

The Bukovina-Germans During the Habsburg Period: Settlement, Ethnic Interaction, Contributions

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Bukovina, the eastern-most crown land of the Austrian Empire, attracted a multi-national population after its acquisition by the Habsburgs in 1775. Its German settlers, never more than ten per cent of the total inhabitants, made considerable contributions to the province's cultural and economic development by the introduction of Western concepts of law, education, journalism and the arts as well as new techniques of farming and forestry. Despite the rising tide of nationalism in the last decades preceding the First World War, Bukovina's ethnic groups lived in harmony and toleration, benefiting from extensive intercultural exchange. Their example may well serve as a model for a united Europe.

Writing in the latter quarter of the nineteenth century, the novelist and essayist, Karl Emil Franzos referred to Bukovina and its neighbouring territories as 'Half-Asia': a place where one encounters European culture alongside Asian barbarism, Western progress next to Eastern indolence, and where exists 'neither bright day or dark night but rather an eerie twilight'¹ Erich Beck less than a century later called Bukovina a 'land between Orient and Occident'², not capable of evolving a society from its own indigenous roots but gaining an identity from currents both of Western and Eastern derivation. Hans Prelitsch saw in the province's multi-national, multi-religious symbiosis 'a model for a united Europe'³, while Oskar Beck hypothesized that following the First World War Austria's eastern-most crown land might well have become the 'Switzerland of the East'⁴. Here during the Habsburg period a dozen or so ethnic groups including Romanians, Ukrainians, Poles, Jews, Armenians, Germans and Gypsies among others, lived side by side in a spirit of toleration and cooperation unique in a Europe increasingly torn by nationalistic dissension. Diverse, too, were the religious preferences of its inhabitants. While the majority affiliated either with the Romanian or Ukrainian Orthodox Church, members of the Hebrew, Lutheran, Greek Catholic and Roman Catholic persuasion worshipped freely and unmolested.

Based largely on semi-documentary and memoir materials, this study discusses one of Bukovina's minorities, the Germans, considering their immigration, life-style, cultural interaction with other nationalities and contributions to the development of the province during the Habsburg era. References to Bukovina's other ethnic groups and to happenings outside its borders serve to put the topic into broader perspective and provide a comparative framework. The spelling of place-names, which has twice undergone revision in the twentieth century as the province passed to Romanian administration and was then later partitioned by the Soviets, is that found in official sources

during Austrian rule. Its administrative union with Galicia (1786-1849) accounts for the Polish orthography used in most cases.

That Bukovina early in its history assumed the character of a borderland and transit area is reflected in its economic development and in its ethnic composition⁵. There is strong evidence of German influence in Bukovina as early as the thirteenth century, the Germans having entered the province with the disintegration of the Cuman Tatar Empire. Coming either via Galicia Or Transylvania, they proceeded to develop an urban life and contributed to the growth of the towns of Sereth and Suczawa in Bukovina as well as to Baia, Piatra Neamt, Roman (Romsmarkt) and Jassy (Yosmarkt) in neighbouring Moldavia. The Germans introduced stone masonry, built churches and fortresses, started artisan and merchant guilds and, along with Greeks, Jews and Armenians, carried out the trade of the province. Moldavian princes encouraged German immigration, seeking their services as architects, masons, bricklayers, watchmakers and bakers.⁶ Under German influence a Western-style architecture was introduced into Bukovina, evidence of which may still be seen in the ruins of old church foundations in Sereth, Suczawa and Radautz, with their triple naves in the form of a Latin cross.⁷ With the Poles, Hungarians and Germans came Catholicism and various denominations of Protestantism.

Family names in town registries also attest to a German presence in Bukovina during this early period. Between the end of the fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries, Sereth and Suczawa were towns with a German population, under German law and administration. The archives of Lemberg, Bistritz and Kronstadt reveal a regular communication between Bukovina and German settlements in Galicia and Transylvania.⁸

But under the Voivode Stephen the Great (1459-1504), Moldavia initiated a political and cultural break with the West and looked increasingly to Byzantine influence in art, architecture and religion.⁹ Moreover, early in the sixteenth century Moldavia became a vassal state under the Turks, auguring in a period of religious and political strife, war and the threat of war, and proverbial Ottoman mismanagement. In Bukovina as well as in other regions of the Carpathians, town life began to stagnate and finally disappeared.¹⁰ With the absence of further immigration, the Germans eventually assimilated into the native population, intermarried, and converted to Eastern Orthodoxy or simply emigrated. The Catholic bishopric of Sereth had already been disestablished by the mid-fifteenth century. By the end of the sixteenth century, Sereth and Suczawa had lost their commercial significance and had lapsed into decay while only ruins

hinted at the earlier existence of Catholic and Protestant churches in the area.¹¹ Not until Austria's annexation of Bukovina by the Convention of Constantinople in 1775 did its Janus head again face west.

During the course of the upheavals occasioned by Catherine II's first war against the Ottoman Empire (1768-74), Vienna directed Major-General Gabriel Baron von Spleny to occupy Upper Moldavia. Austria hoped to use this territory as a bridge linking Transylvania with Galicia, gained three years earlier through the first partition of Poland. With three cavalry regiments and five infantry battalions, Spleny crossed the Galician-Polish frontier on 31 August 1774, encountering no opposition. He functioned as military governor of Austrian-Moldavia, later renamed Bukovina (that is, beechland),¹² for more than three years, being relieved of his command in April 1778. His successor, General Karl Baron von Enzenberg, carried out a careful study of conditions in what had now become Austria's eastern-most province, noting in his memoirs:

*There are in Bukovina about 200 propertied Armenians, about 800 Jews and more than 21,000 agricultural families including Gypsies. Only two great and actual boyars reside here as opposed to the many actual boyars on the other side of Moldavia who have possessions here. One can reasonably estimate that Bukovina contains 24,000 families with a total population of about 100,000.*¹³

Commenting on the exploitive and non-productive status of the privileged classes, Enzenberg continued:

*Since a great portion of Bukovina belongs partly to the Moldavian Basilian monasteries, partly to the Moldavian nobility, it is regrettable to note that all rents collected by their estates leave the country untaxed. which has the unfortunate side effect of causing all good k. k. [Royal and Imperial] moneys to disappear to the disadvantage of the state.*¹⁴

At the time of its incorporation into Austria, Bukovina numbered scarcely six people per square mile. Composed mainly of shepherds and peasants, the indigenous population lived without benefit of a single doctor or pharmacist, without an internal security system for defense from bandits, and without a judicial system as a safeguard against the arbitrary whims of the upper classes.¹⁵ Paths rather than roads traversed the countryside, the province counted few bridges and its largest towns of Suczawa, Sereth and Czernowitz had fallen into a state of urban decay after centuries of Ottoman neglect. Czernowitz, later to become the provincial capital, was a 'miserable town of 200 mud huts', lacking even an adequate water supply.¹⁶ Bukovina's few elementary schools hardly touched the broad basis of illiteracy which extended even to the nobility and the clergy.¹⁷

During the first five years of its annexation by Austria, Bukovina's population increased rapidly. Enzenberg's report of 1778 notes that 14,000 Ruthenian (that is, Ukrainian) migrants from Galicia had found their way to Bukovina and asked Vienna how to handle the Polish

magnates' request for their extradition.¹⁸ Composed largely of serfs fleeing Polish and Ottoman feudal oppression, new settlers including Poles, Jews, Ukrainians and Romanians came unbidden and at no cost to the Habsburg monarchy. With its policy of religious toleration and a relative relaxation of feudal obligations, Bukovina served as a magnet for many and varied ethnic groups in eastern Europe. Thus, early in its Habsburg period, Bukovina assumed its multi-national character, earning it the appellation of 'Europe in miniature'.¹⁹

State-sponsored colonization to newly-acquired, under-developed territories wrested from Ottoman control had already begun in the reign of Maria Theresa. After the extension of Austrian rule over Bachka and the Banat of Temesvar, Vienna actively recruited colonists in order to speed economic development and aid in the defense of these frontier hinterlands. German farmers, deemed 'more ambitious and progressive than others', as well as Serbs, Romanians, Croatians and Slovaks were welcomed as settlers.²⁰ Maria Theresa's son and successor, Joseph II, extended the government's colonization efforts to Galicia shortly after Austrian annexation of this province through the first partition of Poland. Eager to attract people with skills and habits of work considered essential to a developing region, Joseph, along with his fellow monarchs Frederick II of Prussia²¹ and Catherine II of Russia,²² sent agents throughout the length and breadth of the German states to recruit settlers. The enlightened despots viewed population as national wealth, that is, as a source of taxation, military manpower and national prosperity, and vied with each other to attract colonists.

Set in motion by the dissolution of the old political and social order and lured by the prospects of better economic conditions, thousands of Germans indeed left for distant lands both in the New World and in eastern Europe. Those who settled in Bukovina came from three distinct geographic, cultural and dialectical regions and included: (1) the so-called 'Swabians' from south-west Germany (the Palatinate, Württemberg, the Rhineland); (2) the German-Bohemians (today called 'Sudeten Germans') from the Bohemian Forest; and (3) the Saxons, hereinafter referred to as 'Zipsers', from the district of Zips in Upper Hungary (today's Spis in Slovakia).

Joseph II's Patent of Toleration (1781) followed by his Patent of Settlement (1782) opened the doors of immigration to German Protestants outside the Habsburg realm. He offered free transportation from Vienna to a point of destination in Bukovina; a house with garden, fields and draft animals; exemption from taxation for the first ten years and from military service for the eldest son of the family. His guarantee of 'complete freedom of conscience and of religion'²³ diverted a number of German Protestants to the Habsburg lands who otherwise might have opted for settlement in Prussia or Russia.

The rulers of the petty German principalities did not look favorably upon the emigration of their subjects. In Birkenfeld, where serfdom had been abolished in 1793, a

would-be emigrant had to pay ten per cent of his assessed worth plus an additional two per cent to compensate the state for its loss of tax revenues.²⁴ Moreover, he had to finance his trip from point of departure to Vienna plus pay for numerous incidentals on a journey that lasted anywhere from 50 to 70 days.²⁵

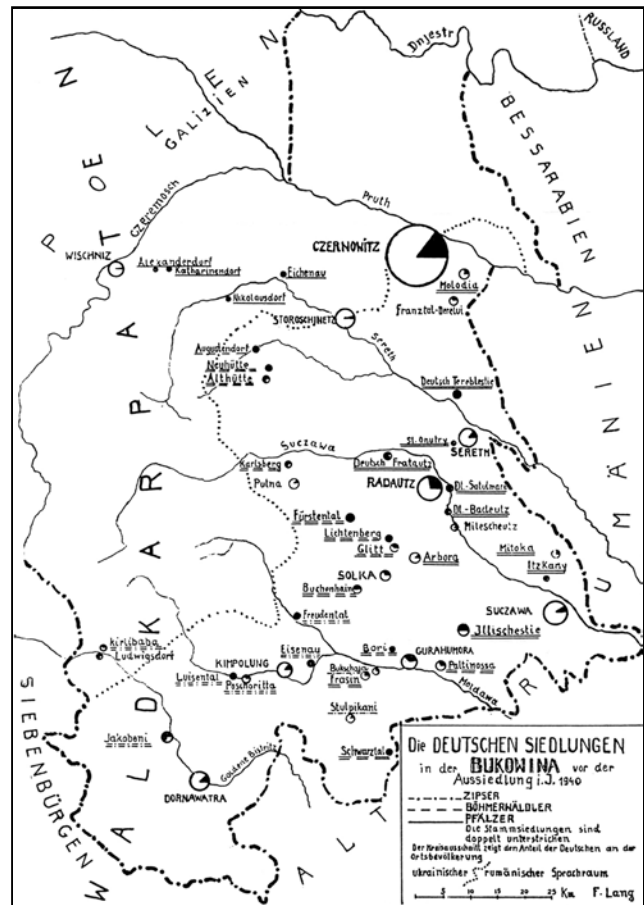
Swabian immigration to Bukovina (1782-87) began with the arrival of 22 families from the Banat who were second-generation descendants of colonists from the Rhine-Main area. Appearing unexpectedly and before preparations for them had been made, they established themselves on the periphery of the already-existing Romanian villages of Rosch, Zuczka, Mitoka-Dragomirna, Molodia, and Czernowitz.²⁶ In 1787, 75 families who came via Galicia settled in eight communities between Sereth and Suczawa on the properties of the Greek-Orthodox Religious Foundation,²⁷ that is, on the estates of the monasteries and bishoprics owned by the Eastern Orthodox Church but administered directly by Vienna.²⁸ As state-sponsored immigrants they enjoyed many benefits denied the first group: they received 12 hectares of land free from feudal obligations, frame houses, stables, livestock, farm implements and even seeds. Their small number at first prevented the construction and maintenance of schools and churches for which they had been allotted land. Later reinforced by other Swabian colonists, the eight communities of Fratautz, Satulmare, Milleschoutz-Badeutz, Tereblestie, Itzkany, Arbora, St. Onufry and Illischestie successfully developed and maintained their ethnic identity. The administration of these towns eventually split along national lines with the German section designated by the prefix *deutsch*²⁹ (for example, Deutsch-Satulmare). Faced in time by overpopulation, the Swabians founded the daughter colonies of Alexanderdorf (1863), Katharinendorf (1869), Neu-Zadowa (1885) and, lastly, Nikolausdorf (1893).

Even before his death in 1790, Joseph II had rescinded many of his reforms including his colonization program for Galicia and Bukovina. The conservative views of his successors plus the turmoil of the wars of the French Revolution dampened enthusiasm for government-financed immigration. Those Germans arriving without state sponsorship enjoyed no special privileges and had to rely on their own resources and ingenuity for survival. Recruitment outside the Habsburg lands ceased by 1787 and thereafter concentrated only on those individuals within the Austrian realm who could fulfill specific functions.

Its natural assets of forests, arable land and mineral resources served as focal points for Bukovina's economic development. Vienna's plans there to establish a glass industry to supply the needs of the Moldavian Valley and of Wallachia set into motion the migration of Germans from the Bohemian Forest who, in their homeland, worked in glassmaking enterprises, in forestry and in agriculture. Coming in two waves, 1793-1817 and 1835-50. German-Bohemians eventually became the most numerous of Bukovina's Germanic settlers,³⁰ founding some dozen villages: Althütte (1793). Karlsberg (1797). Fürstenthal

(1803), Neuhütte (1815), Bori 78 and Lichtenberg (both 1835), Schwarzthal and Buchenhain (the latter also known as Deutsch-Pojana Mikuli - both 1838), Glitt (1843) and Augustendorf (1850).³¹ In addition, they also settled in already-established multinational towns or later moved into them when faced with overpopulation pressures.³²

Fig. 1 - Map of the Bukovina Settlements³³



German-Bohemian migration began in 1793 after Baron von Kriegshaber leased domain lands from the Religious Foundation and contracted for experienced workers for his glassworks in Althütte near Krasna. As the forests were gradually cleared for potash to stoke the furnaces of the glass industry, the workers received gardens and pasture lands for their use. Little is known about early glass production in Althütte other than that, by 1804, its output, although 'insignificant', found markets in Lemberg (Galicia). By 1812 the forests in the vicinity of the glassworks were exhausted, leading to the total cessation of glass production by 1817. Kriegshaber then selected a new site for glass production, Neuhütte near Czudin, to which he again brought artisans from Bohemia. As its predecessor, the glassworks of Neuhütte failed to become profitable and eventually closed, its employees forced to turn to other means of livelihood. With the expiration of Kriegshaber's 30-year lease in 1821, the Religious Foundation entered into feudal contractual agreements with the colonists who did not

come into private ownership of the land they cultivated until the revolutionary upheavals of 1848.³⁴

In 1797 Josel Reichenberg established a glassworks in the forests near Putna, recruiting for his labor force German-Bohemians whose installations in Lubaczow (Galicia) had recently shut down. With the further influx in 1803 of German-Bohemian lumberjacks, foresters and glass workers from the Prachin district of the Bohemian Forest, the settlement received the name Karlsberg, after Archduke Karl, President of the *Hofkriegsrat* in Vienna. The colonists' guarantees, among others, included: (1) freedom from taxation for five years; (2) exemption from military service for male adults and a ten-year delay in recruitment of their sons; (3) state-funded building materials for house and barns; (4) relaxation of feudal obligations for five years for those on level arable land and for ten years for those on non-arable land.³⁵ The glassworks remained in operation until 14 July 1827 when, in consequence of mismanagement by its director, Franz Kuppetz, it closed its doors, leaving the workers in the most dire of circumstances'.³⁶ Very few found employment in other glassworks. However, with the colonization program still in effect, the 21 affected families managed to acquire fertile arable fields on the domain lands of Radautz under feudal conditions prevalent at the time.³⁷

A further attempt to establish a glass industry occurred in 1803 with the migration of 20 German-Bohemian families to the environs of Mardzina. Taking the name Fürstenthal, the new community's activities centered on glass production and the related occupations of forestry and lumbering. For their private use, each family received from the state building materials for a house and six Joch (1 Joch = 0.5755 hectares) of land.³⁸ With the destruction of the glassworks by fire in 1889 some 20 per cent of the workers found employment in a sawmill constructed two years earlier by a certain Baron Popper of Vienna. Half the labor force remained in forestry and lumbering, about 25 per cent worked as transporters of wood and a small number served as forest rangers and gamekeepers.³⁹

Unable to compete with the superior products of Poland and Venice, most glassworks eventually failed either through mismanagement or insufficient capital on the part of the entrepreneur. Most settlers suffered great economic need until able to find suitable employment in the crafts, farming, ranching or forestry. By the end of the Habsburg period only a single glass production facility in Krasna Ilski remained viable.⁴⁰

German-Bohemians did not always settle in self-contained villages. During the first wave of migration some were brought in to work the salt mines in the Polish community of Kaczyka.⁴¹ In 1817-18, ten families relocated to the predominantly Romanian-speaking village of Paltinossa, a lumbering community in the Moldavian Valley, where they obtained farmland and worked as lumberjacks.⁴²

Psychological, social and economic motives account for the German-Bohemian migration to Galicia and Bukovina in the first half of the nineteenth century. Faced

with overpopulation, insufficient land, widespread poverty, poor harvests and hunger, military recruitment and lack of mobility in the service professions, many looked for opportunities elsewhere.⁴³ According to Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, professor of history at the University of Graz, the German-Bohemian colonists possessed in their homeland 'only that land around their hut on which rain dripped from the roof.'⁴⁴ With their few possessions in dog-drawn carts, they traveled eastward by foot some 1,000 kilometers to their new homeland.

The second wave of migration began in 1835 with the departure of 54 families from the Prachin and Pisek districts of the Bohemian Forest. Following a prescribed route, they had to report to local authorities in Budweis, Iglau, Brünn, Olmütz, Teschen, Wadowitz, Bochnia, Tarnow, Przemyśl, Sambor, Kolomea and Czernowitz where at each station they received specific instructions regarding the next lap of the trip.⁴⁵ Thirty of these families settled on the mountainous virgin forest land near Gurahumora, establishing the village of Bori, while the others were directed toward Radautz, where they founded the community of Lichtenberg. With conditions of colonization not as generous as for the Swabians, the German-Bohemians received monies neither for travel nor for the acquisition of farm animals and implements although the state did grant them raw materials for the construction of homes.⁴⁶ The forests in which they obtained homesteads had not seen an axe for centuries. Clearing the land and making it arable took four years, during which the Bori colonists lived by lumbering and by the sale of potash to the neighboring glassworks in Frassin.

The Swabians of Illischestie aided the new settlers in their first difficult years until they became self-sufficient. The men usually practiced a side-craft, working as carpenters, masons, cabinet-makers, smiths and cooper. As in their homeland the German-Bohemians made their shoes (*Holz pantoffel*) out of oak wood, this becoming a distinctive aspect of their attire.⁴⁷

An outbreak of cholera, plus the near-famine conditions resulting from crop failures during 1847-48, produced great suffering in the small community of Bori. On the positive side, the revolutions of 1848 freed the agrarian population from the last vestiges of feudalism, allowing the colonists to come into direct ownership of the land they tilled. Bori then began a modest economic upswing, evidenced by the construction of larger homes, an increase in livestock production and acquisition of more land.⁴⁸ Its pattern of settlement resembled that of other German villages with houses in close proximity to each other and with fields in the outlying sections (see figure 2). This afforded maximum protection against wolves, bears, boars and other forest predators and assured the development of community life.

German-Bohemians literally carved the settlements of Schwarzthal and Buchenhain out of virgin forests and made arable the lands between the Negruleasa and Humora valleys. By the 1860s all state-sponsored colonization came to an end; nonetheless, German officials, professionals, businessmen, artisans and farmers continued to enter Bukovina on

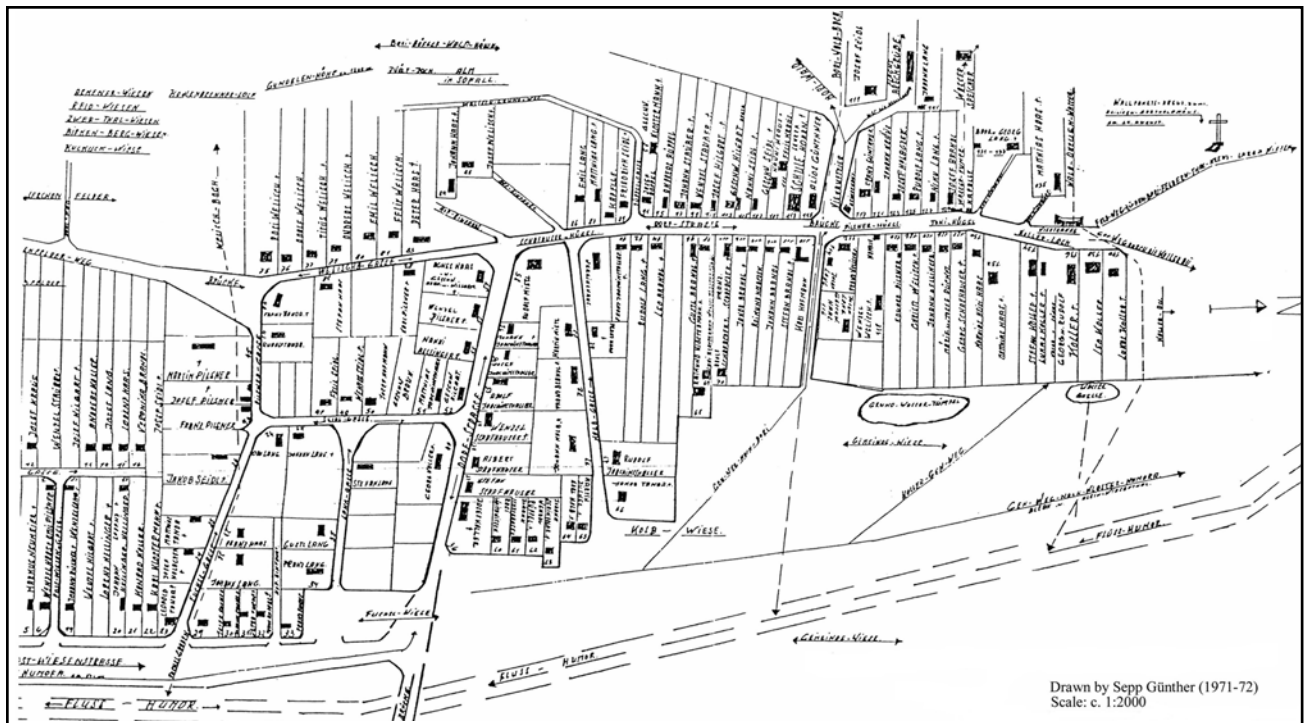


Fig. 2 - Map of Bori, Bukovina, 1940⁴⁹

their own initiative. Many settled in Czernowitz, Sereth, Suczawa, Kimpolung and Radautz with the result that these towns eventually acquired 'a predominantly German character'.

Before its incorporation into Austria, Bukovina's forests had no commercial value, there existing not a single saw mill in the entire province. Only with the Germans did the utilization of the forests begin, in particular with the German-Bohemian colonists who were primarily woodworkers and lumberjacks. They developed timber transportation by rafting, using Bukovina's river system and introduced systematic agriculture, dairy farming and ranching.⁵⁰

The extension of railroads into suburban communities⁵¹ by the 1880s facilitated the expansion of commerce and industry in general and of lumbering in particular. By the outbreak of the First World War, Bukovina produced some 1,000,000 cubic meters of raw wood and about 500,000 cubic meters of processed lumber for export to Germany and the East. While all preconditions for the commercialization of the forests had existed during Bukovina's Ottoman period, lumbering only became a viable industry 'through German administrative discipline, technical know-how and market strategy'.⁵²

The third major German group to enter Bukovina consisted of Saxons from the Zips districts of Upper Hungary and their kinsmen, the Transylvanian Saxons, descendants of pioneers who had left their homeland in the twelfth century. Zipser migration (1784-1809) began with rumors of gold in the Bistritz River followed by active recruitment for jobs in Bukovina's nascent mining industry.

General von Spleny as early as 1775 had verified the existence of major salt deposits and had recommended that the government conduct a geological survey of the mountains.⁵³ A prospecting commission dispatched by Vienna indeed discovered veins of manganese and iron ore in Jakobeni as well as copper ore near Pozoritta.⁵⁴ First developed were the salt mines of Solka and Kaczyka, whose officials, directors, miners and laborers were predominantly German, although little is known of their origins.⁵⁵

Before the turn of the century Anton Manz of Styria, acquiring extensive prospecting and mining concessions from the state-run Religious Foundation, began contracting for miners. In 1784 the first 30 Zipser families, mainly from the villages of Käsmark and Leutschau in Upper Hungary, came by military transport to work the iron mines of Jakobeni. In 1802 they were joined by an additional 40 families. In the absence of an indigenous skilled labor force, the state supported Manz's endeavor to recruit outside the province and supplied transportation for the mining families as well as soldiers to clear the land and to construct company towns for them. While Manz provided housing and garden plots, a miner could occupy the premises only as long as he remained a company employee.⁵⁶

Zipsers settled in Kirlibaba after Manz opened the silver and lead mines in 1797; near Pozoritta they established the village of Luisenthal (1805) around the copper mines, and Eisenau (1807) and Freudental (1807) around the iron mines. Zipsers also came to work as miners in the already established communities of Stulpikany, Frassin and Paltinossa until state-sponsored migration of miners ceased in 1809.⁵⁷

Traveling through Bukovina in 1817, Francis I noted in his diary for 12 August that the inhabitants of Jakobeni are 'Germans, Zipsers and Vlachs'. Living in a region that is so cold that 'nothing grows except potatoes', the miners complained to the Emperor that Manz had not yet raised their wages and refused to extend them further credit for foodstuffs. He noted that the silver mines in Kirlibaba were nearing exhaustion with perhaps another four years to go, after which Manz planned to transfer his workers to the iron mines. The coppersmiths and copper miners of Kirlibaba, 'Zipsers and German-Bohemians ... also Hungarians and Tyroleans', likewise commented on their low salary, but if their grievance is justified, Francis reflected, 'it is questionable'.⁵⁸

With the death of Anton Manz in 1832, the mining enterprises passed to the control of his nephew, Vincent. At peak production during the 1840s, they employed some 2,000 people. With the 1850s, however, difficult times came upon Bukovina's mining industry, resulting in bankruptcy of the Manz mines in 1862.⁵⁹ During the eight years of bankruptcy litigation, the miners' wages, sometimes consisting of 'leather buttons as a type of emergency money', were constantly in arrears, yet they had to pay usurious prices for food at the company stores. After the

completion the Cracow-Lemberg-Czernowitz railroad line in 1866, it could no longer compete with the higher grade, yet cheaper, iron ore from Witkowitz (Moravia) and Teschen. The iron smelters were closed in 1882 with all related equipment dismantled and sold.⁶⁴ Only manganese production remained profitable. Through the considerable efforts of mining superintendent, Bruno Walter, world markets continued to be found for the manganese, facilitated in 1903 by the opening of the local railroad line Hatna-Dorn-Watra.⁶⁵ The salt mines of Solka and Kaczyka remained viable with the latter 'still today the most significant in southeast Europe'.⁶⁶

With the failure of the mines, the Zipsers turned to other trades including lumbering, carpentry and rafting. After the 1880s, some opted for emigration to Romania and to the New World. On the eve of the en masse resettlement of the Bukovina-Germans to the Reich in 1940, the Zipsers consisted of eight per cent of the total German population, numbering some 6,700 people.⁶⁷

With no available statistics on urban settlers and incomplete documentation for rural colonists, the total German immigration to Bukovina cannot be established with any certainty. Hugo Weczerka estimates the numbers shown in figure 3.⁶⁸

Fig. 3 - German immigration estimates after Weczerka

Southwest Germans		350-400
Zipsers		300-350
German-Bohemian glass workers and foresters	400-500	} 1.100- 1,300
German-Bohemian farmers (state-sponsored)	500-650	
German-Bohemian farmers (private)	150-180	
	Total	1,750 - 2,080

mines finally passed into the receivership of their main creditor, the Religious Foundation, many ceased production permanently, leaving hundreds of families destitute.⁶⁰ Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, traveling through the mining districts in the 1890s, decried the poverty and despair of the unemployed miners and their families. 'Before it is too late', he urged, 'the state has the obligation to step in and provide these people with work through the reopening of the mines'.⁶¹ Through the intervention of Prince Hohenlohe, Provincial President of Bukovina in 1908, the properties on which the mining families lived eventually passed into their direct ownership.⁶²

Several factors account for the failure of the mines including the lack of a local coke and coal supply for the smelters, the inferior quality of the minerals and the difficulties in shipping. In Jakobeni, for example, iron ore was transported to the smelters by sled on the frozen Bistritz River in the winter and hauled along mountain paths in the summer.⁶³ Moreover, the Jakobeni iron ore contained phosphorous, making it of poor quality. After the

In addition, Germans from all parts of the Austrian Empire came as artisans, teachers, soldiers and officials, bringing their estimated total to some 3,000-4,000, or one-tenth of the non-German immigration.⁶⁹ The *Verband deutscher landwirtschaftlicher Genossenschaften in der Bukowina* (Association of German Agricultural Cooperatives in Bukovina) furthered internal migration within the Habsburg realm. Through its auspices some 20 German families, mostly from Galicia, were settled in the vicinity of Neu-Zadowa where, in 1913, they established the village of Eichenau, the last German colony in Bukovina.⁷⁰ A high birth rate accounts for the rapid numerical increase of the German population throughout the nineteenth century.

To Bukovina came not only Germans but others as well: Hungarian farmers from neighboring Transylvania who established their own villages; Poles from Galicia who settled mainly in the towns; Slovaks from Upper Hungary who entered as state-sponsored colonists; Old Believers (*Raskolniki*), members of a sect of Eastern Orthodoxy who, after encountering intolerance under Russia's Elizabeth I

and Catherine II, gained political asylum and freedom to construct monasteries in Bukovina; Armenians who fled persecution at the hands of the Turks. Jews from the neighboring provinces streamed in Bukovina where, after Joseph II's Patent of Toleration, they could develop their cultural life unmolested. All brought with them their religious customs, music, language and traditions. In this miniature replica of the Austrian Empire, German, as the language of administration and of army command, became the *lingua franca* of the market-place, the theatre, the press and the schools.⁷¹

The first Austrian census of 1869 recorded the population of Bukovina at over 500,000 including some 40,000 Germans.⁷² The 1900 census counted 67,579 Germans while the last Austrian census of 1910 gave their number at 73,073 (9.1 per cent).⁷³ The Romanian census of 1930 registered a total population of 853,009 of whom 75,533 (8.9 per cent) gave their nationality as German.⁷⁴ On the eve of the First World War over 100 settlements contained a sizeable German minority, in addition to which Germans could be found in virtually all towns. They lived in small enclaves throughout the entire province rather than in compact linguistic areas as did their co-linguists in the Sudetenland and in Transylvania. Their densest concentrations in Bukovina stretched in a broad wedge from the mountainous south to the Suczawa Valley, where in some cases Germans constituted 15-25 per cent of the population. In a secondary zone of settlement around this wedge, they made up five to 15 per cent, while in the districts of the north and northwest, the Germans usually numbered under five per cent and in some cases less than one per cent of the total. Their distribution throughout the province foreshadowed their eventual denationalization but also maximized the potential for inter-cultural and material exchange.⁷⁵

During the period of Austrian rule and with the prominent participation of its Germans, Bukovina made major economic and cultural strides. The Austrian government built a communications network including roads, railroads and bridges, established postal and telegraph services and introduced an educational system from kindergarten through university. Bukovina's emergence from 'zero niveau ... to European niveau', is considered by Herbert Mayer as a workable model for Third World development.⁷⁶

Figure 4 summarizes national representation in Bukovina's economic activities as of 1910.⁷⁷

In certain areas such as agriculture, forestry, education, journalism, music, the arts and architecture, the influence of the Germans was indeed out of all proportion to their percentage in the population. The use of German as the state language gave them an advantage in governmental employment. However, relatively few Germans could be found in trade and commerce (6.06 per cent), which were almost entirely in the hands of the Jews. Their limited interest in business in general and in trade in particular, according to Erich Beck, stemmed from 'a lack of capital, tradition and inclination essential for undertakings of this sort'.⁷⁸

Living largely by agrarian pursuits, the Germans introduced agricultural methods and techniques previously unknown in Bukovina including the iron plough, the three-field system, field drainage and the systematic cultivation of wheat, rye, barley, oats and potatoes. They built mills to grind grain, started viniculture, the growing of fodder crops and fruit trees and the use of fertilizers. Raimund Friedrich Kaindl notes that the indigenous population at first 'laughed at the Germans when they used animal dung to fertilize their fields'.⁷⁹ They established cooperatives which made available threshing machines, reapers and fruit presses to their members for a small fee, built silos for grain storage and constructed large well-lighted and well-ventilated barns for their livestock.⁸⁰ A stud farm in Radautz soon supplied the Austrian army with some of its best horses. For purposes of livestock breeding, the Germans imported cattle from Switzerland and the Tyrol; they bred Simmental cattle, exporting these to Bessarabia, to Romania and even to the Ottoman Empire.⁸¹ In their dispersion their methods served as examples to others.

Although they used it productively, the Germans had little land. With only 2.9 per cent owning properties of more than ten hectares, many were forced to turn to artisan crafts to supplement their income. However, given its peripheral location in the Empire, high transportation costs, and competition from long-established western enterprises, Bukovina's crafts found few markets in other crown lands of the Monarchy. Heavy industry did not develop during the Habsburg period.⁸²

In the field of education the Austrian government faced a herculean task. At the time of its annexation by the Habsburgs, Bukovina counted two schools: one in the Greek-Orthodox bishop's residence in Radautz and the second in the monastery of Putna. In addition, some of the

Fig. 4 - Ethnic vocational distribution as shown in the 1910 Austrian Census

	Agriculture and Forestry	Industry and Crafts	Trade and Commerce	Public and Military Service; Liberal Professions -No Professions
Germans	42.42	30.30	6.06	21.21
Romanians	88.23	3.67	2.20	5.88
Ukrainians	87.21	4.26	3.27	5.24

boyars employed private tutors for their children. The military takeover of Bukovina coincided with Maria Theresa's school reforms (6 December 1774), which were then gradually extended to the newly-acquired province.

Bukovina's public elementary school system started with two teachers from Hermannstadt (Transylvania): Anton de Marki and Franz Thallinger, whom Enzenberg engaged in 1784 for classes in Czernowitz and Suczawa respectively. From this modest beginning education advanced, albeit slowly. By 1790 the province had opened 30 elementary schools; by 1860 the number had increased to 107. But not until the passage of the Imperial Public School Act and corresponding provincial legislation in 1869 and 1873 could illiteracy effectively be tackled.⁸³ By these laws Austria introduced a system of free and compulsory education - the first in the Western world - for all children between the ages of six and twelve. However, because of 'popular inertia and administrative negligence', the legislation failed to be uniformly enforced, leading only to partial success in eradicating illiteracy.⁸⁴

In keeping with the multi-national character of Bukovina, the state provided instruction in the native tongue if a minimum of 40 pupils of a given nationality were in attendance for a consecutive three-year period. In Storozynetz, for example, parallel classes were conducted in Ukrainian, Romanian and German. Greek Orthodox schools came under the jurisdiction of the Greek Orthodox Consistory while the Religious Foundation assumed financial responsibility for their upkeep.⁸⁵

Public secondary education began in 1808 with the opening of the State Gymnasium in Czernowitz. The gymnasium, which until 1860 remained the only high school in Bukovina, started instruction with two teachers and 24 students; by 1912-13 it counted 993 students plus a faculty from all parts of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and even from abroad. Several of its graduates, including the novelist and essayist Karl Emil Franzos, the surgeon Johannes von Milukicz-Radecki and the drama critic Joseph Gregor received recognition well beyond the borders of Austria.⁸⁶ The expansion of the school system brought many German teachers to Bukovina, with the result that higher education was almost entirely in their hands.⁸⁷ By 1914 the Germans claimed:

*one German university, six purely German gymnasia, two German sections at foreign-language gymnasia, four girls' middle schools, one teacher training institute, four technical schools, seventy-three public and fourteen private German elementary schools as well as German parallel classes in mixed-language elementary schools in numerous communities.*⁸⁸

On the centennial of its incorporation into Austria, Bukovina celebrated the opening of its first and only institution of higher learning, the Franz Joseph University in Czernowitz, with schools of law, philosophy and theology. After the Polonization of the University of Lemberg (1871) and the Russification of the University of Dorpat (1889), the

Francisco Josephina remained until 1919 Europe's eastern-most German university, linking Bukovina with Western intellectual circles and enhancing the cultural niveau of its capital. Both students and faculty were multinational, with a Romanian, Constantin Tomaszczuk, serving as its first rector.

Although primarily a German-language institution, the Francisco Josephina offered courses, which raised the cultural, national and religious awareness of Bukovina's Ukrainian and Romanian population. Prior to its establishment, the Ukrainians lacked an intellectual class. Subjected to Polonization in Galicia and Russification under the Tsars, only the Bukovina-Ukrainians had any opportunity of evolving the linguistic, historic and literary bases of their nationalism.

The University of Czernowitz, especially its chair of Ukrainian language and literature, served as a vehicle to enhance the national consciousness and develop an intelligentsia from among this ethnic group. Two of its Ukrainian alumni, Iwan Nowosiwskyj and Basil Kolotylo, acknowledged this debt to their alma mater when they noted:

*Ukrainian scholars could demonstrate scientifically to the enemies of Ukrainiandom the truth about demographic conditions in Bukovina; through intensive linguistic studies, they laid a scientific foundation for the Ukrainian language [and] discredited the legend of 'primitive-Russian' [origins]. Especially significant was the ethnic research, which resulted in incontrovertible evidence for the background of the Ukrainians in Bukovina, disproved historically-concocted fallacies, and reduced one-sided and tendentious theses ad absurdum.*⁸⁹

By the first decades of the twentieth century the Ukrainians had achieved cultural and educational parity both with the Germans and the Romanians.

The university's school of theology with the only Eastern Orthodox faculty in all Austria-Hungary, indeed in all Europe except Russia, drew students from neighboring Orthodox countries, especially Serbia, Romania and Bulgaria. From its inception most of its lectures were conducted in Romanian. In 1899 a chair for practical theology in Ukrainian was established, held by Dyonis Jeremijczuk. The appointment to the chair of Church Slavonic language and literature, established the same year, went to Eugen Kozak. These two men remained the only two non-Romanians on the theological faculty in the Habsburg period.⁹⁰

While the majority of the faculty in the schools of philosophy and law were German, German students numbered only 424 out of 1,129 in the spring semester of 1913.⁹¹ Numerous of the university's graduates achieved distinction including Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, professor of history at the University of Graz; Arthur Bosch, translator of Ukrainian and Romanian lyric poetry; Alfred Müncke, chief editor of the *Bukarester Tageblatt* and a leader of the German cultural organizations in Bucharest; Alois Lebouton

and Rudolf Brandsch, German senators in the Romanian parliament; Bruno Skrehunetz-Hillebrand, chief editor of the *Czernowitzer Deutsche Tagespost* and after 1945 editor of the *Salzburger Nachrichten* and Rudolf Wagner, author, editor of *Der Südostdeutsche* and representative in the Bavarian parliament.⁹²

Erich Prokopowitsch, an alumnus and later quaestor of the University of Czernowitz, notes that, notwithstanding its positive achievements, the Francisco Josephina fell short of the aims of its founders: (1) it failed to promote Austrianism to counterbalance a growing nationalism; (2) it attracted few students from neighboring provinces or from Romania; and (3) it did not develop a school of medicine. This is not to detract from its accomplishments of furthering the Westernization of Bukovina, raising its material and cultural standards and providing higher education for many who for financial reasons could not have gone outside the province to continue their studies.⁹³

With the advance of literacy a viable press became a reality. Several journalistic attempts in the early decades of the nineteenth century had failed for lack of readership and support; moreover, the press had had to contend with political constraints until the relaxation of censorship after 1848. But by the latter quarter of the century, Bukovina emerged with the most sophisticated journalistic tradition in south-eastern Europe 'wherein the German press absolutely predominated'.⁹⁴

The heyday of German journalism began in 1868 with the publication of the *Czernowitzer Zeitung*. Under provincial magistrate Anton Zacher for three decades, the *Czernowitzer Zeitung* reflected official government opinion and promoted Austrianism.⁹⁵ Its excellent reviews of musical and dramatic events worked as a positive leaven in upgrading theatrical productions. Before long the number of newspapers, journals and periodicals proliferated: the *Bukowiner Rundschau* and the *Bukowiner Nachrichten* reflected the views of the German Liberal Party; the *Bukowiner Volksblatt* and *Der Volksfreund* voiced the opinions of the Christian Social Party; while the *Volkspresse* and *Vorwärts* disseminated socialist thought. By the eve of the First World War, Czernowitz had five German-language dailies, two of which, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* and *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, were edited and published by Jews and directed to a Jewish readership.⁹⁶ In addition, numerous literary, trade and scientific journals contributed to Bukovina-German journalism which, with a circulation extending well beyond native speakers and indeed often beyond the borders of the province, reached members of other ethnic groups whom it undoubtedly informed, entertained and influenced.

The Romanian press maintained a low profile, evidenced by 'the relatively small number of newspapers and periodicals in the Romanian language' not only in the Habsburg period but also after Bukovina passed under Romanian administration in 1919. The absence of an intelligentsia, a broad basis of functional illiteracy and failure to achieve consensus on the Cyrillic versus Latin

alphabet controversy account for a slow start in journalism. For some of the same reasons the Ukrainians, too, were late in developing a viable press. Conflicts between the Old Ruthenians (Russophiles) and the Young Ruthenians (nationals) raised many questions about ethnic origins, history and orthography. The earliest Ukrainian publications (1871-82) reflected Old Ruthenian sentiments. The appearance in January 1885 of the bi-monthly newspaper, *Bukowyna*, under its editor Osip Jurij Fedkowycz, marked the triumph of the Young Ruthenian position.⁹⁷

Nothing better illustrated Bukovina's multi-national character than its varied musical traditions, with each ethnic group contributing its own folk songs and dances, as well as its instruments and forms of musical expression. The Germans introduced wind instruments; they established choral societies, schools of music and orchestras and sponsored chamber music, symphonies and operas.

The acquisition of musical instruments at first proved difficult and costly. The first spinet arrived in Czernowitz in 1809; soon pianos became a necessity for those who could afford them. The less expensive guitar found wide favour and within the next several decades guitar teachers were in great demand. After 1830 the more affluent showed an increased interest in the musical education of their children and began to engage teachers from the western provinces.⁹⁸

Karl Umlauff von Frankwell, an intimate friend of Franz Schubert and a trained instrumentalist and vocalist, made his home a centre for music lovers. Coming to Bukovina in an administrative capacity in 1822, he resided for several years in Suczawa and in Czernowitz. Umlauff engaged chamber music players to perform the works of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven; he introduced the songs of Franz Schubert in French and Romanian translations and he sponsored choral performances, including Andreas Romberg's *Song of the Bell* and Joseph Haydn's oratorio, *The Creation* as well as the operas of Karl Maria von Weber and Jakob Meyerbeer.⁹⁹

Interest in choral music prompted the founding of the *Czernowitzer Gesangsverein* (Czernowitz Choral Society) in 1859 which, within the next few years, expanded its activities to include an instrumental section. Consisting mainly of gymnasium students, its original 25 members became the vanguard of numerous private ensembles which performed at festivals, in beer gardens and at soirees. In 1862 members of the *Czernowitzer Gesangsverein*, including Karl Wexler, Jakob Lederer and Martin Wilhelm, established the *Verein zur Förderung der Tonkunst in der Bukowina* (Society for the Promotion of Music in Bukovina). Called the *Musikverein* (Music Society) for short, this school for vocal and instrumental music welcomed teachers and students of all nationalities. Adalbert Hrimaly from Pilsen (Moravia), next to Bedrich Smetana and Anton Dvorak, one of the most distinguished Czech composers, was for several decades closely affiliated with the Musikverein as orchestra leader and teacher of vocal music, piano, violin and music theory. The school attracted other musicians from the western provinces, including Hans

Horner, Anton Koller, Alfred Schlüter and Jakob Krämer, who then took up permanent residence in Czernowitz.¹⁰⁰

Through its many performances and its training of young musicians, the *Musikverein* earned artistic distinction and made German composers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries part of the cultural heritage of Bukovina. Some of its students achieved prominence including Eusebius Mandyczewski, archivist of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* (Society of the Friends of Music) and teacher of music theory at the Vienna Conservatory and later the Vienna Academy of Music; Ludwig Rottenberg, orchestra leader of the State Theatre in Vienna, Brünn and Frankfurt- and father-in-law of the composer Paul Hindemith; Dyonis Mayer-Martens and Josef Zimmler of the Vienna State Opera; conductor Rudolf Funkenstein; the tenors Orest Rusnak and Josef Schmidt; the opera singers Beatrix Suter-Kottlar, Adele Krämer, Marguerite Kozenn, and Viorica Ursuleac - interpreter of Richard Strauss and wife of Clemens Krauss.¹⁰¹

The State Gymnasium in Czernowitz did much to promote interest in music, as did the Franz Joseph University. Joseph Gregor, the second man to hold the university's chair for music, also achieved distinction as the librettist of Richard Strauss and as the director of the theatrical division of the Vienna National Library. His *Geschichte des Wiener Barocktheaters* (1922), his 12-volume work, *Denkmäler des Theaters* (1926-30) and his *Weltgeschichte des Theaters* (1939), remain standard references in their field.¹⁰²

Besides the Schubert societies in Czernowitz and Radautz and the *Czernowitzer Männergesangsverein* (Czernowitz Male Choral Society), numerous German choral groups sprang up throughout Bukovina under the aegis of the churches and the national organizations. On 20 November 1867 gymnasium director Dr Joseph Marek established the *Suczawaer Gesangsverein* (Suczawa Choral Society). On 9 July 1893, through the efforts of gymnasium professor Dr Alfred Pauliczek, the *Radautzer Gesangsverein* (Radautz Choral Society) was founded, which continued its activities until the First World War. In Gurahumora, Sereth and other towns and larger communities, especially those with sizeable German populations, music lovers formed choral and instrumental groups which provided entertainment for local events, sponsored concerts and operettas and trained young musicians.¹⁰³ While the non-Germans had their own musical activities, many were either spectators or as participants in those of their German neighbours.

Both vocal and instrumental music in Bukovina benefited by cultural and political ties to Vienna, the music capital of nineteenth-century Europe. The absence of political boundaries in the Danubian state of the Habsburgs facilitated the exchange of men and ideas, of instrumentalists, artists, teachers and singers. The Vienna connection enhanced an already strong German musical tradition and transmitted it to the East.

German influence in painting, architecture and the plastic arts made itself felt early in Bukovina's Habsburg

period. Workers in stone, metal, wood and oils came from all parts of the Empire on special assignments. Some settled in Bukovina permanently including the portrait painters C. Arends, F.X. Knapp, M. Godewski and Mathilde Glaubitz. Others, such as the artists commissioned for special projects, for example, the Greek Orthodox Bishop's Residence and the Cathedral of Czernowitz, remained only until the completion of their work. Romanian and Ukrainian painters including Epaminondas Bucevschi, Eugen Maximovici, Justin Pihuliak, Archip Roschka and Trajan Bargauan availed themselves of a German education through the pursuit of their professional studies in Vienna or Munich.¹⁰⁴

The Austrian period found Czernowitz a town of mud huts and left it a 'little Vienna'¹⁰⁵, as evidenced by its many public and private buildings in the Austrian Imperial and Biedermeier styles. Prominent in the Biedermeier period were Michael Sawitz, Anton and Karl von Borkowski and Andreas Mikulicz, who designed many of the city's public buildings and churches.¹⁰⁶ In 1905-6 the Vienna architects Fellner and Helmer built the Staattheater which accommodated 813 people. Bukovina's largest and most imposing structure was the Greek Orthodox Bishop's Residence in Czernowitz. Commissioned by the Imperial government and designed by the Prague architect Josef Hlavka, this edifice, completed in 1882 in the Moldavian style, is today used by the Soviets as a university building.¹⁰⁷

At the instigation of Hlavka, the *k. k. Denkmalamt* (Royal and Imperial Memorial Office) in Vienna undertook the restoration of the old Moldavian monasteries in Putna, Suczawitza, Solka, Arbora, Humora, Woronetz, Watra-Moldawitza and Dragomirna in an attempt to preserve Bukovina's Moldavian legacy. The *Denkmalamt* also commissioned the construction of monuments, especially in Czernowitz. Some of these included the *Austria-Denkmal* in the *Austria-Platz*, sculpted by Carl Peckary for the centennial celebration of Bukovina's union with Austria (1875); a statue in the *Volksgarten* of Constantin Tomaszczuk, first rector of the University of Czernowitz, by Professor A. Brenek; and a statue of Empress Elizabeth, wife of Franz Joseph, in the Franz-Josephs-Park, sculpted by Professor Zlama.¹⁰⁸

Bukovina's lesser towns likewise witnessed an upswing in artistic and architectural commitment. Karl Romstorfer of Lower Austria designed several churches in Suczawa and Putna, while the Viennese artist Hans Viertelberger painted most of their frescoes. Ferdinand Stufleser sculpted statues for churches in Solka, Karlsberg and Storozynetz. Typifying well Bukovina's multi-cultural, multi-ethnic influences was the resort town of Dorna-Watra with a casino in French Renaissance, a town hall in Florentine, a hotel in Swiss and a church rectory in Moldavian architectural style.¹⁰⁹

On the level of popular culture, Bukovina's religious institutions remained central in shaping the moral values, providing the entertainment and maintaining the traditions of their adherents. Living in small, relatively self-contained villages ranging from several hundred to several thousand, Bukovina's inhabitants held fast to two institutions: the

extended family and their church. Their religious affiliation according to the Austrian census of 1910 indicates the breakdown shown in figure 5.¹¹⁰

attended Sunday mass in neighboring Gurahumora, they recited the rosary at their chapel in group services led by laymen every evening during the Marian months of May and

Fig. 5 - Religion by language as summarized by the 1910 Austrian census

AUSTRIAN CITIZENS ACCORDING TO LANGUAGE OF EVERYDAY USE						
	German	Romanian	Ukrainian	Polish	Hungarian	Other
Roman Catholic	50,009	1,124	3,703	32,506	9,956	951
Greek Catholic	954	1,824	21,508	1,699	9	11
Greek Orthodox	2,490	268,992	274,758	724	24	102
Protestant	19,475	176	112	98	378	18
Hebrew	95,706	1,024	2,102	1,177	22	40
Other	145	76	3,039	23		

As the above table indicates, Bukovina's Roman Catholic community, composed largely of Germans, Poles and Hungarians, represented scarcely ten per cent of the population. Some Catholics could be found in virtually all areas, with percentages highest in villages settled by the German-Bohemians, almost all of whom professed Catholicism. The clergy consisted mainly of Poles,¹¹¹ many of whom had received their theological training at the University of Lemberg in neighboring Galicia. Strengthening Polish influence was the fact that Bukovina was incorporated into the archdiocese of Lemberg from 1786 until the end of the Habsburg period. The Polish clergy, for decades the sustainers of Polish nationalism, actively promoted the Polonization of Bukovina's Catholics. According to Norbert Zimmer, who resided in Bukovina for several months during 1927 for the purpose of carrying out doctoral research, the German Catholics felt more threatened by Protestantism than by Polonization, leading to many mixed marriages. 'It involved less inner conflict', Zimmer noted, 'for a simple [German] farm hand to marry a Catholic Pole than a Protestant German'.¹¹²

The German-Bohemians brought their piety with them. In Buchenhain the first religious services were held under an old fir tree onto which the colonists nailed a holy picture brought from their homeland.¹¹³ Outward symbols of Christianity abounded. In the South Bukovina village of Paltinossa, where the field of the author's grandfather, Leon Loy, met that of his neighbour, Wenzel Kraus, stood a 15-foot crucifix erected sometime in the 1830s. Constructed by the villagers on their own land and at their own expense, such crucifixes were commonly seen in the fields and served as chapels. On so-called *Buss- and Bettage* (atonement and prayer days) between Ascension Thursday and Pentecost, processions led by the parish priest converged at these sites where through prayer and song the worshippers sought to invoke God's blessings for a bountiful harvest.¹¹⁴

The colonists of Bori, who had no church of their own, built a crucifix high on a hill on the outskirts of the village shortly after its founding in 1835. While they normally

attended Sunday mass in neighboring Gurahumora, they recited the rosary at their chapel in group services led by laymen every evening during the Marian months of May and

October. Many families had chapels outside their homes which passers-by were welcome to attend.¹¹⁵ To its adherents, the Church seemed a time-honored symbol of stability and permanence. From cradle to grave it remained central to all social activities and shaped the values and traditions of its followers. The sacraments of baptism, holy communion, confirmation, marriage and extreme unction paralleled an individual's development from birth, through adolescence and maturity and finally to death.¹¹⁶ Parents named their first-born son and daughter after the paternal grandparents, with subsequent children taking the name of the godparent or other family members. The names had to be those of saints or Biblical characters, and a person celebrated his coming into the world not on the day of his birth but on the feast day of the saint after whom he had been named.

At the other end of the life-cycle, as his days were drawing to a close, the Bukovinaer remained in the bosom of his family rather than committed to the professional but impersonal care of a hospital or nursing home. As he lay dying, neighbors came to pray at his bedside. When the moment of death approached, a candle, blessed and distributed to the parishioners on Candlemas Day (2 February), was pressed into his hand to light his way during the transition and a spoonful of holy water put into his mouth for his purification. During the three days of the wake, four candles burned continuously, one at each corner of the coffin, to ward off evil spirits, as friends and acquaintances paid their last respects. The funeral climaxed with a mass after which the entire congregation accompanied the coffin to its final resting place in consecrated ground amidst the rolling of drums and the pealing of bells.¹¹⁷

In the event of self-inflicted death, the Church withheld all services and the decedent's last remains were interred along the wall or outer limits of the cemetery. Suicide, considered a sinful deed against God's laws, often brought shame to the entire family.

Nor were the deceased forgotten. On the Feast of All Saints (1 November), mass was celebrated for all the dead of

the parish, followed by a procession to the cemetery where the priest prayed at individual graves. The following day, on the Feast of All Souls, a procession again wound its way from the church to the cemetery. This time the priest held mass at an outdoor chapel during which parishioners stood solemnly at the graves of their departed. Wreaths and burning candles decorated virtually all graves.

The Church, with its festivals and traditions, offered perhaps the only cultural life available to its followers, much as it had in the Middle Ages. Holidays centered on religious activities, among the most popular of which included pilgrimages to churches on the anniversary of their consecration (*Kirchweih*). The most popular of these, the pilgrimage to Kaczyka, saw the faithful from miles around marching in procession to the Church of the Assumption, with its subterranean mineral springs, grotto and reputed miraculous cures.

On the Feast of the Assumption (15 August), according to Reverend Otto Weber, 'many thousands converged to Kaczyka ... with no village or town from which a large number did not participate'.¹¹⁸ Young and old set out, lunch in knapsack, singing and praying as they went, reminiscent of the pilgrims of old. Those too ill or too weak to sustain the rigors of a barefooted pilgrimage, traveled by horse and wagon. The procession, led by laymen carrying a crucifix, followed by standard bearers with church flags, wound its way over dirt roads, through streams and over hills, increasing in size as it advanced. All were welcome and members of other denominations, in particular the Romanian Orthodox, readily joined the marching column. Those who did not, stood in respectful silence, hat in hand, until it passed. As the worshippers approached their destination, they were greeted by a delegation from Kaczyka. Each group in salutation tipped its crucifix and flags toward the other before proceeding to the church.¹¹⁹

These pilgrimages served not only a religious purpose but a social function as well, giving relatives and friends an opportunity to renew contacts and breaking the isolation and monotony of village life. In South Bukovina, annual pilgrimages were made to the churches of Paltinossa on Ascension Thursday, to Bukschoja on Pentecost, to Gurahumora on Trinity Sunday and to Buchenhain on the Feast of St. Anne (26 July).¹²⁰

Religious themes also provided the subject matter for popular theatre. Although professional theatrical groups seldom, if ever, performed in the villages, this did not deter their inhabitants from improvising their own dramatizations. In their study of German popular drama, *Das deutsche Volksschauspiel in der Bukowina*, Alfred Karasek and Josef Lanz noted 75 localities with German residents which produced 196 plays, or 2.6 per community. Including nativity, passion and morality plays, they were performed in the open streets, from house to house or in churches, auditoriums and public halls. Scarcely any village in Bukovina with even a very small number of German families, according to Karasek and Lanz, failed to stage an occasional drama.¹²¹

The folk plays of the Bukovina-Germans fall into ten basic groups, some of which had been introduced by the Protestant Zipsers of Jakobeni and Eisenau but most performed both by German Protestants and Catholics alike.¹²² The so-called Apostle plays, that is, morality plays with twelve characters, had infinite variations. Focusing on religious themes in which the sinner is eventually saved from damnation and reconciled with God, the plays were introduced to Bukovina by German settlers from the Bohemian Forest. Bitter confessional conflicts during the Reformation had left the German-Bohemian Catholics with a need to express their faith by a bold outward assertiveness, which took the form of frequent processions as well as elaborate passion plays and resurrection celebrations.¹²³ In their political and geographic isolation, the German-Bohemians were able to retain aspects of their folk culture longer than most other German groups with the result that they introduced a larger number of folk plays into Bukovina than did the Palatines or Swabians.¹²⁴

Almost one-third of Bukovina's Germans were of Protestant persuasion, including almost all the Swabians and about two-thirds of the Zipsers. In that their settlement had proceeded along ethnic as well as confessional lines, there arose exclusively Catholic and Protestant Swabian communities with Czernowitz, Radautz-Milleschoutz and Illischestie the predominant Protestant centers. With the migration of the Zipsers, Jakobeni became a nucleus of Protestantism in the southwestern section of the province. Illischestie and Jakobeni had the only purely Lutheran congregations in Bukovina, the others including Germans of the Calvinist faith. The Hungarian Protestants, mainly Calvinists, maintained their religious autonomy, affiliated with the parish of Andrasfalva.¹²⁵

Joseph II's Patent of Toleration notwithstanding, the Catholic Church remained a privileged institution throughout the Habsburg realm. While Protestants could worship freely, they were prohibited from building churches with towers, using bells, and facing church entrances on the street-side (that is front) of the building. An exception was the Protestant church of Czernowitz, which as early as 1849 obtained permission to adorn its new structure with tower and bell, a concession granted by the government over the objections of the city's Catholic hierarchy. An imperial edict in 1844 had already rescinded the proscription against bells, but implementation still caused friction in isolated instances.¹²⁶

Vital statistics could be kept by the Protestants only after Francis Joseph's Protestant Patent (1861), followed by his Imperial Decree of 1866. (Previously such records had to be turned over to the Catholic parishes.) And in questions of litigation involving Catholic interests, Bukovina's Protestants likewise felt themselves disadvantaged and complained of discrimination.¹²⁷

A small minority in Catholic Austria, the German Protestants received no state funds for their private schools or churches and had to rely on their own resources for their continued existence. 'No Protestant church in Bukovina',

notes Pastor Edgar Miter, 'was built without the help of the *Gustav-Adolf-Verein*' in Germany.¹²⁸ In 1895 this association contributed 1,000 marks for the operation of the parish schools of Katherinendorf and Alexanderdorf. Although the two villages constituted one parish, each had its own school, the one in Alexanderdorf opening in 1863 and that in Katherinendorf in 1869. The first teachers lacked adequate educational preparation and were paid in kind by the parents. Parishioners contributed voluntary labor for the construction and maintenance of the school buildings and grounds and provided for the teachers' salaries, school supplies, libraries, heating materials and the like. These two institutions were among the five German Protestant schools to survive the Romanization of the inter-war period, attesting to the determination and willingness of the parents to make financial sacrifices for the ethnic and religious education of their children.¹²⁹

The majority of the Lutheran pastors came from Transylvania or Galicia with some from Germany. Until the end of the First World War they were under the superintendency of Biala (Galicia) which in turn reported to the Protestant High Consistory (*Oberkirchenrat*) in Vienna. The Bukovina-East Galician superintendency included 11 parishes, 21 affiliated communities, nine missionary stations, 16 schools and 25,698 parishioners.¹³⁰ After the erection of a national frontier between Bukovina and Galicia (that is, Romania-Poland) following the First World War, Bukovina's evangelical churches came under the administrative jurisdiction of Transylvania.

A major difference between Bukovina's Protestant and Catholic churches lay in their perceptions of ethnic concerns. In that the Lutherans of southeast Europe 'were almost without exception of German nationality', their churches played a central role in the retention of the German ethnic identity.¹³¹ The German Catholic communities were generally served by Polish clerics who often did not know the German language and saw it as their task to Polishize their congregations. The Protestants, on the other hand, were all Germans and viewed religion and nationality as inseparable pillars of their existence. As a result, occasional tensions arose between German Protestants and Catholics not unlike that in other states where members of these two Christian denominations lived side by side. With the post-First World War dissolution of the Galician connection, inter-confessional antagonisms gradually subsided. The Germans then found it in their mutual interest to join in a common bond to defend their national interests against a new threat: the Romanization tendencies of Bucharest.¹³²

That the Germans, a relatively small ethnic minority in a multi-national sea retained their national identity and continued to increase in number and influence throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is attributable to certain political, social and economic factors characteristic of the Habsburg Empire. As the official language of Bukovina, German enjoyed a preferential status. Those seeking state employment had to be proficient in German, which drew numerous Romanians and Ukrainians into the

German cultural sphere. Moreover, the Jews, about 11 per cent of the population, used German (see table, p.94) and sent their children to German-language schools. Partially through Jewish influence, German became the language of the cities and of commerce throughout the province. The Austrian policy of providing state education in the mother tongue in all communities with a minimum enrolment of 40 pupils for three consecutive years worked to the advantage of such small national groups as the Germans. It assured literacy in the native language for minorities which otherwise might have been assimilated by their more numerous neighbors. Finally, limited mobility in a largely agrarian and sedentary society worked to isolate and maintain those German rural settlements established during the Habsburg period.

Neither affluent nor privileged, the Germans for the most part remained a pioneering class, owning little land and adhering closely to traditions of family and church. Many lived in poverty, leading from the 1880s to emigration to the New World.¹³³ The failure of the glass enterprises and the mines, the feudal restrictions on land tenure, the difficulty of cultivating Bukovina's heavily-forested mountainous terrain and the limited opportunity for occupational mobility kept many colonists at a marginal level of existence for several generations. Nonetheless, the German impact on Bukovina's development was considerable. Improvements in agricultural techniques, commercialization of the forests, introduction of Western concepts of law, education, journalism and the arts are among their many material and cultural contributions to their adopted homeland.

The Germanization of Bukovina had never been intended either by Joseph II or by his successors;¹³⁴ nor did it in fact take place, as the last Austrian census cited above clearly indicates. Yet within a little more than a century the Germans had become the unifying element throughout the province, drawing others into their fold. Czernowitz became a centre of humanistic culture with its university a focal point of intercultural exchange. Romanians, Ukrainians, Jews and Poles contributed to German literature, some writing in German before turning to their own native tongue as a vehicle of expression. The Jewish novelist Karl Emil Franzos, the Ukrainians Georg Fedkowicz and Georg von Drozdowski and the Romanians Mihai Eminescu and Paul Celan are but a few of the literati who earned distinction well beyond the borders of Bukovina.¹³⁵ Professor Emanuel Turczynski of the Ruhr University of Bochum has noted that 'without in the least suppressing or inhibiting other national groups', German culture flourished and acted as a leaven on the ethnic consciousness of the non-German population.¹³⁶ The Romanian Mihai Cismarescu, in contrasting French and German influence on Romanian culture, notes that the former 'served as a model, requiring imitation', while the latter worked as a catalyst, leading to one's inner self, awakening one's self-awareness, demanding the return to one's inner being, to the spirit of one's own people. 'Become what you are' seems to be the message of German culture to the people and peoples with whom it comes into contact.¹³⁷

The nationality conflicts so characteristic of other provinces of the Austro-Hungarian Empire are conspicuous for their absence in its eastern-most crown land. 'Bukovina could not be claimed by any one nationality as their national home', observes the English historian A. J. P. Taylor, 'and had no history over which they could fight'.¹³⁸ No ethnic group held a numerical majority; none could advance irredentist claims for union with another state; most of its people had entered the province as colonists after 1775. Similarly no religious denomination predominated. While the Catholic Church enjoyed a privileged position in Austria, the wealthy Religious Foundation amply provided for the needs of the Orthodox Church, indirectly benefiting Orthodoxy in neighboring states as well. Competition among the churches centered on theological scholarship rather than on aggressive proselytism. In Bukovina, everyone was free 'to become holy in his own way'.¹³⁹ Its nationalities maintained the *pax bucoviniensis* until the dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy in 1918 and even then the collapse resulted more from external pressures than from internal indigenous forces. To the dozen or so ethnic groups calling Bukovina their home, life was tolerant, harmonious and interculturally fruitful. As Hans Prelitsch warned, 'The European will become Bukovinerish, or Europe will cease to exist'.¹⁴⁰

Endnotes

1. Karl Emil Franzos, *Aus Halb-Asien: Kulturbilder aus Galizien, der Bukowina und Rumänien* (Leipzig, Verlag von Duncker & Humblot, 1876), p. iii-v.
2. Erich Beck depicts in word and picture Bukovina's contrasting Eastern and Western cultural influences in *Bukowina: Land zwischen Orient und Okzident* (Freilassing, Pannonia-Verlag, 1963).
3. Muil von Melag (alias Hans Prelitsch), 'Das Modell Europas', in Landsmannschaft der Buchenlanddeutschen (ed.), *Warum Raimund-Kaindl-Bund?* (Munich, n.d.), p. 22.
4. Oskar Beck; 'Bukowina: Schweiz des Ostens?', *Der Südostdeutsche* (Munich), 15 March 1978, p. 5. Published monthly by the *Landsmannschaft der Buchenlanddeutschen* (Association of Bukovina-Germans), *Der Südostdeutsche* contains historical and contemporary information about Bukovina and its inhabitants as well as articles on refugee questions and on the status of present-day German communities in eastern Europe.
5. Artifacts confirm human habitation in Bukovina as early as the neolithic period. Raimund Friedrich Kaindl discusses the early tribes which sojourned in the province including the Dacians, Goths, Huns, Gepidae, Avers, Vlachs, Cuman Turks and Ruthenians in *Geschichte der Bukowina van der ältesten Zeit bis zur Gegenwart* (Czernowitz, k.k. Universitätsbuchhandlung H. Pardini, 1904).
6. Friedrich Reindl, *Erinnerungen an Suczawa* (Munich, Landsmannschaft der Buchenlanddeutschen, 1977), p.3; Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Die Deutschen in Galizien und in der Bukowina* (Frankfurt, Verlag von Heinrich Keller,

1916), p. 46-7.

7. Erwin Massier, 'Deutsche in der alten Moldau', in Erwin Massier, Josef Talsky and B.C. Grigorowicz (eds.), *Bukowina: Heimat von Gestern* (Karlsruhe, Selbstverlag 'Arbeitskreis Bukowina Heimatbuch', 1956), p. 72.
8. Kaindl, *Die Deutschen in Galizien und in der Bukowina*, p. 47.
9. Massier, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
10. Kaindl, *Die Deutschen in Galizien und in der Bukowina*, p. 69.
11. Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Das Ansiedlungswesen in der Bukowina seit der Besitz ergreifung durch Oesterreich* (Innsbruck, Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1902), p. 320.
12. Until its annexation by Austria in 1775 the land called Bukovina had been an integral component of the Principality of Moldavia (established 1342). Following a short period of Austrian military rule, it was administratively linked with Galicia (1786/1849), after which it became an autonomous Austrian crownland. After passing to Romanian control at the end of the First World War, Bucharest abolished the old provincial boundaries and reorganized Bukovina into five administrative districts: Czernowitz, Kimpolung, Radautz, Storozynetz and Suczawa. Since the end of the Second World War its northern districts have been incorporated into the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic of the Soviet Union. The name, Bukovina, has validity now only as a geographic expression.
13. Emanuel Michael Freiherr von Kapri, *Buchenland: Ein österreichische: Kranland verschiedener Völkergruppen* (Munich, Eigenverlag Landsmannschaft der Buchenlanddeutschen, 1974), p. 16.
14. *Ibid.* p. 17.
15. Nikolaus V. Preradovich. 'Ein grosses historisches Porträt vom Erwerb des Buchenlandes durch Oesterreich vor 200 Jahren', *Der Südostdeutsche*, 1 July 1975, p. 2.
16. (?) Reichensteiner, 'Ab- und Auswanderung aus dem Klinischen', in Volkskundlicher Arbeitskreis für den mittleren Böhmerwald 'Klinische Freibauern' (ed.), *Im Lande der künischen Freibauern: Heimatbuch far den mittleren Böhmenwald* (2nd ed., Grafenau, Verlag Morsak, 1980), p. 136.
17. Hugo Weczerka, *Die Deutschen im Buchenland* (Würzburg, Holzner-Verlag, 1955), p. 13.
18. Kapei, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
19. Weczerka, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
20. Sepp Janko, *Weg und Ende der deutschen Volksgruppe in Jugoslawien* (Graz-Stuttgart, Leopold Stocker Verlag, 1982), p. 13.
21. Frederick II attracted some 300,000 colonists from surrounding states, offering them several years' exemption from taxation, freedom from military conscription unto the third generation, and in some cases, direct financial assistance. More than 50,000 were settled in the reclaimed swamp lands along the lower Oder River, with others moving to Pomerania, Ostfriedland, Silesia and the Altmark of Brandenburg. In all about 250 new agricultural villages

were founded in Frederick's time (W.D. Reddaway, *Frederick the Great and the Rise of Prussia* [London, Putnam, 1904], p. 185-6).

²². Catherine II's Manifesto of 22 July 1763 and Alexander I's Manifesto of 20 Feb. 1804, excerpts of which are printed in Karl Stumpp, (*Die Russlanddeutschen: Zweihundert Jahre unterwegs* (Freilassing/Bavaria, Pannonia-Verlag, 1964), p. 9 seq.), guaranteed religious and school autonomy, freedom from taxation for ten to thirty years, exemption from military service 'in perpetuity', and the unrestricted right to emigrate at any time. Some 100,000 Germans, largely from Württemberg, Baden, the Palatinate and Alsace responded to the invitation to resettle in Russia, the largest waves departing between 1763-1824. By the eve of the First World War the Germans had established more than 3,000 colonies or daughter colonies (that is, agricultural villages) and acquired over nine million hectares of land ('Die sowjetdeutschen sehen nur noch einen Ausweg: Auswandern', *Volk auf dem Weg* (Stuttgart), Nov. 1979, p.7). Despite unusually heavy losses through deportations, emigration and war casualties in the Stalin era, they presently number almost 1.9 million, ranking fourteenth among the Soviet Union's 115-odd ethnic groups.

²³. 'Das Ansiedlungspatent Joseph II', printed in Erwin Massier (ed.), *Fratautz und die Fratautzer: Vom Werden und Vergehen einer deutschen Dorfgemeinschaft in der Bukowina* (Heidelberg, 1957), p. 13-14.

²⁴. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

²⁵. Christian Armbruester, *Deutsch-Satulmare: Geschichte eines buchenländischen Pfälzlerdorfes* (Karlsruhe, Verlag Otto Nees, 1961), p. 4.

²⁶. Erwin Massier, 'Zum guten Beispiel berufen', in *Bukowina: Heimat von Gestern*, p. 88.

²⁷. Johann Polek, 'Die Deutschen', in *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild: Bukowina* (Vienna, Verlag der k.k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1899), p. 296.

²⁸. Ion Nistor, *Bessarabia and Bukovina* (Bucharest, 1939), p. 52.

²⁹. Hugo Weczerka, 'Siedlungsgeschichte des Bukowiner Deutschtums', in Franz Lang (ed.), *Buchenland: 150 Jahre Deutschtum in der Bukowina* (Munich, Verlag des Südostdeutschen Kulturwerks, 1961), p. 33-4.

³⁰. Erich Beck, *Bukowina: Land zwischen Orient und Okzident*, p. 12.

³¹. Massier, 'Zum guten Beispiel berufen', p. 91.

³². By 1930 the Germans held a majority or represented a sizeable minority in 91 villages, nine towns and one city (Norbert Zimmer, *Die deutschen Siedlungen im Buchenland (Bukowina)* (Plauen im Vogtland, Verlag Günther Wolff, 1930), p. 9).

³³. Map of German settlements in Bukovina, printed in Weczerka, "Siedlungsgeschichte des Bukowiner Deutschtums," p. 26.

³⁴. Kaindl, *Das Ansiedlungswesen in der Bukowina seit der Besitzergreifung durch Oesterreich*, p. 346-52.

³⁵. Erich Prokopowitsch, 'Zur Ansiedlungsgeschichte von

Karlsberg', in *Buchenland: 150 Jahre Deutschtum in der Bukowina*, p. 66-7.

³⁶. Kaindl, *Das Ansiedlungswesen in der Bukowina seit der Besitzergreifung durch Oesterreich*, p. 354.

³⁷. Linde Blass-Kiessling, 'Das Dorf Karlsberg in der Bukowina', in Rudolf Wagner (ed.), *Bori, Karlsberg und andere deutschböhmisches Siedlungen in der Bukowina* (Munich, Verlag 'Der Südostdeutsche', 1982), p. 77-8.

³⁸. Reichensteiner, p. 136.

³⁹. Josef Wild, *Fürstenthal: Eine deutsch-böhmische Gemeinde in der Bukowina* (Munich, Landsmannschaft der Buchenlanddeutschen, 1981), p. 15.

⁴⁰. Emil Stadler, 'Mein Vaters Geburtsort Krasna Ilski', in *Bori, Karlsberg und andere deutschböhmisches Siedlungen in der Bukowina*, p. 62-3. The glassworks, deep in the woods, was partly destroyed by fire during the First World War; the salvageable equipment was then transferred to Putna only to be totally demolished in the Second World War (*ibid.*).

⁴¹. Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Geschichte der Bukowina: Die Bukowina unter der Herrschaft des österreichischen Kaiserhauses (seit 1774)* (Czernowitz, Commissionsverlag der k.k. Universitätsbuchhandlung H. Pardini, 1898), p. 77.

⁴². Weczerka, 'Siedlungsgeschichte des Bukowiner Deutschtums', p. 36.

⁴³. Reichensteiner, p.134. In the early nineteenth century German-Bohemians left their homeland in sizeable numbers for Galicia, the Banat, Bavaria and the New World (*ibid.*, p. 141-51).

⁴⁴. Kaindl, *Die Deutschen in Galizien und in der Bukowina*, p. 64. Not all German colonists found themselves in such dire economic straits as the German-Bohemians. Filpovoe Heimatblätternotes that the Swabian colonists in the Banat 'not infrequently brought with them 600, 800, 1,000 Gulden, even up to 2,500 Gulden in cash ... in any event a respectable fortune' equivalent to the value of a farmstead of 140 Joch (vol. II, no. 7 [July 1938], p. 11). Their desire to emigrate stemmed in large part from the fact that their homeland had for decades been a battlefield for the wars of Louis XIV, Louis XV and Napoleon.

⁴⁵. Alfred Klug, *Die Besiedelung von Bori* (Czernowitz, Verlag 'Deutsche Tagespost', 1935), p. 8.

⁴⁶. Kaindl, *Die Deutschen in Galizien und in der Bukowina*, p. 76.

⁴⁷. Conversation with Julia Tands (Bori) held in Haverstraw, New York on 8 May 1981 and with Albrecht Schaffhauser (Bori) held in Hackensack, New Jersey on 25 March 1981.

⁴⁸. Klug, *op. cit.*, p. 26-7

⁴⁹. Unpublished map of Bori (Bukovina) drawn by Sepp Günthner, Mannheim, Federal Republic of Germany (1972); made available to author by Emil Haiti, Abtsgmünd, Federal Republic of Germany.

⁵⁰. Kaindl, *Geschichte der Bukowina: Die Bukowina unter der Herrschaft des österreichischen Kaiserhauses (seit 1774)*, p. 75.

⁵¹. Reichensteiner, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

⁵². Kapri, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

- ⁵³. Kaindl, *Das Ansiedlungswesen in der Bukowina seit der Besitzergreifung durch Oesterreich*, p. 336
- ⁵⁴. Kapri, *op. cit.*, p. 112.
- ⁵⁵. Weczerka, *Die Deutschen im Buchenland*, p.17.
- ⁵⁶. *Ibid.*, p. 17-18
- ⁵⁷. Massier, 'Zum guten Beispiel berufen', p. 95.
- ⁵⁸. Rudolf Wagner (ed.), *Die Reisetagebücher des österreichischen Kaisers Franz I. in die Bukowina (1817 und 1823)* (Munich, Verlag 'Der Südostdeutsche', 1979), p. 68-9.
- ⁵⁹. Kapri, *op. cit.*, p.113.
- ⁶⁰. 'Einiges über Zipseregemeinden in der Bukowina', *Der Südostdeutsche*, 15 May 1978, p. 1.
- ⁶¹. Kaindl, *Das Ansiedlungswesen in der Bukowina seit der Besitzergreifung durch Oesterreich*, p. 343.
- ⁶². 'Einiges über Zipseregemeinden in der Bukowina', p. 1.
- ⁶³. *Die Reisetagebücher des österreichischen Kaisers Franz I. in die Bukowina (1817 und 1823)*, p. 68.
- ⁶⁴. B. C. Grigorowicz, 'Die Zipsersiedlung Jakobenii', in *Bukowina: Heimat von Gestern*, p.152.
- ⁶⁵. Kapri, *op. cit.*, p. 113.
- ⁶⁶. Erich Beck, 'Die Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Deutschen in der Bukowina', in *Buchenland: 150 Jahre Deutschum in der Bukowina*, p. 177.
- ⁶⁷. Rudolf Wagner, *Die Bukowina und ihre Deutschen* (Vienna, Schutzverein'Oesterr. Landsmannschaft', 1979), p. 22.
- ⁶⁸. Weczerka, *Die Deutschen im Buchenland*, p. 20.
- ⁶⁹. Weczerka, 'Siedlungsgeschichte des Bukowiner Deutschums', p. 39.
- ⁷⁰. Kaindl, *Die Deutschen in Galizien und in der Bukowina*, p. 77.
- ⁷¹. Hans Prelitsch, *Student in Czernowitz: Die Korporationen an der Czernowitzer Universität* (Munich, Landsmannschaft der Buchenlanddeutschen, 1961), p. 9-10.
- ⁷². Josef Talsky, 'Die landschaftliche Verteilung der Deutschen im Buchenland'. in *Bukowina: Heimat von Gestern*, p. 97-8.
- ⁷³. Carl Petersen and Otto Scheel (eds.), *Handwörterbuch des Grenz- und Auslands-deutschums* (Breslau, Ferdinand Hirt, 1933), I, p. 616. The Austrian census was based on *Umgangssprache*, that is, on the language of everyday use. This method of determining nationality had been accepted at an international statistical congress held in St. Petersburg in 1873. While most of the Jews of Bukovina spoke German, the census further subdivided the group based on religious affiliation. German-speaking Hebrews in 1900 numbered 91,907; in 1910 there were 95,706 (*ibid.*).
- ⁷⁴. Herbert Mayer, 'Ergebnisse der letzten Selbstzählungen der Deutschen in der Bukowina vor der Umsiedlung', *Kaindl-Archiv: Mitteilungen der Raimund Friedrich Kaindl Gesellschaft* (Stuttgart, 1978), 1, p.29. Of its German population numbering more than 75,000 on the eve of the Second World War, only some 2,000 remain there today. The others, victims of wartime population transfers and political upheavals are now widely scattered, the majority residing in the Federal Republic of Germany and in Austria.
- For the wartime transfer of the Bukovina-Germans see Sophie A. Welisch, 'The Second World War Resettlement of the Bukovina-Germans', *Immigrants and Minorities*, vol. 3, no. 1 (March, 1984), p. 49-50.
- ⁷⁵. Weczerka, *Die Deutschen im Buchenland*, p. 21.
- ⁷⁶. Herbert Mayer, 'Die Entwicklung des Postwesens in der Bukowina nach deren Angliederung an Oesterreich', *Kaindl-Archiv: Mitteilungen der Raimund Friedrich Kaindl Gesellschaft* (Stuttgart, 1982), p. 35. The first postal service opened in Czernowitz in 1783 with connections to Galicia and Transylvania. Between 1818 and 1829 the towns of Kotzman, Suczawa, Sereth and Gurahumora had post offices with Radautz, Kimpolung, Storozynetz and Dorna-Watra following between 1836 and 1850. By the end of the century 108 towns and villages had their own post offices. The telegraph came to Czernowitz in 1854 and extended by 1900 to an additional 60 communities. In 1883 the first telephone was installed in Czernowitz (*ibid.*, p. 35 -7).
- ⁷⁷. *Handwörterbuch des Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschums*, p. 617.
- ⁷⁸. Erich Beck, 'Zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Deutschen in der Bukowina', p. 178.
- ⁷⁹. Kaindl, *Die Deutschen in Galizien und in der Bukowina*, p. 128.
- ⁸⁰. Christian Wendling, 'Zur Tierzucht und Landwirtschaft des Buchenlandes', in *Buchenland: 150 Jahre Deutschum in der Bukowina*, p. 199-200.
- ⁸¹. Weczerka, *Die Deutschen im Buchenland*, p. 23.
- ⁸². Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
- ⁸³. Wagner, *Die Bukowina und ihre Deutschen*, p. 33.
- ⁸⁴. Carlton J. H. Hayes, *A Generation of Materialism: 1871-1900* (New York, Harper & Row, 1963), p. 174.
- ⁸⁵. Degenhardt Liebenwein, *Storozynetz Buchenland-Bukowina: Beschreibung und Erinnerungen* (Darmstadt, 1983), p. 75.
- ⁸⁶. Erich Prokopowitsch, 'Die Entwicklung des Schulwesens in' der Bukowina, in *Buchenland: 150 Jahre Deutschum in der Bukowina*, p. 284-5.
- ⁸⁷. Kaindl, *Das Ansiedlungswesen in der Bukowina seit der Besitzergreifung durch Oesterreich*, p. 330-31.
- ⁸⁸. Erich Prokopowitsch, 'Der Kampf um die Bukowiner deutsche Schule während der rumänischen Herrschaft 1919-1940', *Südostdeutsche Vierteljahresblätter*, vol. XIV,
- ⁸⁹. Iwan M. Nowosiwskyj and Basil Kolotylo, 'Die Ukrainistik an der Universität Czernowitz', in Rudolf Wagner (ed.), *Alma Mater Francisco Josephina: Die deutsch sprachige Nationalitäten-Universität in Czernowitz. Festschrift zum 100. Jahrestag ihrer Eröffnung 1875* (Munich, Verlag Hans Meschendorfer, 1979), p. 225.
- ⁹⁰. Ion Popinceanu, 'Die theologische Fakultät der Universität Czernowitz', in *ibid.*, p. 134.
- ⁹¹. Erich Prokopowitsch, *Gründung, Entwicklung und Ende der Franz-Josephs Universität in Czernowitz (Bukowina-Buchenland)* (Clausthal-Zellerfeld, Ed.Piepersche Buchdruckerei und Verlagsanstalt, 1955), p. 40.
- ⁹². Prelitsch, *Student in Czernowitz: Die Korporationen an der Czernowitzer Universität*, p. 27, 37.

- ⁹³. Prokopowitsch, *Gründung, Entwicklung und Ende der Franz-Josephs-Universität (Bukowina-Buchenland)*, p. 77-8.
- ⁹⁴. Erich Prokopowitsch, *Die Entwicklung des Pressewesens in der Bukowina* (Vienna, Forschungs- und Kulturwelt der Oesterreicher aus dem Donau-, Sudeten- und Karpatenraum, 1962), p. 6.
- ⁹⁵. Wagner, *Die Bukowina und ihre Deutschen*, p. 61.
- ⁹⁶. Prokopowitsch, *Die Entwicklung des Pressewesens in der Bukowina*, p. 32-3
- ⁹⁷. *Ibid.*, p. 14-15, 21-22.
- ⁹⁸. Stefan Stefanowicz, 'Das Musikleben in der Bukowina', in *Buchenland: 150 Jahre Deutschtum in der Bukowina*, p. 489.
- ⁹⁹. *Ibid.*, p. 490-91.
- ¹⁰⁰. Paula Tiefenthaler, *Das Musikleben in der Bukowina* (Munich, Eigenverlag Landsmannschaft der Buchenlanddeutschen, n.d.), p. 7-8.
- ¹⁰¹. Rudolf Wagner, *Deutsches Kulturleben in der Bukowina* (Vienna, Schutzverein Oesterr. Landsmannschaft, 1981), p. 53.
- ¹⁰². Erich Beck, 'Joseph Gregor zum Gedächtnis', *Südostdeutsche Vierteljahresblätter*, vol. XIII, no. 1 (1964), p. 3.
- ¹⁰³. Tiefenthaler, *op. cit.*, p. 12-13.
- ¹⁰⁴. *Handwörterbuch des Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschtums*, p. 640.
- ¹⁰⁵. 'Otto von Habsburg aber Czernowitz und dessen Universität', *Der Südostdeutsche*, 15 Oct. 1975, p. 1.
- ¹⁰⁶. Josef Lehner. 'Die bildenden Künste in der Bukowina', in *Buchenland: 150 Jahre Deutschtum in der Bukowina*, p. 475.
- ¹⁰⁷. Wagner, *Deutsches Kulturleben in der Bukowina*, p. 57.
- ¹⁰⁸. *Ibid.* p. 57-8. All monuments of the Austrian period were removed after Bukovina's annexation to Romania following the First World War. Wagner recounts that after the aurochs replaced the Austrian double eagle on the Austria Monument in Czernowitz, 'unknown people bought a unload of hay at the market and unloaded it in front of the ox so that, it was said, "he should not get hungry'.' (*Ibid.*, p. 59)
- ¹⁰⁹. Lehner, *op. cit.*, p. 477.
- ¹¹⁰. *Handwörterbuch des Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschtums*, p. 616.
- ¹¹¹. Josef Lehner, 'Die katholische Kirche in der Bukowina', in *Buchenland: 150 Jahre Deutschtums in der Bukowina*, p. 249.
- ¹¹². Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 37-8.
- ¹¹³. Reichensteiner, *op. cit.*, p. 138.
- ¹¹⁴. Conversation with Caecilie Loy and Josefa Kraus (both from Paltinossa) held in Pearl River. New York on 18 Aug. 1983.
- ¹¹⁵. Conversation with Julia Tanda (Bori) held in Haverstraw, New York on 8 May 1981 and with Albrecht Schaffhauser (Bori) held in Hackensack, New Jersey on 25 March 1981.
- ¹¹⁶. Otto Weber, 'Die deutsche Kirche im Buchenland: Die katholische Kirche', in *Bukowina: Heimat von Gestern*, p. 169-70.
- ¹¹⁷. Conversation with Bertha Hard (Gurahumora) held in Valley Cottage, New York on 18 Dec. 1981.
- ¹¹⁸. Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 170.
- ¹¹⁹. Conversation with Rosa Straub (Kimpolung) held in Bergenfield, New Jersey on 8 Dec. 1980.
- ¹²⁰. Conversation with Franz Kübeck (Gurahumora) held in Ulm, Federal Republic of Germany on 28 July 1980 and with Stefanie Mirwald (Gurahumora) held in Jamaica, New York on 19 Nov. 1980.
- ¹²¹. Alfred Karasek and Josef Tanz, *Das deutsche Volksschauspiel in der Bukowina* (Marburg, N.G. Elwert Verlag, 1971), p. 8-13.
- ¹²². According to Edmund Neumann, these included: (1) *Die Christ-kindlspiele*, (2) *Die Apostelspiele*, (3) *Die 'Heroden'*, (4) *Das Dreikönigsspiel mit Tod und Teufel*, (5) *Die Heroden-Ritter-Spiele*, (6) *Das Dreikönigsspiel from Jakobeni*, (7) *Die Schäferkomödie from Jakobeni*, (8) *Das Sternsingen*, (9) *Die Dreikönigsumgänge*, and (10) *Des Paradeisspiel from Eisenau* ('Das deutsche Volksschauspiel im Buchenland', *Kaindl-Archiv Mitteilungen der Raimund Friedrich Kaindl Gesellschaft*, 1, 15).
- ¹²³. Karasek and Tanz, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
- ¹²⁴. Neumann, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
- ¹²⁵. Ekkehart Lebouton, 'Evangelisches Leben in der Bukowina', in *Bukowina: Heimat von Gestern*, p. 17.
- ¹²⁶. Edgar Müller, *Die evangelischen Gemeinden in der Bukowina: Aufbau und Ende, Part II* (Munich, Hilfswerk für die evangelischen Deutschen aus der Bukowina, 1972), p. 29-30.
- ¹²⁷. *Ibid.*, p. 30
- ¹²⁸. Edgar Müller, *Die evangelische Kirchengemeinde Neu-Zadowa und Nikolausdorf von ihrer Gründung bis zur Umsiedlung 1883-1940* (Kirchheim/Teck, Hilfskomitee für die evangelischen Deutschen aus der Bukowina, n.d.), p. 24. The Gustav-Adolf Verein was founded in 1832 to aid Lutheran communities in the diaspora.
- ¹²⁹. Konrad Gross, *Die evangelischen Gemeinden in der Bukowina: Alexanderdorf and Katherinendorf von 1863-1940* (Bächingen/Brenz, 1978), p. 17.
- ¹³⁰. Ekkehart Lebouton, *Die Evangelische Pfarrgemeinde A. B. Czernowitz zwischen den beiden Weltkriegen (1918-1940)* (Vienna, Evangelischer Pressverband in Oesterreich, 1969), p. 5. Lebouton gives the Bukovina Lutheran parishes with the dates of their founding and numbers of parishioners as of 1934 as follows:

Founded	Parishioners
1791 Radautz (Satulmare, Badeutz, Milleschoutz, Arbora)	1,982
1795 Czernowitz (Unter-Stanestie)	5,668
1852 Jakobeni (Donna, Kirlibaba)	2,122
1858 Illischestie (Gurahumora, Korlata, Balaczana, Brasca)	2,969
1902 Neu-Itzkany (Mitoka-Dragomimea, Sucawa)	1,178
1902 Hliboka (Terescheny)	452
1905 Deutsch-Tereblestie (Sereth)	1,189
1908 Alt-Fratautz (Neu-Fratautz)	1,878
1923 Storozynetz (Zadowa, Nikolausdorf, Katherinendorf)	1,127
1925 Eisenau (Frassin, Freudenthal)	1,484
1925 Pozoritta (Luisenthal, Kimpolung)	1,346
	Total 21,395

¹³¹. Ekkehart Lebouton, 'Der evangelische Anteil am deutschen Leben in der Bukowina', in *Buchenland: 150 Jahre Deutschtum in der Bukowina*, p. 257.

¹³². Mailer, *Die evangelischen Gemeinden in der Bukowina: Aufbau und Ende*, p. 30-31.

¹³³. Sophie A. Welisch describes the three waves of immigration to the United States (1880-1914, 1920-24 and 1947-57) from the Three Bukovinian villages of Bori, Paltinossa and Gurahumora and the immigrants' assimilation into a capitalistic urban society ('Deutschböhmisches Pioniere in den Stadien Amerikas', in *Bori, Karlsberg und andere deutschböhmisches Siedlungen in der Bukowina*, p. 41-59.)

¹³⁴. Alexander Blase, *Raimund Friedrich Kaindl (1866-1930): Leben und Werk* (Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1962), p. 29. Kaindl maintains that had Germanization been the objective, German colonists would have been settled in compact geographic areas rather than scattered throughout the province in small numbers. Adding five to eight families to already-existing villages would serve to hasten German assimilation into the native population rather than the reverse.

¹³⁵. Irma Bornemann, 'Kulturfeier in Augsburg: Johanna Brucker, eine Dichterin aus dem Buchenland', *Der Südostdeutsche*, 15 Dec. 1977, p. 9.

¹³⁶. Emanuel Turczynski, 'Die wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Leistung des Buchenlanddeutschtums in der alten und neuen Heimat', in Landsmannschaft der deutschen Umsiedler aus der Bukowina in Deutschland (ed.), *Das Bundestreffen 1951: Eine Bestandsaufnahme des Buchenlanddeutschtums* (Munich, 1951). p. 5-6.

¹³⁷. Mihai Cismărescu, 'Einige Betrachtungen über den Einfluss der deutschen Kultur in Rumänien', in Constantin Spores (ed.), *Revista Scriitorilor Romani* (Munich, Societatea Academică Romani, 1980), p. 196-7.

¹³⁸. Alan J. P. Taylor, *The Habsburg Monarchy 1809-1918: A History of the Austrian Empire and Austria-Hungary* (New York, Harper & Row, 1965), p. 200.

¹³⁹. Emanuel Turczynski, 'Die politische Kultur der Bukowina: Harmonie ethnischer Kleingruppen', *Kaindl-Archiv: Mitteilungen der Raimund Friedrich Kaindl Gesellschaft* (Stuttgart, 1979), II, p. 10.

¹⁴⁰. Hans Prelitsch, 'Homo bucoviniensis', in *Bukowina: Heimat von Gestern*, p. 337.

*Fig. 6 - The Bukovina-German Settlement of Illischestie, showing the Rumanische Kirche.
Photo courtesy of Irmgard Hein Ellingson*

