

---

WSCHODNI ROCZNIK HUMANISTYCZNY  
TOM XX (2023), Nr 3  
s. 151-175  
doi: 10.36121/odobzhanskiy.20.2023.3.151

Oleksandr Dobrzhanskyi  
ORCID 0000-0002-3817-188X  
(Yu. Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University, Chernivtsi)

## Local Studies in Bukovyna, Last Quarter of the 18th to Early 20th Centuries: Emergence, Periodization, and Trends in Development

**Annotation:** The article examines the formation and development of local studies in Bukovyna during the Austrian period of its history. Four stages of this process can be identified. The first stage falls on the period of military administration, from the annexation of Bukovyna by Austria in 1775 to 1786. The second covers the period when Bukovyna was part of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria (1786-1849). The third stage in the development of local studies lasted from the granting of administrative autonomy to Bukovyna in 1849 until the establishment of the first local studies association in the region in 1892. The fourth and final stage continued from 1892 until World War I. Overall, local studies in Bukovyna saw significant progress during this era, becoming by the beginning of the 20th century a vibrant research field spanning a wide range of issues.

**Keywords:** Austria, Bukovyna, local studies, Bukovyna studies.

### **Krajoznawstwo Bukowiny od końca XVIII do początku XX w.: kształtowanie, periodyzacja, tendencje rozwoju**

**Streszczenie:** Artykuł został poświęcony badaniu kształtowania oraz rozwoju krajoznawstwa Bukowiny w okresie jej znajdowania się w składzie Austrii (Austro-Węgier). Pierwszy – okres administracji wojskowej, czyli od przyłączenia Bukowiny do Austrii w 1775 r. i do 1786 r., drugi – czas znajdowania się Bukowiny w składzie Królestwa Galicji i Lodomerii w latach 1786-1849. Trzeci – od nadania Bukowinie autonomii administracyjnej w 1849 r. do założenia pierwszego na Bukowinie stowarzyszenia krajoznawczego w 1892 r. Czwarty etap końcowy – od 1892 r. do początku I wojny światowej. Odnotowano znaczący postęp w rozwoju bukowinoznawstwa, które przekształciło się na początku XX w. w potężny kierunek badań, obejmując szeroki zakres zagadnień.

**Słowa kluczowe:** Austria, Bukowina, badania krajoznawcze, bukowinoznawstwo.

### Introduction

The 19th century was marked by a rapid expansion of local studies in Europe. This tendency is noticeable in most countries of the continent. Quite often, it was combined with the formation of regional consciousness, emergence of the concept of a 'little homeland,' and discussion around the relationship between the center and periphery. The situation in Austria (Austria-Hungary), distinguished by its vast diversity of territories and peoples, was symptomatic in this regard. Considerable attention was paid to 'homeland studies' at the state (imperial) level, but at the same time efforts were made to combine these with the promotion of local history (and local studies more generally), and with the building up of research potential in individual autonomous lands.

In Bukovyna, which became a distinct crown land with the status of a duchy in 1849, significant progress was made in the development of local studies. At the beginning of the 20th century, dozens of works were published here annually on the history of the region's towns, ethnic and social groups, monasteries, and churches, as well as on the development of individual industries and trades, statistics, ethnology, and folklore, which will be discussed in more detail below. Local studies were part of the mandatory curriculum in gymnasiums. New textbooks on homeland studies and Bukovyna studies appeared regularly. Public associations were created to promote research and popularize knowledge about Bukovyna. Both university scholars with academic degrees and amateurs seeking to expand the knowledge of their native land were engaged in these pursuits.

However, this state of affairs did not come about at once. Local studies in Bukovyna during the Austrian period went through several stages in their development and overcame many obstacles of both organizational and academic nature along the way.

In this article, we will focus on the emergence, periodization, and most important trends in the development of local studies in Bukovyna during the Austrian era.

This subject has not been studied in any significant depth, but some literature on it does exist. Custodian (keeper of collections) of the library of Chernivtsi University Johann Polek pioneered bibliographic research in the field. He listed some works on local history up to 1892, arranging them in chronological order<sup>1</sup>. Erich Bek's index *Bibliography of Bukovyna Local Studies. Literature up to 1965*, in which publications are grouped by subject, is also important for the purposes of our study<sup>2</sup>. Works have been published on the some of the well-known students of the history of Bukovyna active during this period: Raimund Kaindl<sup>3</sup>, Ion Nistor<sup>4</sup>, Stepan Smal-Stotsky<sup>5</sup>, Franz Wickenhauser<sup>6</sup>, and others. However, the focus is usually on these scholars' individual publications on Bukovyna; such works do not offer a coherent picture of the development of local studies in the region.

Based on our objectives, we employ the method of periodization and the

<sup>1</sup> J. Polek, *Repertorium der landeskundlichen Literatur des Herzogtums Bukowina*, Czernowitz, 1892; J. Polek, *Rückblick auf die Forschungen zur Landes- und Volkskunde der Bukowina seit 1773*, [w:] *Jahrbuch des Bukoviner Landes-Museums*, 1893, s. 3-20.

<sup>2</sup> E. Bek, *Bibliographie zur Landeskunde der Bukowina. Literatur bis zum Jahre 1965*, München, 1966.

<sup>3</sup> Раймунд Фрідріх Кайндль. Розвідки з нагоди 150-ліття від дня народження, Чернівці, 2016.

<sup>4</sup> Ion Nistor (1876-1962), *la împlinirea a trei decenii de la moartea istoricului și omului de stat*, Iași, 1993.

<sup>5</sup> В. Даниленко, О. Добржанський, Академік Степан Смал-Стоцький. *Життя і діяльність*, Київ-Чернівці, 1996

<sup>6</sup> R. Kaindl, *Franz Adolf Wickenhauser. 1809-1891*, Czernowitz, 1894.

chronological and historical-comparative methods, which allow us to identify stages in the development of local studies in Bukovyna and single out the most characteristic works of each stage.

We build the periodization of the development of local studies in Bukovyna during the Austrian era on changes in the system of government and administrative status of the region, which significantly affected the directions and intensity of research, as well as on the institutional and substantive features of the development of the regional studies movement. We can tentatively identify four stages in the evolution of local studies during this era. The first stage coincides with the period of military administration, from the Austrian annexation of Bukovyna in 1775 until 1786. The second stage lasted from 1786 to 1849, during which time Bukovyna was part of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria. The third stage covers the period from the granting of administrative autonomy to Bukovyna in 1849 until the formation of the first local studies association in the region in 1892. The fourth and final stage extends from 1892 to the beginning of World War I. This division makes it possible to outline the development of local studies, understand their specifics at each stage, and identify the most characteristic thematic narratives.

### **The origin and first steps of local studies in Bukovyna**

The emergence of local studies in Bukovyna is closely connected with the events that took place in the region in the 1770s. After seizing Galicia in 1772, the Austrian government now had its sights on the northern part of Moldavia, which was wedged between Galicia and Transylvania and limited direct communication between these two parts of the monarchy. Emperor Joseph II gave an order to study the potential benefits of annexing this territory to Austria<sup>7</sup>.

Finally, in 1774 Austrian troops entered northern Moldavia, and the following year Austria and Turkey signed the Constantinople Convention, according to which this territory was transferred to the Habsburg Empire. The Austrians decided to give it the old Ukrainian name of Bukovyna (from the region's beech forests), which was used by the local population and found in historical documents starting in the early 15th century.

From 1775 to 1786, Bukovyna was under military administration. It was at this time that 'Bukovyna studies' in the modern sense of the word were born and the first steps in their development were taken.

During these years, the study of Bukovyna was driven by the need to expand knowledge about this territory for the purposes of its successful incorporation into Austria. Thus, much of it took the form of reports by Austrian officials and officers, describing the geographical situation, natural history, social relations, and history of the region. Such investigations were not intended for print and the general public; they saw public light only in the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Nevertheless, we consider it necessary to add them to the 'inventory' of local studies for this period.

---

<sup>7</sup> R. Kaindl, *Die Erwerbung der Bukowina durch Oesterreich*, Czernowitz, 1894, s. 11-12.

Notable entries in this category include the reports penned by two military administrators of Bukovyna, Gabriel Splény<sup>8</sup> and Karl Enzenberg<sup>9</sup>, as well studies by Major Franz Mieg<sup>10</sup>, engineer Johann Budinszky<sup>11</sup>, and military administration official Vasyl Balsh<sup>12</sup>. What all these works have in common is the fact that their authors were direct participants in the events in Bukovyna; in their accounts they relied to a large extent on their own experience and observation. These works are characterized by a descriptive, reference style of presentation; their authors endeavored to provide general information about the region, including its natural and political history, statistics, economic situation and administration, and the like.

The most popular such document among modern historians is the report by Gabriel Splény *Description of the District of Bukovyna*, written approximately in late August to early September 1775 and published by Johann Polek only in 1893<sup>13</sup>.

Splény's work consists of three parts. The first, entitled "On the Preceding State of the District of Bukovyna", describes the state of the region at the time of its annexation to Austria, including its geography and economy and the most important towns<sup>14</sup>.

The most interesting part of the report is the section describing the previous administration. Splény provides a wealth of information about the region's administrative system, the powers and responsibilities of individual officials, sanitation, the judiciary, and situation of the clergy.

Among the works by Austrian officials dating from this period, particular note should be made of the original study by the engineer Johann Budinszky *A Description of the District of Bukovyna, Depicting Its Geographical, Physical, Economic, Commercial, Military, and Spiritual State, Together with Some Remarks on How Some Points Should Be Improved in the Future*<sup>15</sup>, submitted to the Galician General Command in January 1783 and published by J. Polek in the late 19th century. It is very useful for understanding the state of the region almost ten years after it was joined to Austria.

In the autumn of 1781, Budinszky was appointed head of the cartographic commission for putting in order land holdings in Bukovyna. Budinszky prepared his report based on this body's work and his own observations and using documents available at the time. Especially interesting are his remarks on the population of Bukovyna.

Budinszky was one of the first observers to note that the majority of the population of Bukovyna were 'Rusnaks' speaking the Ruthenian language. However, for some reason he mistakenly believed that all Rusnaks were former Polish subjects

<sup>8</sup> *General Spleny's Beschreibung der Bukowina*, /Herausgegeben von Dr. J. Polek, Czernowitz, 1893.

<sup>9</sup> *Von und aus der Bukowina. Im Sept. 1781, «Stats-Anzeigen»*, /Herausgegeben von A. L. Schlözer, 1782, Band 1, s. 38-58.

<sup>10</sup> Major Friedrich von Mieg, *Topographische Beschreibung der Bukowina*, [w:] *Jahrbuch des Bukowiner Landes-Museums*, 1897, s. 3-37.

<sup>11</sup> *Die Bukowina zu Anfang des Jahres 1783. Nach einer Denkschrift des Mappierungsdirektors Johann Budinszky*, Czernowitz, 1894.

<sup>12</sup> B. Balsh, *Beschreibung der Bukowina und deren innern Verhältnis*, [w:] *Jahresbericht des Bukowiner Landes-Museums*, 1895, s. 103-112.

<sup>13</sup> *General Spleny's Beschreibung der Bukowina*, Czernowitz, 1893.

<sup>14</sup> *General Spleny's Beschreibung der Bukowina*, s.1-48.

<sup>15</sup> *Die Bukowina zu Anfang des Jahres 1783. Nach einer Denkschrift des Mappierungsdirektors Johann Budinszky*, Czernowitz, 1894.

that had moved to Bukovyna from the Polish lands. The cartographer noted that only a quarter of the population spoke the Moldavian language; the region of Suceava in particular was inhabited by Moldavians<sup>16</sup>. Of course, we should take it into account that Budinszky conducted most of his surveys in the northern and northwestern (that is, Ukrainian) part of Bukovyna.

During the years of military administration, several publications about Bukovyna also appeared in European scientific journals. Chronologically, the first such paper to see the light of day was *The Historical and Geographical Description of the Land of Bukovyna, Given to Hungary by the Turks*, published in the journal "Correspondence of August Ludwig Schlözer, Mainly Historical and Political" in 1781<sup>17</sup>. The paper was supposedly authored by an officer of the imperial-royal army who had spent several years in Bukovyna. It is brief and contains a lot of interesting material, but also many inaccuracies. Regarding the name 'Bukovyna', the author does mention its correct etymology, stating that in Polish (the author is not aware of the existence of the Ruthenian/Ukrainian language) 'Bukovyna' means 'beech forest' (*Buchenwald*)<sup>18</sup>. But he himself favors the idea that the name should be traced to an area in the south of Bukovyna and a prince that ruled there<sup>19</sup>.

The paper also outlines the administrative division of the region as of the early 1780s. Regarding the state of the population, the author notes the low educational level of the common people and their reluctance to pursue learning, citing an episode in which, when free primary schools for Jews were opened in the land, many local families proclaimed that they would rather move to Turkey or Moldavia than send their children to school<sup>20</sup>.

The characterization of the upper strata of the population is quite interesting. The author singles out three social groups: the boyars, *răzeși*, and *ruptáși*. He observes that the boyars are a small group that owns large amounts of land, and equates them with Western European counts. The *răzeși*, of which there are about 150 families, are akin to barons in the author's view. Such a comparison is certainly far-fetched. The third group is the *ruptáși*, the lowest section of the nobility, who enjoy certain social privileges but are not distinguished by wealth<sup>21</sup>.

The paper was submitted to the journal on 16 January 1781. In an endnote to it, August Ludwig Schlözer wrote that the journal had received another, more detailed article about Bukovyna in the same year and promised to print it soon. This was done the following year, 1782, in the new periodical "Stats-Anzeigen", which Schlözer began publishing in Göttingen. The article was also anonymous, but researchers later found that it was a report written in 1773 for Emperor Joseph II by Karl Enzenberg<sup>22</sup>. It was

---

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, s. 32.

<sup>17</sup> *Historische-geographische Beschreibung der an Ungern von den Türken abgetretenen Landschaft Bukowina*, «August Ludwig Schlözer's Briefwechsel meist historischen und politischen Inhalts», 1781, Heft 45, s. 145-153.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, s. 146.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, s. 150-151.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, s. 152.

<sup>22</sup> J. Polek, *Die Erwerbung der Bukowina durch Österreich*, Czernowitz, 1889, s. 14.

entitled *To and from Bukovyna. In September 1781*<sup>23</sup>. The subtitle perhaps refers to the time when Enzenberg's article was received by the journal.

The publication consisted of two parts. The first was Enzenberg's actual note from 1773, providing answers to the five questions put to Enzenberg's group by Emperor Joseph II in order to determine the expedience of annexing northern Moldavia to Austria. Enzenberg reported that annexation would help to strengthen Austria's eastern border. He described the network of roads and waterways in Bukovyna. Stating that 30,000 families lived in the region at the time, Enzenberg drew attention to the particularly influential social group – the boyars. He expressed confidence that their attitude towards the region's accession to Austria would be positive<sup>24</sup>. The report valued the entire region, together with its population, at 20,780,000 florins<sup>25</sup>. The second part represented an alphabetical list of settlements in Bukovyna, compiled by officers of the General Staff. It stated that Bukovyna had 5 towns (Chernivtsi, Sadhora, Siret, Suceava, and Vyzhnytsia), 235 villages, 28 monasteries, and 51 settlements with scattered (single) cottages (hamlets)<sup>26</sup>.

Thus, the first two papers on Bukovyna featured in scientific journals are associated with the name of August Ludwig Schlözer, who was not only a well-known expert on the ancient Rus' chronicles and one of the fathers of the 'Norman theory' of the origin of the state among the Eastern Slavs, but also a scholar of diverse interests and a publisher who was directly involved in the birth of Bukovyna studies as part of the European scientific 'republic of letters'. The papers discussed above appeared in print in 1781 and 1782 and their main purpose was to introduce the reader to Bukovyna and provide some general information about a territory that had become part of the Austrian state just a few years previously.

The same years saw the publication of the three-volume work by the Austrian officer, jurist, geographer, and historian Franz Sulzer entitled *The History of Transalpine Dacia, That Is, Wallachia, Moldavia and Bessarabia. In Connection with the History of the Rest of Dacia, as an Attempt to Critically Write a General Dacian History*<sup>27</sup>. The first two volumes were printed in 1781, and the third in 1782. A chapter in the first volume is devoted to Bukovyna, under the title "Austrian or German Imperial Moldavia, Which Is Now Called Bukovyna"<sup>28</sup>. The author dwells in detail on D. Kantemir's legend about the origin of the name 'Bukovyna' and proves its inauthenticity, but also mistakenly argues that the name of the region comes "from the word 'Bukov', which in the Slavic language seems to mean oak"<sup>29</sup>.

The chapter focuses mainly on Bukovyna's geography and natural history. The author describes the region's soils, mountains, and rivers and provides statistical data on the population, while noting their inconsistency in various sources<sup>30</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> *Von und aus der Bukowina. Im Sept. 1781*, «Stats-Anzeigen», 1782, Band 1, s. 38-58.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, s. 54.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, s. 46.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, s. 55-58.

<sup>27</sup> F. Sulzer, *Geschichte des transalpinischen Daciens, das ist der Walachey, Moldau und Bessarabiens. Im Zusammenhange mit der Geschichte des übrigen Daciens als ein Versuch einer allgemeine dacischen Geschichte mit kritische Freiheit Geschäften*, Wien, 1781, Bd. 1-2; Wien, 1782, Bd.3.

<sup>28</sup> F. Sulzer, *Geschichte des transalpinischen Daciens*,... Bd. 1, s. 422.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, s. 423.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, s. 428-429.

Some information about Bukovyna is also found in the second and third volumes. Sulzer's account of the Slavic population of Bukovyna is of particular interest. He notes that the Rusnaks of Bukovyna are "Slavs and speak a dialect that is somewhat different from what is actually called the Slovak language, but less [different – auth.] than Polish and Russian". And further:

They are Ruthenians, they are from Poland, from Red Rus', they came from Pokuttia and Galicia, since Bukovyna used to belong to Poland; or, more likely, this small country was once part of Red Rus' itself. If one agrees with this, then one should not believe the Moldavian chronicle, which looks so much like a little fairy tale<sup>31</sup>.

Summarizing his thoughts on the provenance of Bukovyna's Ruthenians, Sulzer writes:

...In any case it could not have been otherwise than that the Rusyns, or Ruthenians, have always lived in Bukovyna, or at least that some of them from time to time settled here from neighboring Pokuttia, Galicia, and perhaps also from Podolia<sup>32</sup>.

Thus, although Sulzer's work touches only briefly on Bukovyna and offers a fairly limited amount of information on the region, it still represents an important milestone in the development of Bukovyna studies.

Overall, as we can see, the period of military administration is associated with the first steps in the study of Bukovyna. As a rule, such research was done by military officers and bureaucrats who came to the region in an official capacity. It was not particularly thorough and suffered from many errors and inaccuracies. Nevertheless, these early works testify to the awakening of interest in Bukovyna studies not only in the region itself, but also far beyond its borders.

### **The study of Bukovyna as part of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria**

In 1786, Emperor Joseph II incorporated Bukovyna into the crown land of the 'Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria', one of the 19 districts of which it remained until 1849. This administrative change could not but affect the study of Bukovyna. Now the region was mostly studied not separately, as had been the case since the annexation, but as part of a larger administrative unit. On the one hand, this to some extent took the focus off Bukovyna as a distinct region; but on the other (and this was very important), Bukovyna was now often viewed as part of the principality of Galicia-Volhynia since ancient times. This helped to better understand the ethnic makeup of its population and the customs, rituals, and folklore of local residents, while also dealing a significant blow to the beliefs of some political figures who considered Bukovyna a purely Romanian region.

<sup>31</sup> Franz Sulzer, *Geschichte des transalpinischen Daciens*,...Bd. 2, s. 126-127.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid*, s. 129.

The re-opening of Lviv University in 1784 was of great importance for the development of local studies in Bukovyna in the late 18th century. Professors of this university authored numerous works on Galicia and Bukovyna.

One such scholar was Balthazar Hacquet, an encyclopedist of broad scientific interests, who in 1787 became chair of the Department of Natural History of Lviv University<sup>33</sup>. Comprehensive study of the Carpathians was a priority for Hacquet; he made several expeditions into the mountains. The results of his research were presented in the four-volume *New Natural-Historical and Political Voyages in the Years [1788 to 1795] through the Dacian and Sarmatian or Northern Carpathians*<sup>34</sup>, which Ivan Franko called a very valuable work<sup>35</sup>, as well as in a number of articles in European journals. The scientist described the flora, fauna, and natural resources of the Carpathians, including Bukovyna, and the daily life and customs of the inhabitants. His research method involved a combination of natural-historical and ethnographic observation.

Among other Lviv University professors who made a significant contribution to the development of Bukovyna studies, we should mention Joseph Rohrer, chair of the Department of Political Sciences and Statistics, who wrote an account of his journey to Bukovyna with interesting observations on the region, and also made the first statistical study of its population, *A Political and Arithmetic Attempt at a Study of Bukovyna*, published in the newspaper "Vaterländische Blätter" on 31 October 1812<sup>36</sup>. The article contained a considerable amount of data on the population of Bukovyna. In particular, Rohrer noted that in 1811 there were 39,096 houses in the region, in which lived 47,589 families, which amounted to 226,486 inhabitants<sup>37</sup>. He further analyzed the gender and age makeup of the population and its social and confessional structure, birth and death rates, and more.

Beginning in 1827, the Department of Statistics (later Department of Political Sciences and Statistics) at Lviv University was headed by Michael Stöger<sup>38</sup>, who left a noticeable mark on the study of the Jewish population of Galicia and Bukovyna<sup>39</sup>. His summary book on this issue, *Presentation of the Legal Constitution of Galician Jewry*, was published in two

<sup>33</sup> М. Вальо, *Бальтазар Гакет (Аке): його подорожі по Західній Україні, внесок в науку і культуру*, [w:] *Бальтазар Гакет і Україна. Статті і матеріали*, Львів, 1997, с. 9

<sup>34</sup> В. Hacquet, *Neueste physikalisch-politische Reisen in den Jahren 1788 und 1789 durch die Dacischen und Sarmathischen oder Nördlichen Karpaten*, Nürnberg, 1790, Bd. 1; В. Hacquet, *Neueste physikalisch-politische Reisen in den Jahren 1788, 89 und 1790 durch die Dacischen und Sarmathischen oder Nördlichen Karpaten*, Nürnberg, 1791, Bd. 2; В. Hacquet, *Neueste physikalisch-politische Reisen in den Jahren 1791, 92 und 93 durch die Dacischen und Sarmathischen oder Nördlichen Karpaten*, Nürnberg, 1794, Bd. 3; В. Hacquet, *Neueste physikalisch-politische Reisen in den Jahren 1794 und 95 durch die Dacischen und Sarmathischen oder Nördlichen Karpaten*. Nürnberg, 1796, Bd. 4.

<sup>35</sup> І. Франко, *Галицьке краєзнавство*, [w:] Франко І. *Зібрання творів у 50-ти томах*, Київ, 1986, т. 46, ч. 2, с. 116.

<sup>36</sup> J. Rohrer, *Politisch-arithmetischer Versuch über die Bukowina*, «Vaterländische Blätter», nr. 88, 1812, 31. Oktober, s. 525-528.

<sup>37</sup> J. Rohrer, *Politisch-arithmetischer Versuch über die Bukowina*, s. 525.

<sup>38</sup> В. Качмар, *Львівський університет у 1784-1918 роках. Організаційні, освітньо-наукові та національні трансформації*, Львів, 2021, с. 175.

<sup>39</sup> M. Stöger, *Die jüdische Bevölkerung in Galizien und ihre Evidenzhaltung nach österreichischen Gesetzen*, «Zeitschrift für österreichische Rechtsgelehrsamkeit und politische Gesetzkunde», 1829, Bd. 1, s. 363-386; M. Stöger, *National-Verschiedenheiten in Galizien*, «Österreichisches Archiv für Geschichte, Erdbeschreibung, Staatenkunde, Kunst und Literatur», 1832, nr. 69, s. 273-276.



volumes in 1833<sup>40</sup>. Analyzing the legal and social situation of this community in Galicia, Stöger considered in some depth the Bukovyna Jews as well. A special chapter was devoted to the so-called 'emancipation' of the Bukovyna Jews in 1824. In addition, Stöger authored a work on the plans to regulate the situation of the Orthodox Church in Bukovyna<sup>41</sup>. This was in fact the first work that offered a thorough analysis of the policy of the Austrian government towards the largest religious denomination in the region.

In the first half of the 19th century, considerable attention was paid to the natural history of Bukovyna. Aleksander Zawadzki, who taught biology and physics at Lviv University, studied the flora and fauna of Galicia and Bukovyna<sup>42</sup>. The geology of the Carpathians was a subject of interest for Georg Pusch<sup>43</sup> and Karl Lilienbach<sup>44</sup>. Wilibald Besser explored the flora of Galicia and Bukovyna; he was the author of the *Introduction to the Flora of Austrian Galicia*<sup>45</sup>.

Ukrainian local studies also began in Bukovyna in this period. Here, pride of place belongs to the members of the 'Ruthenian Triad'. We know that Ivan Vahylevych and Yakiv Holovatsky made several expeditions around Galicia, Bukovyna, and Transcarpathia, collecting folklore and ethnographic materials. One of the fruits of this research was the article by Vahylevych on *The Hutsuls, Inhabitants of the Eastern Part of the Carpathian Mountains*, published in the "Journal of the Czech Museum" in 1838-1839<sup>46</sup>. The author observed that the Hutsuls lived in the Carpathian mountains in Pokuttia, Bukovyna, and parts of the ancient principality of Galicia, as well as on the southern slopes of the Carpathians in Hungary. He described numerous examples of the Hutsul folklore and customs.

Among the regional studies produced in the early 19th century but published much later, it is worth noting the work of the prominent Romanian writer and educator Ion Budai-Deleanu *Brief Notes on Bukovyna*, written in German and published only in 1915<sup>47</sup>. Budai-Deleanu gave a succinct general description of the region and then focused more particularly on the various ethnic groups that inhabited the region, paying special attention to the Moldavians. Here the author could not avoid a degree of idealization, especially when comparing them with other peoples about whose life he knew little.

<sup>40</sup> M. Stöger, *Darstellung der gesetzlichen Verfassung der galizischen Judenschaft*, Lemberg, Przemysl, Stanislswow und Tarnow, 1833, Bd. 1- 2.

<sup>41</sup> M. Stöger, *Übersicht des ersten Regulierung-planes für das Kirchenwesen der nicht unierten Griechen in der Bukowina*, «Österreichisches Archiv für Geschichte, Erdbeschreibung, Staatenkunde, Kunst und Literatur», 1832, Nr. 22, s. 85-87; Nr. 23, s. 90-92; Nr. 27, s. 106-107; Nr. 29, s.113-116; Nr. 30, s. 117-119; Nr. 31, s. 121-123.

<sup>42</sup> A. Zawadzki, *Enumeratio plantarum Galiciae et Bucovinae oder die in Galizien und der Bukowina wildwachsenden Pflanzen mit genauer Angabe ihrer Standorte*, Breslau, 1835; A. Zawadzki, *Fauna der Galizisch-Bukowinischen Wirbeltiere*, Stuttgart, 1840.

<sup>43</sup> G. Pusch, *Über die geognostische Konstitution der Karpaten und der Nordkarpatenländer*, «Karstens Archiv für Mineralogie, Geognosie, Bergbau und Hüttenkunde», 1829, Bd. 1.

<sup>44</sup> C. Lilienbach, *Journal d'un voyage géologique fait à travers toute la chaîne des Carpathes, en Bukowine, en Transylvanie et dans le Marmarosch*, in «Mémoires de la Société Géologique de France», Paris, 1833, tome 1/13, s. 236-316.

<sup>45</sup> W. Besser, *Primitiae Florae Haliciae Austriacae utriusque*, Wienae, 1809, Pars. 1-2.

<sup>46</sup> J. Wachilewič, *Huculowé, obywatelé východnj hopohořj Karpatského*, «Časopis českého Museum», 1838, Číslo 4, s. 475-498; 1839, Číslo 1, s. 45-68.

<sup>47</sup> I. Budai-Deleanu, *Kuzgefašte Bemerkungen über Bukowina*, [w:] *Nistor I. Româniî și Rutenii în Bucovina*, Bukurești, 1915, s. 168-200.;

Budai-Deleanu also characterized the elite groups of the Moldavian population – the boyars, mazili, and răzeși. He speaks of the latter with irony, observing their poverty, pride, and endless disputes over small plots of land<sup>48</sup>.

Budai-Deleanu's description of Bukovyna's Old Believers-Lipovans is also of some interest. He investigated some of their everyday customs, occupations, and religious beliefs. In fact, this was one of the first objective reports on the Lipovans of Bukovyna, often used by scholars since its publication<sup>49</sup>.

With a delay of more than a hundred years was published *Bukovyna at the Start of 1801 in Alphabetical Order* – in fact the first known reference work on the region. Its manuscript was discovered by Johann Polek in the early 20th century in a Viennese antique shop and published in 1908<sup>50</sup>. Despite Polek's very extensive search, he was not able to establish the authorship of the work. Based on the text, the author was probably an official of the Bukovyna district administration, who used the administration's file index for his project.

The work gives a wide variety of information on Bukovyna in alphabetical order, particularly on its geography, economy, taxation, agricultural, industrial, and craft production, and the mining industry. Demography, towns and villages, education, religion, and other subjects are also touched on. The categories are arbitrary, probably based on the author's knowledge and preferences. The author notes that the main languages of the region are Moldavian and Ruthenian, but observes that due to the diversity of nations that inhabit the region, a Bukovyna official, if he wants to communicate with all residents without an interpreter, must know five languages<sup>51</sup>.

This first reference guide to Bukovyna, with its wealth of information on the region, was probably in high demand by local officials for the purposes of their day-to-day work.

As already noted, accounts by travelers who visited Bukovyna were a popular genre in the local studies of the late 18th and first half of the 19th centuries. One such work was published in 1841 under the title *Travels in Russia and Poland*. The third volume was subtitled *Bukovyna, Galicia, Kraków and Moravia*<sup>52</sup>. The work's author Johann Georg Kohl was a German traveler, geographer, historian, and writer. He was fascinated by the beauty of Chernivtsi and its environs, writing that

after crossing the Austrian border... we, as if by the wave of a magic wand, came closer to Germany, Vienna, Berlin, or even Paris, Spain, and Italy than hundreds of *versts* earlier. Looking at Chernivtsi, it seemed that the whole of Western Europe appeared before our eyes<sup>53</sup>.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, s. 176.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid, s. 180-184.

<sup>50</sup> *Die Bukowina zu Anfang des Jahres 1801 in alphabetischer Darstellung. Nach einer amtlichen Denkschrift*, /Herausgegeben von Dr. Johann Polek, Czernowitz, 1908.

<sup>51</sup> *Die Bukowina zu Anfang des Jahres 1801 in alphabetischer Darstellung. Nach einer amtlichen Denkschrift*, s. 60.

<sup>52</sup> J. Kohl, *Reisen im Inneren von Rußland und Polen. Dritter Theile. Die Bukowina, Galizien, Krakau und Mähren*, Dresden und Leipzig, 1841.

<sup>53</sup> J. G. Kohl, *Reisen im Inneren von Rußland und Polen. Dritter Theile. Die Bukowina, Galizien, Krakau und Mähren*, s. 14.

The first half of the 19th century also saw the publication of two purely local studies on Bukovyna offering a comprehensive description of the region's past and its contemporary state. The first of these was *The Topographical and Statistical Survey of Bukovyna*, belonging to an unknown author who signed himself with the initials 'D. H.'<sup>54</sup>. It appeared in the "Hesperus. An Encyclopedic Magazine for Educated Readers", which was published in Prague by the renowned scientist and popularizer of science Christian Carl André. The author describes the geographical situation of Bukovyna, its climate, natural resources, and animal and plant life. He notes that the region is inhabited by Moldavians, Rusnaks, Germans, Hungarians, Armenians, Lipovans, Roma, and Jews. The demographic data provided by the author include the birth and death rates, with the former almost double the latter – in 1816, 8,580 children were born in the region and 4,851 people died<sup>55</sup>.

In 1845, the first book dedicated specifically to Bukovyna was published in Vienna under the title *Bukovyna in the Kingdom of Galicia*<sup>56</sup>. It was authored by the then rector of the Chernivtsi Seminary, future metropolitan Teofil Bendella. The book was beautifully illustrated with original lithographs made by the artist J. Schubirsz.

In the introduction, the author observes that Bukovyna is inhabited by a great variety of peoples, who are not merged together, as in other countries, but are greatly separated by religion, language, customs, and character, and that there can hardly be another such small country where so many peoples and religions live side by side in undisturbed harmony<sup>57</sup>. Bendella then remarks with feeling that "Bukovyna, one of the most interesting parts of the monarchy, still remains mostly *terra incognita* for the educated world"<sup>58</sup>.

The structure of the book is traditional for the local studies of that era. The author systematically describes the borders, lands (distinguishing between agricultural land, meadows and gardens, forests, pastures, and scrubland), mountains and forests, water resources, lakes, roads and waterways, climate, soil quality, geology, minerals, flora and fauna, population size, religion, political and military administration, educational system, health care, charitable institutions, agriculture, animal husbandry, industry and trade, ethnic makeup of the population, customs, language, clothing, and food. He also includes a short overview of the region's history starting in 1359, when Bukovyna became part of the Moldavian principality.

The work is not without errors. This is especially true of the statistics on the ethnic composition of the population. Such data were not collected at the time. According to Bendella, two-thirds of the population of Bukovyna were Moldavians (Vlachs), while all other nationalities – Ruthenians, Germans, Jews, Armenians, and Russians (Lipovans) – made up the rest<sup>59</sup>. This was most certainly not the case. In 1846, the first trial census was carried out in Austria, which included a breakdown of the population by spoken languages. According to this census, the results of which were published by

<sup>54</sup> D. H., *Topographisch-statistische Übersicht der Bukowina*, «Hesperus. Encyclopedische Zeitschrift für gebildete Leser», 1820, bd. 27, beilage Nr. 8, s. 53-60.

<sup>55</sup> D. H., *Topographisch-statistische Übersicht der Bukowina*, s. 54.

<sup>56</sup> T. Bendella, *Die Bukowina im Königreich Galizien*, Wien, 1845

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid*, s. 1.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid*, s. 1-2.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid*, s. 13.

the Austrian minister-secretary of administrative statistics Joseph Hain in the *Statistical Handbook of the Austrian Empire*, in 1846 there were 371,131 people living in Bukovyna, of which 180,417 (48.61 percent) spoke Ruthenian (Ukrainian), and 140,626 (37.89 percent) – Romanian<sup>60</sup>.

The novelty of Bendella's book was that the author for the first time sketched out possible tourist routes around Bukovyna, noting landmarks of the region's history, culture, and spiritual life<sup>61</sup>.

Thus, the period when Bukovyna was part of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria represents an important stage in the development of local studies there. The faculty of Lviv University made a significant contribution to Bukovyna studies at that time. Their research touched on a wide range of social and economic problems of the region. Considerable attention was paid to the study of the flora, fauna, and geology of Bukovyna.

Considering this period, it is worth noting that local studies were progressing spontaneously and lacked systematic order. This was due to the absence of any kind of consistent position on the part of the central or, even more so, local authorities in this matter. At the same time, important positive developments took place. Local studies began to attract scientists, travelers, and writers, which had a significant impact on the shape of the field. For the first time, significant attention began to be paid to the culture of the local population. Travel accounts contributed to the formation of an authentic image of Bukovyna, different from the ideas about other territories of Austria. All this became an important foundation for further expansion of Bukovyna studies in the following decades.

### **The development of local studies in Bukovyna from the grant of administrative autonomy to the founding of the Regional Museum Society**

One of the results of the revolution of 1848-1849 in Austria was another change in the administrative status of Bukovyna. This territory was split from the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria and became a distinct administrative unit – a crown land. This had a clear positive effect on the development of local studies, because now Bukovyna studies became an independent field, associated with in-depth inquiry into a separate crown land of Austria – one of the 15 such lands comprising Cisleithania.

Furthermore, the government in Vienna began to pay more attention to 'homeland studies' on empire-wide level, including the teaching of this subject in state gymnasiums and publication of textbooks on it<sup>62</sup>. For example, in the Chernivtsi state gymnasium, homeland studies were taught in the fourth grade together with history, three hours a week throughout the school year<sup>63</sup>. The importance of knowledge about one's 'little homeland', native land, crown land was also stressed. This was discussed in a special instruction issued by the Ministry of Cults and Education of Austria<sup>64</sup>.

<sup>60</sup> J. Hain, *Handbuch der Statistik des Österreichischen Kaiserstaates*, Wien, 1852, Erster Band, s. 207, 240.

<sup>61</sup> T. Bendella, *Die Bukowina im Königreich Galizien*, s. 19-31.

<sup>62</sup> A. Schmidl, *Oesterreichische Vaterlandskunde*, Wien, 1852; *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde*, Wien, 1854; F. Grassauer, *Landeskunde von Österreich-Ungarn*, Wien, 1875.

<sup>63</sup> *Programm des k. k. Ober-Gymnasiums in Czernowitz in dem Herzogtume Bukowina für das Schuljahr 1863*, Czernowitz, 1863. S. 20.

<sup>64</sup> *Verordnungsblatt, des Ministeriums für Kultus und Unterrichts*, Wien, 1884, s. 175, Anschluß, s. 140.

Another major factor contributing to the intensification of Bukovyna studies was the opening in 1875 of the Franz Joseph University in Chernivtsi. A department of domestic history was established there as part of the Faculty of Philosophy. Professors of this and other faculties were actively involved in the study of the region.

Overall, this period witnessed a rapid growth in the quantity and thematic variety of local studies. Along with general reference works on Bukovyna, works on the history of the region and its individual towns, as well as on ethnography, folklore, statistics, and many other subjects were published.

Reference works that provided general information on Bukovyna included those by Hipolit Stupnicki<sup>65</sup> and Franz Knapp<sup>66</sup>, as well as a number of collectively authored geographical and statistical descriptions<sup>67</sup>. Some of these, as if by inertia, treated Bukovyna together with Galicia, but over time the number of such books fell. Particularly notable for the variety of its information about the region was the work of Karl Schmedes<sup>68</sup>, a colonel who served on the General Staff of the Austrian army. It went through two editions and was translated abroad. The book provided a general description of Galicia and Bukovyna and ample factual material about water resources, mountains, communication infrastructure, flora and fauna, population, political and administrative structure, judiciary, financial institutions, religious denominations and their governance, educational establishments, health care system, charitable institutions, agriculture, trade and industry, circulation of money, military bodies and institutions, and more. Regarding the Ruthenians of Bukovyna, the author adhered to the incorrect theory that they came to this land only in the 17th century, with the Moldavians being the sole indigenous population of the region<sup>69</sup>.

In 1874, Hryhoriy Kupchanko's work *Some Historical and Geographical Particulars about Bukovyna* appeared in the "Proceedings of the South-Western Department of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society"<sup>70</sup>. The following year, it was published as a book in Kyiv. It was a response of sorts to the works of Teofil Bendella and Karl Schmedes (1845 and 1869, respectively). While the author advocated the erroneous position that the Ruthenians of Bukovyna were part of 'one Russian people', his work was original and made a significant contribution to Bukovyna studies. Unlike his predecessors, Kupchanko focused his attention particularly on the Ruthenians. The work was also important for the Ukrainians of the Dnipro Basin, insofar as it introduced the Ruthenians of Bukovyna to the reading public of the Russian Empire for the first time. It informed the reader about the name of the region, its population, governance, topography,

---

160.

<sup>65</sup> H. Szupnicki, *Das Königreich Galizien und Lodomerien samt dem Herzogtum Bukowina, nebst Landarte derselben*, Lemberg, 1853.

<sup>66</sup> F. Knapp, *Illustrierte Bukowina*, Wien, 1857.

<sup>67</sup> *Geographisch-statistische Übersicht Galiziens und der Bukowina. Nach amtlichen Quellen*, Lemberg, 1862.

<sup>68</sup> K. Schmedes, *Geographisch-statistische Übersicht Galiziens und der Bukowina*. Lemberg 1867; 2. Aufl. Wien, 1869; К. Шмедесь, *Географическое и статистическое обозрѣние Галиции и Буковины*, Санкт-Петербургъ, 1870.

<sup>69</sup> К. Шмедесь, *Географическое и статистическое обозрѣние Галиции и Буковины*, Санкт-Петербургъ, 1870, с. 57.

<sup>70</sup> Г. Купчанко, *Нѣкоторыя историко-географическія свѣдѣнія о Буковинѣ*, «Записки Юго-Западнаго отдѣла императорскаго русскаго географическаго общества за 1874 г.», Т. 2, Киев, 1875, с. 289-370.

administrative division and communities, natural environment, and occupations of the inhabitants. Kupchanko included in his work a special survey of the "History of the Bukovinian-Russian People". Starting with the Scythians, he described the Slavic settlement of Bukovyna, stressing that Slavs inhabited this land since ancient times. He also considered the question of how Romanians appeared in Bukovyna. The history of the Bukovyna Diocese was treated separately. The work also provided considerable reference material about educational institutions, various associations and societies, factories, churches, and monasteries. The general reference section was followed by a description of the Ruthenian population of Bukovyna. This included "The Manners, Customs, Riddles, Proverbs, Superstitions, etc. of the Bukovinian-Russian People", the folk calendar and annual holiday cycle, and the essay "When the Barshchyna (Panshchyna) [corvée – auth.] Began in Bukovyna".

A new phenomenon in the development of Bukovyna studies was the appearance of textbooks in local studies. One of the first such publications was the *Local History of Bukovyna* by Dimitrie Isopescu. It was aimed at a general audience and well organized, making it quite popular among those who wanted to expand their knowledge of the region<sup>71</sup>.

Many works on individual aspects of the region's history appeared in the second half of the 19th century. A noticeable mark on the study of Bukovyna's past was left by Franz Wickenhauser. Not a professional historian, he was employed as a financial advisor, but had a fanatical love for historical research. He amassed a considerable collection of historical documents, a large part of which is now preserved in the State Archive of the Chernivtsi Region. The renowned historian of Bukovyna Professor Raimund Kaindl called Wickenhauser the 'Nestor of the students of Bukovyna's history'<sup>72</sup>.

Wickenhauser's research interests included the history of the Rădăuți (Radivtsi) Diocese and the monasteries of Solka, Moldavitsa, Voronets, Putna, and Petrivtsi, history of the city of Chernivtsi and its environs, medieval Bukovyna, the settlement of Germans and Armenians in Bukovyna, and a number of individual events in the history of the region<sup>73</sup>. His approach to the past was characterized by descriptiveness and enthusiasm for unearthing little-known historical facts. His works contained many inaccuracies, especially in the translation of documents written in Slavic languages or Romanian. Nevertheless, Wickenhauser marked out some areas of study (such as history of churches, monasteries, the city of Chernivtsi and other communities, and individual ethnic groups) that continued to be successfully developed by researchers in the following decades.

In 1875, Bukovyna celebrated the centenary of its annexation to Austria. A number of works were published for the occasion, such as *Bukovyna under Austrian Administration* by Professor Hermann Bidermann of Graz University, which focused on

<sup>71</sup> D. Isopeskul, *Heimatkunde der Bukowina*. Czernowitz, 1872.

<sup>72</sup> R. Kaindl, *Franz Adolf Wickenhauser. 1809-1891*. Czernowitz, 1894, s. 5.

<sup>73</sup> F. Wickenhauser, *Moldawa oder Beiträge zu einem Urkundenbuche für die Moldau und Bukowina*, Bd.1: *Die urkunden des Klosters Moldawitz*. Wien, 1862; Bd. 2: *Geschichte und Urkunden des Klosters Solka*, Czernowitz, 1877; F. Wickenhauser, *Molda oder Beiträge zur Geschichte der Moldau und Bukowina*. Bd. 1-5, Czernowitz, 1885-1891; F. Wickenhauser, *Die Huldigung der Bukowina am 12. Oktober 1777.*, «Bukowiner Hauskalender», Czernowitz, 1868, Nr. 5, s. 69-78.

issues of the establishment and modernization of the system of regional administration<sup>74</sup>. The analysis of the formation of rural communities under the influence of Austrian law is particularly interesting.

Among other historical works on Bukovyna that appeared at this time, we will note those by Adolf Ficker<sup>75</sup> and Andreas Mikulicz<sup>76</sup>. Generally, all such publications stressed the great progress made by Bukovyna during its time as part of Austria.

A number of works raised the issue of teaching the history of Bukovyna in the region's schools. Demetrius Onciul's article *On the History of Bukovyna*<sup>77</sup>, also published as a book, is the most notable in this regard. The author called for a more mindful attitude towards the past and emphasized the value of historical knowledge for nurturing true patriots of the state<sup>78</sup>.

One important direction in local studies, which became quite popular at that time, was the study of the history of the region's ethnic groups, their way of life, customs, rites, and folklore. Special works were dedicated to the Ruthenians (Ukrainians), Romanians, Jews, Germans, Roma, Poles, Russian Old Believers (Lipovans), Hungarians, and others. Ludwig Simiginowicz-Staufe, a writer, local historian, and ethnographer, consistently pursued this line of inquiry. He published the book *Ethnic Groups of Bukovyna. Ethnographic, Cultural, and Historical Essays*, covering the Ruthenians, Hutsuls, Lipovans, Armenians, Poles, Germans, and Jews<sup>79</sup>. Simiginowicz-Staufe particularly stressed that Bukovyna was a conglomerate of different peoples who complemented each other and thus enriched the multicultural palette of the region. He also produced a number of works on the folk songs of Bukovyna, Ruthenian legends and fairy tales<sup>80</sup>, and other subjects.

Yuri Fedkovych was one of the first ethnographers of the Ukrainian population of Bukovyna. He described the calendar rituals of the Hutsuls and proposed a classification of Bukovinian folk songs<sup>81</sup>. Ethnographic and folklore motifs also run through his poetry and prose fiction.

Hryhoriy Kupchanko made a significant contribution to the study of Ruthenian ethnography. In addition to his previously-discussed work, he authored numerous publications in academic journals on the everyday life, rites, spells, and folk medicine of the Ruthenians. He recorded many folk songs, which were published under the title *Songs of the Bukovinian People* in the "Proceedings of the South-Western Department of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society" in 1874, and later as a stand-alone edition<sup>82</sup>. A total of 398 songs were included in this collection, edited by Oleksandr Lonachevsky.

<sup>74</sup> H. Bidermann, *Die Bukowina unter österreichischer Verwaltung*, Lemberg 1876.

<sup>75</sup> A. Ficker, *Hundert Jahre (1775-1875)*. Wien, 1875; A. Ficker, *Hundertjahrfeier der Vereinigung der Bukowina mit Österreich*, «Statistische Monatsschrift», Vol. 1, Wien, 1875.

<sup>76</sup> A. Mikulicz, *Cultur-Zustände im Herzogthume Bukowina*, Czernowitz 1875.

<sup>77</sup> D. Onciul, *Zur Geschichte der Bukowina*, Czernowitz, 1887

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid*, s. 1-2.

<sup>79</sup> L. Simiginowicz-Staufe, *Die Völkergruppen der Bukowina. Ethnographisch-kulturhistorische Skizzen*, Czernowitz, 1884.

<sup>80</sup> L. Simiginowicz-Staufe, *Volkssagen aus der Bukowina*, Czernowitz, 1885; L. Staufe-Simiginowicz, *Ruthenische Sagen und Märchen aus der Bukowina*, Czernowitz, 1880.

<sup>81</sup> Ю. Федькович, *Колядник*, [w:] *Писання Осипа Юрія Федьковича*, Т. 1, Львів, 1902, с. 604-654; Ю. Федькович, *Маланка*, [w:] *Писання Осипа Юрія Федьковича*, Т. 1, Львів, 1902, с. 655-700.

<sup>82</sup> Г. Купчанко, *Пісні буковинського народу*, Київ, 1875.

The literature devoted to the Romanians of Bukovyna grew to a substantial size during this period. We will note the work of Constantin Morariu, priest and nephew of the metropolitan of Bukovyna Silvestru Morariu-Andrievisci, entitled *Cultural-Historical and Ethnographic Essays on the Romanians of Bukovyna* and published in two volumes in 1888-1891 in Vienna<sup>83</sup>. The author believed that the Romanians were the only autochthonous people of the region. He reviewed in detail the ethnographic peculiarities of the Romanian populations of different parts of Bukovyna.

Many other works devoted to the ethnography and folklore of the region's Romanians appeared around this time. Thus, Simeon Marian described Romanian folk spells<sup>84</sup> and Christmas celebrations<sup>85</sup>; Simiginowicz-Staufe wrote about Romanian folk tales in Bukovyna<sup>86</sup>; Ioan Sbiera published a number of Romanian songs with commentaries<sup>87</sup>; Dimitrie Petrino investigated the spread of the Romanian language in Bukovyna.

Paradoxically, little research was done on Bukovyna's Germans during this period. In fact, only one article by H. Kupchanko in the journal "Das Ausland" analyzed some evidence relating to the appearance of this ethnic group in the region, their settlements, way of life, and occupations<sup>88</sup>. This can be explained by the fact that the Germans, as the dominant nation, initially did not invest much effort into ethnic self-organization. The first German association in Bukovyna, the Society of the Christian Germans of Bukovyna, was established only in 1897, and it was also at the end of the 19th century that the study of the Germans of Bukovyna really took off.

Likewise, the study of the Jews of Bukovyna developed rather slowly at first. The Jewish population itself grew rapidly during this period, making it the third largest ethnic group in the region. It should be borne in mind that in Austrian statistics peoples were defined by the language they spoke. Jews were not considered a separate people, because they mostly spoke Yiddish, which was viewed in Austria as a dialect of German. Therefore, Jews were automatically included among the Germans. They could be distinguished only by their religion. During this period, the Jews of Bukovyna were studied by Demeter Dan<sup>89</sup>, Johann Polek<sup>90</sup>, Edmund Schwarzfild<sup>91</sup>, David Rosenzweig<sup>92</sup>, and others, but such works were mostly brief. The focus was on the statistics of the Jewish population, its history and social condition, and folk beliefs and customs.

Much more attention, on the other hand, began to be paid to the smaller ethnic groups in Bukovyna: the Lipovans, Hungarians, Armenians, and Roma, which was a

<sup>83</sup> C. Morariu, *Kulturhistorische und ethnographische Skizzen über die Rumänen der Bukowina*, 2 Bde. Wien, 1888/1891.

<sup>84</sup> S. Marian, *Descantece poporane romane, vraji, farmece si desfaceri*. Suceava, 1886.

<sup>85</sup> S. Marian, *Nuntă la Romani. Studiu istorico-etnografic comparativ*, București, 1890.

<sup>86</sup> L. Simiginowicz-Staufe, *Romanische Märchen aus der Bukowina*, «Zeitschrift für Mythologie», 1853, t. 1, . s. 42-50, 469-472.

<sup>87</sup> I. Sbiera, *Cîntece populare*, «Foaia Societății pentru cultura și literatura română in Bucovina», Cernăuți, 1866, nr. 2, s. 263-266, 280/287; 1867, nr. 3, s. 138-141, 274-280.

<sup>88</sup> G. Kupczanko, *Die Deutschen in der Bukowina*, «Das Ausland», 1886, Nr. 50, s. 981-985.

<sup>89</sup> D. Dan, *Die Völkerschaften in der Bukowina*. 4. Heft. *Die Juden in der Bukowina*. Czernowitz, 1890.

<sup>90</sup> J. Polek, *Statistik des Judentums in der Bukowina*, «Statistische Monatsschrift», Wien, 1889.

<sup>91</sup> E. Schwarzfild, *Așezmintele Evreilor din Moldova în veacul al XVIII și jumătatea veacului al XIX. Studiu istoric*, București, 1885.

<sup>92</sup> [D. Rosenzweig], *Wir Juden: Betrachtungen und Vorschläge von einem Bukowiner Juden*, Zürich, 1882.



characteristic trend for Austria as a whole. In particular, Demeter Dan, in addition to his research on the Jewish population, published brief investigations on the Lipovans, Roma, and Armenians<sup>93</sup>. Papers on the Lipovans by Simiginowicz-Staufe<sup>94</sup>, Sydir Vorobkevych<sup>95</sup>, and Johann Polek<sup>96</sup> dealt with the history of the settlement of Old Believers in Bukovyna, their religious rites, way of life, and occupations. Wilhelm Schmidt produced an interesting study of the appearance and development of Hungarian colonies in Bukovyna<sup>97</sup>. The author considered in some depth the Hungarians' everyday life and their contacts with other peoples of the region.

Overall, after Bukovyna became a crown land, research in local subjects began to expand rapidly, in large part thanks to the establishment and growth of local studies as a discipline, developing hand-in-hand with ethnology, folkloristics, and other fields. New areas of research emerged. But as the number of publications surged, there appeared a need for a coordination center that would determine priority areas for research and accumulate everything that was being done in this field. We consider the actions to address this need as a watershed that marked a new stage in the development of local studies in Bukovyna.

#### **Local studies in Bukovyna in the last decade of the 19th and early 20th centuries**

The creation of an association that would bring together researchers interested in Bukovyna was discussed since the 1860s. In 1863, lovers of antiquity founded the Bukovyna Regional Museum, intended to preserve for posterity artifacts of the region's past. However, the museum in fact operated as a volunteer body and was unable to expand its activities. It closed in 1877. In the late 1880s, the issue of establishing a regional museum and uniting the local research community around it came to the fore again. One of the most active lobbyists for this idea was professor, and later director, of the Chernivtsi Industrial School Karl Romstorfer. In 1888, he became curator of Bukovyna for the Imperial-Royal Central Commission for the Study and Preservation of Monuments of Art and History. Romstorfer addressed this body several times with proposals for the opening of a museum. Finally, with the support of Vienna, the Society of the Bukovyna Regional Museum was founded on 21 February 1892. The purpose of the society was formulated as "the promotion and development of local knowledge in the fields of archaeology, general history, art history, ethnography, and natural history"<sup>98</sup>. Thus, after many years of discussion, the first association aiming to promote the development of local studies in the broadest sense of the term was founded in

<sup>93</sup> D. Dan, *Die Völkerschaften in der Bukowina*. 1. Heft. *Die Lippowaner in der Bukowina*, Czernowitz, 1890; 2. Heft. *Die orientalischen Armenier in der Bukowina*, Czernowitz, 1890; 3. Heft. *Die Zigeuner in der Bukowina*, Czernowitz, 1890.

<sup>94</sup> L. Simiginowicz-Staufe, *Die Lipowaner in der Bukowina*, «Westermanns Monatshefte», Braunschweig, 1866, nr. 9, s. 652-656.

<sup>95</sup> С. Воробкевич, *Раскол і липовани чи старообрядці в Буковині і Румунії*, «Candela», 1883, nr. 2, s. 368-376, 415-425, 463-472, 517-528.

<sup>96</sup> J. Polek, *Die Lipowaner-Kolonien in der Bukowina*, Wien, 1885.

<sup>97</sup> W. Schmidt, *Die magyarischen Kolonien in der Bukowina*, «Ungarische Revue», Budapest, 1887, nr. 7, s. 672-683.

<sup>98</sup> *Vorbericht*, [w:] *Jahrbuch des Bukowiner Landes-Museums*. 1893, Czernowitz, 1893. s. 2.

Bukovyna. The ceremony of the opening of the Bukovyna Regional Museum itself took place on 14 May of the same year, with the participation of the society's members. In the first slightly more than 3 months of its existence, the museum welcomed 1,463 visitors<sup>99</sup>.

At its meetings, the Regional Museum Society discussed problems of the development of local studies in the region. On 26 March 1892, the decision was made to launch a journal – the “Annual Proceedings of the Bukovyna Regional Museum”, intended to publish research on antiquities and on the general, cultural, art, and natural history of Bukovyna<sup>100</sup>. The periodical also reported on the society's activities. In addition, each volume contained a section on Bukovyna studies in the pages of the journals of the Imperial-Royal Central Commission for the Study and Preservation of Monuments of Art and History. This commission was founded in 1850 and reorganized with a significant expansion of its powers in 1873<sup>101</sup>. Its research publications were well known throughout Austria-Hungary and beyond.

The Society of the Bukovyna Regional Museum also sponsored the publication of annual reviews entitled *Information Regarding Works in Bukovyna Studies*, initiated by Professor Raimund Kaindl of the University of Chernivtsi. As a rule, the reviewed literature was grouped into five categories: ancient history, ethnography and folklore, history and cultural relations, geography and statistics, and general works and new acquisitions by the regional museum. In his reports, Kaindl listed works that had appeared during the year in German, Ukrainian, Romanian, Polish, and other languages, briefly described them, and identified areas in need of further research. Thanks to these reports, we have a fairly clear picture, broken down by year, of how local studies in Bukovyna were developing from the 1890s on.

Several other associations concerned with local studies were created around this time. The Romanian Archaeological Society was founded in 1886 by a financial officer, Dionis Olinescu. Its purpose was

to support Romanians' interest in the preservation of their national, ecclesiastical, and secular antiquities; to promote as much as possible the dissemination of archaeological knowledge; to collect, describe, and preserve antiquities found in the land of Bukovyna or elsewhere; to stand guard over the preservation of historic buildings, monuments, and ruins, and, finally, to conduct archaeological research<sup>102</sup>.

The Ukrainian Historical Society was founded on 12 July 1902 in Chernivtsi at a meeting of Ukrainian scholars, teachers, and students. Its stated mission was to support and stimulate the development of historical, statistical, and ethnographic research, giving priority to the study of Bukovyna<sup>103</sup>. It was chaired at first by Professor Volodymyr Milkovych of Chernivtsi University, and later by Dr. Zenon Kuzelia.

<sup>99</sup> *Vermischtes*, [w:] *Jahrbuch des Bukowiner Landes-Museums*. 1893, Czernowitz, 1893. s. 81.

<sup>100</sup> *Vorbericht*, [w:] *Jahrbuch des Bukowiner Landes-Museums*. 1893, Czernowitz, 1893, s. 2.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid*, s. 1-2.

<sup>102</sup> R. Kaindl, *Der rumänische archäologische Verein in der Bukowina*, «Jahrbuch des Bukowiner Landes-Museums. 1894», Czernowitz, 1894, s. 22.

<sup>103</sup> *Історичне товариство в Чернівцях*, «Буковина» (Чернівці), 1902, 24, 27 листопада.

The creation of the Regional Museum Society and other public associations and the opening of the Bukovyna Regional Museum gave a boost to local studies at the turn of the 20th century. These years witnessed the appearance of important fundamental studies, both general and focusing on individual aspects of local history. Reference literature and various textbooks and manuals on Bukovyna also proliferated.

One notable phenomenon was the multi-volume compendium *The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in Word and Picture*, published with the support of the ruling dynasty, particularly Crown Prince Rudolph. Its twentieth volume, devoted to Bukovyna, came out in 1899, already after the death of the project's founder<sup>104</sup>. The authors of this collective work were professors of Chernivtsi University, local historians, writers, and other cultural figures, including the already-mentioned writer and historian Adolf Simiginowicz-Staufe, prominent Austrian archaeologist Joseph Sombati, professor of the University of Bucharest Demetrius Onciul, custodian of the library of the University of Chernivtsi Johann Polek, professors of the University of Chernivtsi Ferdinand Zieglauer, Izydor Onciul, Raimund Kaindl, Omelian Kaluzhniatsky, Johann Sbiera, and Friedrich Kleinwächter, journalist Anton Zakhar, director of the Chernivtsi Industrial School Karl Romstorfer, priest Oleksandr Manastyrsky, composer and poet Sydir Vorobkevych, and others.

The volume was divided into sections written by individual authors. The first chapter outlined the history of Bukovyna by period: ancient history, history before 1775, and accession to Austria and subsequent development. Then followed a description of the ethnic groups inhabiting Bukovyna, including the Romanians, Ruthenians, Hutsuls (treated separately), Lipovans, Germans, Poles, Hungarians and Slovaks, Armenians, and Roma. Special chapters dealt with local Ukrainian, Romanian, and German literature. The concluding chapters characterized the economic life of the region and the development of individual branches of agriculture, mining and metallurgy, commerce, transportation, and forestry.

The project presupposed the availability of illustrative material. The volume on Bukovyna contained 144 illustrations, including photographs and drawings by artists. It was considered a model work of local studies for many years.

Numerous textbooks in Bukovyna studies appeared during this period. Several such works were prepared by Raimund Kaindl. In 1895, he published the first illustrated textbook on the subject, intended for school students, tourists, and the general reader interested in the history, ethnography, and geography of this crown land<sup>105</sup>. Kaindl stressed the great educational value of local studies. The book included chapters on history, cultural relations, land and people, and travel to Bukovyna, and an overview for schoolchildren.

Another work by Kaindl, *Our Homeland Bukovyna. Pictures from Legends, History, and Geography*,<sup>106</sup> was intended as popular reading. It was also aimed at school students and consisted of 19 essays, such as "The Coat of Arms of Bukovyna", "The Name of Bukovyna", "Tales about Siret and Suceava", "The Ruins of the Fortress on Tsetsyno near Chernivtsi", "Administration of Bukovyna", "The Regional Capital of Chernivtsi", "Population of Bukovyna", and others. As we can see, these essays covered a wide range of topics in local

<sup>104</sup> *Bukowina in Wort und Bild*, Wien, 1899.

<sup>105</sup> R. Kaindl, *Kurze Landeskunde der Bukowina zur Selbstbelehrung, für Schulen und Reisende*, Czernowitz, 1895.

<sup>106</sup> R. Kaindl, *Unser Heimatland Bukowina. Bilder aus der Sage, Geschichte und Erdkunde*, Wien, 1912.

studies. They were popularly written on the basis of Kaindl's previous academic works.

Amateur researchers were actively involved in the popularization of local knowledge. The book *Bukovyna. General Local Studies*<sup>107</sup>, published by the regional directorate of gendarmerie to mark the 50th anniversary of the reign of Emperor Franz Joseph, is characteristic in this regard. The authors, under the leadership of the gendarmerie officer Eduard Fischer, treated their sources with care and, in general, objectively showed the past and present of Bukovyna under the Austrian rule. The most interesting are the chapters on the "Population of Bukovyna", "History of Bukovyna", and "Cultural Situation of Bukovyna". The section "Topographical Description of Settlements" provided information on the name of each town or village, its geographical situation, roads connecting it with the outside world and their status, first written reference, the most important events that took place in the immediate area, finds of antiquities, historical and architectural landmarks, and the like.

With Professor Cornelius Kozak, Fischer also co-authored the textbook *Local History of Bukovyna for Use in Schools and Self-Teaching*<sup>108</sup>. It followed the layout already traditional for such publications, including chapters on "Physical geography", "Statistics", and "Topography" and a "Brief Survey of the History of Bukovyna". Three maps were added: "Orographic", "Hydrographic", and "Political".

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the study of the history of Bukovyna expanded greatly, thanks to the growing attention to the region's past in the context of the development of national movements, debates between the Ukrainian and Romanian political parties regarding the autochthonous population of Bukovyna, progress of academic historical scholarship, and active use of historical knowledge in patriotic education.

The best-known Chernivtsi historian of this period was the already-mentioned Raimund Kaindl. His numerous works dealt with widely diverse aspects of the region's past, such as the history of individual ethnic groups, especially Germans, colonization of the region by settlers from other lands<sup>109</sup>, events of the revolution of 1848-1849 in Bukovyna<sup>110</sup>, agrarian relations since the time of the Moldavian principality<sup>111</sup>, and the annexation of Bukovyna to Austria<sup>112</sup>.

Kaindl's general three-volume study *History of Bukovyna from the Earliest Times to the Present: With a Special Consideration of Cultural Relations* came out in separate volumes during the 1890s and proved so popular that a new single-volume edition was published in 1904 with minor corrections<sup>113</sup>. It was the first and most thorough work spanning the history of Bukovyna from ancient times to the end of the 19th century, distinguished by its objectivity, broad source base, and attention to a wide range of issues of political and cultural history.

<sup>107</sup> *Die Bukowina. Eine allgemeine Heimatkunde*, Czernowitz, 1899.

<sup>108</sup> C. Kozak, E. Fischer, *Heimatkunde der Bukowina zum Gebrauche für Schulen und zum Selbstunterricht*, Czernowitz, 1900.

<sup>109</sup> R. Kaindl, *Das Ansiedlungswesen in der Bukowina seit der Besitzergreifung durch Österreich, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Ansiedlung der Deutschen*, Innsbruck, 1902.

<sup>110</sup> R. Kaindl, *Die Bukowina in den Jahren 1848 und 1849*, Wien, 1900.

<sup>111</sup> R. Kaindl, *Das Untertanswesen in der Bukowina. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Bauern Standes und seiner Befreiung*, Wien, 1899.

<sup>112</sup> R. Kaindl, *Die Erwerbung der Bukowina durch Österreich*, Czernowitz, 1894.

<sup>113</sup> R. Kaindl, *Geschichte der Bukowina von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart: unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kulturverhältnisse*, Czernowitz, 1904.

The period is also characterized by the appearance of a considerable number of specialized works dealing with relatively narrow issues of the history of Bukovyna. Karl Romstorfer wrote about archaeological research in Bukovyna<sup>114</sup>. The already-mentioned Johann Polek, aside from publishing previously unknown accounts of the region, studied the accession of Bukovyna to Austria and its incorporation into the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, Emperor Joseph II's visits to Bukovyna, German settlement in the region<sup>115</sup>, and other problems. Professor of Chernivtsi University Stepan Smal-Stotsky wrote a history of the Ukrainians in Bukovyna, covering the period from the times of Kyivan Rus' to the end of the 19th century<sup>116</sup>. It was the first study of this kind in historiography. It is also worth mentioning the works of Ion Nistor<sup>117</sup>, Aurel Morariu<sup>118</sup>, Ferdinand Ziegler<sup>119</sup>, Myron Korduba<sup>120</sup>, and Daniel Werenka<sup>121</sup> on individual aspects of the region's history.

One important subject that was studied with considerable success in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was the history of Bukovinian towns. Here we may mention Raimund Kaindl's *History of Chernivtsi*, published in time for the 500th anniversary of the first written reference to the city<sup>122</sup>. The book echoed Kaindl's *History of Bukovyna* in style and presentation of material. The scholar thoroughly explored the history of his hometown, the dynamics of its growth, and its rise as an industrial, educational, and political center. The *History of Chernivtsi* became one of his most popular works.

Works on the history of Suceava<sup>123</sup>, Rădăuți (Radivtsi)<sup>124</sup>, Siret<sup>125</sup>, Storozhynets<sup>126</sup>, and other towns also appeared in this period.

Research in other areas of local studies was successfully developing as well, including history of ethnic groups, ethnography and folklore, institutions and educational establishments, religious denominations, monasteries, and churches.

<sup>114</sup> K. Romstorfer, *Prähistorische Funde in der Bukowina*, «Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien», 1903, nr. 33, s. 83-84; K. Romstorfer, Seret als Fundort archäologischer Gegenstände «Mitteilungen der k. k. Zentralkommission für Kunst- und historische Denkmale», Wien, NF, 1891, nr. 17, s. 80-83

<sup>115</sup> J. Polek, *Die Erwerbung der Bukowina durch Österreich*, Czernowitz, 1889; J. Polek, *Die Vereinigung der Bukowina mit Galizien im Jahre 1786*, «Jahrbuch des Bukowiner Landesmuseums», 1900, Nr. 8, s. 3 – 40; J. Polek, *Josephs II. Reisen nach Galizien und der Bukowina und ihre Bedeutung für letztere Provinz*, Czernowitz, 1895; J. Polek, *Die Anfänge der deutschen Besiedlung der Bukowina unter der Militärverwaltung (1774-1786)*, Czernowitz, 1899.

<sup>116</sup> С. Смалъ-Стоцький, *Буковинська Русь*, Чернівці, 1897.

<sup>117</sup> I. Nistor, *Die moldauische Ansprüche auf Pokutien*, «Archiv für österreichische Geschichte», Wien, 1910, Nr. 1, s. 1-182.

<sup>118</sup> A. Morariu, *Bukowina (1774-1914)*, București, 1914.

<sup>119</sup> F. Ziegler, *Die Bukowina zur Zeit der Österreichischen Okkupation*, Czernowitz, 1892

<sup>120</sup> М. Кордуба, *Молдавсько-польська границя на Pokutiu до смерті Стефана Великого*, [w:] *Науковий збірник присвячений професорові Михайлові Грушевському*, Львів, 1906, с. 158-184.

<sup>121</sup> D. Werenka, *Topographie der Bukowina zur Zeit ihrer Erwerbung durch Österreich (1774-1885)*, Czernowitz, 1895.

<sup>122</sup> R. Kaindl, *Geschichte der Czernowitz von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart*. Czernowitz, 1908.

<sup>123</sup> J. Fleischer, *Zur Geschichte von Suczawa. Die Münzstätte von Suczawa*. Czernowitz, 1896; J. Fleischer, *Zur Geschichte der Stadt Suczawa*, [w:] *Jahrbuch des Bukowiner Landes-Museums*, 1900, s. 41-48.

<sup>124</sup> G. Asboth, *Die Religionsfonds herrschaft Radautz*. Czernowitz, 1894.

<sup>125</sup> V. Prelicz, *Geschichte der Stadt Sereth und ihre Altertümer*, Sereth, 1886; I. Veslovski, *Beiträge zur ehemaligen Fürstenstadt Sereth*, «Bukowiner Post», 1896, Nr. 367, 370, 379.

<sup>126</sup> E. Grigorovitz, *Tărgul Storozhynetului*, Cernăuți, 1897.

Several works were published to mark the 25th anniversary of the University of Chernivtsi<sup>127</sup>. They stressed the importance of this institution for the region and reflected on its future.

Thus, the period of the late 19th and early 20th centuries became the high point of regional studies in Bukovyna. This phenomenon can be explained first and foremost by objective reasons: the educational level of the population was growing, local studies became an important component of the curriculum, the government was paying more attention to this field of knowledge, local studies associations were being established, and the press was popularizing the study of Bukovyna.

### Conclusion

Bukovyna was part of Austria (Austria-Hungary) for more than 140 years. Summing up this period, the prominent Ukrainian historian Arkady Zhukovsky wrote: "With the annexation of Bukovyna to the Habsburg monarchy, this country was cut off from the eastern-southern, Balkan-Ottoman sphere of influence and tied to central Europe. This determined all other changes: demographic, ethnic, cultural, economic, religious, social, and political"<sup>128</sup>. There is no doubt that the region's incorporation into Austria had a fundamental impact on the development of local studies.

It should be noted that local studies as such simply did not exist in Bukovyna at the time of annexation, aside from scattered reports and accounts from which one could glean some information about the region's past. The first steps in this field were driven by the need to expand knowledge about the region as it was being integrated into another state. These early studies were carried out by officials and military officers; nonetheless, their reports represent an important stage in the development of knowledge about Bukovyna. First papers on the subject appear at this time in scientific journals, particularly those edited by August Ludwig Schlözer. Generally, however, little was known about this land in Austria and beyond. Local studies in the region were still in their infancy.

The period when Bukovyna was part of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria was marked by a significant increase in interest towards it. Natural-historical study of the region gained some strength. Travelers wrote informative accounts, and first works that can be qualified specifically as 'local studies' were published. We especially note the work of Teofil Bendella, which for some time served as a model for Bukovyna studies.

As the region became a crown province of Cisleithania in its own right, a new phase of rapid growth and diversification of knowledge began in the evolution of Bukovyna studies. Much of the material produced in this period was of fairly low quality, as properly trained researchers were in short supply. Still, the volume and scope of research expanded significantly. Many works were published not only in Bukovyna, but also far beyond its borders.

The last two decades before World War I were the most successful in the development of local studies in Bukovyna. The Society of the Bukovyna Regional

<sup>127</sup> A. Norst, *Alma mater Francisco-Josefina zur 25 jährigen Bestande, Czernowitz, 1900.*; *Die k. k. Franz-Josefs-Universität im 1. Vierteljahrhundert ihres Bestandes, Czernowitz, 1900.*

<sup>128</sup> Д. Квітковський, Т. Бриндзан, А. Жуковський, *Буковина. Її минуле і сучасне*, Париж-Філадельфія-Детроїт, 1956, с.301.

Museum was founded, bringing together all those who were interested in expanding knowledge about the region. The society promoted the quantitative and qualitative growth of Bukovyna studies; many valuable works were published in its "Proceedings". Several more public associations contributing to the progress of local studies appeared in the region around the turn of the 20th century. Local studies also became a mandatory part of the curriculum in secondary schools. Numerous textbooks were produced, both for school students and for those who wished to teach themselves about their native land.

Among the greatest achievements in the field during the pre-war decades, we may note the three-volume *History of Bukovyna* by Raimund Kaindl and his *History of Chernivtsi*. Johann Polek took upon himself the enormous task of tracking down and publishing late 18th- and early 19th-century manuscript works in local studies. A whole constellation of new-generation researchers, mostly associated with Chernivtsi University, tackled problems of individual periods in the region's history.

Local studies works of this period cover a wide range of issues. Great progress was made in research on ethnic groups and their settlement in Bukovyna, their ethnography and folklore, history of towns, study of regional administration, individual institutions, and educational establishments, and history of religious denominations, monasteries, and churches. The publication of reviews of new literature in Bukovyna studies became a common practice.

Overall, Bukovyna studies evolved into a rich field of knowledge, promoted by the imperial and regional governments. It became a kind of marker of the 'civilizational standing' of the local society, reflecting the desire to follow the general European trend of growing popularity of local studies in history, ethnography, folklore, and other fields. The rapid development of Bukovyna studies testified to the fact that the general educated public in the region was embracing the idea of its little homeland as a value in and of itself, which contributed to the consolidation of the various ethnic and social groups and formation of a distinct regional consciousness. This sentiment came to be known as 'Bukovinism'<sup>129</sup>. Unfortunately, all this considerable progress was interrupted by World War I.

## REFERENCES

- Balsh B., *Beschreibung der Bukowina und deren innern Verhältnis*, [in:] *Jahresbericht des Bukowiner Landes-Museums*, 1895, s. 103-112.
- Bek E., *Bibliographie zur Landeskunde der Bukowina. Literatur bis zum Jahre 1965*, München 1966.
- Bendella T., *Die Bukowina im Königreich Galizien*, Wien 1845
- Bidermann H., *Die Bukowina unter österreichischer Verwaltung*, Lemberg 1876.
- Bukowina in Wort und Bild*, Wien 1899.
- Dan D., *Die Völkerschaften in der Bukowina*. 1. Heft. *Die Lippowaner in der Bukowina*, Czernowitz, 1890; 2. Heft. *Die orientalischen Armenier in der Bukowina*, Czernowitz, 1890; 3. Heft. *Die Zigeuner in der Bukowina*, Czernowitz 1890.

<sup>129</sup> For more on this, see: A. Добржанский, "Буковинизм" как разновидность регионального самосознания в Австро-Венгрии конца XIX - начала XX вв. [w:] *Австро-Венгрия: интеграционные процессы и национальная специфика*, Москва, 1997, с. 75 - 83; H. van Drunen, «A sanguine bunch». *Regional identification in Habsburg Bukovina, 1774-1919*, Amsterdam, 2013.

- Danylenko V., Dobrzhanskyi O., *Akademik Stepan Smal-Stotskyi. Zhyttia i diialnist*, Kyiv-Chernivtsi 1996.
- Die Bukowina. Eine allgemeine Heimatkunde*, Czernowitz 1899.
- Die Bukowina zu Anfang des Jahres 1783. Nach einer Denkschrift des Mappierungsdirektors Johann Budinszky*, Czernowitz 1894.
- Die Bukowina zu Anfang des Jahres 1801 in alphabetischer Darstellung. Nach einer amtlichen Denkschrift*, /Herausgegeben von Dr. Johann Polek, Czernowitz 1908.
- Dobrzhanskyi A., *"Bukovynyzm" kak raznovydnost rehyonalnoho samosoznanyia v Avstro-Venhryi kontsa XIX - nachala XX vv.* [in:] *Avstro-Venhryia: intehratsionnye protsesy i natsyionalnaia spetsyfika*, Moskva 1997.
- Drunen H., *«A sanguine bunch». Regional identification in Habsburg Bukovina, 1774-1919*, Amsterdam 2013.
- Fedkovych Yu., *Koliadnyk*, [in:] *Pysannia Osypa Yuriiia Fedkovycha*, T.1, Lviv 1902, s. 604-654.
- Fedkovych Yu., *Malanka*, [in:] *Pysannia Osypa Yuriiia Fedkovycha*, T.1, Lviv 1902, s. 655-700.
- Ficker A., *Hundert Jahre (1775-1875)*, Wien 1875.
- General Spleny's Beschreibung der Bukowina*, /Herausgegeben von Dr. J.Polek, Czernowitz 1893.
- Hacquet B., *Neueste physikalisch-politische Reisen in den Jahren 1788 und 1789 durch die Dacischen und Sarmathischen oder Nördlichen Karpaten*, Nürnberg 1790-1796, Bd. 1-4.
- Historische-geographische Beschreibung der an Ungern von den Türken abgetretenen Landschaft Bukowina*, «August Ludwig Schläözer's Briefwechsel meist historischen und politischen Inhalts», 1781, Heft 45, s. 145-153.
- Ion Nistor (1876-1962), *la împlinirea a treidecenii de la moartea istoricului Șomuleu de stat*, Iași 1993.
- Kaindl R., *Franz Adolf Wickenhauser. 1809-1891*, Czernowitz 1894.
- Kaindl R., *Geschichte der Bukowina von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart: unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kulturverhältnisse*, Czernowitz 1904.
- Kaindl R., *Geschichte der Czernowitz von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart*. Czernowitz 1908
- Kaindl R., *Kurze Landeskunde der Bukowina zur Selbstbelehrung, für Schulen und Reisende*, Czernowitz 1895.
- Kaindl R., *Unser Heimatland Bukowina. Bilder aus der Sage, Geschichte und Erdkunde*, Wien 1912.
- Korduba M., *Moldavsko-polska hranytsia na Pokutiu do smerty Stefana Velykoho*, [in:] *Naukovyi zbirnyk prysviachenyi profesorovi Mykhailovi Hrushevskomu*, Lviv 1906, s. 158-184.
- Kozak C., Fischer E., *Heimatskunde der Bukowina zum Gebrauche für Schulen und zum Selbstunterricht*, Czernowitz 1900.
- Kupchanko H., *Nekotoryia istoriko-heohraficheskie svedenia o Bukovyne*, «Zapysky Yuho-Zapadnaho otdela imperatorskaho russkaho heohraficheskoho obshchestva 1874 g.», T. 2, Kiev 1875, s. 289-370.
- Major Friedrich von Mieg, *Topographische Beschreibung der Bukowina*, [in:] *Jahrbuch des Bukowiner Landes-Museums*, 1897, s. 3-37.
- Morariu C., *Kulturhistorische und ethnographische Skizzen über die Rumänen der Bukowina*, 2 Bde, Wien 1888/1891.
- Nistor I., *Die moldauische Ansprüche auf Pokutien*, «Archiv für österreichische Geschichte», Wien 1910, Nr. 1, s. 1-182.
- Norst A., *Alma mater Francisco-Josefina zur 25 Jährigen Bestande*, Czernowitz, 1900.
- Onciu D., *Zur Geschichte der Bukowina*, Czernowitz 1887.
- Polek J., *Die Anfänge der deutschen Besiedlung der Bukowina unter der Militärverwaltung (1774-1786)*, Czernowitz 1899.
- Polek J., *Die Erwerbung der Bukowina durch Österreich*, Czernowitz 1889.



- Polek J., *Die Lipowaner-Kolonien in der Bukowina*, Wien 1885.
- Polek J., *Rückblick auf die Forschungen zur Landes- und Volkskunde der Bukowina seit 1773*, [in:] *Jahrbuch des Bukowiner Landes-Museums*, 1893, s. 3-20.
- Raimund Fridrikh Kaindl, *Rozvidky z nahody 150-littia vid dnia narodzhennia*, Chernivtsi 2016.
- Rohrer J., *Politisch-arithmetischer Versuch über die Bukowina*, «Vaterländische Blätter», Nr. 88, 1812, 31. Oktober, s. 525-528.
- Romstorfer K., *Seret als Fundort archäologischer Gegenstände*, «Mitteilungen der k.k. Zentralkommission für Kunst- und historische Denkmale», Wien, NF, 1891, Nr. 17, s. 80-83.
- Sbiera I., *Cîntece populare*, «Foaia Societății pentru cultura și literatura română in Bucovina», Cernăuți 1866, nr. 2, s. 263-266, 280/287; 1867, nr. 3, s. 138-141, 274-280.
- Schmedes K., *Geographisch-statistische Übersicht Galiziens und der Bukowina*. Lemberg 1867; 2. Aufl. Wien 1869.
- Simiginowicz-Staufe L., *Die Völkergruppen der Bukowina. Ethnographisch-kulturhistorische Skizzen*, Czernowitz 1884.
- Smal-Stotskyi S., *Bukovynska Rus*, Chernivtsi 1897.
- Stöger M., *Darstellung der gesetzlichen Verfassung der galizischen Judenschaft*, Lemberg, Przemyśl, Stanislawow und Tarnow 1833, Bd. 1- 2.
- Sulzer F., *Geschichte des transalpinischen Daciens, das ist der Walachey, Moldau und Bessarabiens. Im Zusammenhange mit der Geschichte des übrigen Daciens als ein Versuch einer allgemeine dacischen Geschichte mit kritische Freiheit* Geschäften, Wie, 1781, Bd. 1-2; Wien 1782, Bd.3.
- Szupnicki H., *Das Königreich Galizien und Lodomerien samt dem Herzogtum Bukowina, nebst Landkarte derselben*, Lemberg 1853.
- Von und aus der Bukowina. Im Sept. 1781*, «Stats-Anzeigen», /Herausgegeben von A.L.Schlözer, 1782, Band 1, s. 38-58.
- Wachilewič J., *Huculowé, obywatelé východnjho pohorj Karpatského*, «Časopis českého Museum», 1838, Číslo 4, s. 475-498; 1839, Číslo 1, s. 45-68.
- Werenka D., *Topographie der Bukowina zur Zeit ihrer Erwerbung durch Österreich (1774-1885)*, Czernowitz 1895.
- Wickenhauser F., *Moldawa oder Beiträge zu einem Urkundenbuche für die Moldau und Bukowina*, Bd.1: *Die urkunden des Klosters Moldawitz*. Wien, 1862; Bd.2: *Geschichte und Urkunden des Klosters Solka*, Czernowitz 1877.
- Zawadzki A., *Enumeratio plantarum Galiciae et Bucovinae oder die in Galizien und der Bukowina wildwachsenden Pflanzen mit genauer Angabe ihrer Standorte*, Breslau 1835.
- Zieglauer F., *Die Bukowina zur Zeit der Österreichischen Okkupation*, Czernowitz 1892.
- Budai-Deleanu I., *Kuzgefašte Bemerkungen über Bukowina*, [in:] Nistor I. *Români și Rutenii în Bucovina*, Bukurești 1915, s.168-200.

