

THE GENESIS OF BUKOVINA LOCAL LORE STUDIES DURING THE AUSTRIAN MILITARY RULE (1775-1786)

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Abstract: *This article analyses the first published works dedicated to Bukovinian studies during the military rule of the region in 1775–1786. Bukovina's insights have been recorded in European academic journals, with the help of prominent scientists such as August Ludwig von Schlözer and Friedrich Gottlieb Canzler.*

The peculiarity of the Bukovinian studies at the time was that the Austrian military or employees of various ranks prepared almost all information materials required by the state's highest officials on specific management decisions rather than publish them in academic or popular journals. Nevertheless, those works served as a necessary foundation for developing local lore research in Bukovina.

General major Gabriel Freiherr von Splény's memos regarding the territory were taken into account, as they documented the region's position throughout the occupation. The works of Major Friedrich von Mieg, Engineer Johann Budinszky, and Nobleman Vasile Balș contain interesting information on Bukovina. Although these reports were kept in the Vienna archives for a long time and were published only after more than a hundred years, in the late 19th century, they are rightfully considered among the first works on local lore studies about Bukovina of the Austrian period. These works contributed to the later development of local lore studies of Bukovina.

Keywords: *Austria, Bukovina, local lore studies, military administration, Gabriel Freiherr von Splény, Friedrich von Mieg, Vasile Balș, Johann Budinszky.*

Rezumat: *Geneza cercetărilor de istorie locală a Bucovinei în timpul administrației militare austriece (1775-1786). Acest articol analizează primele publicații*

dedicate cercetărilor istoriei locale în timpul stăpânirii militare a Bucovinei din anii 1775–1786. Observațiile privitoare la Bucovina au fost publicate în reviste academice europene, reputații oameni de știință August Ludwig von Schlözer și Friedrich Gottlieb Canzler jucând un rol esențial în acest sens.

Specificul studiilor bucovinene din acea epocă consta în faptul că aproape toate materialele erau pregătite de militari austrieci sau de funcționari de diferite grade, mai degrabă pentru a informa conducătorii statului în vederea adoptării unor decizii specifice, decât pentru a fi publicate în reviste științifice sau de popularizare. Cu toate acestea, respectivele lucrări au creat temelia necesară pentru dezvoltarea cercetărilor istoriei orizontului local din Bucovina.

Au fost prezentate rapoartele întocmite de generalul-maior Gabriel Freiherr von Splény cu privire la teritoriul anexat, în care situația regiunii în timpul ocupației a fost prezentată din diverse perspective. Informații interesante despre Bucovina sunt conținute în lucrările maiorului Friedrich von Mieg, inginerului Johann Budinszky, nobilului Vasile Balș. Deși aceste rapoarte au fost păstrate multă vreme în arhivele din Viena, fiind publicate după mai bine de o sută de ani, la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea, ele aparțin de bună dreptate primelor lucrări de istorie locală despre Bucovina, în perioada austriacă. Datorită acestor lucrări, studiile regionale privind Bucovina au continuat să se dezvolte cu succes în perioadele ulterioare.

INTRODUCTION

The rapid development of local lore studies in Western Europe and North America marked the 19th century. This branch has become an important component of scientific research and education in many countries. Local lore studies originated in England and France as early as the 16–17th centuries. “In both countries, it grew out of an interest in nobility, castles, coinage, parishes, armorial bearings, and lineages”.¹ Such studies continued and expanded considerably in subsequent centuries.

Much attention was paid to local lore studies in Germany, Denmark, and Sweden. Particularly popular in Germany was the concept of a “small homeland”, which arose in the context of the formation of regional self-consciousness after the unification of Germany in 1871. The study of local lore has been raised to the rank of national discipline. Local lore studies are now taught in primary schools in Germany and are among the most important disciplines there. The Association of State and Local History, which sought to unite the efforts of local

¹ Carol Kammen, *On Doing Local History*, Walnut Creek–Lanham–New York–Oxford, AltaMira Press, 2003, p. 11.

historians of individual states to deepen the study of local history, was established in the USA in 1904.²

Almost identical processes occurred in the development of local lore studies in Austria-Hungary. An ambitious local history project to publish 24 volumes of *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild* was implemented between 1886 and 1902. A separate book was planned for each crown land. Volume 20 contains extensive information on the history, demography, and nature of the Duchy of Bukovina's crownland.³ It was based on extensive exploration and research work in the late 19th – early 20th century. Dozens of works were published each year in Bukovina on the history of the region's settlements, ethnic and social groups, monasteries and churches, the development of individual industries and occupations of the population, statistics, ethnology and folklore studies. The local lore studies were included in the list of compulsory subjects in gymnasiums. Textbooks and manuals on Austria-Hungary and Bukovina local lore studies were published and associations were formed to promote research and popularize Bukovina. Both university scientists with degrees and amateurs seeking to expand their understanding of their native land conducted these searches.

However, this situation did not occur immediately. During the Austrian period, Bukovinian studies went through several stages of development, overcoming many organisational and academic obstacles along the way.

This article concentrates on the birth and first steps of Bukovina local lore studies, from the time of joining Austria in 1774-1775 until 1786 when the region was under the control of the military administration. The following research objectives have been defined according to the stated goal: to analyse the appearance of the first publications on Bukovinian studies in academic journals in the 1880s – 1890s; to identify constraints for the development of local lore studies during the specified period; to determine the most important directions and features of local lore research during the given period.

HISTORIOGRAPHY ANALYSIS

The academic literature has not yet sufficiently addressed this issue. Among the studies related to the topic, one can name the works of Johann Polek, the fund custodian of the Chernivtsi University library, who listed some results on local

² Carol Kammen, Amy H. Wilson (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Local History*, 2nd ed., Lanham–New York–Toronto–Plymouth, AltaMira Press, 2013, p. 23.

³ *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild*, Bd. XX, Wien, 1899, 532 S.

lore studies at the time, arranging them chronologically.⁴ Furthermore, in the late 18th century, Johann Polek was actively involved in the search for and publication of reports on local lore studies about Bukovina. His efforts led to the publication of works by Gabriel Freiherr von Splény, Friedrich von Mieg, Johann Budinszky, and others. These publications typically would include brief comments. The bibliographic index of Erich Beck's *Local Lore Studies of Bukovina*, which organises literature under subject headings, is essential to this study.⁵

A fragment of the publication about Bukovina from the 1790 journal "Neues Magazin für die Neuere Geschichte, Erd-und Völkerkunde als eine Fortsetzung des Büschingischen" was incorporated into Rudolf Wagner's collection of documents *Revolutionary Years 1848/1849 in the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria (including Bukovina). Records of the Austrian Period*.⁶

The bilingual German-Romanian publication *Bukovina in the First Geographical, Historical, Economic and Demographic Descriptions*⁷, as well as previously published reports about Bukovina by Gabriel Freiherr von Splény, Vasile Balș, etc. deserve to be mentioned. Radu Grigorovici wrote the introduction, afterword, notes and comments to the edition, and Dimitrie Vatamaniuc wrote the foreword. In 2019, the Romanian Cultural Centre "Eudoxiu Hurmuzachi" republished this book in Chernivtsi.⁸

The works of various authors of that period – Gabriel Freiherr von Splény⁹

⁴ Johann Polek, *Repertorium der landeskundlichen Literatur des Herzogtums Bukowina*, Czernowitz, Pardini, 1892, 186 S.; Johann Polek, *Rückblick auf die Forschungen zur Landes- und Volkskunde der Bukowina seit 1773*, in „Jahrbuch des Bukowiner Landes-Museums“. 1893, S. 3-20.

⁵ Erich Beck, *Bibliographie zur Landeskunde der Bukowina. Literatur bis zum Jahre 1965*, München, 1966.

⁶ Gabriel Freiherr von Splény, *Description de la Bukovine*, in *Die Revolutionsjahre 1848/49 im Königreich Galizien-Lodomerien (einschließlich Bukowina). Dokumente aus Österreichischer Zeit*, München, 1983, S. 105–126.

⁷ *Bucovina în primele descrieri geografice, istorice, economice și demografice* [Bukovina in the First Geographical, Historical, Economic and Demographic Descriptions], București, Editura Academiei Române, 1998.

⁸ *Bucovina în primele descrieri geografice, istorice, economice și demografice* [Bukovina in the First Geographical, Historical, Economic and Demographic Descriptions], Cernăuți, 2019.

⁹ Ferdinand Ziegler, *Der Zustand der Bukowina zur Zeit der österreichischen Occupation. Dargestellt im Spiegel der erste Deutschrift des kommandieren Generals Freih. v. Splény*, Czernowitz, 1888; Johann Polek (Hrsg.), *General Splény's Beschreibung des Bukowiner Distrikts*, Czernowitz, Pardini, 1893; Gabriel Spleni, *Opys Bukovyny* [Description of

and Vasile Balș¹⁰ – are also worth mentioning. However, they only examined the local lore studies of Bukovina during the specified period partially, through the perspective of each author's research.

Local lore studies from the military rule period contain a lot of important information about Bukovina used by researchers from various countries. They gave a brief description of these works. The analyses of Ștefan Purici¹¹, Constantin Ungureanu¹², Mihai Iacobescu¹³, Mihai-Ștefan Ceaușu¹⁴, Vasyl Botushanskyi¹⁵, Arkadiy Zhukovskiy¹⁶, Oleksandr Dobrzhanskyi¹⁷, Mykhailo Nykyforak¹⁸, Emanuel Turczyński¹⁹, Kurt Scharr²⁰ and others are also noteworthy. *Description of Bukovina* by Gabriel Freiherr von Splény was most often used in the works of

Bukovina], Pereklad z nimetskoi, peredmova i komentar O. D. Ohuia, M. M. Saika, Chernivtsi, Ruta, 1995.

¹⁰ Mihai-Ștefan Ceaușu, *Vasile Balș, un iosefinist bucovinian* [Vasile Balș, a Bukovinian Josephinist], in "Anuarul Museului Bucovina", XVII-XIX, 1990-1992, p. 407-418; Mihai-Ștefan Ceaușu, *Un iluminist bucovinian: boierul Vasile Balș (1756-1832)* [Bukovinian Enlightener: Nobleman Vasile Balș (1756-1832)], Iași, Editura Junimea, 2007, 461 p.

¹¹ Ștefan Purici, *Mișcarea națională românească în Bucovina între anii 1775-1861* [The Romanian National Movement in Bukovina in 1775-1861], Suceava, 1998.

¹² Constantin Ungureanu, *Bucovina în perioada stăpânirii austriece (1774-1918): aspecte etnodemografice și confesionale* [Bukovina during the Austrian Rule (1774-1918): Ethnic, Demographic and Confessional Aspects], Chișinău, 2003.

¹³ Mihai Iacobescu, *Din istoria Bucovinei* [From History of Bukovina], Vol. 1 (1774-1862), București, 1993.

¹⁴ Mihai-Ștefan Ceaușu, *Bucovina Habsburgică de la anexare la Congresul de la Viena* [Habsburg Bukovina from Annexation to the Congress of Vienna], Iași, 1998.

¹⁵ V. Botushanskyi (Red.), *Bukovyna. Istorychnyi narys* [Bukovina. Historical Outline], Chernivtsi, 1998; Vasyl Botushanskyi, *Pryiednannia Bukovyny do Avstrii v konteksti avstro-turetsko-rosiiskykh vidnosyn* [Annexation of Bukovina to Austria in the Context of Austro-Turkish-Russian Relations], in *Bukovyna v konteksti yevropeiskykh mizhnarodnykh vidnosyn (Z davnykh chasiv do seredyiny XIX st.)*, Chernivtsi, 2005, p. 169-245.

¹⁶ Arkadii Zhukovskiy, *Istoriia Bukovyny* [History of Bukovina], Ch. 1, Chernivtsi, 1991.

¹⁷ Oleksandr Dobrzhanskyi, *Systema orhaniv vlady Bukovyny u skladi Avstriiskoy (Avstro-Uhorskoj) imperii* [The System of Government in Bukovina as Part of Austrian (Austria-Hungary) Empire], in *Istoriia rozvytku orhaniv vlady na terytorii Chernivetskoj oblasti*, Chernivtsi, 2014, p. 189-244.

¹⁸ Mykhailo Nykyforak, *Bukovyna v derzhavno-pravovii systemi Avstrii (1774-1918 rr.)* [Bukovina in the State and Legal System of Austria (1774-1918)], Chernivtsi, 2004.

¹⁹ Emanuel Turczyński, *Geschichte der Bukowina in der Neuzeit*, Wiesbaden, 1993.

²⁰ Kurt Scharr, *Die Landschaft Bukowina. Das Werden einer Region an der Peripherie 1774-1918*, Wien, 2010.

modern authors. It emphasizes the importance of knowledge in comprehending the circumstances surrounding Bukovina's annexation to Austria.

It is worth emphasizing once more that the appearance of the first works on local lore studies about Bukovina in the historical literature during the military administration was not adequately analysed as a separate phenomenon that testified to the emergence of Bukovinian studies of the Austrian period. Furthermore, the topic of local lore studies' emergence in Bukovina at the indicated time is relevant and significant from the standpoints of the need for scientific understanding and the necessity for the development of the modern local lore studies movement. This last one ought to be built on a solid foundation of prior research.

FIRST ARTICLES ON BUKOVINIAN STUDIES IN ACADEMIC JOURNALS

The origin of local lore studies in Bukovina was closely connected with the region's historical events that took place in the 1770s. As is well known, the Austrian authorities considered annexing the northern part of Moldavia after the capture of Galicia in 1772, confining it between Galicia and Transylvania and limiting direct connections between these two parts of the monarchy. Emperor Joseph II tasked a study of this territory in terms of the benefits of joining Austria. During the Russian-Turkish war of 1768-1774, two groups of military men were assigned to the northern part of Moldavia in 1773. The first group came from Transylvania, led by Lieutenant Colonel (at that time) Karl Enzenberg. The second entered Moldavia from Galicia and first explored the Dniester region (Podnistrovyya) in Khotyn and Kamianets-Podilskyi. This group included Captain Lieutenant Hoffman, Captain Lieutenant Garbach, and Captain Lieutenant Kuzersdorf. Friedrich von Mieg, captain of the general staff, was the most famous of them, leading the mapping of the territory between the Dniester, Cheremosh and Prut at the final stage of the exploration.

Both groups prepared many messages and cartographic materials about the region, which was to be annexed by Austria, for the emperor and the state's highest officials. Some of them resembled works of local lore studies in that they described the indicated territory, its population, natural resources, economic relations, etc.

In general, the information provided by these groups convinced Emperor Joseph II of the feasibility and necessity of annexing the northern part of Moldavia to Austria. The Austrian troops occupied this territory in August 1774, and it officially became a part of the Habsburg Empire after the agreement with Turkey

was signed in Constantinople in May 1775. The Austrians chose the ancient name of Bukovina, which originated from the beech forests that occupied a significant part of the region, and was found in historical documents dating back to the early 15th century.

Austrian authorities on the newly annexed territory, which lasted until 1786 when Bukovina joined the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, established a military administration. General Gabriel Freiherr von Splény was the region's first ruler between 1775 and 1778, and General Karl Enzenberg followed him from 1778 to 1786. The military rule became a distinct period in the history of the region. However, it was not long before the first works on local lore studies about Bukovina were published.

References to local lore studies from this historical period were made, including those published during the period of military administration as well as those written as informative notes for Austria's top leadership but published much later, in some cases more than a century later.

The article *Historical and Geographical Description of the Bukovinian Region Given by the Turks to Hungary* was the first one on the topic published in 1781 in the journal "Correspondence of August Ludwig Schlözer, Mainly Historical and Political Content".²¹ Editors indicated that an officer of the imperial royal army who spent several years in Bukovina published the article. The article was short but contained a lot of exciting material. At the same time, there were many inaccuracies. According to the title of the article, the author was convinced that Bukovina would become an integral part of the Kingdom of Hungary before being incorporated into Transylvania. However, that was not the case. In general, judging by the text, the author was a Hungarian sympathizer.

Analysing the name Bukovina, the author provided a plausible explanation that involved the beech forests, which occupied a significant part of the region. Unaware of the Ruthenian language, the author mentioned that Bukovina means "beech forest" in Polish (Buchenwald). As a result, it gave the region its name.

However, according to another impressive explanation, and which the author thought was the most likely, the name derived from a region in southern Bukovina and the prince who held it. The author wrote that there was a locality called Casa Bucsoja on the banks of the Moldova River, which meant the Bucsoja's farm, and Bucsoja might have been the prince who owned certain territories in

²¹ *Historische-geographische Beschreibung der an Ungern von den Türken abgetretenen Landschaft Bukowina*, in "August Ludwig Schlözer's Briefwechsel meist historischen und politischen Inhalts", 1781, Achter Teil, Heft XLV, S. 145-153.

the north of Moldavia. It appears that this Bucsoja is where the term Bukovina originates.²² The theory is far-fetched and unscientific, but it is interesting that even in the late 19th century, certain interpretations of this theory could be found in reference books.²³

The paper presented the administrative division of the region, which took place at the beginning of the 1780s. The author rightly noted that the area had been divided into two districts: upper or northern, the centre of which was Chernivtsi (Chernivtsi district). This district occupied the territory from the Dniester to the Siret River. The lower one, or southern, stretched to the border of Transylvania with a centre in Suceava (Suceava district). These two districts were divided into several more sections called 'okols' (ranges). A certain number of villages belonged to each of these okols.²⁴

The author briefly discussed the region's history. He noted that this territory was part of Transalpine Dacia during the Roman Empire. The province's territory fell under the rule of various peoples who later invaded from the north and east: Sarmatians, Huns, Goths, etc. It is emphasised that the region was part of both Hungary and Transylvania, before becoming a part of Moldavia and Turkey.

Some additional description of the nature of Bukovina was provided. In particular, the abundance of water resources was noted; the Cheremosh, Dniester, Prut, Siret, Moldova, and Golden Bistritsa rivers were described.

The availability of numerous forests and minerals in the mountains was also mentioned. The author did not forget the widespread legend of the time that a large amount of gold was found on the Prut banks. He noted that the locals never showed any desire for mining but he suspected that this was due to heavy Turkish domination.

The author mentioned the low educational level of ordinary people and their unwillingness to get an education. When free primary schools for Jews were opened, he exemplified, many residents' families said they would instead move to Turkey or Moldavia instead of sending their children to school.²⁵ In this regard, August Ludwig Schlözer noted in the Russian Chronicle that there were reports of how Grand Duke Yaroslav founded the first schools in Little Rus around 1030 and had to take children from their parents by force to educate them.²⁶

²² Johann Polek, *Die Erwerbung der Bukowina durch Österreich*, Czernowitz, 1889, S. 54.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Historische-geographische Beschreibung der an Ungern...*, S. 146.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, S. 150-151.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, S. 151.

The author presented very interesting characteristics of the population's upper strata. He identified three social groups: Boyars, Răzeși* and Ruptași**. The author considered răzeși to be barons and remarked that the boyars, a small group who owned significant land, were comparable to West European counts. There were roughly 150 families of Răzeși. Of course, this comparison was rather far-fetched. Ruptașii, the third group, belonged to the lowest class of nobility and enjoyed some social privileges but were not particularly wealthy.²⁷

The region's cities and towns, including Chernivtsi, Sadagora, Vyzhnytsia, Suceava, and Siret, were also described in the report. According to the author, Chernivtsi underwent a significant construction boom during Austrian rule, and the city served as the regional military command centre.

As for Suceava, the author noted that this "old city, fortified with walls and ditches, located in Lower Bukovina on the region's border, was once the capital of the country and the residence of the Moldavian princes. It was a very important place in every sense because even today, you can find a large, abandoned castle residence, a powerful mountain castle, 17 incredibly attractive old churches that are in ruins, and an incredible number of the most valuable abandoned public buildings. This city, once so beautiful, was said to have been devastated by the Turks and Tatars. However, since its location was very convenient for trade, the current government was making every effort to help this city gradually rise again. It is noteworthy that 200 Moldavian, 131 Armenian, 80 Greek and 116 Jewish families settled there in 1779."²⁸

The author also referred to the sights of Rădăuți, the centre of the Orthodox diocese, and Casa Bucsoja, "a large scattered village, on the banks of the Moldova River, which, some argue, gave the name to Bukovina".²⁹

This article was submitted to the journal on January 16, 1781. August Ludwig Schlözer mentioned in the journal's concluding note that another, more detailed report on Bukovina had been received in the journal the same year and promised to publish it soon. This was done the following year, in 1782, in the new journal "Stats-Anzeigen", which August Ludwig Schlözer began publishing in Göttingen. The article was also published without the author's name, but

* "Răzeși" is the name given to free peasants.

** The "Ruptași" were a privileged group from a fiscal point of view in the Principality of Moldavia. They were comparable to merchants and the petty bourgeoisie.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, S. 152.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, S. 153.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

researchers later discovered that it was a memorandum sent in 1773 by Karl Enzenberg to Emperor Joseph II.³⁰ It was called *From and to Bukovina*, with the subtitle: *In September 1781*.³¹ Perhaps, the subtitle referred to the time Karl Enzenberg's work was accepted for publication in the journal. The report consisted of two parts. The first one was Karl Enzenberg's note of 1773. It gave answers to five questions raised by Emperor Joseph II to Karl Enzenberg's group to find out the viability of annexing northern Moldavia to Austria. These questions focused on whether it was possible to build a road from Transylvania through Dorna to Câmpulung and on to Galicia to connect the two provinces of Austria, as well as the benefits and problems that might entail the annexation of this territory.

Two general staff officers prepared the answers, which were finalised by Karl Enzenberg. He noted that the possibilities of building a road are favourable, and the annexation will strengthen the eastern border of Austria. The water and land routes of communication of Bukovina were also described. It was mentioned that 30 thousand families lived in the region then. However, many of the inhabitants fled their homes due to the hostilities. Enzenberg drew attention to the influential social group in the area – the boyars. He was confident that they would take a positive view of the annexation of the region to Austria. It was calculated that the whole region and the population, could be estimated at 20 780 000 florins.³² In general, Karl Enzenberg convincingly argued that it had been highly beneficial for Austria to annex this region, stressing the richness of its natural and human resources.

The list of settlements in Bukovina was presented in alphabetical order, compiled by the general staff officers, and introduced in the second part of the article. It was noted that there were five cities in Bukovina (Chernivtsi, Sadagora, Siret, Suceava, Vyzhnytsia), 235 villages, 28 monasteries, and 51 settlements with scattered (single) houses.³³ This list was prepared during Karl Enzenberg's service as the region's military administrator, which was much later than the first part of the article.

Thus, the first two articles about Bukovina published in academic journals were associated with the name of August Ludwig Schlözer, who was not only a well-known expert in ancient Russian chronicles and the father of the so-called

³⁰ Johann Polek, *Die Erwerbung der Bukowina...*, S. 14.

³¹ *Von und aus der Bukowina. Im Sept. 1781*, in "Stats-Anzeigen. Herausgegeben von A. L. Schlözer", Band 1, Heft 1-4, 1782, S. 38-58.

³² *Ibid.*, S. 46.

³³ *Ibid.*, S. 55-58.

“Norman theory” of the state’s origin in the Eastern Slavs but also a scholar of diverse interests. This publisher was directly involved in the first publications about Bukovina in academic journals. The aforementioned articles were produced to spread information and were published in 1781 and 1782. The main idea was to provide some general information about the territory, which became part of the Austrian state just a few years before.

As mentioned above, General Gabriel Freiherr von Splény had been appointed the region’s first military leader after Bukovina’s annexation to Austria. He prepared and sent to the state’s top leadership several messages describing the situation in Bukovina at the indicated time during his term in office. His name was associated with the third chronological journal publication on the Bukovinian local lore studies in the late 18th century. The material was published in 1790, after the end of military rule, in the periodical “*Neues Magazin für die neuere Geschichte, Erd- und Völkerkunde*”, in Leipzig, by Friedrich Gottlieb Canzler, a famous German historian, geographer, and economist.³⁴ However, this publication was associated with the period of military rule, as it contained an excerpt from General Gabriel Freiherr von Splény’s description of the Bukovina district (which will be discussed later) and fragments of the report of the secretary of the Court Chancellery, Bernhard von Jenisch. The latter spoke fluent Turkish and was sent to Bukovina while determining the border with Turkey in 1775. The article was published in French, with a brief introduction in German. The preface noted that Hungary owned Bukovina, then the Moldavian Principality and Turkey for some time, and explained why and how the region was annexed to Austria. The message contained brief information about the region’s history, geography, population and social structure, economy, culture, crafts and trade, administration and legal relations. Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine where in the text the actual message of Gabriel Freiherr von Splény is and where Bernhard von Jenisch’s information is. Although some study was conducted in the archives of Vienna’s higher education institutions to prepare the publication, it is still unclear who was responsible for its layout. According to the publisher’s detailed notes, Friedrich Gottlieb Canzler himself could have done this.

The editorial to the article’s afterword stated the following: “This is how Bukovina looked when it fell into the hands of the Austrian government. The story of what has been changed and made since that era would be an important correspondence to this essay, which we expected from the history friends.”³⁵

³⁴ *Déscription de la Bukowina*, in “*Neues Magazin für die neuere Geschichte, Erd- und Völkerkunde*”. Herausgegeben von Friedrich Gottlieb Canzler, 1790, S. 287-308.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, S. 308.

The publisher also mentioned that he had not published all of the article's footnotes and promised to publish annexes in the future.³⁶ This, however, has never happened.

In fact, in the last quarter of the 18th century, only these three works on local lore studies of Bukovina during military rule were published in academic journals. They, however, testify to the awakening of interest in Bukovina in the academia of Europe, the desire to comprehend the region's position at the time of its annexation to Austria and the first attempts to upgrade the social structure in this territory.

WORKS ON LOCAL LORE STUDIES ABOUT BUKOVINA DURING MILITARY ADMINISTRATION PUBLISHED IN THE LATE 19TH CENTURY

Analysing the Bukovinian studies during the military rule, one should remember that, despite the above, much more was done at that time. They were not made public because they contained information obtained by Austrian officials or the military for the state's top leadership. They had been kept in the Vienna archives for a long time and became known to the public only after more than a hundred years, in the late 19th century. Nevertheless, these reports formed a specific basis for understanding the history, geography, economics, demography, religion, the system of government, the situation of the Bukovina settlements, etc. Therefore, they should also be explicitly linked to local lore studies of the 1770-1780s.

General Gabriel Freiherr von Splény's memos were typical in this regard. Two of them are the most famous. The first memo was written on December 10, 1774. Ferdinand Zieglauer, Professor of Chernivtsi University, in his work *The Situation of Bukovina during the Austrian Occupation* reported about it for the first time in 1888.³⁷ However, instead of publishing Gabriel Freiherr von Splény's memo as a separate document, the professor included it in his presentation, citing fragments of the report. The researcher found the region's description at the time of its accession to Austria to be the most valuable in the memo. In this memorandum, Gabriel Freiherr von Splény did not yet use the name Bukovina but instead identified the territory as "Galician Border Generalship".

The second and more complete memo from Gabriel Freiherr von Splény,

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Ferdinand Zieglauer, *Der Zustand der Bukowina zur Zeit der österreichischen Occupation. Dargestellt im Spiegel der erste Deutschrift des kommandieren Generals Freih. v. Splény, Czernowitz, 1888, S. 41.*

dated approximately late August – early September of 1775, entered history under the name *Bukovina District Description*.³⁸ The fragment of this memo was published in French in “Neues Magazin für die neuere Geschichte, Erd- und Völkerkunde”, in 1790.

Johann Polek published in 1893 *The Bukovina District Description* with the subtitle *in its past and to this day still existing state, together with suggestions on how in the future it would be possible to improve the former status of the region in politics and economy*.³⁹ Gabriel Freiherr von Splény's work consisted of three parts. The first one, “From the Past Situation of the Bukovina District,” described the region at the time of joining Austria. In particular, the geographical and economic description of the area was made, and the most important settlements and the nature of the nation were characterised. Gabriel Splény considered the overwhelming majority of the population of the region to be Moldavians because this territory joined Austria from the Moldavian principality.

Chapter 6 of part 3, describing the previous reign, was the most interesting. Gabriel Freiherr von Splény quite fully illustrated the system of administrative management of the region, the powers of individual officials, the sanitary services, the judicial administration, the position of the clergy and legal proceedings over it, the existence of various taxes, regalia and cameralia, and the associated features of the social structure of the population. Describing the previous reign, the author wrote quite critically about the customs and practices that prevailed in the region. He noted, “Since all these administrative personnel, starting from the headman, excluding only Arnauts, did not receive any salary from the prince, it is easy to imagine how these officials performed their service and suppressed the people.”⁴⁰

In part two, he proposed several reforms that needed to be carried out in Bukovina to improve the region's management. In part 3, the General-major discussed how to develop the region's economy, particularly agriculture, crafts and trade. However, just a few proposals were implemented in subsequent years.

The “Table of Localities of the Bukovina District” was placed as an appendix to the *Bukovina District Description*. Johann Polek also published it for the first time in 1893.⁴¹ It contained the names of settlements, indicating the number of living families and the social structure of the inhabitants. In particular, the nobility

³⁸ Gabriel Splény, *Opys Bukovyny* [Description of Bukovina]..., p. 6.

³⁹ *General Splény's Beschreibung der Bukowina*..., S. 167.

⁴⁰ Gabriel Splény, *Opys Bukovyny* [Description of Bukovina]..., p. 37.

⁴¹ Johann Polek, *Ortschaftsverzeichnis der Bukowina aus dem Jahre 1775*, in “Jahrbuch des Bukowiner Landes-Museums”, 1893, S. 27-44.

stood out, which included boyars, Mazils* and the gentry. In addition, priests, peasants, and court employees – Umblătorii**, Arnăuții***, Baranii****, Calarașii***** were recorded separately. There was also data concerning merchants, Armenians, Jews, and Gypsies.

There are 290 settlements in the Table made by Gabriel Freiherr von Splény. The total population consisted of 17,047 families. However, the list also included settlements that were returned to Turkey after delimiting the borders under the Balamutka Convention on July 2, 1776. It is also worth noting that the number of settlements in Splény and Enzenberg's information differs because there was no unified approach to what a village, a farm, or a settlement with single houses meant. This was regulated in Austrian statistics only in the second half of the 19th century.

Publishing the *Bukovina District Description*, Johann Polek also added the appendix "Remarks" to the work of Gabriel Freiherr von Splény, made by an unknown author and found along with the manuscript.⁴² According to Johann Polek, Bernhard Jenisch made these remarks. Perhaps they were used in Friedrich Gottlieb Canzler's journal publication in 1790. The corrections were clarifying and supplementing. In particular, the author of the "Remarks" pointed out that "The geographical classification in this description (by Gabriel Splény) still refers to the mapping and location of the imperial borders made by Major Mieg; but now, after the completion of the demarcation carried out jointly with the commissioner of the Ottoman Porte, much has disappeared."⁴³ In particular, Gabriel Splény attributed the Golden Bistritsa to streams. The author of the remarks noted that it was a rather large river.⁴⁴ The number of settlements was calculated incorrectly as well.

In addition to Gabriel Freiherr von Splény, Major Friedrich Mieg also made interesting reports about Bukovina. As already noted, he mapped the northern part of Bukovina and then participated in the delimitation of the border between

* "Mazil" - Small boyar or descendant of a small boyar (without public office).

** "Umblător" (= Walker) – a soldier from a corps of couriers of the Moldavian princes.

*** "Arnăut" – mercenary soldier (of Albanian origin) employed in the royal guard in the Romanian principalities; armed servant.

**** "Barani" – officials who collected taxes from the population.

***** "Calarași" – military corps of auxiliary servants of the prince.

⁴² *Anmerkungen über die Beschreibung des Bukowiner Districts, welche von Herrn Generalen Baron von Splény ist verfaßet worden*, in *General Splény's Beschreibung der Bukowina*, Czernowitz, 1893, S. 159-165.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, S. 159.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, S. 161.

Turkey and Austria in Bukovina. Three years of observations resulted in his work *Topographic Description of the Bukovina District with Military Annotations*, prepared in the winter of 1775-1776. Johann Polek first published it in 1897.⁴⁵

Friedrich Mieg consistently described the region's population in this work, noting that at the time of accession, there were 14,989 families, or approximately 70 thousand people, living in three cities (Chernivtsi, Siret, Suceava) and 263 other settlements. Friedrich Mieg did not particularly delve into the ethnic composition of the population, only identifying Vlachs, some Hungarians and Bosnians, as well as Gypsies and Jews. Nothing was mentioned about the Rusyns; perhaps, based on the Orthodox religion, he assigned them all to the Vlachs.

Friedrich Mieg divided the region's inhabitants into pastoralists and farmers according to their occupation, also noting that part of the population was engaged in destructive deforestation. He called for a complete cessation of such activities. He also emphasized the prospect of cultivating fruits and emphasized how the people could prosper by engaging in agricultural production. Friedrich Mieg paid attention to describing rivers and water resources, mountains, forests, mineral resources and extracting industries, wood processing, and trade in his work. He also mentioned the profitability of the salt trade with Ukrainian Podolia, and the possibility of buying grain from Ukrainian peasants. He was one of the first to express his opinion on the expediency and profitability of timber rafting on the Cheremosh and the possibilities of navigation on the Dniester and Prut.

The military memo was a separate part of the work, where the author reflected on how to protect this territory in case of possible wars with neighbouring states.

The study made by Johann Budinszky, *Bukovina district description, which reflects the geographical, physical, economic, commercial, military and spiritual situation, together with some remarks on how certain points should be improved in the future*, is extremely interesting for understanding the position of Bukovina almost ten years after joining Austria⁴⁶, presented to the Galician General Command in January 1783 and also published by Johann Polek in the late 19th century.

Johann Budinszky was a county engineer in Bereg County in Transcarpathia and lived in Mukachevo in the early 1780s. He was appointed head of the cartographic commission for regulating land holdings in Bukovina in the autumn of

⁴⁵ Major Friedrich von Mieg, *Topographische Beschreibung der Bukowina*. Herausgegeben von der Dr. J. Polek, in "Jahrbuch des Bukowiner Landes-Museums", 1897, S. 3-37.

⁴⁶ *Die Bukowina zu Anfang des Jahres 1783. Nach einer Denkschrift des Mappierungs-direktors Johann Budinszky*, Czernowitz, 1894, S. 64.

1783. The commission worked until 1783 and managed to process land holdings in 40 settlements of Bukovina fully. It was closed by the decision of Joseph II due to a lack of funds. Johann Budinszky prepared the above publication based on the work done, his observations and using the documents available at that time, including the *Description* by Gabriel Freiherr von Splény. The remarks about the population of Bukovina were of particular interest. The author rightly noted that there had been no accurate population count in Bukovina. Only the number of families was given. The study presented accurate demographic statistics for 40 settlements that the commission managed to examine. In particular, it was noted that 848 inhabitants lived in Kitsman, 1745 people lived in Mamaivtsi together with Revna and Burdei in 1782, in Zastavna there were 1035 people, 852 in Valeva, 1250 in Verenchanka, 1077 in Rădăuți, etc. Thus, there were more inhabitants in some villages at that time than in the future district centres of Kitsman, Rădăuți, and Zastavna.

Johann Budinszky described the appearance, clothing, and food of the population of Bukovina, noticing specific everyday differences between the social groups of mazils and peasants. The large majority of the region's population was Orthodox, and the less they were taught about religion, the more loyal they were to it.

In the 1780s, the future status of Bukovina was debated at the highest levels of government in Austria. Bukovinian boyars defended the idea of maintaining a separate status for Bukovina. Vasile Balș, although born in Iași, became a vivid spokesman of such interests, he had repeatedly visited Bukovina since 1776, and later he was appointed to work in the military administration of the region. He was well versed in the aspirations of the local aristocracy and prepared and sent a comprehensive report *Description of Bukovina and its internal situation* to Count Andreas Hadik, the head of the Aulic War Council in Vienna. Johann Polek initially published it in the appendix of the work *Journeys of Emperor Joseph II to Galicia and Bukovina* in 1895.⁴⁷

Although Vasile Balș's memo had the character of a political and journalistic treatise, it contained a lot of local history information about Bukovina. First, Vasile Balș quite holistically showed the social structure of the Bukovinian society. He wrote with enthusiasm about the boyars, believing that they could be a progressive force in society, driving reforms in the region.⁴⁸ At the same time, he was quite critical of the mazils and believed that they should pay taxes like other unprivileged strata. Vasile Balș, as the representative of boyars, negatively assessed the

⁴⁷ Basilius Balsh, *Beschreibung der Bukowina und deren innern Verhältniss*, in "Jahresbericht des Bukowiner Landes-Museums", 1895, S. 103-112.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, S. 104-105.

efficiency of the peasants, accusing them of idleness, unwillingness to develop their economy, the poor performance of duties, and alcohol consumption. He also paid much attention to the description of the Orthodox Church in Bukovina, the structure of church management, its economic situation, and numerous cases of abuse. He made proposals for reforming church management.

Vasile Balș's reflections on the region's economy were quite interesting. He sharply opposed the predatory deforestation by peasants, proposed to intensify border trade, and emphasised the need to support the development of various crafts. In general, Vasile Balș's memo quite logically complemented the local lore studies written between 1775 and 1786.

CONCLUSIONS

During the military rule in Bukovina, the first works on local lore studies were published. They were mostly military men who took part in the annexation of the region to Austria, most of whom were foreigners, except Vasile Balș. The information contained in these works was primarily general, and it included both the description of the natural characteristics of the region as well as the economy, administration, population, and social and ethnic structure. The factual content of these messages was based on personal observations of the authors or testimonies obtained during their professional activity in Bukovina. A lot of information was speculative, inaccurate and not scientifically substantiated. This was especially true of social relations and the population's ethnic composition.

The main challenges in the development of local lore research included the population's low levels of education, a lack of secondary and higher education institutions, insufficient attention from the educated strata to the newly annexed territory, and the absence of people professionally engaged in historical, geographical and other research. Nevertheless, these early works served as an important basis for subsequent local lore research, allowing comparisons of the situation in Bukovina before and after its annexation to Austria. They initiated local lore studies topics, which were pursued in the following periods and are still relevant now. They all explored the history of towns and villages, the demography of Bukovina, the peculiarities of the social and ethnic structure of the population, the history of individual industries, the church and the functioning of church institutions, the development of education, and the management system. It is difficult to conceive a comprehensive picture of the evolution of Bukovinian studies in Austria (Austria-Hungary) in the late 18th – early 20th century without the study of these works. They have now become an

important source of Bukovina's history during its annexation to Austria and the region's early years of military administration.

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