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Abstract

The thesis discusses the problematic identity of Bukovina in the first half of the 20th Century. This is precisely problematic because of the multi-faceted character of the region, the reality of which was, in the first half of the 20th century, marked by pluralism, ethnic division, and social conflict. Therefore, the following thesis opens up the multi-faceted regional identity of Bukovina through four different individual lenses: Austrian, Jewish, Ukrainian and Romanian, rather than regarding it simplistically as a symbiotic place. The thesis makes use of a mnemohistorical approach, looking at the past as it is remembered, rather than analysing the past as such. One conclusion is that Bukovina was subject of opposing movements: nationalism and multiculturalism, diversity, and ethnic nationalism. Another conclusion of the paper is that although we have all this conflictual identities of Bukovina, they all had something in common: the idea of a lost land.

Abstrakt

Die Arbeit befasst sich mit der problematischen Identität der Bukowina in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts, die durch Pluralismus, ethnische Spaltung und soziale Konflikte gekennzeichnet war. Die folgende Arbeit erschließt daher die facettenreiche regionale Identität der Bukowina durch vier verschiedene individuelle Linsen: Österreichisch, jüdisch, ukrainisch und rumänisch, anstatt sie vereinfachend als einen symbiotischen Ort zu betrachten. Die Arbeit bedient sich eines mnemohistorischen Ansatzes, der die Vergangenheit so betrachtet, wie sie erinnert wird, anstatt die Vergangenheit als solche zu analysieren. Eine Schlussfolgerung ist, dass die Bukowina Gegenstand gegensätzlicher Bewegungen war: Nationalismus und Multikulturalismus, Vielfalt und ethnischer Nationalismus. Eine weitere Schlussfolgerung des Papiers ist, dass trotz all dieser konfliktreichen Identitäten der Bukowina alle etwas gemeinsam hatten: die Idee eines verlorenen Landes.

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1. Introduction

On the 1st of May 1970, the Bukovinian poet and translator Paul Antschel, known to the broader public as Celan was found dead on the shores of the Seine¹. The 50-years old writer had lived in exile for half of his life. Born from a Jewish father and a German mother, Celan had to flee in 1945 the Romanian pogroms in Bukovina, struggling during the remaining years of his life between the sweet memory of his homeland and the reality of his present.

By referring to Bukovina as a ‘utopia’, as a ‘landscape’, ‘where people and books lived’², Celan idealized his native region. Similar romanticised images praising the harmony of this ‘untergegangene Kulturmetropole’ (submerged/lost cultural metropolis)³, can be found in the works of other prominent authors, such as Rose Ausländer and more recently Emanuel von Kapri – who concludes his memoir with the statement that ‘there were only brothers in this land, older and younger, so to speak, with Germany as *primus inter pares*.’⁴ While for some, Bukovina could have been compared with ‘a small Austria’ and its inhabitants replicas of the Viennese population – ‘Buko-wiener’⁵, this monarchic, perfect portrait had, however, some unintended consequences.

As a region situated between the north-eastern Carpathian Mountains, the Dniester River, and the Bessarabian steppe, Bukovina was and continues to be a crossroads of distinct cultures and political interests. The image presented by Celan and his peers, corresponds mainly to the experiences of the many Jews inhabiting the land before the Second World War and, in some cases, to the perceptions of Austrian citizens living in the area during the Habsburg administration. But this image disregards the experiences of other minorities from the region.

Although in a scarce form – and not so popularised as the writings of Celan’s – the romanticised profile of Bukovina is challenged by recent studies, arguing that the region experienced a fortunate condition, shaped by time, place and political context, which in the absence of one clear majority had forced all its ethnic groups to find a ‘*modus vivendi*’.

¹ The date of Celan’s death is still surrounded by ambiguity, while some sources mention the 20th April 1970, in the 16th of May issue of *Le Monde*, from 1970, is written that the body was found on the 1st of May („La Seine a rendu son corps le 1er mai“).

² The Meridian in Joris, *Paul Celan. Selections*.

³ Ausländer, ‘Erinnerungen an eine Stadt’ in Braun, *Rose Ausländer: Materialien Zu Leben Und Werk*.

⁴ von Kapri, *Buchenland - Ein Österreichisches Kronland Verschiedener Völkergruppen*, 127.

⁵ Fisher, *Resettlers and Survivors*, 5.

Furthermore, it was argued that the region took the shape of 'bloodlands' between empires or the one of a superficial, tolerant region 'created (...) for the purposes of the present'.⁶ Similarly, older studies from the time of the Habsburg monarchy acknowledged the conflictual aspects of the region. A prominent example in this sense is the work of the Bukovinian Karl Emil Franzos and his denomination of Bukovina as belonging to 'Semi-Asia' or in German to 'Halb-Asien'.⁷ However, these kinds of studies have been shadowed by the ideal picture disseminated after the Second World War.

The possibility to enact that utopian, multicultural character, was challenged and in the end destroyed by the nationalist movements rising to power by the end of the 19th century. On the one hand, for the Austrians and Jews, Bukovina indeed meant tolerance and harmony, however, on the other, for many nationalists (mainly Romanians), to assume a Bukovinian identity, was associated with a nemesis for national identity.⁸ The law-decree from the 18th of December 1918, which motivated the unification of Bukovina with the Kingdom of Romania was underlying these superseding the regional character: 'Bukovina is a part of Moldova that before 144 years was ravaged by the Habsburgs through intrigue and bribery. During this long slavery, the people of Bukovina never lost their national consciousness and hoped that sooner or later the hour of redemption would come.'⁹ The end of the war and the victory of the national movements, brought into the light the multicultural, but conflictual character of Bukovina.

While Celan's writings drew international attention to the region's history and culture, it reduced Bukovina to a nostalgic, harmonic landscape, governed by good. Bukovina became equal with Celan's childhood memoir. Born in 1920 in a Bukovina still affected by modernization processes, international integration, and the cultural mixing enforced by the Austrian administration, Celan had actually experienced just the remnants of the Habsburg monarchy, which slowly started to disappear from Bukovina during the 1920s. What is omitted then, from Celan's utopian perspective is the fact that through the aligning of the Eastern European space to the Viennese cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism,

⁶ For further academic skepticism towards the myth of Bukovina see Drunen, *A Sanguine Bunch*. For 'bloodlands' see Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin*. - who focuses on the victims of the Nazi and Soviet regimes in this geographical area; See Fisher, *Resettlers and Survivors*. - analyses the manifold uses of the *Heimat* concept (German and Jewish perspective) in post-war Bukovina.

⁷ See Franzos, *Aus Halb-Asien: Kulturbilder Aus Galizien, Der Bukowina, Südrussland Und Rumänien*.

⁸ Such in the case of Baron Nicholas Mustatza, who was criticised by the historian Ion Nistor in his second volume of *Istoria românilor*, saying that the Baron encourages Bukovinism, supporting a negation of a national individuality. See Nistor, *Istoria Românilor*. 229.

⁹ Own translation of the 18 December 1918 decree regarding the unification of Bukovina and Kingdom of Romania in Nistor, 'Unirea Bucovinei Cu România', 42.

Bukovina experienced a period of tensions and fragmentation worsened by its peripheric position, multi-ethnic structure, and historical resentiments.

1.1.The purpose

This thesis examined the problematic of Bukovina during the first half of the 20th century. It is problematic precisely because of its multi-faceted perception and history. Rather than being represented by common elements, Bukovinians from different ethnic groups, interacted with each other in the same territory, contributing to the construction of a diverse Bukovinian's identity. The aim of this paper is therefore to raise awareness in what regards the diverse German, Jewish, Romanian, and Ukrainian perception of the same space and its regional identity. The following chapters will look at each ethnic group and their relationship with the region. Approaching Bukovina's identity from all four perspectives demonstrates that the history of all groups must be told together, questioning the national and ethnic paradigms we frequently take for granted and unknowingly work within.

1.2.Timeframe

By focusing on the pre-1945 period, the thesis aim is to bring together all the facets of the region which influenced its perception, as well as its political and historical structure in the different steps of the 20th century, as well as the future perception, potential, and relative past identity. Bukovina of the first half of the 20th century represents, a tumultuous place united under the Austrian crown.¹⁰ Although the presence of the region was quite new on the political map, the period of its maturity was caught in an inner as well as external struggle regarding its definition and ethnical borders. In this period, not only did the region come to be decomposed, reshaped, and reconstructed in many unforeseen ways, but what was shaped as 'homo bucoviniensis' (connected to homo austriacus during the late 19th century) had to adapt to the continuously changing political borders of the region.

1.3.Relevance

In the broader historical context, the focus on Bukovina as a space of multi-ethnic mixture opens a discussion specific for the social structure of the "borderlands" and the

¹⁰ Fisher, *Resettlers and Survivors*, 214.

problematic of writing the history of such a space. Understanding Bukovina represents a step closer towards understanding Eastern Europe, its borderlands and its challenges.

1.4.Theoretical approach and Sources

Bukovinians identified themselves with different aspects out of the complexity of Bukovina, thus giving shape to discrepancies and differences in their perception of a place inhabited commonly. Following this reasoning Gaëlle Fisher, postdoctoral researcher in holocaust studies, argued that the *homo bucoviniensis*¹¹, a subordinate phenomenon to the Habsburg Bukovinian myth could best be described as a “a non-national individual and a hybrid, who transcends national differences”.¹² As intimated by Fischer, *homo bucovinensis* is a convoluted notion, describing a complicated and heterogeneous society where nationalities are combined rather than being attributed to a person.

For this multi-facet history to be understood and thoroughly analysed, the *mnemohistorical approach* was used. A history expressed through memory was employed. Coined in 1997’s book of Jan Assmann, “Moses, the Egyptian”, the term is defined as being “concerned not with the past as such, but only with the past as it is remembered”¹³. Rather than focusing on the veracity of the past, the notion of mnemohistory focuses on how people perceive it. “The ‘reception’ is not to be regarded here just in the restricted sense of transmitting and receiving”, Assmann points out. “The present does not simply ‘receive’ the past. The past ‘haunts’ the present, and the present in its turn reinvents, and reconstructs the past”. Assmann understood the past as a changing element, interacting with the present and being transformed by it.

Rather than pursuing a false-objective image of the territory and its residents, the thesis will use Assmann’s approach to recreate an image of Bukovina and its *homo bucoviniensis* in the first half of the twentieth century, including its main layers: the Austrian, Jewish, Romanian and Ukrainian. By analysing the different perspectives on identity which were present at the beginning of the 20th century in Bukovina, the intention (was not to find the right version, the right history), was to lay each perspective side by side, to encourage the involved actors to enter a dialogue, a dialog concentrated on identity in a multi-ethnic region.

¹¹ See Turczynski, *Geschichte Der Bukowina in Der Neuzeit : Zur Sozial- Und Kulturgeschichte Einer Mitteleuropäisch Geprägten Landschaft*.

¹² Fisher, *Resettlers and Survivors*, 31.

¹³ Assmann, *Moses, The Egyptian*, 9.

Furthermore, the thesis was conceived in accordance with the theories of Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, who argue for a dynamic identity, which is not primordial, but constructed, not static, but continuously changing and reshaping in time and space.¹⁴ According to this line of reasoning, the presence of a fixed identity should not be taken for granted; rather, it should be investigated how and when these sensations arise. When the phenomenon is viewed as dynamic rather than static, the understanding runs deeper, covering more aspects of its composition.

With this in mind, the literary works of Bukovina, used as sources representing each ethnic group, were of great help for the understanding of all the realities surrounding the different ethnic groups and their perception of the Austrian-Jewish-Ukrainian-Romanian homeland. Through looking at the works of Bukovinian writers,, my intention was to identify how the people of Bukovina perceived themselves during the first half of the 20th century and in what way each ethnic group constructs a regional identity different from the others.

The literary personalities were chosen based on the importance they played for the region's developments and (especially in the Jewish, Romanian and Ukrainian case) according to the public attention they received. For the Austrian perspective, I chose to look at the life of Ernst Rudolf Neubauer and his efforts for creating a multicultural life in Bukovina. For the Romanian and Ukrainian chapters, I chose two prominent national writers, namely Mihai Eminescu and Olha Kobyljanska. In order to complement their works and give context to their ideas, I also used the writings of historians, such as Ion Nistor and Mykola Kostomarov. A similar process I followed in the case of the Jewish chapter. Guiding myself after the works of Paul Celan, Alfred-Margul-Sperber, and Rose Ausländer, I recreated their experience of Bukovina complementing their writings with the historical context conferred through the more recent studies of Gaëlle Fisher and Amy Colins.

A transnational approach of these sources will be employed. In using the term 'transnational' rather than that of 'comparative', I want to underline that the works of the writers of each ethnic group analysed here were not compared among each other, as this approach would be the usual way of comparative literature. Rather, the thesis defines and analyses distinct and similar historical discourses seen in the region's literature.

¹⁴ Brubaker and Cooper, 'Beyond "Identity"'.

The writings of different artists can be regarded as a window that gives the reader the possibility to find new perspectives on Bukovina's and the *homo bucoviniensis*' 20th century portrait. Rather than asking what Bukovina really stands for, the thesis lay its focus on the questions of identity, self-definition, and the creation of the other, present in the Bukovinian literature. The reader, thus, can grasp how different communities experienced the past, which history became dominant and what image of Bukovina circulated in the 20th century and finally, how and why this image was changed over space and time. While the policies and the factual history of the Habsburg administration and nationalist movements of Ukraine and Romania play an important part in the framing of the thesis, their role is ultimately secondary to that of the main protagonists, the *homo bucoviniensis* and the meaning they create inside their ethnic borders.

The fluidity of the Bukovinian individuum brought a divergence between how Bukovina is perceived today on the one hand, and what it actually meant to be a part of this region during the Habsburg administration. While for some, Bukovina is a land of the exiled, a 'penal colony'¹⁵ at the periphery of a cosmopolitan region, for others, it means the materialisation of a symbiotic culture, but with the growing nationalist tendencies it also took the form of a 'lost land' ruled by foreigners. These perceptions coexisted close to each other, were aware of each other, and contributed together to the image of Bukovina. The great myth of *homo bucoviniensis* unity – which continues to enthrall academics from the post-World War II era – conceals the reality of pluralism, division, and conflict that characterized Bukovina in the first half of the twentieth century. Researchers from the 1980s and 1990s that dealt with the region focused mostly on the situation of the Holocaust victims (both Jewish and resettled Germans) and to the modernisation of the region under the Habsburg rule. These writings reshaped the identity of the region and transformed it into a place of symbiosis: German-Jewish, human-nature, unity in diversity. Interwar Bukovina, however, hides a more complex identity due to its multi-ethnic structure. To understand and to grasp the identity of Bukovina at the turn of and during the 20th century in all its complexity, one must consider all its facets and layers that emerged in the last years of the Habsburg administration, and therefore to take a look at its ethnic groups. The experiences of Germans and Jews, just as much as those of Romanians and Ukrainians, shaped the region, its identity and its future.

¹⁵ Drunen, *A Sanguine Bunch*.

1.5. Interdisciplinary Aspect

The paper will be an interdisciplinary one, combining both elements of history, through the analysis of the four ethnic historiographies from the region of Bukovina, and elements of literature and international relations, bringing the concept of nation in relationship with literary writing.

1.6. Challenges

One challenge this thesis posed was the categorisation of the ethnic groups. As a multi-ethnic region, the locals intermingled over the years, thus, the majority of individuals are not described necessarily as Romanians, or as Ukrainians, but for example as a ‘German-speaking Romanian born Ukrainians’. These complex denominations made the process of categorisation a daunting one. However, by looking at the language used in their writings and also at their national inheritance (Ukrainian, Austrian, Romanian, Jewish parents) I hope I managed to place each personality in the most suitable category.

Another challenge that this thesis posed was choosing the right terms when it comes to name the region and its cities for the denomination of each ethnic group. Bukovina under the name it is known today appeared officially in 1775 with the annexation of the region by the Habsburg Empire. Before this point in time, however, the region was named *The Highlands* or *Arboroasa*. The name Bukovina derives from the Slavic word “buk” referring to the beech tree. With the exception of Romanians, known in the Middle Ages as Vlachs, the different peoples surrounding Bukovina have used a similar word for beech: Ukrainian – бук, Polish – buk, Austrian – Buche, Hungarian – bükkfa. Romanians, however, use the term “fag”, from the latin name *fagus sylvatica*.¹⁶ The region received the name of Buchenland or Bukowina under the Habsburg administration and Bucovina or Țara Fagilor under the Romanian administration. The denomination of *Țara Fagilor* however, as it was impossible to implement it to a population which got used with the name of Bukovina, the romanian version was soon abandoned¹⁷. In order to avoid confusion, I decided to keep to the english name of the region, therefore not respecting the chronologic evolution of its ethymology. Today, under Ukraine, the northern part is called the *Cernivtsi Oblast*, Bukovina (in Romanian: Bucovina) being used just for the southern half of the region, which is part of Romania.

¹⁶ This term, however, might have been introduced as part of the process of Latinisation of the Romanian language at the end of the 19th century

¹⁷ Drunen, *A Sanguine Bunch*.

A similar issue poses the denomination of Austria and Romania. For the first I chose to use the name of ‘Habsburg monarchy’ or ‘Austria-Hungary’ and for the latter, ‘the Kingdom of Romania or Greater Romania. Finally, for the sake of clarity, I used the terms Romanians instead of Wlachs and Ukrainians instead of Rutenians.

1.7. Structure

The first chapter introduces the problematic of Bukovina and its diverse identity by looking at the tumultuous life of the writer and publisher Alfred Margul-Sperber. The second one looks at how the Habsburg administration shaped the ethnic and cultural landscape of the region. The third chapter moves towards the struggle of the nationalist movements coming from Romania and Ukraine focusing on the works of Eminescu and Kobyljanska. And last but not least, the fourth draws on various Jewish perspectives of Bukovina, with a focus on the works of Celan.

2. Jewish Bukovina

“Ich heiße Alfred Sperber, bin 23 Jahre alt, verkrachter Jurist, in Storozynetz geboren, Kleiner Stadt der Bukowina inmitten roter Buchenwälder und wilder Bauern, von denen Europa nichts weiß ...”¹⁸

2.1. Introduction

When, in the first winter days of 1967, the Jewish poet, translator, and publisher Alfred Margul-Sperber was buried in the Israeli Cemetery on the “1st of May” street in Bucharest, the remaining Bukovinian men and women of letters who bade him farewell could not overlook the tragic significance of his death. Sperber, born in 1898 in the Habsburg village of Storozynets (around 21 km from Czernowitz), dedicated his life to the preservation of a Bukovinian literary school. Following the fall of the Habsburg monarchy and the dissemination of nationalist and antisemitic ideas, Sperber’s Bukovina became scattered around the world in the pages and memories of the German-speaking Jewish community. On the run, or hiding among the requirements of different regimes, Alfred Margul-Sperber was the one who sewed the broken parts of Bukovina in a ‘Gedächtnisort’¹⁹ by connecting the Bukovinian literati in a utopian dream.

For this place which existed only in the memory of those still alive, Sperber chose his life as the supporting pillar. As an ‘intimate connoisseur, lover and collector of Bukovina German poetry’, Sperber took upon himself ‘to gather for the first time in a systematic work at least a part of the Bukovinian German literary history.’²⁰ gathering a ‘dry enumeration of names and places’²¹ in his work *Der unsichtbare Chor*. Therefore, Alfred Margul-Sperber, was one of the most active personalities who actively supported a continuation of a multi-cultural Bukovina, influencing an entire generation and the way Bukovina is perceived today. Following an unsettling progress of events, the German-speaking Jewish poet, buried on a Romanian land, defeated by heart illness, was part of a

¹⁸ Alfred Kittner: Alfred Margul-Sperber – der Mensch und das Werk. Epilogue in: Alfred Margul-Sperber: Geheimnis und Verzicht. Das lyrische Werk in Auswahl. Bucharest 1975, p.589–614, here p.592 quoted in Rădulescu, ‘Alfred Margul-Sperbers Literarische Texte in Der Czernowitzer Zeitschrift “Die Straße” (1929)’, 197.

¹⁹ From German: place of memory, in Corbea-Hoisie, ‘Nachträgliches Zum Komplex Paul Celan - Alfred Margul-Sperber - Wien Zwei Neu Entdeckte Briefe Im Österreichischen Literaturarchiv’.

²⁰ My own translation from German into English from Margul-Sperber, *Der Unsichtbare Chor*, 326.

²¹ My own translation from German into English from Margul-Sperber, 349.

‘spiritual suicide’²². To the funeral, Bukovinians of Sperber’s orientation were presenting their condolences to both the poet and to the dying memory of a multicultural, regional, self-defining Bukovina that he encouraged – a space of ethnic symbiosis strangled by the very nationalist movements of its ethnic minorities.

2.2.Cultrual Symbiosis – Jews and the German language

This ethnic and cultural symbiosis was described in Bukovina, mainly due to the assimilation of the German language by the Jewish community. The desire for modernisation within the Jewish Orthodox communities were encouraged in the Austrian Empire with the reforms of Emperor Joseph II. The ‘Language Decree’ of 1784, which forced the Jews to set up German-speaking schools and to conduct their internal affairs in German encouraged – although in a violent way – acceptance of German language, as well as German values in the private lives of the Jewish community members. A break with the traditional customs followed, and numerous Austrian Jews from Bohemia, Moravia, Bukovina, and Galicia chose to assimilate within the German language and culture, a choice which was supposed to bring them progress and intellectual freedom.²³

On a cultural level, the symbiosis between German language and Jewish community generated new forms of expression – most interesting of them all being the publication of a certain number of German-language newspapers written in Hebrew letters²⁴. The Jewish media, such as *Jüdischen Nachrischten* therefore represented an important information and debate platform for the dissemination of the German culture to various Jewish communities in Bukovina.²⁵

Sperber’s family was of Jewish descent, but this was before the age of ethnic nationalism, when the world of the elites was still open and fluid enough to make room for the Jewish community. Bukovina as a cultural and multi-cultural space is inconceivable without the formative and co-creating role of the Jews, especially with the reaffirmation of

²² Kittner in a private letter to Rose Ausländer on the 15th of March 1976, quoted from Fisher, *Resettlers and Survivors*, 212.

²³ Solomon, ‘Sprache Und Identität. Zu Den Theoretischen Und Typologischen Dimensionen Der “Jüdischen Presse” in Galizien Und in Der Bukowina während Der Habsburger Zeit.’, 54.

²⁴ One of the first publications of this kind was published in Galizia, in Lemberg, under the name of *Der Galizische Bote*. The holdings of the Austrian National Library (ÖNB) only contain the editions from the year 1861. There are 42 numbers, other editions could not be found to this day. The periodical was published by the Lemberger Verlag B. Lorje & H. Sperling; see Solomon, 63.

²⁵ Solomon, ‘Sprache Und Identität. Zu Den Theoretischen Und Typologischen Dimensionen Der “Jüdischen Presse” in Galizien Und in Der Bukowina während Der Habsburger Zeit.’, 63.

freedom of religion and the recognition of full citizenship rights to Jews in the 1867 constitution, when their situation under the Habsburg monarchy improved. This can be clearly seen from the population, training and professional activities alone. “Until 1918”, Andrei Corbea-Hoisie noted in his introduction to the anthology of the Jewish landscape of Czernowitz, “the administration, the courts, the school and university system, the police, the gendarmerie and even the army will take in a considerable number of Jews.”

In 1930, Chernivtsi had 112,000 inhabitants, of whom about 43,000 were Jews, 30,000 Romanians, 15,000 Germans, 14,000 Ukrainians and 8,000 Poles. The state-sponsored literary and cultural life of the Romanians received a strong boost in the interwar period, the influx of Jewish speakers from old Romania, Bessarabia and Galicia as well as the growing national-Jewish self-image led to Chernivtsi becoming a center of Yiddish literature in the interwar period, which it was not under Austrian rule.²⁶ However, German language continued nevertheless to have an impact as an everyday language in the urban environment and as a literary language. Newspapers and magazines from Austria and Germany were available in cafes, some could be bought in antiquarian shops and bookstores, which also had a wide range of German literature.²⁷

The intercultural space of Bukovina had a significant effect on Sperber’s intellectual and aesthetic attitude. In fact, cross-border experiences came to him quite early – when the First World War interrupted his student life in Chernivtsi and the family of Jewish origin, who had been in Bukovina for two centuries as German-assimilated Jews, moved to Vienna. The father Isidor was an accountant for the Flondoreni estate, while the mother Margula, although coming from a modest family, had become a much-appreciated piano teacher. As a sign of love and admiration for her, Sperber adopted her first name, which he later used as a pseudonym (“Margul-Sperber”).²⁸

Fleeing to Vienna with his family, away from the imminent invasion of the Russian troops at the beginning of the first World War (who occupied Czernowitz three times between 1914 and 1917), the young 17-year-old ‘Notabiturient’ Alfred was appointed imperial and royal (k.u.k/ kaiserlich und königlich) lieutenant and deployed in East Galicia and Ukraine.

²⁶ Motzan, ‘Alfred Margul-Sperber (1898 - 1967). Eine Portraitskizze’, 23.

²⁷ Motzan, 24.

²⁸ Rădulescu, ‘Alfred Margul-Sperbers Literarische Texte in Der Czernowitzer Zeitschrift “Die Straße” (1929)’, 197.

Bukovina as a German-language 'cultural landscape' (*Kulturlandschaft*) in Eastern Europe ended with the final days of the First World War. The concept of a cultural landscape referring to the Austrian legacy, the German language, the diverse culture, and vibrant public life, continued however to distinguish the region in a more innocent way for some time after the fall of the Habsburg Empire.²⁹ As Motzan argued, the plurality was an essential feature of Chernihiv life, but among the myths about the multi-ethnic city on the Pruth is also the one about an intercultural symbiosis or even a 'syncretic interculturalisation'.³⁰

2.3. Bukovinian Journalist

Returning home after 5 years of absence, in 1919, the region was on the cusp of establishing the antisemitic dictatorship of Antonescu, Sperber found himself in a land with changed borders and representative nationality, and name: from Buchenland, it became Bucovina. This change fulfilled the dreams of the Romanians, who saw an act of historical justice in the annexation of Bukovina, as this area had been part of the Ottoman-ruled Principality of Moldova for centuries. Although, at the time of unification, the Romanian population in Bukovina was 43%.³¹

Sperber started writing in his early years, in Vienna. When he returned home in 1919 he joined the collaborators of the freshly founded newspaper of Albert Maurber, *Nerv*. The writers of the newspaper aligned with the Sperber's line of thought as the average age in the office was around 23.³² They belonged to a special breed of modern Jewish people, who took it upon themselves to gather and preserve the tradition of the cosmopolitan Viennese liberalism. The young group of poets surrounding *Das Nerv* newspaper in Chernivtsi and *Das Ziel/ Das neue Ziel* in Braşov, had tried to challenge the ethnic nationalism by embracing the German language and assimilating the Austrian culture.³³ They were images of a lost monarchy surviving inside the borders of a unified nation, but they were also the portrait of a modern Jewish community, assimilating the culture of Western Europe. Many of the young authors had become acquainted with European modernism during the war years and at German speaking universities. Now back in their home region, they brought back a piece of that West in their Eastern culture. Unfortunately,

²⁹ Fisher, *Resettlers and Survivors*, 205.

³⁰ Motzan, 'Alfred Margul-Sperber (1898 - 1967). Eine Portraitskizze', 25.

³¹ Motzan, 16.

³² It was published in 12 issues between January 1 and September 12, 1919. In April 1919

³³ Corbea-Hoisie, 'Ein Presseskandal Aus Dem Jahr 1919 Und Die Czernowitzer "Zivilisationsliteraten"', 154.

similarly to the newspaper *Das Ziel/ Das Neue Ziel* (1919/1920), *Das Nerv* met with fierce resistance from the conservative educated elite and, after a short lifespan, had to be discontinued for financial reasons.³⁴

Sperber, who encouraged these writers up into the post-Bukovina Diaspora, acknowledged the potential of the literary root of Bukovina from an early age, and used his Jewish fluidity of in what regards the crossing of ethnic borders as the ultimate weapon against racism and antisemitism in culture.³⁵ His image of Bukovina, that he was eager to protect, and the aesthetic style of his poetry were formed and reshaped by his contradictory cultural and life experiences. He was born about 20 km away from Chernivtsi, in a small city on the Sereth with around 6000 inhabitants: Romanians, Ukrainians, Poles, Germans, and Jews, who made up about half of the population. Since childhood, Sperber was therefore influenced by centrifugal forces that were difficult to disentangle: Jewish origin, German mother tongue, multilingual environment, fifty years of existence as a writer in countries with different social systems, changing residences, marginalisation and decoration, various small jobs and an indestructible literary obsession, harsh reality constraints and big dreams.³⁶

Even the poems that Sperber published in 1919-1920 in the short-lived periodicals *Das Nerv*, and above all in *Das Ziel/Das Neue Ziel*, show that he mastered expressionism like no other Bukovinian poet. In Sperber's poetry from the period 1916 - 1924, the contrasting worldviews of expressionist literature mirroring the extremities that characterize the region of Bukovina are underlined: messianic fantasies of brotherhood and apocalyptic despair, activist pathos towards humanity and lamentations of alienation, utopian concepts of society and pan-erotic vitalism.³⁷

The longing for the city that disappeared under the threat of the nationalist movements, made his stay at home difficult to enjoy, therefore, in May 1920 Sperber moved to Paris, where he contacted the French avant-garde, Lzrik Guillaume Appolinaire and Max Jacobs. After a year he travelled further to America. Here, he met Rose Ausländer, another illustrious Bukovinian writer, whose discoverer and supporter he became. Rose had lived in the USA since April 1921 and had worked at the Bowery Savings Bank in New York since 1923. He recognized her extraordinary talent and, in a letter to his parents and

³⁴ Motzan, 'Alfred Margul-Sperber (1898 - 1967). Eine Portraitskizze', 17.

³⁵ See Corbea-Hoisie, 'Ein Presseskandal Aus Dem Jahr 1919 Und Die Czernowitzer "Zivilisationsliteraten"', 154.

³⁶ Motzan, 'Alfred Margul-Sperber (1898 - 1967). Eine Portraitskizze', 13-14.

³⁷ Motzan, 19.

sister Irma, emphasised her as one of the strongest “talents in contemporary German women’s poetry”.³⁸ After experiencing “a wide wild track of travels and adventures in the eastern states of the U.S., principally New York, as a factory worker, handkerchief and blouse seller, dishwasher, baker, itinerant speaker, feature editor of the New Yorker Volkszeitung, and lastly administrator of the N.Y. branch of Marmarosch Bank”,³⁹ Sperber, decided to return home and contribute further to the establishment of a Bukovinian network.

In the spring of 1925, he returned to Storozynety, where he met Henriette (Jetty, Jessika) Drimmer (1903-1975), the daughter of a wealthy liquor dealer and cinema owner, whom he married in 1928⁴⁰. Sperber’s freelance work for the *Czernowitzer Morgenblatt*, and his own *Bukowinaer Provinzbote*, (which appeared in Storozynetz just from October 23, 1931, to March 17, 1932), in the Braşov’s literary journal *Klingsor*, continued in the first years after he returned to Bukovina. He published poems and articles by himself and young Bukovinian talents such as Moses Rosenkranz and Rosa Ausländer. The publication of Paul Celan’s first poems – at Sperber’s suggestion – in the Bucharest magazine after the Second World War is also associated with Sperber’s name. In 1934 and 1939 Sperber’s first volumes of poetry were published: *Parables of the Landscape* and *Mystery and Waiver*.⁴¹ However, his publishing work was not enough to support his family. Shortly, he became dependent on the financial support of his parents-in-law.⁴²

Better earning opportunities prompted him to move to Burdujeni in the spring of 1933, a town bordering the old Romanian Kingdom, 93 km away from Chernivtsi. Even in these harsh conditions and far away from a cultural scene, Sperber managed to maintain his Bukovinian network. Here, in the ‘northern Moldavian provincial backwater’ he worked up until 1940 as a foreign language correspondent for a Romanian/English meat factory, which he called “Selchwarenfabrik”⁴³. This position did not stop him to maintain a wide correspondence with different writers around the world, such as Hermann Hesse, Thomas Mann, Stefan Zweig, T.S. Elliot and others who appreciated his literary texts. And

³⁸ Motzan, 18.

³⁹ Rădulescu, ‘Alfred Margul-Sperbers Literarische Texte in Der Czernowitzer Zeitschrift “Die Straße” (1929)’.

⁴⁰ Sperber was married twice: first time in New York, marriage who brought him two children and the second time with the love of his life, Henriette.

⁴¹ Rădulescu, ‘Alfred Margul-Sperbers Literarische Texte in Der Czernowitzer Zeitschrift “Die Straße” (1929)’, 199.

⁴² Motzan, ‘Alfred Margul-Sperber (1898 - 1967). Eine Portraitskizze’, 22.

⁴³ Rădulescu, ‘Alfred Margul-Sperbers Literarische Texte in Der Czernowitzer Zeitschrift “Die Straße” (1929)’, 198.

furthermore, he managed to supply at the same time the *Czernowitzer Zeitung* with articles, poems, and translations.

2.4.Changing Regimes – Hope vs. Grief

On September 29, 1940, Sperber terminated his employment in Burdujeni and moved with his wife to Bucharest, where he survived the Second World War as a private teacher for German and English. He and his family were not spared humiliation and terrible losses. When the Antonescu regime was overthrown in Romania in 1944, Sperber saw hope, he was seized with the illusion that a new world was opening up. However, it did not take long for this new regime to show its teeth. On the other side of the excitement, this Bukovinians of Jewish inheritance who had welcomed a new dawn were overwhelmed by a terrible politics of betrayal and bloodshed. In no time, Mosenkranz was sent to the camp in Transnistria, with Sperber barely escaping from the hands of the socialists. After North-Bukovina was recaptured by Romanian and German army units, his father-in-law, who headed the Israelite cultural community in Storozynety, was shot in the summer of 1941, and his brother-in-law together with his wife were murdered in Mostovoi on the Bug in 1942. Sperber himself was called upon to clear snow as part of the forced labor service for Jewish men in the Romanian Kingdom in February 1942 and was repeatedly threatened by the courts with evacuation from his apartment. However, friends from Bucharest were there to help, they did not avoid contact with the Sperbers and often visited them at 98 Buzești Street. Among the friendliest Romanian elites that helped him and often had him as a guest were Oscar Walter Cisek and Ion Pillat. He escaped the threat of deportation to Transnistria in September 1942, almost at the last minute, thanks to the decisive interventions of Pillat and Cisek and the influential Romanian literary historian Eugen Lovinescu.

The October Revolution shaped Sperber's intellectual and political views, as will be seen later during his work for the communist regime in Romania in the 1950s (at the end of the war, he became chief translator of the Romanian Review magazine and English translator in the foreign broadcasts department of the Romanian Radio, also in 1949 he became a permanent employee of the State Publishing House for Art and Literature). After the communist regime seized power, Sperber adopted the rules of socialist realism, giving his texts and poems a strong socio-political character. Although he published in masse and received awards in Communist Romania, these works lack aesthetic quality and are poorly received. During the communist era, Sperber championed the ideals of a utopian socialist

society; the poems from this period defend the ideology of the party and are socially and politically tinged. Towards the end of his life, the poet became aware that contemporary ideas lacked substance, so he took up earlier interwar poems in his later volumes to distance himself from the politically compromised field.⁴⁴

“The real Fredy” was known as a committed journalist, contributor to domestic and foreign German-language newspapers. He wrote serious articles and editorials, sometimes controversial polemics, but without committing himself to any political party. Although his work during the communist period in Romania used a sometimes a moral and vulgar tone and included caricatured frescoes from public and private life (in Bukovina), without touching upon the political discourse of the country.⁴⁵

He did not show any preferential behavior towards the Jewish population in his writings, however, the writers that he protected, encouraged, translated in order to be accessible to a broader international audience, were of a different style. Although one could hardly describe them as a homogenous school, they were not sharing the neutrality of Sperber. What they represented was as in Sperber’s writings, an ideal space, a utopia. However, in contrast with him, they accentuated the effects of the ethnic obsession which shadowed the symbiotic character of Bukovina. Towards the end of his life, Sperber would align with these tendencies, writing in his period of grief and sadness one of his most touching poems about Bukovina. Entitled *Auf den Namen eines Vernichtungslagers* (*On the Name of the Death Camp*), the verses sound as follows:

Dass es bei Weimar lag, vergaß ich lang.

Ich weiß nur: man hat Menschen dort verbrannt.

Für mich hat dieser Ort besonders Klang,

Denn meine Heimat heißt: das Buchenland.

Entrücktes Leben, unvergessner Tag:

Der Buchenwald – ich weiß es noch genau,

Wie ich als Bub in seiner Lichtung lag

Und eine weiße Wolke schwamm im Blau ...

O Schmach der Zeit, die meinem Traum zerstört!

Erinnern, so verhext in ihrem Bann,

⁴⁴ Rădulescu, 202.

⁴⁵ Rădulescu, 211.

*Dass, wenn mein Ohr jetzt deinen Namen hört,
Ich nicht mehr an die Kindheit denken kann,*

*Weil sich ein Alpdruck in mein Träumen schleicht,
Ein Schreckgedanke, jeden Sinnes bar:
Ob jene weiße Wolke dort vielleicht
Nicht auch der Rauch verbrannter Menschen war?*

2.5.Conclusion

Margul-Sperber built a new life in a country that had stolen his. He wrote his poetry and translated the Bukovinian writers, paying in the same time tribute to the communist party as well. By disseminating and speaking about a Bukovinian culture, a Bukovinian identity, he was the one creating it. He brought together the Bukovinian lives scattered around the world. A new political order asked for a new home for Bukovinians, and he fulfilled this space, he offered them a home. Sperber was devoted to them. Ethnicity politics were not for him. The Bukovinian cultural container was large enough, it was thought to take in all religious sects and all minorities. If anything, his Jewish background made him more eager to proclaim a Bukovinian sense of belonging. It was Bukovinian poetry that he wrote, and it was the multilingual Bukovinian utopia that he protected.

Although at the end of his life both the Romanian and the German-speaking world mourned his death,⁴⁶ Sperber, although he did not always focus on this aspect, similarly to Celan had known the hardship, marginality, and isolation brought by his Jewish inheritance and the chaos of the interwar years. Towards his death, Bukovina became the hub of Jewish suffering, losing its history and multicultural dream at the expense of stories about the terror and sadness of the Jewish families. Therefore, the symbiosis achieved under the Austrian administration was not a complete one, but one that left much space for national conflicts, and questions of legitimacy: “Bukowina – ewiger Landschaft, die Wahn und Hass, Kampf und Krampf der Zeit (...) überdauert.”⁴⁷, as Sperber would have hoped, was a remnant of the Austrian rule, that faded away together with Sperber’s death. In order to understand the melancholy that will further embrace the Jewish community in their description of pre-

⁴⁶ Alfred-Margul Sperber in Scânteia 5 Januar 1967 – der Rumänische Schriftstellerverband würdigte sein Leben und Werk in einem allen Regeln kommunistischer Rituale gehorchenden Nekrolog.

⁴⁷ Alfred Margul-Sperber (Vorbemerkung) In: Gleichnisse der Landschaft. Gedichte. Storojineți: im Selbstverlage des Verfassers, S. 5-6, cited from Motzan, ‘Alfred Margul-Sperber (1898 - 1967). Eine Portraitskizze’, 28.

Second World War Bukovina, the following chapter will discuss the Austrian inheritance and influence in the region.

3. Habsburg Bukovina

3.1. Penal Colony

In 1848, the regions of Bukovina and Galicia, as well as the capital of the monarchy will experience a change in their social structure. The liberal intelligentsia, powerless in the face of a lost revolution and still posing a challenge to the survival of the monarchy resettled in the peripheric regions of the Empire. It is in this context that the ironical denomination of ‘Strafkolonie’ (penal colony) – widely assigned to the Nobel laureate and historian Theodor Mommsen – is attributed to Bukovina.⁴⁸ Here it refers to the monarchy’s policy of sending to Bukovina liberal teachers (enemies of the empire), who partook in the 1848 revolution, as they pose a great threat to the stability of the region.

Although it can be argued that the image of a penal colony was thus imposed rather than shaped from within Bukovina, the denomination was still invoked in some cases when the attention towards the monarchical detrimental approach towards its ‘colony’ Bukovina, had to be underlined. Complaining about the treatment they received from the officials in Vienna, the *Bukowinaer Rundschau* in their 1177 number from 1892 asks the rhetorical question: “Is then Bukovina a penal colony and the gentlemen from finance are their supervisors?”⁴⁹

A case in point was the Austrian Ernst Rudolf Neubauer. In March 1848, serving the commander Wenzel Messenhauser, Ernst Rudolf Neubauer made his way on the crowded Viennese streets, marching for the elimination of feudal structures, for the instauration of responsible ministreis instead of maintaining the monarchical-absolutist governments and for the guarantee of freedom of the press. In comparison with Messenhauser, Neubauer managed to escape the death sentence, being sent to Chernihiv.⁵⁰

Then, it can be easily assumed that the Austrian perception of Bukovina starts fore and foremost with an exile, with the image of a peripheral, penal colony far from the centre. The arrival of Ernst Rudolf Neubauer in Rădăuți and later in Chernihiv was of tremendous importance for the first years of the just emerging literal presence in the region.

⁴⁸ While many academic works assign the denomination of ‘Strafkolonie’ to Mommsen, Drunen challenges their assumptions, arguing that the term belongs to Karl Emil Franzos. For a further discussion regarding the term see Drunen, *A Sanguine Bunch*, 366.

⁴⁹ Own translation from German ‘Gibt Es Noch Eine Bukowina?, Bukowinaer Rundfunk’, 1. See Appendix 10.3.2

⁵⁰ Ungureanu, ‘Literatur Und Theater in Ernst Rudolf Neubauers Bukowina’, 9.

3.2. Multi – Cultural History

The creation of a ‘multicultural oasis’ in Bukovina is very often addressed to the benevolent Austrian administration in the region.⁵¹ This character as David Rechter notes in his study about Jews of Austrian Bukovina, is already present from the beginning of the 19th century.

As the idea and reality of the novel construct of Bukovina assumed a mantle of performance for its inhabitants, a sense of regional consciousness took shape and a form of local patriotism – a Bukovina ‘identity’ – emerged. It coalesced early around the myth already alluded to: the vision of Bukovina’s ethnic harmony enabled by benevolent Habsburg rule. As early as 1808, one observer expressed surprise at the ‘almost unlimited toleration’ that prevailed among the peoples who with rare exceptions live here ... peacefully side by side.”⁵²

However, this “El Dorado”⁵³ of the monarchy, the “Alexandrian Constellation”⁵⁴ of Bukovina, emerged from a combination of the Austrian colonisation and migration policies and the local historical heritage of the area. Looking back at the region’s history, one could argue that the crownland managed to preserve what the region acquired historically.

Due to its geographical position between the north-eastern Carpathian Mountains, the Dniester River, and the Bessarabian steppe, Bukovina was a crossroads of distinct cultures and political interests. The relation to Ukrainian history, goes back to the empire of the Kings of the Kiev and to the times when the region was incorporated into the territories of the Principality of Galicia-Volhynia. After the invasion of the Golden Horde, in the 13th century and the wave of steppe refugees which retreated from the Mongol’s path in those territories, the region’s ethnic structure mixed further diminishing the Ukrainian majority

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⁵¹ Drunen, *A Sanguine Bunch*, 353.

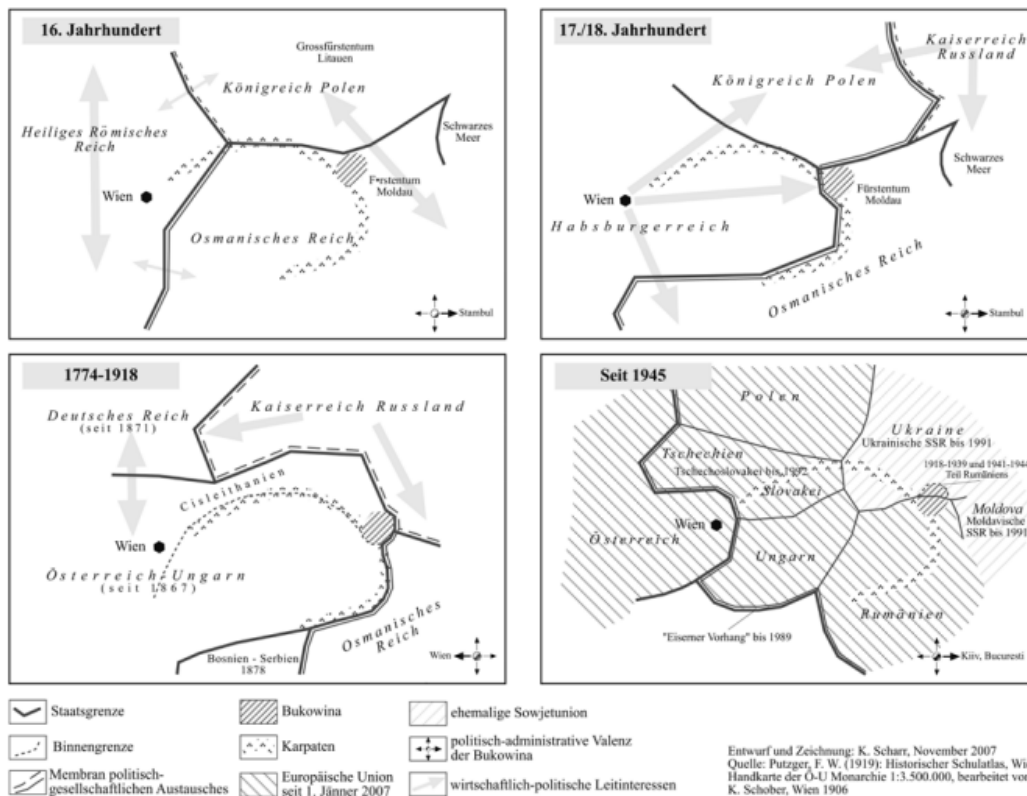
⁵² Rechter, *Becoming Habsburg: The Jews of Austrian Bukowina, 1774-1918*, 91.

⁵³ Reifer, *Menschen und Ideen*, 366-67

⁵⁴ Colin, *Paul Celan. Holograms of Darkness*, 10.

⁵⁵ Plokhyy, ‘The Gates of Europe. A History of Ukraine’, 49.

Die Bukowina - Entwicklung der politischen Lage im europäischen Kontext



The Romanian element in Bukovina is positioned around the 14th century, when a group of Vlachs, led by the mythical depicted Dragoș, *dismounted* (romanian: descălecat) from Maramureș in the territories of the Moldavia Principality.⁵⁶ Under Stephen the Great (/Stephen III), who positioned the administrative seat of the region at Suceava, the newly formed principality maintained its independence from Hungary and Poland, and the Ottoman danger from the south. However, after the death of Stephen the Great, from 1514 to 1769, the principality of Moldavia became a tributary state of the Ottoman empire (with brief moments of independence).⁵⁷

Following the First Partition of Poland and the Russian-Turkish wars, in October 1774, the hegemony of the territory was transferred to the Austrian Empire. After the peace treaty of Küçük-Kaynarca, the tsar, offered Bukovina as a present to the Austrian monarch, for its participation in the mediation of the conflict⁵⁸. In August 1774, before even the transfer of power was legalised (which happens through the Convention on the 7th of May 1775), the Austrian commander Baron Splény moved his headquarters at Chernihiv. The cession

⁵⁶ See Ureche, 'Letopisețul Țării Moldovei'.

⁵⁷ 'Moldavia'.

⁵⁸ The conditions and reasons for the transfer of power over the region from the Ottoman to Austrian empire are still very much debated. For a complex perspective over the parts of the debate see Drunen, *A Sanguine Bunch*, 1.

and the arrival of the new ruling power in Bukovina was met, however with resistance from the Moldavian ruler at that time, Grigore Ghica III. Contacting the Porte through a letter, Ghica encouraged his ottoman superiors to retake the region, as it was purely supervised by the Austrian military. The resistance is however, soon met with a response: the Moldavian ruler was beheaded in September 1777.



Receiving a new name, a new identity under the Austrian monarchy, Bukovina was introduced into the Austrian family, playing a monumental role in connecting the other peripheric territories of the Empire: Galicia, and Transylvania.

As the political borders had moved across the territory of Bukovina, the development of a homogenous culture was hindered. Instead of being characterised as part of a unified nation, the salient ethnic identities present in Bukovina, left place for the emergence of a *homo bucoviniensis*, characterised by the image of an individual, ‘a hybrid’ with ‘no-nation’.⁵⁹

A space of a multicultural character took shape, combining elements from the Slavic, Jewish, Romanian and imperial Austrian worlds. The multicultural character brought with it a multilingual space, in which Bukovina took several names and several identities. Therefore, up until it became part of the Austrian Empire, the region’s people, their identity, and history, was probably as diverse as it was during the Habsburg administration.

⁵⁹ Fisher, *Resettlers and Survivors*, 31.

3.3. Multi-Cultural Habsburg identity

*Enlightened crown prince, (...) greetings from us on the soil of Buchenland. Cheerful and enthusiastic, hundreds of thousands of people call you welcome! to the Bukovina, which is a creation of Austria (...). Everything that Bukovina means today, she owes to her imperial family and great Austria. From vassals of barbarians, we became members of a free state. We were only admitted to the European family (...) through the glorious dynasty of the Habsburg-Lorraine, who lovingly cherished this land (...)*⁶⁰

In 1887, the editors of the *Bukowinaer Rundschau* showed their appreciation of the benefits brought by the inclusion of the region into the crown land. The territory from the east, inhabiting ‘vassals of barbarians’ (here referring to the times spent under Ottoman rule) became a people acknowledged with the cultural life of the West. This welcome addressed by the *Bukowinaer Rundschau* to the visit of Crown Prince Rudolph, mirrored the views shared by other newspapers and German speaking inhabitants of Bukovina as well.

Although it was argued in the previous chapter that the multicultural background was present even before the arrival of the Habsburg administration, the birth of Bukovina as a multicultural space is still very much assigned to the Habsburg rule. To understand why, the life of Ernst Rudolf Neubauer, its literary activity in Bukovina, as well as the publications of different newspaper are of a great importance.

Transferred to Bukovina, Neubauer abandoned the political ideals of his youth and henceforth devoted himself to his teaching activities at the *Czwrnowitzer Obergymnasium*. The importance of his activity, however, lies not so much in his extensive neoclassical works, but rather in his extraordinary dedication to the literature of Bukovina.⁶¹ The previous activity as a journalist in Vienna was an important asset in what regards Neubauer’s activity and the development of his newspaper *Bukowina*. The first publishing trials of Bukovinian newspapers were without any success as the *Bukovina. Romanian newspaper for politics, religion and literature* (from Romanian *Bukovina. Gazetă românească pentru politică, religie și literatură*), appeared for the first time in 1848, was soon forbidden. And the newspaper *The weekly journal of the Bukovinian Chamber of Commerce and Industry* (from German *Die Wochenschrift der Bukowiner Handels- und Gewerbekammer*) was published just for a short period (1851-1854). The third existing paper, namely *General state, law and government gazette for the Duchy of Bukovina* (from German *das Allgemeine Landes-, Gesetz-, und Regierungsblatt für das Herzogtum*

⁶⁰ Own translation from ‘Willkommen! Bukowinaer Rundschau’, 07.07.1887, 1. See appendix no. 10.3.1.

⁶¹ Ungureanu, ‘Literatur Und Theater in Ernst Rudolf Neubauers Bukowina’, 11.

Bukowina), appeared exclusively as a monthly gazette between 1853 and 1860 (bilingual from 1861).⁶²

In this poor journalistic scene, on 15th of January 1862 Ernst Rudolf Neubauer published the first number of the *Bukowina* newspaper, a newspaper that contributed to the creation of a literary platform for the young writers in the region. Neubauer's admiration for Bukovina comes in the foreground with the first issues of the paper, setting the peace for his contemporary writers and later for a nostalgic group of Jewish literary personalities that will dream to live among this image of the *homo bucoviniensis*. He writes: „we can at least wish ourselves luck for the new year 1862 that we live in a state that has already entered the ranks of the higher cultural states, that possesses a constitution, that is, a common path to free progress for the spirit.”⁶³

As seen also in the paragraph from the *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, with *Bukowina* and his adjacent *Sonntagsblatt* concentrating mostly on the literary life of the region, set the pace of public appreciations of the West brought in the East by the Habsburg monarchy. Whereas the empire was referred to as the ‘fatherland’ (*Vaterland*), Bukovina was represented as the ‘native lands’ (*Heimatland*), or as Little Austria. And whereas the Bukovina was the image of the ‘Little Austria’, similarly, Chernivtsi (Ukrainian: Чернівці, Romanian: Cernăuți, German: Czernowitz, Polish: Czerniowce), on the banks of the river Prut, was considered ‘Little Vienna’, and its inhabitants Buko-Wiener (Buko-Viennese).⁶⁴

This hierarchical but close relationship between the centre and periphery is described also in 1892, in an issue of the *Bukowinaer Rundschau*.

*Very oft and with great pleasure Bukovina was referred to as Little Austria. Insofar as this comparison referred to the various nations living in the beautiful beech country; in a colourful way, it differed however from the overall picture to extent that this was a harmonious land in which all nationalities and also confessions of the country lived and worked together in the interest of the whole.*⁶⁵

The newspaper accentuates the harmony of the ethnic groups living under the banner of the Habsburg monarchy, their loyalty towards the crown is of tremendous importance. As the Empire receives the meaning of the fatherland from which Bukovina is a little part, similarly, the Emperor takes the position of the beloved father. Through

⁶² Ungureanu, 11.

⁶³ Own translation of the *Sonntagsblatt*, Nr. 1, 5.1.1862, S.1, quoted in German in Ungureanu, 13.

⁶⁴ Drunen, *A Sanguine Bunch*.

⁶⁵ Own translation from German from ‘Hetzapostel, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*’, 1. See Appendix no.

Bukovinian, was argued by the *Bukowinaer Post* meant to have love for the emperor, for the fatherland.

*Deeply rooted in all residents of Bukovina lives the love of the emperor, the empire and the love of their homeland. (...) The love of the homeland first, that is true Bukovinian (Bukowinaerthum). It includes this Bukovinian national feeling, it leaves room for national equality and cultural national development.*⁶⁶

The accent falling on the inclusion of the national feeling into the love for the greater homeland, comes here at a time when the nationalist movements and anti-semitic tendencies (especially from ethnic romanians) started to raise in Bukovina. The call for national equality, not only remarked this aspect, but also reinforced again the fact that a true Bukovinian in the sense created by the Habsburg monarchy, was a person who favours the collaboration between the different ethnic groups and accepted the political situation.⁶⁷

3.4. Controversial positions

The expression of loyalty, however, came sometimes in complex ways. For the non-German speaking Romanians and Ukrainian, the appreciation towards the crownland balanced the nationalist tendencies of the two ethnic groups. For example, when the Romanian academic association in Bukovina, 'Junimea', dedicated its annual ball to the occasion of Franz Joseph's sixtieth anniversary as Emperor and decorated the entire ballroom with Habsburg ornaments, the event could have been seen more as a conciliation in what regards past separatists' tendencies discussed during the commemoration of Stephen the Great, at Putna.

Similarly, in 1888, the teacher Omelian Popovych with the occasion of the opening of a new Ukrainian reading room, in the village of Laszowka, held a speech praising the liberty of its people permitted by the Emperor Franz Joseph. However, Popovych will be the one who some years later will sign the partition of Bukovina between Romanians and Ukrainians and presided over the short lived Ukrainian Bukovinian state.

3.5. Conclusion

The production of German-language literature in Bukovina expanded towards the middle of the 19th century. This trend, as it will be discussed in the last chapter, was not

⁶⁶ Stekel, 'Auf Gemeinsamen Boden, Bukowinaer Post', 1.

⁶⁷ Drunen, *A Sanguine Bunch*, 355.

developed only by ethnic Austrians, but by German-speaking authors of other ethnicities as well (such as Olga Kobylanska and Alfred Margul-Sperber)⁶⁸. Contributing to the image of Bukovina as a land of tolerance. Over the next decades, the Bukovinian press developed as a place of literary production. Although *Bukowina* newspapered was abandoned just after only three months and only thirteen numbers of his weekly published *Sonntagsblatt*, its beginnings intended to start and encourage a literary scene in Bukovina of the late 19th century.⁶⁹ It was exactly this literary scene, and their separatists tendencies however, which will contribute the most to the raise in nationalist movements in Bukovina.⁷⁰

With the rise of nationalist movements towards the end of the 19th century in Europe, the strive for separating oneself into a single national identity with a single language started to intensify in Bukovina. Tendency which became problematic for the image of a multicultural and tolerant space created during the 144 years of Habsburg administration. Inside Bukovina's borders, Ukrainian, Romanians, and Jews, will fight for legitimisation at the expense of a falling Austrian authority.

⁶⁸ Fanetti, 'Der Andere in Der Bukowina, Zwischen Kolonialrhetorik Und Interkultureller Perspektive', 76.

⁶⁹ Lihaciu, 'Czernowitz 1900 - Literatur Und Presse', 23.

⁷⁰ Lihaciu, 23.

4. The Romanian and Ukrainian Bukovina

4.1. Introduction

As Ștefan Purici observes, there are three interrelated identities that form in Bukovina during the Habsburg monarchy. Two of them were discussed above: that of the ‘oriental barbarity’ of the locals and that of the Austrians’ mission of civilising the region, connected closely with the image of multiculturalism and tolerance. The last one that Purici identifies is the identity of the Romanian versus Ukrainian unparted legitimacy on the territory of Bukovina and the image of a land lost to the colonizer⁷¹ The following chapter focused its attention on this identity.

While some were on the verge to loose empires, others were paving the path towards a reunification of its long lost lands. Although different from the idea of multiculturalism and tolerance discussed in the previous chapter, these nationalist tendencies too share a part in the life of Bukovinians and their identity. The fall of the Habsburg Empire left place for the rising national movements enabling borderlands to be changed as the front lines moved, imposing new languages as new regimes came to power, and creating an ethnical restructuring of the territory according to the voice and demands of the nationalists. Bukovina was quickly advancing towards the diminishing of the ethnic, linguistic and cultural plurality and mixing, in favour of separatist ethnic groups concentrating on the fulfilment of the national project, led by students.⁷²

The arguments against the Habsburg promulgation of a region with no-nation were the incipient of a process of reshaping Bukovina’s discourse, its identity and ethnical structure. The Romanian and Ukrainian perception of Bukovina fostered monolingualism tendencies and intolerance in what regards the concept of ‘no-nationess’ groups. As Neubauer puts it, *‘what disappeared in some of these places were not only suppressed, banished or simply annihilated minorities, but also the possibility of having multiple ethnic and linguistic identities such as they existed in early nineteenth century’*⁷³.

As in the case of the German-language newspapers, these tendencies were encouraged and disseminated through the work of literates and young students from Bukovina. At the turn of the century, the Franz-Josephs-University in Chernivtsi (now Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University) had a tremendous importance for the development of such nationalists’ tendencies. It represented the place, where ideas received

⁷¹ Purici, ‘Die Geschichte Der Bukowina’, 180.

⁷² Cornis-Pope and Neubauer, *History of the Literary Cultures of East-Central Europe*, 9.

⁷³ Cornis-Pope and Neubauer, 2.

from the own homeland or inherited ethnicity were brought together, open to debate and often conflict.

With the help of the literary works, the national identity was established by collecting, and reworking of texts, myths, legends and folk stories that became eventually the nation's founding documents and symbols. As Neubauer observes 'By the end of the 19th century, however, all peoples of East-Central Europe possessed national poet-heroes, who were chosen for their national engagement as much as for the brilliance of their writing.'⁷⁴ Writing about nation, about its (presumed history) were all part of the process of reconstructing the country's distant past.

4.2.The Romanian Case

In August 1871 two Bukovinian students of Romanian ethnicity (Mihai Eminescu and Ioan Slavici) call upon their peers from the region, as well as from the neighbouring Romanian inhabited lands: Banat, Transylvania and Romania, to attend the 400-years anniversary of the Putna monastery – the burial place of the Romanian voivode Stephen the Great. They appeal sounds the following:

*“The celebration of Putna will bring the Romanian nation in commemoration of the past, in the high spirits of the present and in hope for the future. (...) There, where the almighty shadow of Stephen the Great appears, we want to gather at his grave in his memory, to join hands and let the whole world know that we had a past and we will have a future, too.”*⁷⁵

The place, the time, the invitation, all were of great importance for the Romanian nationalists and its fulfilment. Eminescu (borned in Blaj), and Slavici (born in Világos)⁷⁶ wanting to benefit from the education of the west and the universality of the German language, came to study in Chernhiv.⁷⁷

Eminescu's first academic model and tutor in political thinking was the professor Aron Pumnul. Similar to Ernst Neubauer, Pumnul, previously a schoolteacher in Blaj⁷⁸, takes refuge in Bukovina, due to its unstable position caused by his participation in the 1848 revolution in Transylvania.⁷⁹ One of the first teachers of Romanian language in Bukovina,

⁷⁴ Cornis-Pope and Neubauer, 16.

⁷⁵ Drunen, *A Sanguine Bunch*, 409.

⁷⁶ Back then, part of the Kingdom of Hungary

⁷⁷ Fisher, *Resettlers and Survivors*, 202.

⁷⁸ Part of the Hungarian Kingdom

⁷⁹ Among other 40.000 Romanians Pumnul protested against the inclusion of Transylvania in the Hungarian Kingdom

Pumnul will remain until the end of its life ‘a typical Transylvanian revolutionary’ calling his home city Blaj, the ‘little Rome’⁸⁰

4.3.Mihai Eminescu

Following Pumnul footsteps, Eminescu, turned his artistic skills and history knowledge into a tool for the political aspirations of its Romanian peers. He was widely considered a romantic poet, and even today, he remains a national poet mostly known and appreciated for the romantic landscape he presents and the image of the absent love, absent woman. Writing on such themes he often encapsulated the landscapes that he described in dramatic feelings, talking with them, suffering with them and transferring his love to them. This style was used in his more political poems as well. In ‘La Bucovina’ he writes ‘to’ region, accentuating his grief for this lost land, which during his life it was not part of the Romanian national borders:

*“Hands are silently wandering towards you,
My eye is sparkling, my lashes are full,
My heart is heavy
So, always, when I think of thee,
My soul is filled with sighs,
My Bucovina ”*⁸¹

In a similar way, but more vividly he writes ‘to’ Stephen the Great, asking him to revive the Romanian spirit of the region, fallen victim to the asuprites of the foreign monarchies. The theme of revival, be it in relation with Stephen the Great, with Bukovina or with the Romanian people themselves, is a recurrent topic in his work. By combining folk motifs with and reshaping the vernacular language in more sophisticated modes of expression, Eminescu, managed to preserve the national experience in European modes of expression.⁸²

*“Your Highness,
You in Putna do not linger:
Let the Archimandrite*

⁸⁰ Galdi, ‘Petofi and Eminescu’, 175.

⁸¹ Octavian’s Cicoș translation of the poem ‘La Bucovina’ in Drăgușanul, *Bucovina Și Eminescu*, 81. See original in full in Appendix 10.4.2.

⁸² Cornis-Pope and Neubauer, *History of the Literary Cultures of East-Central Europe*, 14.

*To care of the hermitage
 You rise from the grave,
 Let me hear thee from thy horn,
 If you'll blow your horn once,
 Thou shalt gather all Moldova;
 If you'll blow it twice,
 You'll be helped by the woodland;
 If he blows a third time,
 All enemies will perish.
 From country to country
 The crows will love them
 Together with the hangings.*⁸³

*His position towards a revival of Bukovina, becomes more violently in his poem 'To arms',
 aspiring to align themselves with the ideals of Aron Pumnul*⁸⁴

*And you, beloved Bukovina
 Diamond from Stephen's star
 You've become a handmaiden and a slave
 On the filthy hands of a Jew,
 Thy shame has no seed
 The holy ground is defiled...
 By scoundrels, idiots and ogres,
 Why standest thou still to suffer
 Now you hear the trumpets singing,
 Hold the holy banner in your hands
 To arms,
 To arms, dear Romanians.*⁸⁵

The poem is an arduous cry towards Romanians to fight the usurper from Bukovina, as well as those from the other regions attributed later to Romania, namely Bessarabia, Transylvania. The poem is an encouragement but also a rebuke: 'Shame on him who sleeps/

⁸³ Own translation of the poem 'Doină' in Drăgușanul, *Bucovina Și Eminescu*, 30. See original in Appendix 10.4.1.

⁸⁴ Galdi, 'Petofi and Eminescu', 175.

⁸⁵ Own translation of the poem 'La arme'/To Arms', in Drăgușanul, *Bucovina Și Eminescu*. For the entire poem in original see Appendix 9.4.3.

Get up so you don't die', as well as an example of hate speech towards the non-romanian ethnicities.⁸⁶

The legitimacy of the antisemitic behaviour was encouraged on one hand by Romanian historians and their interpretation of the region's past. Ion Nistor is of special importance here. The negative portrayal of the role of the Ukrainians, the description of the territory as a "lost land", which was in the end returned "where it belonged from the beginnings"⁸⁷ had a lasting impact on Romanians and their perception of Bukovina, as well as on their perception of the neighbouring ethnic groups. The Society of Language and Literature, created by Eudoxiu, Alexandru and Gheorghe Hurmuzachi in Bukovina, encouraged these tendencies in the years to come.

Aron Pumnul, Vasile Bumbac, Dimitrie Petrino, Gheorge Popovici, Emanuil Gregorovita, Mircea Streinul, Vasile Posteuca bring to life histories long forgotten. The myth of Dragoș, as the first Voievod of Moldavia, who came "from the town and river of [Maramureș], hunting an aurochs which he killed on the river Moldova"⁸⁸, is brought to life in order to legitimise the bonds between the Romanians from Moldova and the ones from Bukovina. The image of Ghica is reshaped and retold, in order to underline the eternal fight of the Romanian people against the usurper. History comes hand in hand with literature reinventing the present and reshaping the future. For this, language played an important role.

4.4. Language

In this strive to create a national history and a national culture, language played a primary role. Both in the Romanian and the Ukrainian case, language represented one of the major elements, defining the nation.⁸⁹ Therefore, its definition, and recreation were tremendously important for the development of the nationalist movements. The use of the language, its redefinition and recreation were the essential tools in acquiring this goal. Cornis-Pope and Neubauer argue, 'poets and philologists, many of whom became political leaders, forged the identity of their people by constructing both institutions and texts.'⁹⁰ Following the Austrian Bill of Basic Rights from 1867, which stipulated that the languages from the Austrian-Hungarian Empire should be treated equally in administration and public

⁸⁶ Drăgușanul.

⁸⁷ Nistor, 'Unirea Bucovinei Cu România'.

⁸⁸ Eliade and Valiente Malla, *DE Zalmoxis a Gengis-Khan*.

⁸⁹ Cornis-Pope and Neubauer, *History of the Literary Cultures of East-Central Europe*, 3.

⁹⁰ Cornis-Pope and Neubauer, 3.

life, the Romanization of Bukovina was fulfilled at an easier pace. As Solomon states, the use of bilingual newspapers helped at familiarizing the German-speaking audience with the new political and linguistic constellations in Bukovina.⁹¹ Eminescu's poems too, by uniting the vernacular vocabulary with sophisticated modern poetic language, contributed to the political program of the nationalist Romanians.

4.5.The Ukrainian Case

Ukrainians were attempting to establish a sense of self-identity in tandem with a growing national movement among Romanians. They were attempting to set themselves apart from Great Russia's image by forging their own, based on independence and freedom⁹². Imperialistic Russia viewed Ukraine as 'their own province', as part of their identity, which was divided into three parts: Great Russia, Little Russia, and White/Belo-Russia. As a result, Ukraine's movement was seen as a means of reducing Russian influence in the region.

The Ukrainian national identity, however, develops under the constraints imposed by the ruling regimes. As a result, the remaining choice for the Ukrainian intelligentsia was to build a national identity based on the idea of independence: 'The politically active public came to regard the territorial autonomy of Ukraine advocated by the Ukrainian parties as the only way out of the plethora of military, economic, and social problems besieging the country'⁹³

Ukraine's independence and autonomy represented not just a great answer, but also a major challenge. The struggle between East and West was neverending. In the strive to become autonomous and differentiate themselves from the Poles, they fell in the hands of the Russians, and again, trying to escape from Russian imperialism, they joined German anti-semitic tendencies.

The West Ukrainian People's Republic's aspirations for Bukovina stemmed from a desire to establish a national autonomous territory for a developing Ukrainian national identity. Because Bukovina was considered a component of the historic Kievan Rus, Ukrainians believed it necessary to include it in their plans for forming an independent Ukrainian state. The Western Oblast, founded in November 1918, would subsequently

⁹¹ Solomon, 'Sprache Und Identität. Zu Den Theoretischen Und Typologischen Dimensionen Der "Jüdischen Presse" in Galizien Und in Der Bukowina w'hrend Der Habsburger Zeit.', 60.

⁹² Szporluk, 'Ukraine', 105.

⁹³ Plokhy, 'The Gates of Europe. A History of Ukraine', 206.

combine with the Ukrainian People's Republic, bringing Galicia and the East together for a brief period of time. The two regions, however sharing a common notion of national identity, they found themselves on different political and administrative levels, with different structures and agendas.

During World War I, Romanian and Russian armies seized Bukovina. On October 4, 1918, Dr. Benno Straucher, a Bukovinian Jewish representative, voted in the Viennese parliament for the merger of his state with Austria, but by the end of the month, Ukrainian and Romanian nationalist organizations had won power.⁹⁴ The Ukrainians wanted the Bukovina to become part of Western Ukraine, while the Roumanians wanted the Bukovina to become part of the Roumanian kingdom. In 1918, Romanian forces commanded by General Zadig conquered the Bukovina and annexed it to the Romanian kingdom as tensions between Romanians, Ukrainians, and the German-speaking people erupted into riots. This incorporation was approved a year later, on September 10, 1919, by the Treaty of Saint-Germain.

4.6. Mykola Kostomarov

Writers as Mykola Kostomarov and the group around the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius in the East, counted as inspirations for the writers in the west, such as Olha Julianiwna Kobyljanska. His ethnographic and historiographical work *Two Russian Nationalities*⁹⁵, published in the 1860s, plays a significant part in the legitimacy of Ukrainian language, culture, literature, and history. Kostomarov, who is interested in the popular history of Little Russia, emphasizes the presence of a second nationality in the Russian Empire's lands, a nationality held by the ordinary people, notably South Russians. In his essay, he compares the people of South Rus (the forefathers of the Cossacks) and the people of Great Russia.

Kostomarov, along with other early 19th-century scholars such as Metlyns'kyi, Amvrosiia, and Sreznevskii, became a key figure in what was known as the Kharkiv school of romantics, which focused on the ethnography of people from the region. More than a poet, Kostomarov was drawn to historical works, with a particular interest in the Hetmanate of the Cossacks. Kostomarov's essay is written in the context of the following historical context: Russia's desire to re-establish territorial integrity, Ukrainian intellectuals

⁹⁴ Colin, *Paul Celan. Holograms of Darkness*, 10.

⁹⁵ Kostomarov, 'Two Russian Nationalities'.

beginning to call on the Ukrainian community of Little Russia to materialize their freedom in the form of a Slavic federation⁹⁶, Hromady members supporting their cause by disseminating and promoting Ukrainian folk culture and language⁹⁷. As a result, it can be seen as the birth of the Ukrainian people and national identity, establishing them in the public and political spheres of the nineteenth century.

The essay *Two Russian Nationalities*, as the title suggests, depicts two images of two nations that exist under the same banner of Russianness: South Russians and Great Russians. In an attempt to highlight the similarities and distinctions between them, Kostomarov characterizes the Great Russians centered around Moscow as a snobby people who are obsessed with material possessions and organized into blood-related communities.⁹⁸ He pits the people of South Russia against the Great Russians. He claims that even before Kiev, South Russia was a varied community, not an exclusive nation, producing a 'gathering place for foreigners of different religions and different ethnic backgrounds'⁹⁹.

The work of Kostomarov and especially this duality that characterizes the Ukrainian people, are present in Kobylianska's writings as well.

4.7.Olha Kobylianska

Olha Kobylianska, regarded as one of Ukraine's most important modernist writers, depicts the problematic of these interaction zones that existed on the outskirts of the Habsburg Monarchy. In her work, she depicts the life of the Ukrainian people in the Bukovina and the women's struggle for equal rights and for acceptance in the community. While both the Romanians and Ukrainians longed for the reintroduction of the region of Bukovina in the political borders of their lands, the Ukrainian's identity, as Kobylianska exemplifies, focused more on the idea of language to be the only true homeland of her people, rather than accentuating the strive for the Bukovinian soil.

In her prose, 'A Conversation', she depicts the struggle of being part from both inside and outside. Here, a gentlemen, follows a conversation with a lady about the image of the Ukrainian woman (*Rusynka*):

⁹⁶ Ploky, 'The Gates of Europe. A History of Ukraine', 159.

⁹⁷ Hillis, 'Ukrainophile Activism and Imperial Governance in Russia's Southwestern Borderlands', 301.

⁹⁸ Kostomarov, 'Two Russian Nationalities', 122.

⁹⁹ Kostomarov, 123.

I shall say that our middle class woman – it's no use trying to deny the fact – is not yet fully "cultured" in the true meaning of the word; she is not self-reliant in her heart – she is still a puppet, and one that is not fashioned all that artistically. As for becoming educated, she is just taking her first steps. But what offends me most greatly about her is her lack – as I said earlier – of that energetic consciousness of her own "I" that marks a Russian, German, Swedish, or French woman.¹⁰⁰

The lack of an identity, of an 'I' is a recurrent topic in what regards the Ukraine. Mixed between Russian, German and other ethnic nationalities, Kobylianska, presents the problematic of the Ukrainian people striving for self-definition in Bukovina. Through portraying her nation, Kobylianska also brings in foreground a problematic of the 'Halb-Asien' Bukovina. That of a region which combines local and foreign, culturalized and barbarian, west and east. This confusion, chaotic partition between different poles of attraction it is also a reflection of Ukrainians in the Bukovina's interwar period.

4.8. First World War

The first World War changed Bukovina, from an international entity becomes a region with a wish for a single ethnicity. The part that each ethnic group plays in the development of Bukovina's identity is contested, and the need for a single ruling nation appears.

The nationalist movement transforms in a conquest for territorial gains. The West Ukrainian People's Republic is proclaimed on the 1st of November and on the 3rd, the Ukrainian Regional Committee, led by Omelian Popovych, demanded the annexation of the northern part of Bukovina to the newly Ukrainian Republic. Without the authorisation of the Romanian National Council, on the 4th of November, the moderate Aurel Onciul signs an agreement with the Ukrainian National Committee, accepting the division of Bukovina and a joint control over Czernovitz. Upon hearing the unfavourable developing of events, Iancu Flondor, appeals to the Romanian army, which occupies the entire Bukovina – north and south. On the 12th of November, a new government is established with Iancu Flondor as president. At the General Congress of Bukovina were 74 Romanians, 13 Ukrainian, 7 Germans and 6 Poles. Ukrainian did not take part. Iancu Flondor was elected as chairman and on the 28th of the Congress voted for the Union of Bukovina to the Kingdom of Romania.

¹⁰⁰ Translation of Kobylianska's 'A Conversation' by Roma Franko, in Schwartz and Thorson, 'The Aesthetics of Change', 39.

After the Paris local treaties (1919/20), Romania had increased its territory by more than half (from 130,177 to 295,049 sq km) and had become a multi-ethnic state - with a minority share of 28.1%. A centralized concept of government sought to unite areas with very different levels of development, historical traditions and ethnic composition and to consolidate the fragile state system through a unitarian model - the new constitution of 1923 guaranteed all citizens of the country equal rights regardless of their nationality she defined the Kingdom of Greater Romania as a “unitary and indivisible national state”. In 1925 the Romanianization process was also in full swing in Buchenland, it had captured the administrative apparatus, cultural institutions and educational décor.¹⁰¹

4.9. Conclusion

As seen from the works of Mihai Eminescu, Olha Kobylianska and Mykola Kostomarov, the nationalist tendencies of Romanians and Ukrainians and their wish to distanciate from a Habsburg supra-national identity, comes not necessarily after the fall of the Empire, but these tendencies co-habit with the identities of Bukovina as ‘Little Austria’, with the subordination of homo bucoviniensis to a homo austriacus. Although different in goals, both perspectives, shared a similar strive, namely the reunification of their lands under a national identity. The striking aspect is that in comparison with the Austrian perspective, that employed a sort of regional identity to its description of Bukovina as a ‘Little Austria’ and ‘Strafkolonie, and in comparison with the Jewish perspective, which regarded the region as a utopia for an Austrian-Jewish symbiosis, the Romanian and Ukrainian perceptions of Bukovina, were never independent from those of their nation (Kingdom of Romania, and the emerging Ukrainian identity). They developed in tandem with the discourses employed in their specific countries, replicating the nationalist movements, of their ‘mother-nation’.

¹⁰¹ Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania*.

5. Jewish Bukovina after the Second World War

5.1. Paul Celan

On the 20th of April 1970, Paul Celan was found dead in the river Seine. The events that led to his death might be as diverse and as complex as his personality, however, one element remained to darken his life until the last day spent in Paris, his homeland, Bukovina.

Paul Antschel was born in 1920 from a German mother and a Jewish father, and as a child he experienced both cultures and their restrictions. His mother, the greatest supporter in his artistic endeavours, was also the one who introduced him to German literature. The relationship with his father, on the other side, who was a technician and businessman, flew much more difficult. His studies started in Tours in 1938, however, these were cancelled due to the beginning of the war. During the war, citizens of Bukovina could choose between Romanian and Austrian citizenship, although the latter pragmatic option proved fatal in the end. During the Second World War, the Jews were categorised as German nationals by Soviets and therefor transported to Siberia.¹⁰² The same fate was suffered by Celan's parents as well. Returned home from Tours, he tried to flee the country together with his parents. Due to the misunderstanding with his father however, he left home alone, seeking a refugee against the growing antisemitism. His parents later died in a labour camp, a fact that forever haunted Celan's thoughts.

In the strive to create a literary calculation of Paul Celan's identity as characterised along the years by scholars, Amy Colin concludes in the introduction of her book that "the idea of a multiple identity is valid for Celan", listing the categories he could fit into: "the German poet, the atheist, the agnostic, the one who "knitted his bond" to Judaism "anew", the self-hating, the loving, the Eastern, the Western Jew, the cosmopolitan, all these and many more often mutually exclusive characteristics shaped consecutive periods in his life and fatefully interacted within his personality."¹⁰³

While the Bukovinian literary landscape, as defined by Sperber did not survive the Second World War, many of its surviving members kept in contact despite fleeing to various parts of the world.¹⁰⁴ The rekindling of connections based on a common background can be seen from private correspondence, while the longing for the sunken landscape was apparent in poetry:

¹⁰² Colin, *Paul Celan. Holograms of Darkness*, 8.

¹⁰³ Colin, *Paul Celan. Holograms of Darkness*. p. xxii

¹⁰⁴ Fisher, *Resettlers and Survivors*, 208.

“Von hier aus, ... aber auch im Lichte der Utopie, unternehme ich – jetzt – Toposforschung:

Ich suche die Gegend, ... den Ort meiner eigenen Herkunft.

Ich suche das alle smit wohl sehr ungenauem, weil unruhigem Finger auf der Landkarte – auf einer Kinder-Landkarte, wie ich gleich gestehen muß.

Keiner dieser Orte ist zu finden, es gibt nich, aber ich weiß, wo es sie, zumal

*Jetzt, geben müßte, und ... ich finde etwas! ... einen Meridian”.*¹⁰⁵

English:

‘From this point ..., but also in the light of utopia, let me now undertake a bit of topological research. I shall search for the region ... for my own place of origin.

I am looking at all this with my imprecise, because nervous, finger on a map – a child’s map, I must admit.

*None of these places can be found. They do not exist. But I know where they ought to exist, especially now, and ... I find something else ... a meridian’.*¹⁰⁶

Celan’s poetry is essential for grasping the concept of ‘homo bucovinesis’. His early works, written in German and Romanian between 1938 and 1947 and rarely examined, reveal links to his national traditions, the German, Yiddish, Ukrainian, and Romanian literature of the Bukovina.¹⁰⁷ For Celan, the past remained a nostalgic memory, impossible to find, impossible to touch. The past represented the image of Bukovina, locked behind the Iron Curtain, an image of a utopian distant place “where people and books lived”, changed violently by the war.

As for Celan, Bukovina remained an important point of reference for many more writers in the years after the war and the Holocaust. It is due to their poems and writings that after the atrocities of the war, Bukovina was still conceived and perceived as a ‘literary landscape’, a ‘sunken cultural landscape’ and as a site for ‘German-Jewish symbiosis’.

Similarly, to Paul Celan, Aulsänder, in “Memoires of a Town’ (Erinnerungen an eine Stadt, 1977) described the region as “a place of German high-culture, but also as ‘a sunken town’. Together with them, Emmanuel Weissglas, Moses Rosenkranz, and Manfred

¹⁰⁵ Celan, *Paul Celan. Todesfuge Und Andere Gedichte*, 69–85.

¹⁰⁶ Colin, *Paul Celan. Holograms of Darkness*. see GW 3:202; trans. Waldrop, *Collected Prose*, 54

¹⁰⁷ Colin.

Winkler brought the multicultural character of the Bukovinians to the foreground, deploring the fall of the Austrian Empire and with it the almost utopian tolerance and intercultural understanding from Bukovina. On the cultural level, Sperber claimed that there existed a Bukovinian school of poetry of which, “for better or for worse”, he was the leading figure of.¹⁰⁸ Despite Sperber’s ambition, this group could hardly be described as a school due to their differences.¹⁰⁹ What united the circle around Sperber, however, what united it in making the concept of a Bukovinian school almost possible, was the element of the German language. The writers, all different in their styles and ages, were bound through “a loose association based primarily on a shared language”. As Fischer puts it, “the ‘literary landscape’ that Margul-Sperber and Kittner had in mind after the Second World War was not defined in ethnic terms; they placed emphasis on the use of German”.¹¹⁰

Kittner, one of Sperber’s associates and the one who would take his work further, argued in his memoirs in favour of this, saying that:

*“I have always had a comprehensive view of Germanness, even during the Third Reich. Bukovinian intellectuals always kept in spiritual contact with the positive section of the German people. This is also the reason why he felt close to a number of Romanian German writers and poets of the younger generation: not only did they share the experience of communism – oppression by the Romanian regime and cultural isolation – but he also considered that they had to bear the same burden”.*¹¹¹

The image of Bukovina that these writers created in their works (Here, referring mostly to the generation of Kittner rather than that of Margul-Sperber) is what remains today as the heritage from which we derive our understanding of the region. A place to long for, rather than to be frightened by.

¹⁰⁸ Motzan, ‘Alfred Margul-Sperber (1898 - 1967). Eine Portraitskizze’.

¹⁰⁹ Fisher, 209.

¹¹⁰ Fisher, 210.

¹¹¹ Kittner and Silbermann, *Erinnerungen*, 112, 113, 115, in Fisher, 212.

5.2. German language

When asked in an interview why he spoke such a perfect German, Benjamin Navon, back then the Israeli ambassador in Bonn, answered self-evidently: “German is my mother tongue. I was born in Czernowitz”.¹¹²

The Jewish minority came to Bukovina already during the Russo-Turkish War from 1768-1774, dealing especially with the crafts of renting and trade. By the end of the 19th century, Jews were to dominate all sections of Bukovina’s economic life. This situation lasted until the first half of 1940. The Jewish community brought to life a series of internationally renowned writers who promoted the idea of *homo bucovinensis*, that both the Romanians and Ukrainians tried to replace with a more nationally focused individual.

Not being able to fit in the borders of a single, specific nation, Jews based their identity on the cultural aspect of their lives. Therefore, the German language played an extremely important role in the way Jews of Bukovina identify themselves and perceive their position in the region: Bukovinian Jewish “sought to describe their relationship to their homeland and to German culture in a cultural rather than a national or political sense in the interwar period”.¹¹³ Therefore, Jews managed to identify, to create a utopian unity based on language rather than nationality.

There was no absolute majority of Romanians or Ukrainians, so the German-speaking population became an important cultural mediator between the two nationalities. In this way, the myth of ‘Austrian Bukovina’ arose as its illusory ‘oasis’ of peaceful coexistence of all nationalities.¹¹⁴

5.3. A perception just for a handful of people

Although a supporter of the Jewish German-speaking poets, Sperber named this group an ‘invisible choir’, describing it as something ‘ephemeral’ and ‘doomed’¹¹⁵. And ephemeral it was as his death brought the fall of the most important pillar of this network. This image of Bukovina as an intercultural space, as a cultural landscape, resonated, as Fischer observes, just “with a handful of emancipated, liberal and educated Jews from the region”.¹¹⁶

¹¹² Fisher, 202.

¹¹³ Fisher, 203.

¹¹⁴ Solomon, ‘Sprache Und Identität. Zu Den Theoretischen Und Typologischen Dimensionen Der “Jüdischen Presse” in Galizien Und in Der Bukowina während Der Habsburger Zeit.’, 55.

¹¹⁵ A. Margul-Sperber, ‘Der Unsichtbare Chor: Entwurf eines Grundrisses des deutschen Schrifttums in der Bukowina’, in Czernowitzer Morgenblatt, 25 July 1928 quoted in Guțu and Motzan, ‘Nachwort’, 434.

¹¹⁶ Fisher, 205.

Apart from the elite which argued for, and supported a multicultural landscape in Bukovina, there were also other political movements among Jews, as there were among Ukrainians and Romainians. Movements such as communism, Zionism and the use of Yiddish, all of which were gaining ground among some Jewish intellectuals in interwar Bukovina. Therefore, “they”, the Bukovinian Jewish German-speaking poets, “were going against the tide”.¹¹⁷

5.4. Erinnerungskultur

In the 1960s and 1970s there was a growing interest towards the past and the challenges of the victims of the second World War. This interest stems from an incipient Culture of Remembrance (ge. Erinnerungskultur), being shaped by the events happening on the international political sphere of the 1960s and 1970s: the Eichmann trial of 1961, the Auschwitz trial of 1963, Israel’s strengthened international position following the 1967 war, and the 1968 political shift to the left with the coming to power of Filip Brand in West Germany.

This turning point brings Bukovina – homeland for a great Jewish minority – back on the international map. The interwar period of Bukovina received new attention and scholarly interest. However, rather than being part just from the Jewish past, the region and its timeframe shares as many histories as its ethnicities in its geographic territories.

On this topic, Kittner commented on the fact that though Margul-Sperber had described Bukovina as the site for peaceful interethnic relations, “forty years later, hundreds of Jewish citizens, among them the parents-in-law and a sister-in-law of the poet himself, had been the victims of bloody carnage”.¹¹⁸ Margul-Sperber did not publish his poems dealing with the war and the Jewish persecution and did not discuss openly the members of his family and friends who perished during the war.

In one of Kittner’s letters to Ausländer in 1976, he discussed this devastating event asking the writer:

“I tried to give the reader a first fleeting insight into a poetic landscape that stayed hidden as a result of unfortunate historical circumstances and that consumed itself with painful inbreeding until the murderous heels of Hitler and Stalin sent some behind

¹¹⁷ Fisher, 206.

¹¹⁸ Fisher, 211.

barbed wire and to their deaths, and the others into the somewhat liberating 'abroad', so that, in the first instance, their talents could develop. But that it was already too late, that the wounds would not heal, was demonstrated with dreadful clarity by Paul [Celan]'s fate. And wasn't Sperber's own ending also a form of – spiritual – suicide?? Posterity will acknowledge this, if there is still poetry then something about which I have my doubts."¹¹⁹

Kittner underlines the tragedy of a generation of Bukovinian writers which was far from utopian. The prominence of these mostly Jewish German-speaking writers thus constructed the image of the region in a new way. In particular, the discovery of the region through a superficial reading of their works and biographies disseminated the oversimplified image of the region as a 'German-language island' (deutsche Sprachinsel), when in fact it was the embodiment of tragic loss, the loss of family, the loss of an inner and outer landscape, the loss of tolerance and of a home.

¹¹⁹Kittner in a private letter to Rose Ausländer

6. Conclusion

“But it’s not the things which are simply ‘there’ that matter in human life. What really and finally matters is the thing, which is apprehended as an idea, and, as an idea, is vested with emotion until it becomes a cause and a spring of action.” – Ernest Barker

The widely circulated description of Bukovina as a symbiotic place superficially covers the reality of pluralism, ethnic division, and social conflict that prevailed in Bukovina throughout the first half of the 20th century. For this multi-faceted history and identity of Bukovina to be thoroughly analysed and understood, the paper thus used a mnemohistorical approach, looking at the past as it is remembered, rather than analysing it as such. The thesis looked at the multi-facet character of the regional identity of Bukovina at the turn of the century through four different lenses each representing the elite perspectives of the four major ethnic groups: Austrian, Jewish, Ukrainian and Romanian.

Bukovina was subject to opposing movements: nationalism and multiculturalism, diversity, and ethnic nationalism. Austrian, Romanian, and Ukrainian writers in this period often focused on their individual ethnic group, describing it separately from others. In the context of the rising national movements preceding the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire ethnocentric perspectives became the rule rather than the exception. The search for an identity was equal with the search of a mother-nation. The collective memory of Bukovina became fragmentary, including just the bits of stories relevant to each ethnic group. The fragmentation of the regional history into supra-regional, into national history was the dominant approach in Bukovina at the peak of the nation-building processes.

Neubauer opened Bukovina’s literary market and praised the multiculturalism of the region for the first time, giving rise to the first Bukovinian newspapers as well. It is important to mention that both Herman Czopp, the chef-redaktor of the *Bukowinaer Rundschau* and Moritz Stekel, were Jewish, therefore contributing to the argument developed in the last chapter, that the Jewish minority was the one spreading the Austrian culture in Bukowina.

The Bukovinians were not only spokespeople for the experiences of Jews, Germans, or others (through deportation, resettlement and displacement), but collectively as emblems of the region’s exceptional cultural life. In turn, Bukovina acquired the features associated with these people – multiculturalism, cosmopolitanism and sophistication – despite the fact

that these tended to be features of their postwar lives outside Bukovina rather than of the experiences they made when they still lived in the region.¹²⁰ Sperber searched for the Bukovinian school of poetry, while Celan longed for his utopian Bukovina. Romanian and Ukrainian understandings of Bukovina were tied to those of their nation.

Although we identify all these conflictual identities of Bukovina, they all had something in common: the idea of a lost land. The region then in all perspectives takes the image of a Narnia, to be found only by the people who knew it. For Romanians and Ukrainians, it was a land taken from its mother breast, for Jewish and German people was a sunken world, a cultural landscape demolished by nationalist movements. The question remains whether this region can at some point regain its lost cultural richness.¹²¹

¹²⁰ Fisher, *Resettlers and Survivors*, 214.

¹²¹ Cornis-Pope and Neubauer, *History of the Literary Cultures of East-Central Europe*, 3.

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8. Annexes

8.1.Chronology

1388 - 1564	Suceava was Moldova's capital
1772	The division of Poland
1774 - 1775	Bukovina was offered to the Empress of Austria-Hungary, Maria Theresa, by the Russian Tsar, as a reward for her support. – put under military administration
1786	Bukovina joined Galicia under protectorate
1849	Following the revolution of 1848, Bukovina becomes an independent duchy
1867	Bukovina becomes part of Cisleithania, the Austrian half of the Dual Monarchy
1388 - 1564	Suceava was Moldova's capital
1918, 17 October	Austria-Hungary was dissolved after its defeat in the 1WW
1918, 25 October	Bukovina's Ukrainian National Committee is formed
1918, 27 October	Under the leadership of Iancu Flondor, the Romanian National Council is formed
1918, 1 November	The West Ukrainian People's Republic was proclaimed
1918, 3 November	The Ukrainian Regional Committee, led by Omelian Popovych, demanded the division and annexation of the northern part of Bukovina to the newly Ukrainian Republic.
1918, 4 November	Aurel Onciul without the authorisation of the Romanian National Council, signs an agreement with the Ukrainian National Committee, accepting the division of Bukovina and a joint control over Czernovitz
1918, 11 November	Iancu Flondor, rejecting the idea, appeals to the Romanian army, which

	occupies the Ukrainian part of Bukovina, including Czernowitz
1918, 12 November	A new government is established and Iancu Flondor receives the presidency
1918, 28 November	The General Congress of Bukovina was held. At the Congress were present 74 Romanians, 13 Ruthenians, 7 Germans and 6 Poles. Ukrainians did not take part. Iancu Flondor was elected as chairman and the Congress voted for the Union of Bukovina to the Kingdom of Romania.

8.2.Habsburg Bukovina

8.2.1. Bukowinaer Rundschau, 7th July, 1887 – Willkommen!

Bukowinaer Rundschau.

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Nr. 386.

Czernowitz, Donnerstag den 7. Juli 1887.

VI. Jahrgang.

Willkommen!

Erleuchteter Kronprinz, den die Weltordnung einst dazu berufen wird das legendäre Civilisationswerk Seines erhabenen Vaters fortzuführen, sei uns gegrüßt auf des Buchenlandes Boden. Beglückt und begeistert ruft Dir vielhunderttausendfach das Willkommen! zu die Bukowina, die eine Schöpfung Oesterreichs und die irdische That Deines erlauchten Vaters ist. Vor einem Jahrhundert noch von der tiefen Nacht der Unkultur umfassen, wird sie heute vom Schimmer jenes Glanzes verklärt, den die Bildung verleiht und der Fortschritt verbreitet. Aus der Vergeßlichkeit der Welt durch Josef's liebevolle Hand gezogen und dem Bereiche der Civilisation zugeführt, hat sie durch die väterliche Fürsorge unseres glorreichen Kaisers Franz Josef die Kraft erhalten an der Arbeit Europa's theilzunehmen, und mit Europa's Gesellschaft zu gehen. Alles was die Bukowina heute bedeutet, hat sie ihrem Kaiserthum und dem großen Oesterreich zu danken. Recht und Freiheit und Gedeihen und die lebenspendende Sonne der Bildung, von deren Strahlen sie beleuchtet und von deren Wärme sie befruchtet wird, Alles was sie Schönes und Gutes beß, ihre Erinnerungen und ihre Hoffnungen, ihre Geschichte, ihre glückliche Vergangenheit und ihre verheißungsvolle Zukunft, alles hat sie nur in und mit Oesterreich und seinem heilig geliebten Kaiserthum. Unseren Anfang wie unsere Ausbildung verdanken wir ihm. Kaiser Josef hat das verwahrloste Bäumchen aus der unwirthlichen Wildnis gehoben und es in den fruchtbaren, herrlichen Garten Oesterreichs gepflanzt, und Kaiser Franz Josef begünstigte diesen Baum, und hat ihn gepflegt und großgezogen und zur Blüthe gebracht. Aus Wäldern von Barbaren, wurden wir zum Mitgliede eines freien Staates. In die europäische Länder- und Völkerfamilie sind wir erst

durch die ruhmvolle Dynastie der Habsburg-Lotharinger aufgenommen worden, die dieses Kronland mit Liebe gehegt und ihm Segen gebracht hat. Die Bukowina huldigt der Dynastie nicht nur als dem belebenden Stern Oesterreichs, sondern auch als der schicksalhaften Kraft, die dieses Ländchen zur Existenz hervorgerufen. Die Bevölkerung des Buchenlandes jubelt daher mit überwallendem Enthusiasmus seinem Kronprinzen entgegen. Nicht die Pracht des Reichthums zwar, nicht den Zauber einer entwickelten Kunst können wir zum Ausdruck unserer Freude über den uns beglückenden Besuch zu Hilfe nehmen, denn uns steht einzig nur das ungeheuerliche Gefühl einer begeisterten Liebe zu Gebote, das uns treibt dem erlauchten Gaste die Versicherung leidenschaftlicher und unerschütterlicher Treue und Anhänglichkeit für Kaiser und Reich zu Füßen zu legen, aber unsere Empfangsfeier wird geschmückt von unserem Stolz auf Gesamt-Oesterreich und unserem festen Glauben, daß dieses Reich von unserem Kaiser und seinem erlauchten Sohne zu stets wachsendem Glanz und Ruhme geführt werden wird. Wir begrüßen den geliebten Kronprinzen mit der Brunnlichkeit der Natur, aber mit der Innigkeit und der überfließenden, glühenden Liebe, die seine hohen Gaben und seine Keuschheit in die Herzen aller Bewohner dieses Reiches so unvergänglich gepflanzt haben. Sei also gegrüßt auf den Gefilden der Bukowina, Du herrlicher Kaiserthum, der Du das Kind Oesterreichs und die Hoffnung und Stütze seiner Zukunft bist, und möge Dein Eintritt in unser engeres Heimatland ebenso segensreich sein, als er uns hochwillkommen ist. Aus unserer freudig bewegten Brust senden wir Dir, erlauchter Gast, unseren Willkommengruß entgegen und den Herzensruf: Kronprinz Rudolf lebe hoch!

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XI. Sabraṇaṇa.

man das Land in seinen Landeskindern ver-
hätnt!!

„Aber dies ist nur ein Fall und es gibt deren übergenug, zufolge des „neuen Gesetzes“, den die neuen Finanzbeamten gebracht. Man nehme nur die Maßfälle. Sind diese nicht bedeutsam für die Art, wie man jetzt die Aufwanda beabachtet. Man denke sich einen einzigen derartigen Vorfall nur in Galizien und der lächerliche Mißa wäre hinweggeegelt worden aus dem Lande, wie Spreu vom Winde. Sei uns jaht ein Fall den andern. Gehelichte Rechte, wie die der persönlichen Freiheit, der ungehörten Religionsübung, der Sicherheit des Lebens und der Person, wurden von diesem Manne wiederholt großlich verletzt, er hat wiederholt öffentliches Aergerniß erregt, und trotzdem geschah bis nun gar nichts, um dasjenige, was öffentlich be- gangen wurde, auch öffentlich zu sühnen. Wie es in der Schrift vom Gott heißt, so muß es in einem Rechtsstaate vom Gesetze, welches über allen steht und dem alle unterliegen, gelten.“ So sollt den Namen des Gesetzes nie etel nennen. Laß läßt Mißa eine Selbstenbt vorübergehen, ohne nicht wiederholt „im Namen des Gesetzes“ den und jenen, natürlich unberechtigt zu verhaften. Bedeutet dies nicht einen Mißbrauch des Namens, eine unflüchtige Ausnützung eines über- tragenen Rechtes. Wer nur den Schein eines Entgegenstehens gegen eine Antisepson auf sich läßt, wird nach dem bekannten § 312 unma- schiglich bestraft. Es gilt der Wahrung der

Es wäre eine reiche Verwandte ihres Mannes, die
stets darnach gestrebt hatte eines gebildeten Mannes
festere Fäße zu werden und da meinte sie, daß
ich der Rechte wäre u. s. w. und dann hätte ich
unter Beschutz gewissermaßen eine legale Grund-
besitz. Ich fragte selber, was ich thun sollte. Die
Dame, die als Fäße besser sein sollte als meine
Benigheit, worauf meine Freundin recht klug be-
merkte: „Wert, da ich mit Ihrem Einverständniß
Ihnen Gelegenheit geben werde, das häßliche per-
sönlich kennen zu lernen.“
„Und wann soll dieser freizeitliche Act statt-
finden?“

„O, Ihre Ungebuld wirkt ja ergöglich. Nun ich will Ihre Neugierde nicht auf eine lange Probe stellen. Wenn Sie einverstanden sind, so sollen Sie schon morgen hier in meinem Hause Ihre Zukünftige kennen lernen.“

„Also eine Brauttschau in aller Form. Aber bitte, gnädige Frau, geben Sie ihr, der Brauttschau meine ich den Anstrich des Zufälligen, denn mir mangelt es an entsprechender Toilette für solch einen weihervollen Augenblick. Ich will nicht vor-
ausgeschickt die Dame treffen“

„Ius Herz doch nicht gleich? Doch, Ihr Wille geschehe.“

Und mein Wille geschah. Es war unmittelbar vor der verabredeten Zeit, als ich den Besuch eines alten Anteks bekam. Da ich für ihn keine passende Zeremonie wußte, so erzählte ich ihm von meinem Vorhaben und bat ihn mitzukommen. Er willigte ein und wir machten uns auf den Weg.

Ein Bildchen aus unsern Tagen*)

Mittheilung von
Herrn Stöckel.

Euer Wohlgeboren, Herr Redacteur!

Da das ganze Geschlecht immer für sich und unter dem Titel der „Gleichberechtigung“ eine Verantwortung beansprucht, was von Ihnen nur sehr gering gehandelt wird, was Sie vorerst die Damen zu Bismarck liegen. Nun meine ich ist es auch in der Zeit, doch wir Männer, die wir doch auch mit einem Factor beim Verlobtwerden bilden, ebenfalls unsere Ansichten und Erfahrungen mit theilen, als der Weibsidee andere Seite, wobei wir es dem Ermessen der Einzelnen überlassen zu bestimmen, wer im Uebstände die Avers- und wer die Proversseite vorstellt. Bis diese fristige Frage entschieden sein wird, will ich erzählen, wie ich ins Freiwild der Ehe gelangte.

Ich besand mich in geschäftlichen Angelegenheiten in Rumänien. Mein Aufenthaltsort war ein Gebirgsstädtchen, in dem alles äußerlich recht schön war: Umgebung, Lage, sogar einzelne Frauen, aber — weiter fand ich dort das Leben gar nicht schön, vielleiht weil ich keine Königin hatte, der ich dies hätte sagen können oder müssen.

*) Siehe Nr. 1127, 1130 u. 1142 der „Entomographische Rundschau“.

Vir lebte sehr in seiner Ungung und 5-bündner
der Umstände, daß ich wohl gar keine Gelegenheit
fand, meine geliebte Deutsch sprechen zu können,
machte mir den Aufenthalt unheillich. Nach der
Arbeit folgte keine behagliche Ruhe. Vir mangelte
der Anlauf zu einem mündlichen Gedankenaustausch und nachdem ich
Rumänisch erlernt hatte, so war es mir nicht
möglich, mich zu äußern, was es mir nicht
erlaubte zu hören, daß ich das Deutschsprechen nicht
verrät hätte. Da führte mich der Zufall mit
einer jungen schönen Frau zusammen, bei der ich
die angenehme Entdeckung machte, daß sie die
deutsche Sprache ebenso fließend beherrschte, als ihre
Heimath. Meine Freude darüber verbot mir nicht,
mit ihr mich zu verbinden und man sprach bald
an dem Orte von dem „Verhältniß.“ Ungewohnt
der rumänischen — Verhältnisse, begann ich
in meiner weitestgehenden Unthätigkeit mit Vorwürfen
darauf zu machen, daß ich dazu beitrage eine
weibliche Unthätigkeit und mich zu lassen
nachdem meine Ungung nicht mehr richtig binnahm,
folgte ich der geliebten Frau, die mich so
und sich den Dingen das Vergnügen einen
Traufschiff mehr zu haben.

Da eines Tages, wir, d. h. meine Freundin und ich saßen beisammen und sprachen gar nicht gut von der bösen Welt, war meine Freundin die Frage auf, warum ich eigentlich nicht heirate. Ich antwortete sofort mit der Gegenfrage, ob sie mich denn schon los werden wolle, was sie, als gut erzogene Frau natürlich allzuleicht verneinte, mit dem Beifügen, daß sie nur deshalb gefragt habe, weil sie für mich eine passende „Partie“ wüßte.

Bukowinaer Rundschau.

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Czernowitz.

Nr. 1168

Czernowitz, Sonntag den 31. Juli 1892

XI. Jahrgang.

Hetzapostel.

Sehr oft und sehr gerne wurde die Bukowina als Kleinbüttel bezeichnet. Insofern sich dieser Vergleich auf die verchiedenen im schönen Bundeslande lebenden Nationen bezog, war er auch zutreffend; aber in einem Punkte war er sehr unrichtig. Von dem Gesamtbilde ab, und dies war in der eintönigen Harmonie, in welcher alle Nationalitäten und auch Konfessionen des Landes mit und nebeneinander lebten und wirkten im Interesse des Ganzen. Die Bukowina war bekannt und benannt als ihrer Toleranz nach jeder Richtung hin und erweiternder und aufwühlender Klassen- und Kastenlos waren in unserem Heimatlande unbekannte Erscheinungen. Aber gleich einer giftigen Cholera wurden sie auch zu uns verpflanzt und leider fanden diese Unfriedensböden auch hier einen Nährboden. Anfangs legte man den da und dort auftretenden Unzufriedenheiten keine Bedeutung bei, bis sie, darin jedem Anstand gleichend, emporkam und nun, da man die drohende Gefahr sieht, da das Schreckgespenst uns aus allen Ecken und Enden unheimlich entgegenrückt und man bereits die Ohren bemerkt, die mit gierigen Blicken auf den Moment des allgemeinen Kampfes lauern, um im Genüsse nach Opfern zu bestehen, wenn man sich vielleicht ermannen zur gemeinsamen Abwehr der gemeinsamen Gefahr.

Nicht genug an dem, daß in den vier Wänden unseres engsten Heimatlandes leider keine Einigkeit unter den einzelnen Interessengruppen, ein häßlicher Krieg herrscht, daß man nicht

ernstlich den Versuch wagen will, die vorhandenen Gegensätze, die mehr künstlicher als natürlicher Art sind, zu überbrücken und im Interesse der Weiterentwicklung des Landes, die jetzt arg gehemmt ist, einen modus vivendi selbst unter Opfern herzustellen; haben wir noch mit einem Feinde von Außen her zu kämpfen, der seine Aufgabe im Fegen und Säubern der Bukowina, im Auspielen einer Partei gegen die andere, im Unterwühlen der da und dort etwa noch erträglichen Situationen, im Schaffen und Vertiefen neuer Gegensätze sieht. Es ist nicht das erste Mal, daß die galizische Presse sich in einer mehr als nachbarfeindlichen Weise mit den politischen Zuständen in der Bukowina beschäftigt und denselben eine Richtung zu geben versucht, die im direkten Gegensatz zu den Interessen des Landes steht und nur den einen sichtbaren Zweck verfolgt, die Bukowina soweit es eben möglich ist, dem politischen Einflusse unterthan zu machen.

Ohne uns mit den wiederholten und ausführlichen jüngsten Enkelaktionen der polnischen Zeitungen nach dieser Richtung hin zu beschäftigen, wollen wir hier nur das nachfolgende Telegramm eines Wiener Blattes citieren, dessen Inhalt offenbar auf Aspirationen von Czernowitz aus zurückzuführen ist:

„Gera, 27. Juli. Der Czasa schildert die zwischen den Rumänen und Polen in der Bukowina bestehende Klüftung gerade als unüberbrückbar und behauptet, daß die rumänische Bojarenpartei die Polen aus ihrer bisherigen Position zu ver-

drängen, wie auch dieselben durch allerhand Scandale zu provocieren trachte. Andere polnische Journale betonen ebenfalls, daß ein weiteres Zusammengehen der Polen mit den Rumänen nicht zu denken sei.“

Nun wird alle Welt meinen — denn von den Verhältnissen in der Bukowina hat man „draußen“ immer falsche oder mindestens einseitige Begriffe — daß in der Bukowina zwei Nationalitäten dominieren: die Rumänen und Polen und daß eine Uneinigkeit zwischen beiden gleichbedeutend mit einer Spaltung im ganzen Lande sei, die man darum um jeden Preis zu verheilen trachten müsse. Daß dies falsche Voraussetzungen und falsche Prämissen sind, weiß bei uns zu Lande jedermann und auch weitere Kreise darauf aufmerksam zu machen, ist Zweck dieser Zeilen. Man wird ferner auf die angeführten provocierenden Scandale der rumänischen Bojarenpartei gespannt sein und allerhand pikante und interessante Zwischenfälle erwarten. Wir hoffen, daß man auch in letzterer Erwartung sich gewiss und glücklich täuschen wird. Man hat es bei uns zu Lande durchaus nicht nötig, kleine Minoritäten, (wie es die Polen in der Bukowina sind) die nur insofern Macht haben, als sie angeschlossen Gruppen von Uneinigen gegenüberstehen, zu provocieren. Das Provocieren ist das Handwerk anderer hier heimatsfremder Leute, denen das Fegen Beruf ist, die darin ihr Lebenselement finden. Und traurig und beschämend genug ist es, daß sich im Lande selbst Verräther der Landes Sache fanden, die persönliche über allgemeine Interessen stellend jesu-

Reuileton.

Der Czernowitzer Mädchen Klage.*)
Zwei Antworten.

Hochgeehrter Herr Redacteur!

Gewöhnlich Sie vorerst die Versicherung unserer unbegrenzten, vorzüglichen Hochachtung für Ihre Lebenswürdigkeit, mit der Sie uns arme, fähige und leidensfähige Geschöpfe vertreten; für die Bereitwilligkeit, mit der Sie uns Ihre — wie ich einmal bereits erwähnte — so damenfreundliches Blatt zur Verfügung stellen. Ich weiß nicht wie wir es Ihnen, geehrter Herr Redacteur, je vergelten, welchen Gegenbeweis unserer Achtung wir werden erbringen können!

Sollen wir gleichgültig und gleichgültig? Mädchen Sie zur „Gerechtigkeit“ ermahnen? Doch Spitz bezieht! Sie vertreten wohl mit die Äußerst ihrer unbekanten Mitarbeiterin und glauben durch eine Umkehrung der bestehenden Verhältnisse uns Gerechtigkeit widerfahren zu lassen? Also wir sollen die berüchtigte Paradiesgasse besetzen zum Gaudium der flatternden Herren? Glauben Sie, daß unsere Mütter so ohne weiteres Stundenlang dastehen werden, den Töchtern zu

helfen und den Herren zur Bequemlichkeit? O, da kennen Sie unsere Mütter schlecht. In diesem Falle wäre ja nur das eine möglich, daß wir uns vorbrängen und unsere Mütter nur den Hinterrücken des Mannes dienen lassen. Das werden Sie heilich unterlassen und lieber auf alles Spitzere gehen verzichten. Denn — Ihnen Herr Redacteur kann ich es ja im Vertrauen wohl mitteilen — unsere Mamas sind sammt und sonders nicht viel besser wie wir die „unbekannten“ Mädchen.

Genau so wie wir, wollen auch sie sich sehen lassen; sie wollen genau so wie wir bewundert werden und wenn sie selbst nicht Blide wecheln können, dann thun sie es durch uns. Wenn unsere Mamas ein Auge auf einen jungen Mann geworfen haben, dann darf für uns sonst niemand existieren, als dieser junge Mann. Ich will damit durchaus nicht verlaunden, denn wenn eine Mama ein Auge auf einen jungen Mann wirft, so geschieht dies ja in den meisten Fällen, doch nur für eine ihr Tochter. Wir aber haben einen eigenen Geschmack und nicht immer trifft die Wahl unserer Mütter richtig zu!

Nein, das geht nicht, unsere Mütter würden uns tyrannisieren, sie würden sich in ihrer ganzen Breite uns vorstellen und uns so jeder Ausfahrt — auf einen Mann — berauben.

Da wäre's wohl schon besser, wenn wir uns in die großen Fensterhaken der beiden Caffeehäuser in der Herrergasse hineinsetzen würden, und die

Herren an uns vorbeistreichen ließen, gerade so wie diese es jetzt machen.

Hier könnte man wenigstens halb ernsthaft in die Caffeehäuser blicken, hier könnte man geschickt durch ein vorgehaltenes Zeitungsfeld, vor den Augen der Mamas Blide schiel'n lassen.

Hier hätten auch die Herren Gelegenheit sich galant zu zeigen, indem sie dem Redner den geheimen Auftrag geben jeder von uns ein gemischtes Eis vorzulegen — ach, ich esse Eis gar so gern — Da könnte sich ein geheimer Verkehr entwickeln. Ein rothes Himbeereis, ein Zeichen der Liebe; ein gelbes Banilleeis, ein Zeichen der Eifersucht u. s. w.

Unsere Mamas würden sich um den großen Defect scheren. Der Redner müßte ihnen eine große Cassette auf den selben stellen. Und wenn unsere Mamas erst Caffee haben, dann können wir machen, was uns beliebt. Doch nun habe ich mich gerade so wie ihre ungezeichnete Klagerkriterin verplauscht und Ihnen aufgegeben, die niemals durchführbar sind, denn auf der ganzen Welt, wo es Brombeeren überhaupt gibt — nicht nur in Czernowitz, wie es in der Mädchen Klage heißt — müssen wir Damen vor den gaffenden und kritischen Herren Revue passieren. Freilich in öffentlichen Gärten und Localen wie vor den Rosenhügeln des Kurparks im Wiener Stadtpark, im Berliner Tiergarten u. s. w. da sitzen die Damen in langen Reihen und rufen vom vielen Spazierengehen aus, gang wie bei uns im Volks-

*) Siehe Nr. 1164 der „Bukowinaer Rundschau.“

8.3.Romanian Bukovina

8.3.1. Ștefane Măria ta... – Mihai Eminescu

‘Ștefane Măria ta,

Tu la Putna nu mai zăbovi:

Lasă Archimandritului

Toată grija schit (...)

Tu te-nalță din mormânt,

Să te-aud din corn sunând,

De-i suna din corn odată,

Ai s-aduni Moldova toată;

De-i suna de două ori,

Îți vin codri-najutor;

De-i suna a treia oară,

Toți dușmanii o să piară.

Din hotară în hotară

Îndrăgi-i-ar ciorile

Și spânzurătorile.’

8.3.2. 'La Bucovina' (In Bukovina) – Mihai Eminescu
Translated by Octavian Cocos

*O, dearest Bukovina, my passion you ignite,
I won't forget your genius, your mountains full of light,
The flowers on the lawn,
The rivers flowing quickly among the stately rocks
And their clear waters glowing like diamonds in a box
Over the plains at dawn.
My smile, my bitter weeping and all my awful screams,
Which I have hummed in sad songs, which I have hummed in dreams,
And have gone all above,
Are crossing through my mind now, are flying like the birds
Stealing my heart with all kinds of sweet and clever words,
Which murmur about love.
But near your lovely bosom the spirits spreading strife,
Which cast all kinds of bad spells over my thread of life,
Now seem to sleep all right;
They let me be, to sing in this wide world my fame,
To dream of a nice fortune that's proud of my good name
And of my star so bright.
And when Selene is trembling in the brown colored sky,
And with melodic footsteps, impetuous, but shy,
Gets quickly in his way,
Aeolos, with his harp, an exquisite design,
Sings in the gloomy night a melody divine,
From Valhalla, I say.
Then, like a sylph that never sleeps peacefully, at leisure,
My heart beats without stopping and driven by the pleasure
It trembles and it's burning,
Then makes its way enchanted by wild and lively dreams
Over the wooded mountains, over the vales and streams,
Carried by love and yearning.*

*This secret and strong yearning is leading to your place,
My eye is shining brightly, my face is full of grace,
But in my heart there's fear;
So, every time I'm thinking of you in contemplation,
My soul is overwhelmed by grief and suspiration,
O, Bukovina, dear!*

8.3.3. La Arme – Mihai Eminescu

*Auzi departe strigă slabii
Și asupriții către noi,
E glasul blândeii Basarabii
Ajunsă-n ziua de apoi.
Și sora noastră cea mezină
Gemând sub cnutul de cal muc
Legată-n lanțuri a ei mână,
De ștreang târând-o ei o duc.
Murit-au... poate numai doarme
Ș-așteaptă moartea de la câni
La arme,
La arme, dar români!*

*Pierit-au oare toți vultanii
Și șoimii munților Carpați,
Voi, fii ai vechei Transilvanii
Sunteți cu totul enervați
Și suferiți în înjosire
De la Brașov pân-la Abrud,
Ca să vă fie în robire
Fino-târtanul orb și crud.
Și nimeni lanțul n-o să farne,
N-aveți inime, n-aveți mâni?
La arme, la arme,
La arme, frați români.*

*Maghiar, tatar cu cap de câne
De noi și azi îți bați tu joc...
Sub pumnul nostru vii tu mâne
Strămutăm falcile din loc,
Și limba ta muiată-n ură
Ți-om smulge-o, câne tu, din gât,
Ți-om băga pumnul nostru-n gură*

*Căci, câne, te iubim atât.
Și brațul nostru-o să vă fărme
Și robi veți fi, măriți stăpâni,
La arme, la arme,
La arme, frați români!*

*Iar tu, iubită Bucovină
Diamant din steaua lui Ștefan
Ajuns-ai roabă și cadână
Pe mâni murdare de jidan,
Rușinea ta nu are samăn
Pământul sfânt e pângărit...
Mișel, și idiot, și famăn,
Ce ai mai sta la suferit,
De-acuma trâmbiți de alarme,
Nălțați stindardul sfânt în mâni
La arme,
La arme, dar români.*

*Pierduți sunteți pe Criș și Mureș,
E moarte, e leșin, e somn?
Au Dragoș nu-i din Maramureș,
Au n-a fost la Moldova Domn?
N-ai frânt a dușmanilor nouri,
N-ai frânt pe leși și pe tătari,
Au Dragoș, vânător de bouri,
N-ai să vânezi și pe maghiari?
Rușine pentru cel ce doarme,
Sculați ca să nu muriți mâni
La arme,
La arme, dar români.*

*Din laur nemuritorii ramuri
O, țară pune-n frunte azi*

*Și-n tricolorul mândrei flamuri
Să-nfășuri pieptul tău viteaz.
Și smulge spada ta din teacă
Și-ți cheamă toți vitejii tăi.
Și la război ea demnă pleacă
Cu pui de șoimi și fii de zmei
În rânduri, rânduri ea să farme
Calmuci, tătari, dușmani, stăpâni,
La arme, la arme,
La arme, frații mei români.*

About the Author

Alexandra Plămădială was born in Tîrgu Mureş, Romania. She completed a Bachelor of Arts at the University of Vienna in Theatre, Film and Media Studies. Furthermore as a part of the exchange program offered by the Diplomatic Academy, she spent one semester in Russia, at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations. In her studies she focused on the region of Eastern Europe, showing an interest towards the cultural history of Ukraine, Romania, and the Republic of Moldova. Her interest in history and politics was furthered by an internship at the Romanian Embassy in Vienna and one at the Permanent Mission of Romania to the International Organizations in Vienna, as part of the OSCE team.

On my honour as a student of the Diplomatische Akademie Wien, I submit this work in good faith and pledge that I have neither given nor received unauthorized assistance on it.