fired up by the call to fight for the restoration of Polish independence. They actually started the fighting on the Galician Front on 6 August, when they crossed the Russian frontier near Kraków in an act of deliberate bravura. But they soon retreated, and took their place on the frontline alongside all the other formations of the Central Powers. After three years of hard fighting, they were pulled out of the line in preparation for transfer to the Western Front. Having refused to take an oath of allegiance to the German Kaiser, however, they were disbanded. Piłsudski



was imprisoned, his officers interned, and the rank and file redistributed among other units. As a result, they played no further part either in the war or in Galicia's future.⁶²

The Austrian authorities were equally keen to mobilize Ruthenian manpower. A Ukrainian army corps assembled round the Sich Riflemen by drawing on recruits from eastern Galicia. Their ultimate political aims were not clarified, but their eagerness to fight Russia was shared by their Polish counterparts and satisfied Vienna. Since they stayed in the field, they were able to influence events at the war's end.⁶³

At first, Galicia's prospects had looked grim. The Russian steamroller rolled, driven by huge numerical superiority. Lemberg was occupied, and the fortress at Przemyśl was subjected to a five-month siege. The Austrians pulled back. By early December 1914 Cossack patrols were raiding the outskirts of Kraków. (One of them was captured at Bierzanów, now within the city limits.) But then the line held. In a Christmas counter-offensive, the Austrians recovered almost half the lost ground, retaking most of west Galicia.⁶⁴

In 1915 the initiative passed to the Central Powers. Having knocked out one of the two Russian army groups in East Prussia, and having established a trench-line deep inside France, the German command felt

free to reinforce its hard-pressed Austrian allies. A massive combined operation pushed off in July from the district of Gorlice (adjacent to Krynica) and all resistance was swamped for a couple of hundred miles. The Germans swung north to capture Warsaw. The Austrians reached Lublin, recovering both Przemyśl and Lemberg. The German and Austrian emperors met to agree on the re-creation of a subservient Polish kingdom in Warsaw and Lublin. Galicia breathed again.

The next year was one of renewed alarms, heightened by the death of Franz-Joseph. General Brusilov launched a fresh Russian offensive. Lemberg changed hands once again, and Przemyśl was subjected to a second siege. This time, however, the Russians drove south over the Carpathians into Hungary. They eventually ran out of steam, and their positions in the winter of 1916-17 were not dissimilar to those of two winters previously. War-torn Galicia was holding on. It provided the setting for one of the most celebrated fictional treatments of life on the Eastern Front in *The Adventures of the Good Soldier Švejk*.⁶⁵ Švejk's Czech creator, Jaroslav Hašek, served in Galicia.

It was not long before the crash of the cannon was joined by the rumblings of revolution. In the course of 1917 the Russian army fell apart. Mutinous soldiers shot their officers and refused to fight, appealing to the rank and file of their German and Austrian enemies to follow suit. In March the 'February Revolution' overthrew the tsar. In November the Bolsheviks' 'October Revolution' overthrew Russia's provisional government. In consequence, though the fighting raged on in Western Europe, peace was clearly coming to the East. The armies of the Central Powers surged forward, occupying the Baltic provinces, Lithuania, Byelorussia and Ukraine. Both Lithuania and Ukraine declared their independence from Russia, and Lenin, the desperate Bolshevik leader, was forced to sue for peace. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in March 1918 was signed at the dictate of Berlin and Vienna. Soviet Russia was forced to resign from huge swathes of territory, and Galicia was reconfirmed as a Habsburg possession.⁶⁶

The main civilian concerns were now for epidemic diseases and for refugees. Typhoid broke out, followed by the worldwide epidemic of Spanish influenza. Well over a million Galician civilians had been displaced, their sufferings inspiring appeals for international aid.

The impact of the Bolshevik Revolution on Galicia is difficult to gauge. It may have encouraged the new Emperor Charles to seek a separate peace. Some soldiers, infected by the revolutionary bacillus, threatened to mutiny; most simply demanded to go home. Many of them, while

marching off, turned against their imperial rulers less in the name of international revolution than in that of national liberation. Czech and Slovak regiments demanded a Czech-Slovak state; Croats and Slovenes aspired to a new Yugoslavia; Poles talked about a Polish Republic; and Ukrainians about a free Ukraine.

The ferment came to a head in October 1918. The Central Powers were now falling back in disarray on the Western Front, and the emperors in Berlin and Vienna were facing calls for abdication. In Galicia, the troops of the Royal and Imperial Army, together with Austrian officialdom, were melting away. Officers threw away the keys of their fortresses. Appeals to Vienna went unanswered, and in any case Vienna seemed to be issuing no orders. Kraków was left in the hands of the local garrison. Lemberg was handed over to a division of Ukrainian Riflemen. In west Galicia, a Polish Liquidation Committee declared itself guardian of all ex-imperial assets. In east Galicia, a 'West Ukrainian Socialist Republic' was surfacing in parallel to an Austro-German Republic in Vienna. On 11 November the Emperor Charles declared that he was withdrawing from government, and absolved all officials from their oath of office. Unlike the German Kaiser, he did not abdicate but withdrew to his country house at Eckertsau to await developments. After four months, he left for Switzerland, and the Empire just petered out. Ironically, since the emperor had also been king of Galicia and Lodomeria, the helpless kingdom petered out with it. After months of huge confusion, it was joined to the reborn Polish Republic, whose head of state, freshly released from his German prison, was Józef Piłsudski.

Galicia's afterlife lasted at the most for one generation. The kingdom itself was never restored, but the multinational community which it had fostered lived on under a succession of political regimes and was not definitively broken up until the Second World War. In 1918-21, the partition of Galicia led to violent conflicts. The Poles of Lemberg rebelled against the West Ukrainian Republic within a week, drove the Ukrainian troops out by their own efforts, and then, calling on military assistance from central Poland, freed the whole of Galicia from Ukrainian control.⁶⁷ They then embarked on a political campaign to ensure that all of the former Galicia be awarded to the Polish Republic. At the same time, the territory became embroiled in a wider war between Poland and the Soviet Republics. In spring a 1920 it provided the base for Piłsudski's *march on Kiev in the company of his allied Ukrainian armies*. That summer, it was the scene of a Bolshevik invasion, headed

by the fearsome *Konarmiya* of 'Red Cossacks'. In the autumn, following Poland's decisive victory over the Red Army at Warsaw, it returned in its entirety to Polish rule.⁶⁸

In the 1920s and 1930s, reunited and forming a composite part of inter-war Poland, the former Galicia enjoyed a brief period of respite. West Galicia, centred on Kraków, returned to its historical name of Małopolska. East Galicia/West Ukraine, centred on Lemberg (now Lwów), was given the unhistorical name of 'Eastern Little Poland'. As in late Austrian times, the Poles held the reins of power. Administration and education were strongly Polonized, and for the first time illiteracy was largely abolished. In several easterly districts, substantial numbers of Polish settlers, usually war veterans from 1920, were given grants of land to strengthen the border areas. Loyalty was maintained by a relatively benign regime, by a strong military presence, and by fear of the neighbouring Soviet republics, where political, social and economic conditions were infinitely more oppressive. Refugees reaching the former Galicia from Lenin's 'Red Terror', from Stalin's forced collectivization or from the Ukrainian Famine of 1932-3 left little doubt in people's minds about the horrors of the 'Soviet paradise'.

The problems encountered by Galicia's non-Polish minorities, which were to be a favourite topic of Communist propaganda in the decades that followed, have often been exaggerated. The Jews did encounter a certain measure of discrimination, especially during the Polish-Soviet War. But stories of widespread pogroms, though oft repeated, were dismissed by successive international inquiries. The notorious 'Lemberger Pogrom' of November 1918 turned out to be a military massacre in which three-quarters of the victims were Christian.⁶⁹ The Ruthenians/Ukrainians, too, encountered painful episodes. Rural poverty continued to afflict the villages of so-called 'Polska B', that is, the poorer, eastern part of inter-war Poland. Though the constitution guaranteed the equality of all citizens, Ukrainian language and culture were never put on an equal footing with Polish. In 1931 a rural strike was countered by brutal pacifications from the Polish military; in 1934 the murder by Ukrainian terrorists of the Galician-born minister of the interior, Bronisław Pieracki, provoked harsh repressions. Even so, none of these ordeals bore any resemblance either to the atrocities in progress across the Soviet border or to the catastrophes that were about to strike.

Ex-Galicians who became prominent after 1918 were legion. They included Wincenty Witos, peasant politician and premier;⁷⁰ Stefan Banach,

mathematician;⁷¹ Karel Sobelsohn, 'Radek', Bolshevik;⁷² Leopold Weiss (Muhammad Asad), Muslim convert;⁷³ Michał Bobrzyński, historian;⁷⁴ Martin Buber, philosopher;⁷⁵ Joseph Retinger, a 'Father of Europe';⁷⁶ Omelian Pritsak, Harvard orientalist;⁷⁷ Joseph Roth, Austrian writer;⁷⁸ Bruno Schulz, Polish writer and artist;⁷⁹ S. Y. Agnon, Israeli novelist;⁸⁰ Władysław Sikorski, general and politician;⁸¹ Archduke Albrecht von Habsburg, Polish officer;⁸² Rudolf Weigl, microbiologist;⁸³ Ludwig von Mises, economist;⁸⁴ Stepan Bandera, Ukrainian nationalist;⁸⁵ and Simon Wiesenthal, Nazi-hunter.⁸⁶

Space permits only one of these diverse figures to be described. The highly eccentric career of Leopold Weiss (1900–92) was prompted by circumstances that were fairly common among educated Galicians. Weiss was born in Lemberg to a family of liberal Jewish professionals, who took religious tolerance for granted. His father, the son and grandson of rabbis, had broken with tradition to become a lawyer; and, though the young Leopold's parents gave him a standard Talmudic education, they took great care not to press religious views on him. The result, he said, was a feeling that they lacked any real conviction. Hence, when he arrived in Palestine in the 1920s he parted company with his Zionist colleagues from Galicia, made friends with Arabs, converted to Islam, and took the name of Muhammad Asad. He was the author of *The Message of the Qur'an* (1964), one of the best-known introductions to Islamic teaching for foreigners. After living for a time in Saudi Arabia and befriending King Saud, he married a Saudi wife, and moved to British India, eventually serving as Pakistan's first ambassador to the United Nations. In 1939 he was arrested by the British as an enemy alien. His parents, who had stayed in Lemberg, perished in the Holocaust.⁸⁷

In 1939–45 the former Galicia belonged to the slice of Europe which suffered greater human losses than anywhere in previous European history. The Polish Republic was destroyed in four weeks in September 1939 by the collusion of Hitler's Wehrmacht with Stalin's Red Army. By the Nazi-Soviet Pact of 28 September, the land and people of the defunct Republic were divided between German and Soviet zones of occupation. The southernmost stretch of the dividing line ran along the River San (along the old border between west and east Galicia). Then the killings and deportations began. In the German zone, Kraków, renamed Krakau, was made the capital of the SS-ruled General Government; Oświęcim, renamed Auschwitz, saw the installation of the Nazis' largest concentration camp. In the Soviet zone, Lemberg (now Lvov) became

the headquarters of a brutal Communist regime enforcing Stalinist norms. Up to a million people – Poles, Ukrainians and Jews – were condemned either to the Soviet concentration camps of the Gulag, or to exile in the depths of Siberia or of Central Asia.⁸⁸

In the middle years of the war, 1941–4, following Hitler's renegeing on the Nazi–Soviet Pact and 'Operation Barbarossa', the area of German occupation was extended far to the east. East Galicia, now *Distrikt Galizien*, was added to the General Government, and Nazi policies for reconstructing the racial composition of their *Lebensraum* swung into action. Virtually all Galician Jews were murdered, either shot in cold blood or transported to the gas chambers of Auschwitz or Sobibor.⁸⁹ Slightly later, part of the Ukrainian underground launched a programme of ethnic cleansing in which hundreds of thousands of Poles were murdered.⁹⁰ The Waffen-SS raised only one division of Ukrainian volunteers in the former Galicia, the XIV Waffen-SS *Galizien*, exclusively for military duties against the Soviet Union;⁹¹ two or three Waffen-SS divisions were typically raised in each of many other occupied countries, such as Belgium, the Netherlands and Hungary. On the other side, scores of Ukrainian divisions fought in the Red Army. The clandestine Ukrainian Insurrectionary Army (UPA) duly launched a desperate campaign to defend its homeland simultaneously against both Hitler and Stalin. They, their dependants and their sympathizers were annihilated.⁹²

In 1944–5 the Red Army returned with a vengeance. The Stalinist authorities were determined to uphold the frontier-line agreed with the Nazis in 1939, and hence to perpetuate the division of the former Galicia. What is more, they ruled that the remaining Polish population was to be concentrated to the west of the line, and Ukrainians to the east. Vast tides of fugitive humanity flowed back and forth. Recalcitrants were driven out of their homes. The Poles of east Galicia/eastern Małopolska/*Distrikt Galizien*, now labelled 'repatriants', were packed onto trains and dispatched from Soviet territory. Almost the entire surviving Polish population of Lemberg was sent to Wrocław/Breslau, the capital of Silesia, where it replaced the expelled German citizenry.⁹³ This was social engineering on an unprecedented scale.

The districts adjoining the new Polish–Soviet frontier were hit particularly hard. One example must suffice. Ustrzyki Dolne lay on the bank of the River San. Its multinational Galician make-up had stayed intact till 1939. A Jewish majority predominated in the town, though there were also some Poles and a few Ruthenians. One of its prominent Jewish citizens, Moses Fränkel, had been a long-serving mayor. In the

surrounding mountainous countryside, a Ruthenian Lemko peasantry lived alongside an old German rural colony. None of these groups survived the war. The Poles of Ustrzyki were deported en masse by the Soviets in 1939, almost all of them dying from maltreatment or the Siberian cold.⁹⁴ The Germans, by Nazi-Soviet agreement, were forcibly sent to the so-called 'Warthegau' to replace expelled natives.* In 1942 the Jews of Ustrzyki were rounded up by the Wehrmacht, marched to a temporary transit station, and then sent to the extermination camp at Sobibór. This only left the Ruthenian Lemkos, who were rounded up and dispersed by the Communist authorities in 1946-7 in an act of ethnic cleansing called 'Operation Vistula', launched on the pretext of rooting out the remnants of the wartime Ukrainian underground.⁹⁵ By that time, Ustrzyki was a ghost town, emptied of all its pre-war inhabitants. The mountain villages were deserted, the houses had been torched and razed, the orchards had turned wild; the fields, untended, were overgrown. All that remained were a few ruined churches and synagogues, and the vandalized tombstones of the cemeteries.⁹⁶ The former east Galicia, forcibly Ukrainianized, now formed part of the Ukrainian SSR. The former west Galicia, artificially Polonized, belonged to the Polish People's Republic. The new Soviet-Polish frontier reduced contacts to a minimum. The Ustrzyki district was finally restored to Poland by the Soviet Union in 1951.

The Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria had died in 1918. Thirty years later, the community of ex-Galicians had effectively been broken up and dispersed. Their multinational homeland had been completely ground to pieces. In the end, ex-Galician society fell victim to the two great totalitarian monsters of the twentieth century. But clearly it also harboured elements within its own make-up that could be driven to ugly, murderous violence. Some of its Ruthenians/Ukrainians had voluntarily joined the Nazi service, and some in the wartime countryside had engaged in Nazi-style crimes against Poles. Some of its Poles and Jews had joined Stalin's cause, and became complicit in Soviet crimes, especially in 1939-41. Seventy years after the event, revelations are emerging only now about shameful crimes perpetrated by Polish peasants against fugitive Jews.⁹⁷ Observers will be tempted to ask whether the Galicians, if left to their own devices, might not have descended to the sort of inter-communal atrocities that broke out, for example, in Yugoslavia. The question is unhistorical, and the answer can never be known – though

* The *Warthegau*, i.e. the District of the River Warthe, was the Nazi name for Great Poland.

it can be easily asked by people whose country has never been occupied or subjected to the sort of apocalypse which struck the former Galicia.

Norman Davies. *Vanished Kingdoms: The Rise and Fall of States and Nations.* New York: Viking, 2012. Chapter 9. Galicia: Kingdom of the Naked and Starving (1772--1918). Part II, pp. 449--81.

