

# THE IDEA OF GALICIA

History and Fantasy in Habsburg Political Culture



Larry Wolff

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*History and Fantasy in Habsburg Political Culture*

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*For Jim Cronin—*

J'ai toujours fait une prière à Dieu, qui est fort courte. La voici:  
Mon Dieu, rendez nos ennemis bien ridicules! Dieu m'a exaucé.

(I have always made one prayer to God, a very short one. Here it  
is: "O God, make our enemies ridiculous!" And God granted it.)

—Voltaire, 1767

Samoobrona, odwet. Przed śmiesznością bronić się śmiechem.

(Self-defense, revenge. Against the ridiculous defend yourself  
with laughter.)

—Tadeusz "Boy" Żeleński, *Znaszli ten kraj?* 1931

This what neglected topic?

This strangely what topic?

This strangely neglected what?

—Kingsley Amis, *Lucky Jim*, 1954



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I first began to study Galicia as a college student at Harvard in the 1970s, and, working on this project, I have found myself constantly thinking back to issues that I discussed with professors who profoundly shaped my intellectual development: Wiktor Weintraub (1908–88), who introduced me to Polish literature and culture, and with whom I read Boy's *Znaszli ten kraj?*; and Omeljan Pristak (1919–2006), who introduced me not only to Ukrainian history but to the whole history of Eastern Europe. It was Professor Weintraub who inspired my interest in Cracow, and Professor Pritsak who started me thinking about Lviv—thus, between them, presenting me with the intellectual panorama of Galicia.

As a graduate student I began to study Habsburg history and was lucky enough to work with three inspirational professors, all with very different perspectives on the Habsburg monarchy according to their own principal academic interests: Wayne Vucinich (1913–2005) and Gordon Craig (1913–2005) at Stanford, and William Slottman (1925–95) at Berkeley.

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My parents, Robert and Renee Wolff, have always given me their loving encouragement and support in my various endeavors, and my father has taken a special interest in this work, as his parents, my grandparents, were both born in Habsburg Galicia, and thought of themselves as Galicians even after many decades in America. My own children, several generations removed from Galicia, have been very indulgent with me in my Galician distraction over these last years, which have coincided with the rather intense period of moving our whole family from Cambridge to Manhattan. To Orlando, Josephine, and Anatol I can only say: “Wait, there’s a guy on our team who dresses like a pirate?” And to Perri Klass, married to a large academic project on Galicia: isn’t it what every woman dreams of? My thanks and love, as ever. Without her I would be a worthless creature.

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For twenty years at Boston College I was always happy to have as my friend and colleague Jim Cronin—and surely no one ever had a colleague who made academics and scholarship seem like more fun. This big book is dedicated to him.

New York City  
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# The Idea of Galicia



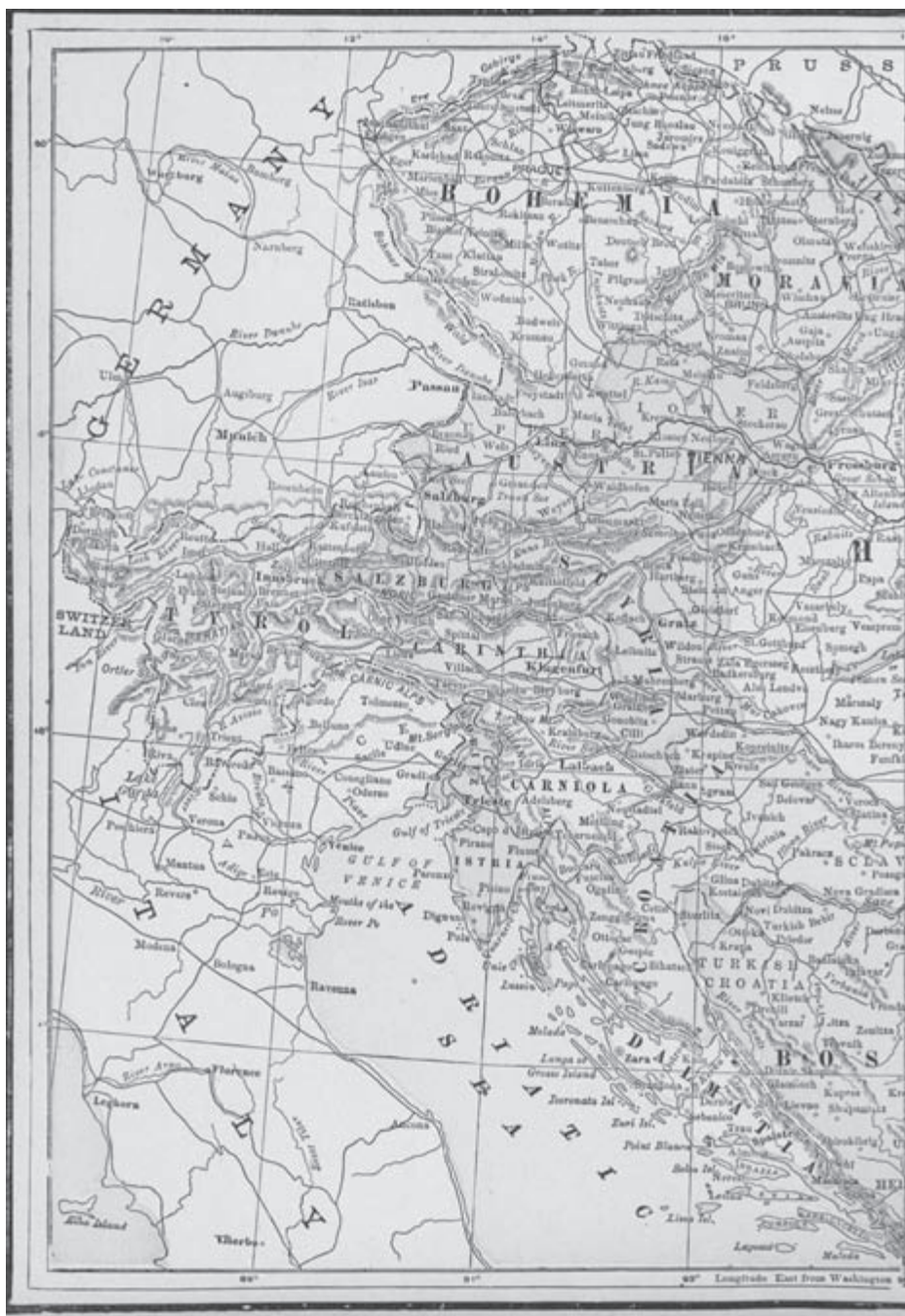
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## Introduction

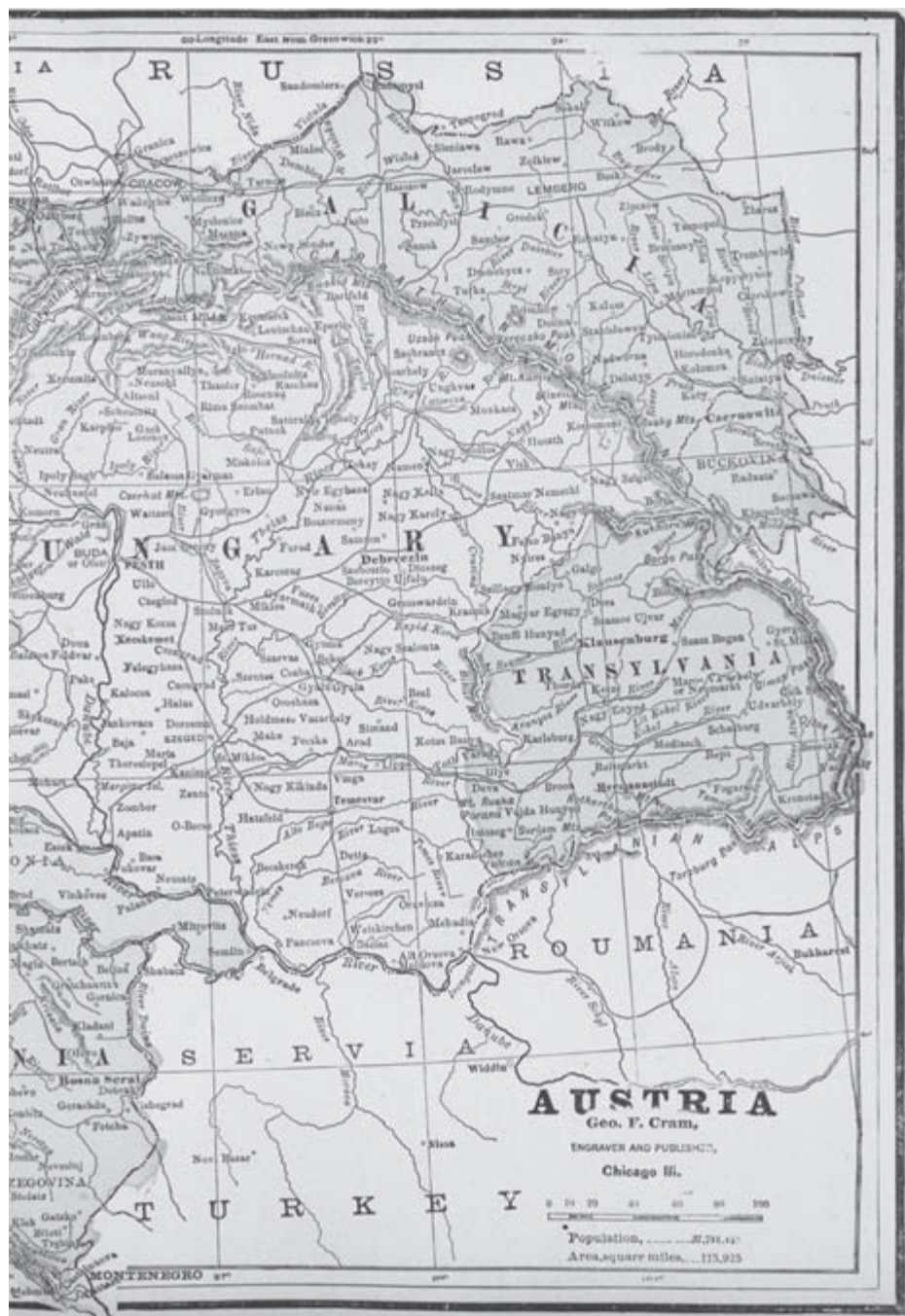


Galicia was created in 1772 at the historical moment of the first partition of Poland, when the Habsburg monarchy applied that name to Vienna's territorial portion of the partition and conceived of Galicia as a new Habsburg province. At the beginning of the century there had been an old Habsburg province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

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



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



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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The history of the idea of Galicia is also the intellectual history of historical writing, for history was one of the crucial genres in which the idea and identity of Galicia was cultivated and developed. In 1817, only forty-five years after the invention of Galicia, Joseph Mauss, professor of history at the university in Lviv, was working on a full history of Galicia and trying to establish retrospectively its medieval antecedents; Mauss reported in a letter that he had reached the year 1347.<sup>6</sup> In 1853, the historian Walerian Kalinka published *Galicia and Cracow under Austrian Rule*, and went on to become one of the founding figures of the Cracow historical school. Later historians of the Cracow historical school would also become leading ideologues and statesmen of Galician autonomy—such as Józef Szujski, who published *The Poles and Ruthenians in Galicia* in 1882, and Michał Bobrzyński, who became the viceroy, or *namiestnik*, of Galicia in 1908.<sup>7</sup> Their Ruthenian or Ukrainian contemporaries, such as Stefan Kachala and Mykhailo Hrushevsky, likewise looked to history as a means of articulating the idea of Galicia, the identity of Galician Ruthenians, and their relationship to a larger Ukrainian nation. Historians like Kachala did not hesitate to connect contemporary Galicia to medieval Halych, bridging a gap of centuries in order to affirm the continuously Ruthenian nature of the province.<sup>8</sup> In the early twentieth century, Majer Balaban in Lviv was publishing histories of the Jews of Galicia, conceived as a distinctive historical subject. These historians all contributed to a discourse of Galicia by writing the history of Galicia and Galicians while the province itself still existed.

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

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

German-language writers, published in Cracow in 1991, pointed toward a new way of understanding the cultural representation of the province. Two edited collections have featured new angles of scholarship on Galicia: one edited by Antony Polonsky and Israel Bartal in 1999 as a volume of *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*, the other edited by Christopher Hann and Paul Robert Magocsi, *Galicia: A Multicultural Land*, in 2005.<sup>11</sup> Young American scholars have recently turned to Galicia with important new works: Keely Stauter-Halsted's book on the nationalization of the peasantry in Galicia (2001), Alison Fleig Frank's book about Galician oil (2005), and Daniel Unowsky's book on Habsburg patriotism, including an analysis of the emperor's official visits to Galicia (2005). In 2006 there appeared Daniel Mendelsohn's compelling family memoir, *The Lost*, about returning to Galicia to discover the story of his grandfather's family, murdered in the Holocaust. In recent years new research on Galicia has been encouraged by the "Borderlands" project at Brown University, directed by Omer Bartov, and in 2007, Bartov published a remarkable travel account of the vanishing traces of Jewish Galicia.<sup>12</sup>

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

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

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



# Inventing Galicia

## *The Josephine Enlightenment and the Partitions of Poland*



### INTRODUCTION: “ALTRI GUAI!”

“Je vais partir pour la Galicie; *altri guai!* [I am going to depart for Galicia; more problems!]” wrote Emperor Joseph II to his brother Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany, in July 1773.<sup>1</sup> Joseph had never been to Galicia before, and neither had Leopold—nor indeed had any but a very small number of recent travelers. 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. Joseph himself was one of its principal creators, now to become also one of its first discoverers and explorers, and certainly its most grandly distinguished visitor. 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 area of territory, an administrative entity subject to Habsburg authority, but this geopolitical formulation of Galicia offered only an outline of the province that was coming into being. This brand new Galicia posed a cultural challenge to make sense out of, and inject meaning into, its suddenly undeniable geopolitical contours. In the first generation of Galicia’s existence from the 1770s to the

1790s, the age of the Polish partitions, the province was defined and established on the map and in the public sphere. Conceived as a figment of the Habsburg imperial imagination, Galicia was made into a plausible provincial entity whose cultural representations confirmed its territorial reality.

The imperial corulers—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 Johann Anton Pergen, attended closely to the province in pursuit of its ultimate administrative integration within the Austrian state in the 1770s.<sup>2</sup> The 1780s, the decade of Joseph's sole rule, brought to Galicia the Josephine travelers, including Franz Kratter and Alphons Heinrich Traunpaur, taking stock of the province according to the values of the Enlightenment. Their published travel accounts attempted to offer a summation of provincial economy, ethnography, and social structure. Such accounts located Galicia according to the enlightened cultural geography that distinguished Eastern Europe from Western Europe, measuring the gap between social backwardness and presumptive 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.

Finally, with the abolition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1795 and the western extension of Galicia, the province began to play the part of a forum for preserving Polish culture in the absence of the Polish state. When in 1796 the dramatist Wojciech Bogusławski presented in Lviv his recently created national opera, *Krakowiacy i Górale*, the context of the performance gave the work itself a Galician, as well as Polish, significance. After 1772 the administrative coherence of the province required the designation of a capital: Lwów in Polish, Lemberg in German, Leopoldis in Latin, today Lviv in Ukrainian. After 1795, Galicia came to include also the urban center of Cracow: Kraków in Polish, Krakau in German. Between the visit of Joseph in the 1770s and the arrival of Bogusławski in the 1790s, the invention of Galicia was politically consolidated, and the cultural construction of Galician provincial identity was just beginning.

#### JOSEPH IN GALICIA: "AMONG THE SARMATIANS"

Maria Theresa was uncomfortable with the first partition of Poland, which she clearly recognized as the illegitimate appropriation of territory from its

legitimate sovereign. Nevertheless, she had been urgently advised to seize a share of Poland, and thus to preserve the balance of power by matching the aggrandizement of Russia and Prussia. "I do not understand the policy," she recorded, "that allows, in the case when two take advantage of their superiority to oppress an innocent, that the third can and must imitate and commit the same injustice, as a pure precaution for the future and convenience for the present."<sup>3</sup> It certainly did nothing to ease her conscience or pacify her scruples to know that she was acting complicitly with both Catherine and especially her archrival Frederick, while he, in turn, mocked what he perceived as Maria Theresa's hypocrisy, offering the barbed witticism: "The more she weeps, the more she takes." In fact, the Habsburg share of Poland—that is, Galicia—would turn out to be larger than either the Russian or Prussian annexations.

Kaunitz, like Joseph, accepted the logic of the balance of power, and therefore the inevitability of Austrian participation in the partition. In troubled discussion with Kaunitz in 1772, Maria Theresa noted, "The word partition repels me [*Ce mot de partage me répugne*]."<sup>4</sup> It was her imperial repugnance that 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 of Halych and Vladimir were suddenly floated in Habsburg discussions of Poland. The medieval Hungarian crown 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.<sup>5</sup> As Habsburg troops occupied portions of Poland in 1772, Vienna affirmed the "revindication" of the medieval claim and thus evaded the repugnant word "partition," which offended the empress.

Maria Theresa herself did not use the name Galicia in the letter that she wrote to Joseph in 1773, attempting to dissuade him, for the sake of her own maternal "tranquillity," from making "this terrible voyage." She needed Joseph in Vienna beside her, so that they could attend jointly to political affairs: "Here is your place, and not *in den Carpathischen Gebürgen*."<sup>6</sup> Shifting from French into their native German, she thus placed a particular emphasis on the Carpathian Mountains, perhaps to suggest that they were wild and remote. The reference to the mountains also gave a topographic character to the province that Maria Theresa could not yet casually designate as "Galicia."

Joseph summed up the situation for her in a letter from Lviv on 1 August 1773: "I already see in advance [*je vois déjà d'avance*] that the work will be immense here. Besides the confusion of affairs there already reigns here a partisan spirit that is frightful." He was, from the beginning, particularly concerned about the condition of the peasants, who seemed to him to possess "nothing but the human form and physical life."<sup>7</sup> The immense work that he claimed to foresee was, presumably, his own revolutionary engagement in the 1780s on behalf of the enserfed peasants and against the oppressive nobility, in Galicia as elsewhere in the Habsburg monarchy. He would return to Galicia in 1780, in 1783, and in 1786.<sup>8</sup> At the first glance, in 1773 the province already appeared to him in the light of his own Josephine sense of imperial mission, confirmed by his prophetic vision: *je vois déjà d'avance*. Imperial knowledge of the provincial Galician circumstances was produced by the privileged Habsburg gaze. "I try to be quite polite [*assez poli*] toward everyone," he assured his mother, affirming his own detachment.<sup>9</sup>

On the same day, 1 August, Joseph wrote to his brother Leopold in Florence: "Here I am then among the Sarmatians [*Me voilà donc au milieu des Sarmates*]. It is incredible everything that has to be done here; it is a confusion like no other: cabals, intrigues, anarchy, finally even an absurdity of principles."<sup>10</sup> The Sarmatians were, supposedly, ancient inhabitants of the region, whose name had been adopted by the Polish nobility in the seventeenth century as valorous ancestors: Sarmatian style, as reflected in long coats and curved swords, was considered to be distinctively Polish. Yet, for Joseph to declare himself "among the Sarmatians" was 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 the characteristic "confusion" of Galicia was entirely consistent with Voltaire's enlightened vision of Eastern Europe. For Voltaire wrote to Catherine, 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."<sup>11</sup> Such was the supposed chaos of Eastern Europe, and the confusion of Galicia, as discerned by Joseph, fitting within the geographical terrain whose contours Voltaire suggested. 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: Galicia. The inaugural program for governing the province involved the appointment of a governor, Pergen, the protégé of Kaunitz. At the end of August 1772, Pergen was still uncertain about the name of the territory he would govern, and actually

proposed calling it the Grand Duchy of Lemberg.<sup>12</sup> By October, however, when Pergen presided over the ceremonial Habsburg assumption of power in the province, there was posted in the streets and squares of Lviv the imperial patent on the revindication of the “Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria” by the Hungarian crown. Kaunitz had already planned the whole event in Vienna, specifying even the trumpets, the drums, and the cannon salutes. It was Pergen, however, who paraded to the cathedral in Lviv for a solemn *Te Deum*, after deploying Austrian troops in the city to guarantee that the occasion would be orderly.<sup>13</sup>

Pergen’s assignment was the creation of a 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.<sup>14</sup> In particular, the extensive privileges and prerogatives of the Polish gentry in local government, along with Polish law and custom, could be simply canceled, producing a *tabula rasa*—Galicia—which the new Habsburg masters might cover with their own formulas. Pergen, arriving in Lviv in 1772, had to deal with the practical fact that Galicia was neither a blank slate nor a new world, but a thoroughly inhabited territory with persistent social, economic, and political circumstances that could not be simply abolished.

Galicia’s territory, taken from the Commonwealth in 1772, combined a large part of what had formerly constituted the Ruthenian voivodship [*województwo ruskie*], centered on Lviv, with a part of Małopolska or Little Poland, whose principal city, Cracow, just barely remained in Poland, right across the border from Galicia. While Małopolska belonged to the Polish state from its beginnings in the late tenth century, Ruthenia was originally affiliated with the medieval domain of Kievan Rus and was annexed to Poland by King Casimir the Great only in the fourteenth century. Thus the population in western Galicia was more heavily Polish and that of eastern Galicia more heavily Ruthenian, though the landowning nobility, or *szlachta*, was generally Polish by language and culture throughout the province. “Polish” and “Ruthenian” should not be understood as modern national terms for describing the population in 1772, especially the enserfed peasantry, but rather as categories of language, or groupings of dialects, that roughly corresponded to the crucial religious and cultural distinction between Roman Catholicism and Uniate



Special Map of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, the western *Kreise*. This map was made after 1772 as part of a comprehensive mapping of the new geopolitical entity of Galicia. The *Kreise*, or “circles,” were the new Habsburg administrative regions. Habsburg Hungary lies to the south of Galicia, Poland to the north, with Krakau (Cracow) shown still in Poland, just across the Galician border.

or Greek Catholicism. The Jewish population in this region also dated back to the reign of Casimir the Great, and was greatly influenced by the rise of Hasidism in the eighteenth century, as the founding figure of that movement, the Baal Shem Tov, lived in an area that later became part of Galicia.

In May 1773, Pergen set about trying to divide Galicia into administrative “circles [*Kreise*]” and districts, to match the structure of the rest of the Habsburg monarchy. He had some thoughts about trying to make the new units match the ethnographic composition of the province—for instance, creating a circle of Ruthenians—but ultimately he lacked both detailed maps and accurate information. He therefore found himself wrestling with proposals that actually corresponded closely to the older Polish administrative divisions, though such resemblances would permit precisely the sorts of political continuities that the Habsburg government sought to suppress.<sup>15</sup> In 1773, Pergen sought to raise revenues from the Jews of Galicia, and also to reduce their number, by placing a special tax on Jewish marriages. Later in the 1770s the Habsburgs would seek to deal more comprehensively with 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 für die gesamte Judenschaft der Königreiche Galizien und Lodomerien*—involved administrative reform subordinating Galician Jews to a single body of elders, including a single rabbi, *Landesrabin*, directly responsible to the Habsburg government. Joseph would continue to reform the institutions of the Galician Jews in the 1780s, as he pursued a system of administrative absolutism throughout the Habsburg monarchy.<sup>16</sup>

When Joseph came to Galicia in 1773 he was already inclined to be dissatisfied with Pergen for an inadequate commitment to the radical overhaul of Galician society and administration. Joseph prepared for Pergen an agenda of 154 questions about Galicia, and Pergen therefore quickly compiled an account of the province—*Beschreibung der Königreiche Galizien und Lodomerien* (*Description of the Kingdoms of Galicia and Lodomeria*)—at the moment of its “re-vindication” by the Habsburgs.<sup>17</sup> This account made it very clear that Galicia was not a void in which the Habsburgs could act with complete disregard for current circumstances. Yet, even in the context of exchanging questions and answers, producing descriptions 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!*

## KRATTER'S LETTERS: "THE NEW AND THE STRANGE"

In 1780, Joseph visited Galicia again, spending three weeks there on his way to meet with Catherine in Russia. His journal account of Lviv was innocuous enough, recording attendance at Mass in various churches and recreational walks in various gardens, which he found "very pretty." A typical journal entry, from 16 May, reported simply: "In the morning I worked until eleven, then heard Mass in the ex-Jesuit church, gave several audiences, ate, gave dictation, and then went strolling with the nobles." Joseph was presumably "polite" with the nobles, as he was in 1773, but in the letter to his mother, dated 19 May from Lviv, he wrote that "up to the present there has been too much indulgence [*complaisance*] toward these great lords"—that is, toward the Polish nobility.<sup>18</sup> The death of Maria Theresa in November 1780, and the beginning of Joseph's sole rule, would mark the end of imperial indulgence, perhaps even politeness, in Galicia.

The death of the empress occurred on 29 November 1780, six months after Joseph's visit to Galicia. Maria Theresa had reigned for forty years, and, even as she was laid to rest in the Kapuzinergruft in Vienna with her Habsburg ancestors, there were also requiems and eulogies in the Lviv cathedral. In one of the eulogies—delivered in Polish in Lviv, but also published in German in Vienna—the Poles were characterized as the youngest children of the Habsburg monarch, since they were brought into the empire most recently: "We are the youngest among the imperial subjects, the smallest in enlightenment and knowledge among all those whom the kindest of rulers governs and leads. We are children who have just reached the age of eight."<sup>19</sup> Thus, the newness of Galicia, invented in 1772, was articulated through the metaphor of childhood in 1780. Joseph, ruling alone after 1780, would confront the tensions of adolescence.

In the Habsburg monarchy the 1780s were a decade of huge upheaval caused by Joseph's campaign for revolutionary enlightened absolutism, later labeled as 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, and an assault on noble privileges. Such reforms were revolutionary everywhere in the monarchy, but the recent acquisition of Galicia, and the argument for its "revindication," meant that historic prerogatives had less weight there than in other Habsburg lands; Josephine reform was thus imposed all the more heedlessly, without regard for antecedent forms. Galicia, as an invented entity, could be considered to possess no proper history, and was therefore the perfect target for systematic enlightened transformation. At

the same time, the Habsburg government in the Josephine decade 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 controversy over the emperor's reforms brought Galicia to the attention of German readers inside and outside the Habsburg monarchy. Provocative travel accounts were published in Leipzig and Vienna in 1786 and 1787. This German perspective on Galicia attributed to the province a particular identity and coherence in the context of general notions concerning Eastern Europe in the age of Enlightenment.

Franz Kratter, a young man from Swabia—within the Holy Roman Empire but outside the Habsburg dynastic lands—was living in Vienna in the 1780s, publishing pamphlets in the spirit of Josephine reform, and becoming controversially entangled in the factional disputes of the Viennese freemasons. He spent six months in Galicia in 1784, visiting his brothers who had established themselves selling wine in Lviv. Kratter's *Letters about the Present Situation of Galicia* (*Briefe über den itzigen Zustand von Galizien*) 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. Addressing the reader, by way of a preface to the first volume, Kratter remarked that travel accounts "have always been the favorite reading of the German public," because they appeal to "its taste, its inclination for the new and the strange."<sup>20</sup> Galicia was certainly something brand new to the reading public in the 1780s, but Kratter promised even more: not only new, but also strange. The travel accounts that fascinated the public of the eighteenth century were sometimes deeply exotic, as in the accounts of the Pacific islands—such as Tahiti and Hawaii—visited by Captain Cook between 1768 and 1779. Galicia was not nearly so remote from the German reading public, though it was similarly unfamiliar, and Kratter would seek to emphasize, indeed partly to impute, the requisite strangeness.

Kratter promised to present not only the positive aspects of Galicia but also "the bad, the ugly, the abominable [*das Schlechte, Hässliche, Abscheuliche*]." Strangeness would not necessarily take the attractive form of Tahitian exoticism, but rather Galician abomination. Indeed, Kratter anticipated that the bad, the ugly, and the abominable might overwhelm his enlightened public, and he pleaded for indulgence in advance:

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. You will here become acquainted with completely alien classes of people.<sup>21</sup>

Thus Kratter established the chasm that separated his public of gentle German readers from the alien realm of Galicia. While he wrote in German, and sometimes asserted a German standard of civilization in judging Galicia, Kratter's perspective in the 1780s was not nationally German in a modern sense, but rather included the multiple intimations of being German educated, Josephine enlightened, Habsburg imperial, and European civilized all at once. His German readers were also his "friends of humanity." Kratter would later settle in Galicia himself, soon after publishing his book, and he would play a leading role in the theatrical life of the city, while his dramas, written in German in Galicia, were also performed all over German-speaking Central Europe. By the end of his life—he died in Lviv in 1830—he probably considered himself Galician, but in the 1780s Galicia still seemed altogether alien.

The nobility in Galicia 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: "The Galician nobility under the Austrian government naturally had to be given a turn quite opposed to its previous constitution . . . to bend its unruly anarchic spirit to the yoke of monarchy." The very notion of a "Galician nobility" was something new, the product of Austrian rule; for the Habsburgs had annexed the lands of the Polish nobility, who became Galician at the moment that they lost their Polish political status. In its previous incarnation as the Polish nobility, this unruly class "robbed the other part of the nation, made the people into slaves, ruled its subjects with the lawless absoluteness of despotism, practiced all kinds of crimes and horrors [*Grausamkeiten*]." <sup>22</sup> The Enlightenment saw in Eastern Europe, in Russia at least as much as in Poland, a pattern of social relations in which enserfed peasants were virtually slaves. <sup>23</sup> In 1788, Joseph's nephew Franz, the future emperor, traveled to Galicia at the age of twenty and commented in much the same spirit as Kratter: "The people and the peasants especially have just begun to recognize what great kindness they enjoy under our government, as before they were slaves and now are free men." <sup>24</sup> In Josephine Galicia slavery was remarked as one of the "horrors" that justified the imposition of Habsburg power upon the nobility of the province.

The modern idea of "Eastern Europe" was formulated in the 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, accordingly, conceived as a civilizing project, and Kratter cited "the barbarous wildness of the Polish nobility." The Polish noble, before coming under Habsburg rule, was "the most inhuman, abominable wild thing [*Wildling*]" and was "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 mannered society of the civilized world, the world of the German reading public, was placed in clear opposition to the wild, coarse, and even bestial world of the tigerlike Polish noble in Galicia. Such wild things were, even as Kratter wrote, being transformed, civilized, melted down and “recast [*umgeschmolzen*]” as Habsburg Galician subjects.<sup>25</sup>

The Polish nobles, in Kratter’s account, appeared as particularly barbarous in their conduct toward their serfs. There was, for instance, a certain Count M—known as “the wild” or “the horrible”—who whipped his peasants to death over trivialities. There was another Prince L. who arbitrated a dispute between a Jew and a nobleman in the following fashion:

PRINCE: Hey, captain. [He comes.] Hang the Jew up in the next room.

CAPTAIN: Right away. [He seizes the Jew and drags him away.]

PRINCE: Servant, hey! Bring us some of my best Tokay! Sit down, nobleman, drink with me! [They drink. Soon after.]

CAPTAIN: The Jew is hanging already!

PRINCE: Bravo!<sup>26</sup>

Kratter, who would compose literary dramas later in life, crafted this instance of barbarism into a playlet, exercising his dramatic imagination.

Further violent vignettes concerned the P. family (probably Potocki), who “murdered just to pass the time.” Kratter reported that one member of the family sent a peasant up into a tree to clear away an owl’s nest, then shot the man out of the tree, and laughed. There was also an account of a former bishop of Lviv, who supposedly ordered his serfs to be tortured and burned to death. “If a good painter were able to make use of this scene,” commented Kratter, “he would have achieved a masterpiece of a laughing devil.” Kratter himself was exercising his artistic liberty as he conjured the demonic figure of the bishop to dramatize the former “horrors” of Galicia. “By such despots was Galicia ruled when it came under Austrian rule,” he observed.<sup>27</sup> In 1786 there was also published in Przemyśl an anonymous Polish work, *Geographia*, which offered an “exact description of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria” but denied the legitimacy of that geopolitical entity in the name of the Polish nobility.<sup>28</sup> Kratter’s work, denouncing the Polish nobility, served the political purpose of Habsburg vindication. Maria Theresa had cherished the pretense to 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.

### “HORROR AND LOATHING”

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's hostility to abominable bishops in Galicia was just as consistent with the spirit of Josephinism as his hatred of the nobility. Joseph was particularly committed to the suppression of monastic orders, and Kratter was passionately outraged against the monks of Galicia. For one thing, they were complicit in the sins of the nobles inasmuch as a monk could absolve a nobleman for all of his “unnatural, thieving, and murderous deeds.” The absolved sinner would then reward the church with his financial patronage:

That is why in Galicia there are so many churches, monasteries, and foundations with the most ridiculous purposes, and—I do not speak without basis—that is the origin of most monasteries, in this most devilish and blasphemous dealing in sins. That is why churches and monasteries are made into warehouses 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 observance 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.<sup>29</sup>

While such writing crudely served the political purpose of justifying Josephine measures against the clergy, Kratter's extravagant treatment of the subject went 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 actually wrote himself into a passionate frenzy, describing his own clinical symptoms of heart and blood in a manner presumably intended to be infectiously communicated to susceptible readers. Moral outrage mingled with pornographic arousal, intended not just to instill enlightened anticlericalism but also to provoke an intensely emotional and even physiological response to Galicia.

Kratter roused himself to further vehemence in discussing the hygiene of the clergy and the cleanliness of the monasteries: “In German monasteries the pigsties are customarily cleaner than the kitchens and refectories here.”<sup>30</sup> The “civilizing process” that Norbert Elias has described as the history of manners in early modern Europe provided a standard for measuring the gap between civilized refinement and barbarous uncouthness. Elias cites Erasmus from the sixteenth century on the propriety of blowing one's nose with a handkerchief instead of one's hand, and he cites La Salle from the

eighteenth century, in *Les Règles de la bienséance*: “It is vile to wipe your nose with your bare hand, or to blow it on your sleeve or your clothes. It is very contrary to decency to blow your nose with two fingers and then to throw the filth onto the ground and wipe your fingers on your clothes.”<sup>31</sup> In this cultural context of increasingly self-conscious propriety, Kratter reflected on the priests of Galicia:

During the mass some blow their noses in their vestments, some in their hands, and fling the snot several paces away. One must be careful, standing near the altar, if one doesn’t want to get a dose of priestly filth on one’s clothing or in one’s face. I have seen with my own eyes a priest at communion blow his nose right into his hand, and with the same shining filthy fingers he used to throw away the snot, he breaks the host, and sticks it in his mouth with holy appetite.<sup>32</sup>

This graphic account, intended to provoke the visceral disgust of the gentle reader and outrage his delicate sensibilities, revealed the particular twist of Kratter’s anticlericalism in Galicia. He had put his finger, so to speak, on the civilizing pulse of the enlightened German public, invoking hygienic outrage as the motive for imperial presence. The issue of civilization was fundamental for enlightened perspectives on Eastern Europe, and Kratter’s seemingly bizarre emphasis on snot in the churches of Galicia was only a frank expression of the crucial connection between manners and civilization.

Josephine assertion of state control over religion was generally experienced as a blow by the Roman Catholic Church in Galicia, but the Uniate Church, or the Greek Catholic Church as it came to be called by the Habsburgs, actually benefited in important respects from Habsburg rule. Based on the Union of Brest of 1596, preserving Orthodox ritual and Slavonic liturgy while recognizing the hierarchical authority of the pope, the Uniate Church of the Ruthenian population in the Polish Commonwealth had always suffered from the superior and favored position of Roman Catholicism. Both Maria Theresa and Joseph were far more balanced in their respective treatment of the two rites, and the creation of state seminaries, for instance, while instituting state control, were nevertheless experienced as highly beneficial to the Uniate Church.

Kratter too was even-handed in his anticlerical perspective toward both rites, though the Uniate parish clergy garnered some sympathy alongside his automatic contempt. Uniate parish priests often had to work the land, like peasants:

It is not unusual in the country to see the priest in a ragged coat, the priestly collar around his neck, the tobacco pipe in his mouth, the whip in hand, waddling beside his horses or oxen. Most of them drink alcohol like water, are drunk almost every day, and then carry on all the filthy offenses characteristic of drunkards. I was very eager to get to know personally such a beast in priest’s clothing.<sup>33</sup>

Kratter regarded this Galician ecclesiastical life with distaste, condescension, and perhaps some sense of incongruous comedy, declaring his journalistic intention of making the acquaintance of a typical specimen. Having obtained the desired interview, Kratter reported that the priest lived in a shabby room, wore dirty clothes, and was hopelessly ignorant: "I tried to turn the conversation to various subjects, to religion, morality, pastoral care, instruction, enlightenment, new regulations. He never understood me."<sup>34</sup> According to the presumed asymmetry of civilization, Kratter claimed to understand and explain Galicia, but insisted that Galicia could not understand him.

Joseph applied himself to clerical education among the Uniates with the opening of the General Seminary and the Ruthenian Institute in Lviv in the 1780s. Kratter regarded such institutions as fundamental for the civilizing of Galicia:

Will the philosopher, the friend of humanity, ever be able to forgive the law for having abandoned the pitiable people during fourteen long, ruinous years of rapacity by these foxes, bears, and wolves, without once contemplating seriously the effective means of a salutary reform, until finally the wise Joseph promised the country better prospects for religion and the clergy through two educational institutions for the formation of the future teachers of the people in Lemberg?<sup>35</sup>

The fictional landscape of Eastern Europe in the 1780s, as in the popular novels about Baron Munchausen, often conveyed the savagery of the terrain through the presence of wild animals such as wolves and bears. For Kratter in Galicia, the human inhabitants appeared as predatory beasts, in this case members of the clergy, awaiting their domestication at the hands of the Habsburg emperor. The fourteen years between the creation of Galicia in 1772 and its literary representation by Kratter in 1786 seemed to him an epoch of mere anticipation, culminating not only in Joseph's reforms but also in the active engagement of the German public, his own philosophical readers.

Although Kratter was equally hostile to Roman Catholicism, the Uniate Church, with its preservation of Orthodox ritual, seemed even more alien. He was shocked to see a Uniate priest prostrate himself before the image of St. Nicholas: "He threw himself down, like a slave before his despot, and then looked at me with a very meaningful glance because I did not want to throw myself to the floor along with him before the great Nicholas."<sup>36</sup> In general, Kratter responded with ironic contempt to the elaborate, and to his mind excessive, ceremonial of the Uniate rite, and this was, in fact, precisely the moment when Josephine reform was seeking to simplify and streamline the ceremonial complications of Roman Catholicism. In this sense, the Josephine religious climate inevitably conditioned Kratter's dismissive perspective on Uniate ritual. He went so far as to describe that ritual as "low comic

burlesque [*niedrigkomische Purleskereï*],” and was himself able to make it into comedy by the tone of his description. On one occasion in Lviv he went to Vespers 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. Then came the people in a great mass, to kiss what was to be kissed. In the whole church I was the only outcast [*Verworfenen*] who, from I know not what sort of unpardonable chilling of zeal, did not want to be kissing.<sup>37</sup>

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 PROMISED LAND”

Religiously stranger still were the Jews of Galicia, and Kratter was well aware of their very significant numbers in the population of the province, around 10 percent. Yet Kratter took little interest in the religious rituals of Galician Jews, while focusing considerable attention on their administrative and economic status. His ambivalence toward the Jews included a certain element of outspoken hostility on account of their economic relations with the nobles, from whom Jews leased various economic prerogatives. “Their leases extend to everything, whatever may be leased, Christian or non-Christian, Jewish or non-Jewish, holy or unholy,” noted Kratter.<sup>38</sup> He particularly deplored the common Jewish leasing of the right to produce and sell alcoholic drinks on a noble estate or in a noble-owned town. Such a prerogative—called *propinacja*—placed the Jews of Galicia in a pernicious relation to the peasantry, according to Kratter, who described a market day in Galicia with peasants collapsing from drunkenness in the streets. He described a wedding at which everyone, including the bride and bridegroom, was drunk in church: “I can not easily think of a scene in which the dignity of humanity would be more debased.” Peasant drinking, however, took place at the Jewish inn, and Kratter described Jewish innkeepers luring, indulging, and cheating their drinking customers, even giving drinks to children to induce the alcoholic habit. He also noted the role of Jewish pimps in Lemberg, and detailed the variety of their female offerings that reflected the variety of Galicia itself: Christians and Jews, Poles and Ruthenians.<sup>39</sup>

In 1785, Joseph sought to transform the economic situation of the Jews by restricting the possibility of obtaining leases from nobles—for instance,

leases for operating mills or inns.<sup>40</sup> Previously, Jews had been made to pay extortionate fees to the nobles for the leases, and then had to try to make the leases profitable at the expense of the local population. The Jewish position in this system was always vulnerable and often desperate. The Jew in the playlet who was hung up in the next room by order of Prince L. was, in fact, holding one of the prince's leases. Kratter noted with general sympathy the poverty and misery of most Jews in Galicia.<sup>41</sup>

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, with the deprivation of the whole land. These general wishes have reached all the way up to the ears of the government, which now is ready to recast [*umzuschmelzen*] the whole Jewish system, 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.<sup>42</sup>

Kratter implicitly spoke in the name of a nascent Galician public opinion: "All Galicia wishes [*Ganz Galizien wünscht*]." 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. The metallurgical metaphor suggested that what was being forged was nothing less than Galicia itself. Joseph would liberate the Jews from the Egyptian despotism of Polish noble domination, and offer them a promised land on the same terrain where they had lived for centuries, now socially and politically transformed: Habsburg Galicia.

Joseph's restriction of Jewish leases in 1785 was fundamental to this recasting, but the new regulation, Kratter recognized, would also be economically traumatic. He estimated that it would destroy the livelihood of thousands of families.

That is now the decree that should offer a foretaste of the complete recasting of the Jewish system, which everyone looks to with fearful, anticipatory longing, but at the same time everyone, Jew and non-Jew, is put into panicking terror, because this appears in a quite different form from what one could ever have expected! The unfortunate Jews have been now, for centuries—God knows!—through some kind of curse of nature and heaven, placed in a relation with the rest of humanity, such that every private citizen, every society, every class, every nation, even the state itself, permits inhumanity toward the Jews, without self-reproach. People have thus abused a whole fraternal class of humanity [*ein ganzes, mitverbrüdetes Menschengeschlecht*].<sup>43</sup>

There was indeed a visionary tinge to Kratter's Josephine perspective. Although Jews might have been persecuted for centuries, and all over the world,

Galicia was to become the experimental domain for completely recasting relations between Christians and Jews. In all the Habsburg monarchy there was no more fitting province for such a program, inasmuch as there was nowhere else such a numerous population of Jews.

"What barbaric mistreatment!" Kratter commented, concerning the persecution of Jews. "Does the state owe any less to the Jew than to the Christian? The sun rises over one as it does over the other!" To remedy the barbarism of anti-Semitism thus became a part of Kratter's civilizing perspective on Galicia. His enlightened sentiments would find fulfillment in Joseph's decrees of toleration. While the edict of toleration of 1781 already prevailed for different Christian denominations, and lifted some restrictions on Jews, another decree of 1789 would give 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."<sup>44</sup>

In principle, Joseph thus favored something very much like the emancipation of the Jews in the Habsburg monarchy, though this commitment was undermined by the imposition of special taxes for Jews, most notably the tax on kosher meat introduced in Galicia in 1784. In fact, Kratter himself, for a while, held a position in the administration of the kosher meat tax. The restriction on Jewish leases in 1785, while perhaps intended to remove the Jews from their awkward intermediary role in the feudal economy, had the immediate effect of causing economic dislocation and impoverishment. In 1787 the government sponsored an enlightened system of German schools for Jews in Galicia, organized by Herz Homberg, the Jewish reformer from Bohemia, but his proposals met with notable resistance from the rabbinical authorities in Galicia. Furthermore, in 1787, Joseph required the Jews of Galicia to take family names, usually German names, rather than the traditional patronymic designations.<sup>45</sup>

Most controversially, Joseph established the military conscription of Jewish subjects in 1788, against the advice of his own war council, and causing massive consternation to the traditional Jews of Galicia. Historian Michael Silber notes that Joseph, overriding pragmatic concerns about Sabbath observance and dietary restrictions, took his stand on principle: "The Jew as a man and as a fellow-citizen [*Mitbürger*] will perform the same service that everyone else is obliged to do. . . . He will be free to eat what he will, and will be required to work only on that which is necessary during the Sabbath, much the same as Christians are obligated to perform on Sundays." The freedom of worship affirmed in 1789 thus came at considerable social cost to traditional Jews in Galicia. By the end of Joseph's reign the Galician Jews

were already profoundly polarized between, on the one hand, the enlightened principles of the Habsburg government and the Jewish reformers, and, on the other, the customary inclinations of Jewish religion and society, especially as endorsed by the increasingly influential force of Galician Hasidism. Historian Raphael Mahler has noted that for most Galician Jews—as for many Galician Christians—the enlightened Josephine reforms were experienced as something like persecution.<sup>46</sup>

Kratter, however, following Josephine principles, envisioned a process of imminent social assimilation: “In a few years the Jew will be no longer a Jew, as he would have to be according to the prescriptions of his religion; he would be a farmer, a citizen of the state, happy, social, and indispensable to humanity.” Balthasar Hacquet, the scientific traveler from Brittany who became a professor in Lviv in the 1780s, considered what Galician Jews would have to give up—their distinctive clothing, their beards, the Hebrew language, the Saturday Sabbath—“so that people will not see any difference between Jew and Christian.” The rhetoric of Josephinism ultimately imagined Galicia as the domain of religious and even ethnographic effacement, where Poles would cease to be Poles, and Jews would cease to be Jews. Kratter heralded the eventual liberation of the Jews from their condition as “the most unfortunate, most deplorable, most helpless class of men,” and their recasting as “brothers of their fellow men” and “patriots in the bosom of the fatherland.”<sup>47</sup> Such was the truly revolutionary Josephine fantasy of social transformation in Galicia.

Kratter affirmed that, under Habsburg rule, the city of Lviv was on the way to becoming “one of the most beautiful and excellent cities of the imperial-royal hereditary lands.”<sup>48</sup> Before the advent of Austrian rule, he insisted, there was no public sanitation in Lviv: “All kinds of filth [*Unrath*] were poured out onto the street. In rainy weather the morass was so deep that one could sink in up to the waist. . . . The emperor, when he came to Lemberg for the first time, became stuck in the middle of the city with six horses.”<sup>49</sup> The image of the emperor himself, bogged down in an excremental morass, may have been an exaggerated or even apocryphal memory, an urban legend. To be sure, the tale offers vivid context to Joseph’s casual comment in his letter from Lemberg in 1773: “Here I am then among the Sarmatians. It is incredible everything that has to be done here.” The Herculean Habsburg task before him was nothing less than the cleaning of the Augean Galician mess.

When Kratter gave his account of education in Galicia, he called for schools in which students would “unlearn forever the shameful vices of the Polish nation, that undermine propriety, health, and wealth.” He hoped that some education in the German language would make the people of

Galicia “more familiar with our way of life and customs,” so that the next generation would be “less coarse, less given to drink and idleness.” Kratter summed up the project as nothing less than “the universal reformation of this people,” a reformation in which a new Galician character would emerge from the encounter between Polish vices and German customs.<sup>50</sup> Although Lviv might be distressing with its urban problems of poverty and sewage, Kratter found that when he ascended the castle hill and looked away from the city, Galicia looked like the Garden of Eden: “Everything that a valley, an Eden, could have of beauty appears here in its greatness, its nature, its embellishment: blessed cornfields, rich and colorful meadows, ponds, woods, distant wilds, deceptive perspectives, unmeasurable prospects!” Kratter, after working himself up to a literary ecstasy, then enacted his own crushing disillusionment at the thought of “what a miserable, degenerate, wild people live in this country of nature and beauty.”<sup>51</sup> The deceptive perspectives and unmeasurable prospects served as the perfect metaphors for the Habsburg project in Galicia, the universal reformation in the making. The people would have to be recast to fit the landscape.

In fact, the recasting of the population also involved an influx of German immigrants, encouraged by the government with a policy of exemption from taxation. An initial measure to attract foreigners in 1774 was made even more attractive in 1781, when Joseph, now ruling alone, was able to promise religious toleration for Protestants, in addition to ten years of tax relief and exemption from military service. By 1786, when Franz Kratter published his book, some three thousand German families had settled in Galicia.<sup>52</sup> He was well aware of this, since that number included his own family—that is, his two Swabian brothers with their successful wine business in Lviv. Ignaz Kratter came to Galicia soon after the Austrian annexation, opened an inn, and imported Hungarian and Austrian wines; he was joined in Lviv by his brother Johann. The author Franz Kratter decided to speak through his brother Johann in expressing the enthusiasm of a German in Galicia. “God showed Moses the promised land only from a distance,” Johann supposedly declared, “but He led me all the way in.” Habsburg Galicia was thus conceived as a promised land, not only for the Jews of the province but also for German settlers from beyond the provincial borders. Kratter described his brother Johann lifting a glass of wine to the health of the monarch he loved “to the point of fanaticism [*bis zur Schwärmerei*],” the monarch who had made Galicia into the Habsburg promised land: “*Vivat!* Long live the emperor.”<sup>53</sup> In fact, Joseph visited Galicia again in 1786, the same year that Kratter published his account, and could have been saluted in person.

According to the *Wiener Zeitung*, Joseph in Lviv visited hospitals, convents,

and seminaries, Roman Catholic and Uniate, and attended a ball in his honor. Polish nobles from the grandest families—Czartoryski, Potocki, Lubomirski—came to town to pay their respects to Joseph, and probably offered the appropriate toasts, though, in general, the nobility had less reason than the Kratter family to wish the emperor long life.<sup>54</sup> Actually, Joseph did not have long to live, just another four years, but Galicia itself, which he had revindicated, invented, and recast, would live on into the twentieth century.

When Kratter critically considered his own letters concerning Galicia, he conceded that some ideas might seem to be “the innocent dreams of a pleasantly occupied fantasy.” Yet, dreaming and fantasy had their place in any consideration of Galicia. The province had to be imaginatively envisioned in the future; its creation was a work in progress. “The whole is near its recasting,” he intimated, apocalyptically: *Das Ganze is seiner Umschmelzung nahe*. Yet, however near the recasting might appear, it would be always just out of reach, unattainable, eluding the best efforts of Habsburg reform. Kratter declared himself not altogether satisfied with his own writing about Galicia, inasmuch as he could not always bring all the aspects of the province “into proper order [*in gehöriger Ordnung*].”<sup>55</sup> It was an inevitable failing, for the very essence of Galicia, as he conveyed it, lay in its disorder; his unruly literary fantasy, following the emotional logic of Sturm und Drang, would never have submitted to the discipline of proper orderliness. Indeed, the ideological vindication of enlightened Habsburg rule in Galicia lay precisely in the literary evocation of disorderly confusion. Kratter reached out to the German public and conjured an image of Galicia to seduce his readers into dreaming, along with him, the dream of Habsburg universal reformation.

### ROBINSON CRUSOE IN GALICIA

Kratter’s publication in 1786 immediately provoked another 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 inevitably criticized in the next publication concerning Galicia, even in the phrasing of the title: *Dreissig 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 non-partisan man who has looked around this kingdom for more than just a few months*).<sup>56</sup> 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 only several months.

While claiming greater authority based on longer experience in Galicia, Traunpaur also accused Kratter of producing an inaccurate account: "empty conjectures, superficial remarks, fictitious stories, offensive anecdotes, unconvincing proposals." Furthermore, the ultimate intention behind Kratter's dubious observations was, in Traunpaur's opinion, the disparagement of Galicia. "It is absurd to deny all worth to a whole vast land, capable in its situation of all culture, just because it has not come as far along as its neighbors," commented Traunpaur.<sup>57</sup> He thus fully accepted the Josephine logic of backwardness and development in Galicia.

Traunpaur's declaration of nonpartisanship in the title of his 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 promised the public that he himself recognized "only two nations—good people and bad people."<sup>58</sup> He presented a "history of the land," affirming the "old claims" of the Habsburgs to Galicia: "The lands that came to Austria in the partition are those that now constitute a distinctive kingdom under the name of Galicia and Lodomeria." Traunpaur was aware of the element of artifice involved in staking a claim to the province—"under the name of Galicia," a convenient denomination. He clearly recognized the imperial dynamics of power when he suggested another name: "a new Peru." For thus it appeared to the treasure-seeking carpet-baggers who came to Galicia after 1772 "from every corner of the imperial lands."<sup>59</sup> Despite the pretensions to legitimate reacquisition, Galicia looked like some sort of colonial new world, a promised land that advertised the promise of opportune self-enrichment.

Although Traunpaur claimed to offer a more sympathetic portrait of Galicia than that of Kratter, the spirit of Josephinism shaped both accounts. Traunpaur was critical of the monastic clergy, citing the monks' pagan worship of Venus and Bacchus. Though he affirmed that noble manners were "polite, generous, and obliging," he could not resist including sensational instances of aristocratic vice and violence: incest, the violation of peasant virgins according to the *jus primae noctis*, and the case of a certain noble who made a Jew climb a tree, made him sing out "cuckoo," and then shot him dead, just for fun.<sup>60</sup> Traunpaur had clearly learned from Kratter what sort of tales of barbarism in Galicia would hold the attention of the German public.

At the heart of Traunpaur's book he inserted a travelogue of Galicia that

had been supposedly composed by another officer, Italian by origin, in the Habsburg army. The unnamed Italian traveled around the province and narrated several Galician encounters fraught with allegorical significance. He 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 reduced to his most basic human qualities, 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 there was something black stretched out on the ground. I came closer, and found that it was a Jew, who had fallen into a deep sleep, and beside him lay an open book.” 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:

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 among whom you live?

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.<sup>61</sup>

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, 1786, and about the German dramatist Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, who had celebrated Mendelssohn in *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.<sup>62</sup>



*Galizischer Jude*, Galician Jew, from Julius Jandaurek, *Das Königreich Galizien und Lodomerien* (Vienna: Karl Graeser, 1884).

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 was looking forward to an enduring and edifying friendship with the rabbi, and went to visit him at 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."<sup>63</sup> Just as

the Jew had saluted Joseph II as the messianic redeemer of Galicia, so now the rabbi himself appeared as precisely the sort of 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.

Kratter's sweepingly negative presentation of "the barbarous wildness of the Polish nobility" was countered in Traunpaar by the conjuring of a virtuous nobleman. It was again the Italian officer who discovered the model specimen, by the name of Wikofski, living in the vicinity of Rzeszów.

He does honor to his fatherland, Galicia, and combines intelligent humor with true manly beauty and the noblest 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.<sup>64</sup>

Such emphasis on a pair of virtuous nobles 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 political affiliation.

Having encountered a virtuous Jew and a virtuous nobleman, the Habsburg Robinson made one more astonishing discovery on his desert island: the *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and d'Alembert, the literary totem of the Enlightenment. It was clearly the last thing that the traveler expected to find in Galicia, and the last thing that the German public would expect a traveler to find. Yet, there it was, in someone's provincial library. "I made a deep obeisance before it," declared the Italian officer, outlandishly. The presence of the encyclopedia, along with the specimens of righteous Judaism and honorable nobility, all testified allegorically to the promise of the Enlightenment for Galicia. Reverence for the enlightened Habsburg emperor Joseph II was accompanied by obeisances toward the literary texts of the Enlightenment, and the rabbi himself actually seemed to have stepped out of such a text—namely, Lessing's *Nathan the Wise*. Galicia, invented under the aegis of the Enlightenment, was envisioned as the redemptive domain of enlightened transformation.

### THE "MAGNA CHARTA" OF GALICIA

In February 1790, Joseph II died, just fifty years old; he was succeeded by his brother, Leopold II. At the time of Joseph's death, after a decade of