

THE SCHOOL IN ROSHA AS A REPRESENTATIVE MODEL OF THE BUKOVINIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM DURING THE AUSTRIAN PERIOD

Antoniy MOYSEY,  Igor GERUSH,  Antonina ANISTRATENKO



Bukovinian State Medical University (Ukraine)

E-mails: antoniimoisei@bsmu.edu.ua,
gerush.igor@bsmu.edu.ua, oirak@bsmu.edu.ua

Abstract. This study¹ aims to analyse the formation and development of schooling in the suburb of Rosha (Rom.: Roşa; Germ.: Rosch) during the period of Austrian administration (1774–1918) within the context of the Bukovinian educational system. The relevance of the topic lies in its substantial contribution to understanding educational processes in Rosha, enabling the results to be applied in the academic and pedagogical work of contemporary schools in the micro-district. The conducted research has enabled the identification of several new data points. In particular, the name of the individual who donated a building for the first school – the local landowner Gheorghe Dumitrescu – has been established. For the first time, new data are presented on the competition between the trivial school led by Johann Lewicki and the illegal Evangelical school run by Johann Künzelmann, as well as on the so-called “school question” of the mid-19th century. Newly disclosed information also includes issues related to the collection of obligations in favour of the school, statistical data on educational institutions in Rosha, various works aimed at optimising the school premises, the rental of private houses for teaching, and the results of

Copyright © 2025 “Codrul Cosminului”, XXXI, 2025, No. 2, p. 345–370.

¹ **Funded by the European Union.** The study was conducted within the project “RESTORY” (“Recovering Past Stories for the Future: A Synergistic Approach to Textual and Oral Heritage of Small Communities”) – HORIZON Research and Innovation Actions, Cluster 2 – Culture, Creativity, Inclusive Society, Pillar 2 of Horizon Europe HORIZON-CL2-2023-HERITAGE-01-04, 101132781.

school inspections.

Keywords: *Bukovina, Chernivtsi, Rosch, Roşa, school, primary education, teacher, community, conflicts.*

Rezumat. *Şcoala din Roşa ca model reprezentativ al sistemului educaţional bucovinean în perioada austriacă.* Scopul prezentului studiu constă în analiza formării și dezvoltării învățământului școlar în suburbia Roşa (germ.: Rosch) în perioada administrației austriace (1774–1918), în contextul sistemului de învățământ bucovinean. Actualitatea temei constă în completarea substanțială a cunoștințelor privind procesele educaționale din Roşa, ceea ce permite valorificarea rezultatelor obținute în activitatea didactică și educativă a școlilor contemporane din microregiune. Cercetarea efectuată a permis identificarea unui număr de informații inedite. În special, a fost stabilit numele persoanei care a donat comunității clădirea pentru prima școală – moșierul local Gheorghe Dumitrescu. Pentru prima dată în circuitul științific sunt introduse date referitoare la competiția dintre școala trivială condusă de Johann Lewicki și școala evanghelică ilegală a lui Johann Künzelmann, precum și la aşa-numita „chestiune școlară” din mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea. Sunt publicate, de asemenea, noi informații privind problemele colectării obligațiilor în favoarea școlii, date statistice despre instituțiile de învățământ din Roşa, privind diverse lucrări de optimizare a spațiilor școlii, închirierea caselor private pentru predare, precum și rezultatele inspecțiilor școlare.

INTRODUCTION

The origins of school education in Bukovina are inseparably linked to the region's integration into the Habsburg Monarchy after 1774. At the time of annexation, only one public school existed in Chernivtsi, and most of the population was illiterate. The Austrian authorities sought to establish a network of public schools as an instrument of social and cultural modernisation and as a means of connecting with the German language. Owing to the initiative of Governor Gabriel Freiherr von Splény and the support of the Higher Military Council in Vienna, the first teachers were transferred from Transylvania to the city. On 1 March 1784, the first two-class German–Moldavian “normal school” was opened; it quickly gained popularity and laid the foundations for the region's educational system. In this context, the establishment of an elementary school in the Rosha suburb in 1816 marked a significant step toward expanding the educational network into peripheral communities. The institution became one of the first schools outside the central part of Chernivtsi. It reflected the synthesis of

imperial educational standards with the needs of the local Romanian, German, and Ukrainian populations.

This study aims to reconstruct the formation and development of school education in Rosha during the Austrian administration (1816–1918). The relevance of the topic stems from the need to complement existing knowledge of the educational landscape of this suburban district, which is valuable both for scholarly research and for contemporary educational practice in the Rosha micro-district of Chernivtsi.

Methodologically, the study is based on the analysis of archival documents and historiographical works, which make it possible to clarify the circumstances of the school's foundation, identify the landowner who provided the initial premises, determine the names of the first teachers and principals, assess the number and ethnic composition of pupils, and trace issues related to construction, repair, and rental of school buildings.

HISTORIOGRAPHY AND SOURCE BASE

The research relies primarily on materials from the State Archives of the Chernivtsi Region (SAChR). The identified information refers to various aspects related to the repair of the school building in Rosha and the closure of an illegal Evangelical school; the subordination of the Rosha trivial school, its transfer under the jurisdiction of the Orthodox Consistory in 1865, and issues of language instruction; the debts owed by Rosha residents to the school (1860–1868), reports on examinations in the three-class school (1867–1868), and the school's budget and inventory; the use of a building for the Rosha elementary school (1909–1920). Additional materials were consulted from the archive (museum) of Chernivtsi Secondary School No. 10.

A significant source is the article by school inspector Josef Wotta, which examines the history of the Rosha school and was published in "Bukowiner Schule. Zeitschrift für das Volksschulwesen" (1907).² Among historiographical works, a special place is occupied by the series of articles by Victor Covalciuc, a history teacher and principal of School No. 10, published in the newspaper "Zorile Bucovinei" (23, 25, 30 July and 4, 8 August 1991). Of considerable value is also the book *An Inexhaustible Source of Literary Knowledge. School No. 10 in Chernivtsi –*

² Josef Wotta, *Geschichte der kommunalen Volksschulen. I. Trivial-Schule in Rosch*, in "Bukowiner Schule. Zeitschrift für das Volksschulwesen", IV-Jahrgang, 1907, 1. Heft, S. 1-11.

200 Years After its Foundation, in which Teofil Rendiuc and Domnica Gorduna-Svijynsca discuss the circumstances of the school's founding, its development, and lesser-known aspects of everyday life. Particularly significant are the works of Constantin Ungureanu, especially *Primary Education in Bukovina (1774–1918)*, which provide extensive statistical and documentary data.

DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN BUKOVINA. THE EDUCATIONAL POLICY OF THE AUSTRIAN STATE

Following the adoption of the *Hospodar's Charter* in 1766, twenty-three state-funded princely schools operated in Moldova. In Bukovina, such schools existed in Putna, Siret, Suceava, Chernivtsi, Rădăuți, and Câmpulung Moldovenesc. Of particular importance was the Putna Academy, founded in 1470 under Ștefan cel Mare and reorganised in 1750 in accordance with Enlightenment principles. Alongside these institutions, itinerant and private teachers were active.³

Evidence of literacy in the suburb of Rosha before the Austrian annexation is preserved in Romanian Cyrillic inscriptions on the walls of the local church built in 1768, as well as in parish documentation kept in the same script and language until the mid-nineteenth century.⁴

Access to education among the inhabitants of Rosha is illustrated by the case of Vasile Cantemir, a lexicographer and author of a German-Romanian-French dictionary (1826–1827). According to Dimitrie Dan (1922), Cantemir was born on 23 April 1794 in Roșoșa (house no. 115), being the son of Ioan Cantemir and Maria Gorduna. In 1823, his noble status was confirmed by the Divan of Moldova.⁵ Vasile Cantemir was proficient in German and, at the age of fifteen, worked as an interpreter for the Austrian agency in Iași. In 1809, he was dispatched to Khotyn to monitor Russian troop movements. After the withdrawal of Austrian forces from Iași, he remained there as a representative of Austrian interests, regularly reporting to Chancellor Metternich. In 1812, he relocated to Suceava and, between 1821 and 1827, lived in Chernivtsi, where he completed his dictionary. He likely died in Chernivtsi around 1835.

³ Ion Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei* [History of Bukovina]. București, Humanitas, 1991, p. 74.

⁴ State Archives of the Chernivtsi Region (SAChR), Fond No. 1245, Inventory 3, Archival Unit No. 19. Register Book of Marriage Records of the Citizens of Chernivtsi (Rosha Church) for 1837–1885.

⁵ Some scholars have suggested a possible familial link to the Moldavian ruler Dimitrie Cantemir.

In 1846, his son, Toma de Cantemir, a lieutenant in the Austrian army, arrived in Chernivtsi and offered the bishop's Consistory the manuscript of his father's dictionary for purchase. This event generated notable interest among the Romanian clerical intelligentsia. It stimulated the founding of the *Society for Literature and Culture* in Chernivtsi, one of whose initiators was the future metropolitan, Eugen Hackman, who acquired the manuscript.⁶

Regarding Austria's educational policy, the era of Enlightened Absolutism under Empress Maria Theresa and Emperor Joseph II marked the first consistent steps toward modernisation. The School Regulation of 1786 prescribed the secularisation of education, compulsory schooling for children aged seven to thirteen, and the establishment of new educational institutions. For rural areas, the regulation mandated the creation of so-called *trivial schools* offering a three-year curriculum focused on literacy, writing, and arithmetic.⁷ The instructional process retained a distinctly religious orientation, although it included secular elements such as syllabic reading and choral recitation. The pupils typically acquired Cyrillic writing skills through mechanical copying.⁸ The maintenance of schools was the responsibility of local rural communities. After the death of Joseph II, the development of the educational system slowed and was revitalised only in the 1870s.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SCHOOL IN THE ROSHA SUBURB

On 11 August 1816, a school was established in the Rosha suburb pursuant to a contractual obligation (*Revers*) signed jointly by the Romanian and German communities. The document clearly defined the residents' duties regarding the institution's maintenance. In particular, the inhabitants were required to provide free manual and draft labour during the construction of the school; to delegate one worker from among themselves for ongoing assistance; to supply the teacher annually with six quintal of various fruits, i.e. four quintal of maise and two of

⁶ Dimitrie Dan, *Un autor român bucovinean din anul 1826/7* [A Romanian Author from Bukovina in the Year 1826/27], Cernăuți, Institutul de arte grafice și editură Glasul Bucovinei, 1922, 30 p.

⁷ Constantin Ungureanu, *Sistemul de învățământ din Bucovina în perioada stăpânirii austriece (1774-1918)* [The Educational System of Bukovina during the Austrian Rule (1774-1918)], Chișinău, Tipografia Centrală, 2015, p. 47.

⁸ Victor Covalciuc, *Cea mai veche școală românească la Cernăuți* [The Oldest Romanian School in Chernivtsi], in "Zorile Bucovinei", 1991, 25 iulie.

bread grain; to prepare and deliver seven cubic meters of firewood for both the school and the teacher's personal use; and to allocate to the teacher a plot of farmland for gardening, with boundaries to be determined later. Since the communities were unable to make additional financial contributions, they requested that the teacher's salary be paid from the Bukovinian Religious Fund.⁹

On 28 November 1816, the Bukovinian School Inspectorate appointed Demeter Simiginowicz as a temporary teacher at the Rosha school. Classes began on 2 December with an initial enrolment of 23 pupils. On 20 October 1817, Simiginowicz was confirmed as the full-time teacher, a position he held until 22 January 1831, when he was transferred to the post of first-class instructor at the school in Suceava. Between 1817 and 1819, his annual salary ranged from 200 to 250 florins. In addition, he received four cubic meters of firewood, one plot of land, nine florins in place of six quintals of grain, and a garden plot free of charge.

On 15 February 1831, Johann Danalaki (Ioan Danalachi) was appointed temporary teacher at the Rosha school, serving until 24 August 1834, when Johann Lewicki was approved as the full-time teacher.¹⁰

The initiative to establish a school came from the local community,¹¹ which submitted a memorandum to the municipal council. The school was housed in the building of landowner Gheorghe Dumitrescu. The District Administration ordered Inspector Anton de Marki to conduct an assessment and determine the school's needs. In his report, Marki recommended purchasing a table with a stand, three chairs, two writing boards, benches, and writing materials. The municipal council was tasked with preparing a cost estimate for repairs and equipment. Supervision of the work was entrusted to Engineer La Mott. The 1823 inventory recorded the following items in the Rosha school: one board with a stand, one table, three chairs, one cupboard, thirteen benches, and three inkwells.¹²

From 1816 onwards, the public school in Rosha enrolled children from both Romanian and settler families. Representatives of the Catholic community complained that "with such a large number of pupils there was only one teacher, who himself belonged to the Greek-Oriental religion, and at the same time nothing at all was foreseen for the instruction of the numerous Greek-Oriental youth."¹³ In 1860, when an urgent need arose to appoint a teacher for Orthodox pupils, the

⁹ Josef Wotta, *Geschichte der kommunalen Volksschulen*, S. 1.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, S. 2.

¹¹ SAChR, F. No. 1, Inv. 1, Arch. Unit No. 3639.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹³ SAChR, F. No. 3, Inv. 2, Arch. Unit No. 3126, p. 12.

candidacy of teacher Lewicz was considered: he had initially belonged to the Greek-Oriental Church, later converted to Catholicism, but ultimately returned to his original confession. It was precisely his candidacy that was proposed for teaching at the school.¹⁴

Instruction totalled thirty hours per week and was conducted in both Romanian and German. The core subjects included the alphabet, calligraphy, reading, orthography, arithmetic, and religious studies. Between 1817 and 1868, Polish was also taught, as Bukovinian schools were then under the jurisdiction of the Catholic Consistory of Lviv.

Teaching made use of textbooks widely circulated in Bukovina: the *Catechism* (1774), the *Book of Arithmetic* (1777), the *Book for Cantors* (1781), and later the manuals of Anton de Marki, such as *Several Rules for Calligraphy and the Essence of the Methodical Book* and the *Romanian-German Grammar* (published in German or Romanian).¹⁵

Several individuals were associated with the founding and early development of the school in Rosha. Foremost among them was the landowner Gheorghe Dumitrescul, who provided his house for the institution. Although information about him is scarce, archival documents attest to his close family ties within the community. In a message from 1811, the chamberlain Grigoraș Bușilă informed Dumitrescul of the death of Vasile Teutul and of the invitation to his mother, Cassandra. Cassandra, daughter of Simeon Teutul and wife of Mihalache Grecul, was linked to the Dumitrescul family.¹⁶ The correspondence from 1827–1828 records exchanges regarding a copy of Simeon Teutul's will.¹⁷ Other figures mentioned in the documents include the craftsman Marcinek (who produced school benches), the quartermaster Marozinek, the engineer La Mott, and the school inspector Anton de Marki.

Two individuals played a significant role in shaping the educational process in the suburb. Of special importance was Anton de Marki, one of the leading pedagogues of the Enlightenment. Born in 1760 in Târgu-Mureș, he received a university education and mastered several languages. In 1783, at the age of twenty-three, he was appointed responsible for organising the public education system in Bukovina. Under his guidance, numerous schools were established, including the one in Rosha. He also became the first teacher and director of the

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹⁵ Constantin Ungureanu, *Sistemul de învățământ*, p. 48.

¹⁶ SACHR, F. No. 1, Inv. 1, Arch. Unit No. 3639, p. 128.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

state Greek-Orthodox school in Chernivtsi.

De Marki played a key role in introducing the first teacher training courses (1784-1817) and in producing foundational instructional materials. He developed a structured system for teacher preparation: candidates were required to pass examinations in reading, writing, and mathematics; after completing training courses, they served as assistant teachers for two to three months, after which, upon successful performance, they were appointed full teachers.

However, inadequate financial support remained a serious obstacle. The initial stipend amounted to only three florins per month (raised to five florins in 1785). To attract qualified personnel, teachers were granted various privileges, including exemption from military service, permission to offer private lessons tax-free, and the right to receive land allotments. Teachers' marriages required the approval of the school authorities, and each educator swore an oath of loyalty to the state. Due to insufficient funding, many teachers supplemented their income by writing letters, petitions, and complaints on behalf of residents.¹⁸

COMBATING THE UNREGISTERED INDEPENDENT SCHOOL

The first teacher at the trivial school in Rosha, Demeter Simiginowicz, was a graduate of the 1816 teacher-training courses. Already in the early years of his service, he was compelled to confront a competing school operating outside the law, established by Johann Künzelmann, a local Evangelical resident. The history of this conflict, documented in thirty-nine folios of an archival file dated 1818-1819, illustrates the complexities inherent in forming a state-regulated school system.¹⁹

In early 1818, inspector Anton de Marki informed the District Administration of Simiginowicz's complaint: Künzelmann had opened a "winter school" in his own house without official permission, thereby violating paragraphs 8, 18, and 21 of the Political School Statute. He taught children reading, writing, and basic religious instruction, primarily to Evangelicals. During interrogation, it was recorded that Künzelmann, a forty-one-year-old resident of Rosha and father of several children, earned his living mainly from agriculture and crafts. Despite prior warnings, he considered himself capable of teaching. The local council ordered the closure of this "Winkelschule" under threat of fines. Ernst Karl Ungers, the pastor of the Evangelical community, who pleaded for Künzelmann, was refused, as only officially appointed pastors were permitted to teach Catechism.

¹⁸ Victor Covalciuc, *Cea mai veche școală*.

¹⁹ SACHR, F. No. 1, Inv. 2, Arch. Unit No. 875.

In January 1819, Künzelmann resumed his activities. Simiginowicz, together with school inspector Johann Stephanowicz, reported this to the District Administration (fig. 1). The second investigation resulted in Künzelmann's arrest for two and, later, for three days.

As the legislation in force permitted private religious instruction, Künzelmann was released; however, the functioning of the unregistered school was categorically prohibited. Parents were warned that children who attended such a school would be barred from enrolling in official educational institutions.²⁰

THE NEW SCHOOL BUILDING

The next teacher at the Rosha Trivial School was Johann Lewicki, a graduate of the courses organised by Anton de Marki. He originated from the village of Repujintsi and had previously worked as a teacher in Suceava.

Population growth in the suburb created an urgent need for a larger school building, as the structure initially provided by landowner Gheorghe Dumitrescu no longer met community requirements. On Lewicki's initiative, a project for a new standard school was prepared in 1830. The design envisaged a two-storey building with classrooms, an office, and living quarters for the head teacher. Construction began in the spring of 1838 and was completed on 27 November 1839 (figs. 2–4). The technical supervision was carried out by the city magistrate engineer Adolf Marin.

The original architectural drawings for the Rosha School, produced in 1939 by the architect Vasile Grecul, are preserved in the State Archives of the Chernivtsi Region. These plans (figs. 5–6) enable reconstruction of the building's appearance and spatial arrangement during the interwar period. On the ground floor of the Rosha school building, the right side housed a two-room apartment for the head teacher, with a kitchen, cellar, and study, while the left wing contained a classroom. The second floor comprised two classrooms and an office for the teaching staff.

The 1839 school was built at the community's expense, including both Orthodox residents and colonists of various confessions. By 1858, however, the building – which consisted of two classrooms (one used simultaneously for younger and older pupils), living quarters for the teacher, and a room for his assistant – was considered insufficient for the needs of the growing population, particularly in terms of space for a second appointed teacher.²¹ In 1883, the school

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *SAChR*, F. No. 3, Inv. 2, Arch. Unit No. 3126, p. 12, 16.

flag donated by the Rosha community was consecrated.

It is important to recall that, since 1816, the school system of Bukovina has been subordinated to the Catholic Consistory of Lviv. This imposed a series of limitations on educational development by subjecting local schools to external administrative and confessional oversight. At the same time, the Consistory paid considerable attention to linguistic policy and, in 1859, organised a systematic collection of data on the languages of instruction in all schools of the region (fig. 7).

When determining the first, second, and third instructional languages, the demographic structure, pupils' literacy levels, and general preparedness were considered. According to the recommendations of inspector Anton Kunz, instruction in the first and second classes of trivial schools was conducted in the pupils' native languages – Polish, German, Romanian, or Ukrainian – while the study of a second language began in the third class. The inspector emphasised that the region's multilingualism posed significant challenges for both pupils and teachers; therefore, he urged educators to refrain from overly strict assessments and to apply flexible criteria in teaching.²²

THE SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL SITUATION AND THE "SCHOOL QUESTION" IN ROSHA

The educational situation in the Rosha suburb throughout the 19th century can be reconstructed from later testimonies. Priest Petru Popescul, who served in the local church between 1893 and 1902, recalled widespread drunkenness and the reluctance of children to attend school. School principal Vasile Gârbu (Skrypnichuk) described the social life of the suburb as extremely unfavourable: most inhabitants were indifferent, while young people organised dances in taverns that often ended in altercations. Chronic hostility existed among the different parts of the suburb: Central Rosha, Tețina, Poiana-Rosha, and Stâncă, and, in some cases, this even led to murder.²³

Archival materials attest to a prolonged dispute over the school building. It was caused by changes in the national and confessional composition of Rosha's population. Colonists insisted that the school was their property, whereas

²² SAChR, F. No. 3, Inv. 2, Arch. Unit No. 1991, 14 p.

²³ *Tețina. Societatea cultural-economică a românilor din Roșa-Cernăuți (10 mai 1896 – 10 mai 1936). 40 de ani de activitate cultural-economică* [Tețina. The Cultural-Economic Society of the Romanians of Roșa-Chernivtsi (10 May 1896 – 10 May 1936). Forty Years of Cultural and Economic Activity]. Cernăuți, Tipografia Glasul Bucovinei, 1936, p. 4-5.

Orthodox residents, who had also contributed to its construction and supplied it with firewood, regarded themselves as co-owners. A lack of resources aggravated the conflict: the subsidy from the Catholic Consistory amounted to only 100 florins, while the actual need exceeded 400.²⁴

The so-called “school question” gradually moved beyond the boundaries of a local conflict and assumed citywide significance as the issue of the institution’s legal ownership arose. The Catholic Consistory insisted on retaining the school under its authority, whereas the Orthodox Consistory justified its claims by citing paragraphs 336 and 467 of the Political School Statute. In its arguments, it emphasised the numerical predominance of the Orthodox community, its substantial financial contribution to the construction and maintenance of the school, and the absence of a Catholic parish in Rosha, which, in its view, deprived the Latin side of legitimate grounds for its claims.

In 1865, the Lviv Consistory recognised the need to terminate the obligatory contributions of Roman Catholics to the normal school fund and to direct them to the benefit of the Orthodox community.²⁵ Inspector Bordich proposed a compromise: to appoint two teachers – one from each confession – using the two existing classrooms for this purpose. He also recommended building residential premises for the second teacher and increasing the salary.²⁶

This decision appeared feasible without particular difficulty, since the Rosha school building was a solid two-storey structure with two spacious classrooms. In his report to the Lviv Latin Metropolitan Consistory, the inspector noted: “It is evident that even during the construction of this school building, the separation of pupils according to religious affiliation had been anticipated, yet the second classroom has so far remained empty.” Thus, the school building could remain in the joint use of both communities, as both had participated in its construction.²⁷

Despite years of polemics, the decisive factor proved to be the ordinance of the Ministry of Cults and Education No. 9411 of 23 February 1850, which transferred schools attached to Orthodox parishes to the jurisdiction of the Orthodox Consistory. In Rosha, the implementation of this provision was delayed until almost 1865, when the municipal administration reported the de facto transfer of the institution under the authority of the Orthodox Church.

²⁴ SAChR, F. No. 3, Inv. 2, Arch. Unit No. 3126, p. 12.

²⁵ SAChR, F. No. 3, Inv. 2, Arch. Unit No. 5612, 6 p.

²⁶ SAChR, F. No. 3, Inv. 2, Arch. Unit No. 3126, p. 1-2, 6-7, 17.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

In addition to the issues outlined above, archival materials highlight another significant aspect of the school's functioning: the system of communal obligations that supplemented the guaranteed monthly salary of teacher Johann Lewicki. The residents of the suburb were required to make both monetary and in-kind contributions to support the school. Cash contributions amounted to 23 florins 24 kreuzers from the Moldavian community, 15 florins 47 kreuzers from the German community, and 7 florins 75 kreuzers from the Manasterishte (Mănăstiriște = Horecza Monastery) community, totalling 46 florins 45 kreuzers. The distribution of payments was proportionate to the number of households. The sums collected were used to remunerate the technical staff responsible for preparing and delivering firewood, heating the building, and cleaning the school premises.

For nearly a decade, Johann Lewicki repeatedly appealed to the Chernivtsi magistrate, complaining that residents had failed to fulfil these obligations in full and on time. In 1867, he stated: "I am constantly forced to cover these expenses out of my modest salary," insisting on the introduction of compulsory procedures for collecting contributions. The Romanian community remained the largest debtor, although delays also occurred among the German and Manasterishte communities. The community elders – Gheorghe Ostafi (Romanian community) and Jakob Jurek (German community) – avoided applying coercive measures between 1860 and 1867. Only in 1868 did Gheorghe Ostafi acknowledge that the teacher had been waiting for the payments due to him for more than five months and confirmed the need for compulsory collection (fig. 8).²⁸

EXPANSION OF THE SCHOOL AND NEW INITIATIVES. TEACHERS AT THE ROSHA SCHOOL

Under the leadership of the school director Johann Lewicki (1834–1870), quarterly examinations were held regularly. Documents from the 1867–1868 school year that have survived to the present indicate that inspections were conducted by S. Gwiazdomorski, a member of the Chernivtsi Magistrate's school board. The inspector reported only moderate progress, primarily due to the absence of an assistant for J. Lewicki. He recommended appointing a second teacher with an annual salary of 200 florins and providing accommodation. The inspector also paid particular attention to the condition of the road leading to Rosha: during his inspections, he was forced to travel by cart or fiacre, spending 5

²⁸ SAChR, F. No. 39, Inv. 1, Arch. Unit No. 535, 35 p.

florins and 75 kreuzers, which the municipal treasury reimbursed.²⁹

The adoption of the Imperial School Act of 1869 marked a turning point: schools were removed from ecclesiastical jurisdiction and placed under the authority of the Provincial School Boards and the Ministry of Cults and Education. In Bukovina, six years of compulsory schooling were introduced, resulting in a rapid expansion of primary schools.

On 23 October 1869, Alexander Cantemir was appointed assistant teacher at the Rosha school. After the death of Johann Lewicki on 18 January 1870, Johann Kaminski served as acting teacher, and on 27 September 1872, he became director. Among J. Kaminski's important achievements were the construction of auxiliary facilities – a school well and a bathhouse – which remained in use until 1969. His initiatives also included the opening of branch schools: in Țetina (1891) and Roșa-Stâncă (1899).

On 7 May 1872, the city council approved expanding the Rosha school to a two-class school. In subsequent years, the teaching staff included senior teacher Johann Kaminski, teacher Alexander Cantemir, and catechists of various denominations: Roman Catholic – Michael Piotrowski, and Orthodox – Johann Grigorowicz. In later years, their duties were assumed by other clergy and teachers: Orthodox priests Theodor Polonic and Georgie Popescul; Roman Catholic catechists Mauritius Kolaikiewicz, Josef Raszke, and Johann Peters; as well as the Jewish religion teacher Abraham Kortnus.³⁰

The steady increase in the number of pupils led to the school's expansion to three classes (1880) and later four classes (1881), which made it possible to appoint additional teachers: Basil Poclitar, Athanasius Rusnak, Georg Forgaci, Gregor Ilnicki, Peter Pitey, Malwina Paslawska, Aspasia Capucina, Florea Cîrstiuc, Eugenie Rey, Johann Dobrowolski, Constantin Ostaficzuk, Nikolaus Tarasiewicz, Nikolaus Mihalescul, Nikolaus Hotinczan and others.³¹ The Orthodox calendar for the 1899/1900 school year lists the whole staff of this school: F. Krupka, E. Hotinczan, N. Hotinczan, E. Popescul, B. Brandes, J. Radomski, G. Kawulia, H. Glinska, and M. Lindenbaum.

On 29 November 1885, school inspector Wilhelm Vysloužil conducted a comprehensive inspection of the Rosha school. In his report, he noted that the lessons of Johann Kaminski, Nikolaus Mihalescul, Constantin Ostaficzuk, Nikolaus Hotinczan, and Eugenie Rey were unsatisfactory, particularly in the classes

²⁹ SAChR, F. No. 39, Inv. 1, Arch. Unit No. 820, 14 p.

³⁰ Josef Wotta, *Geschichte der kommunalen*, S. 3-4.

³¹ *Ibid.*, S. 4-6.

located in rented premises. At the same time, the activity of I. Litviniuc, G. Constantinovici, E. Palievici, D. Nosievici, and M. Galer were assessed as satisfactory. Low attendance remained a persistent problem: fines for unexcused absences totalled 1041 florins. Nevertheless, the inspector highly valued the school's efforts to develop the school garden and promote horticulture among the local population.

In 1887, the institution was inspected by the Provincial President, accompanied by the provincial school inspector Wilhelm Vysloužil. In March 1888, another inspection was conducted by the municipal school inspector Vasile de Repta. Johann Kaminski challenged the results, accusing the inspector of incompetence, but his complaint was dismissed. On 13 August 1888, J. Kaminski was transferred to the municipal boys' school in Chernivtsi. Later, the school inspection of the Chernivtsi magistrate appointed him as inspector of schools with Romanian and German as the languages of instruction in Manasterishte, Roşa-Stâncă, Țețina, and Rosha II.

On 17 November 1897, the Provincial School Board ruled that the language of instruction in the schools of Rosha, Țețina, and Horecza must be Romanian, whereas German would remain only a subject. In the remaining public schools of Chernivtsi, instruction was conducted in German, while Romanian, Ruthenian, and Polish were taught separately if at least 15 pupils requested it.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Romanians had three public schools in the suburbs of Chernivtsi: in Horecza, Roşa-Stâncă, and Roşa-Țețina. Romanian or German–Romanian classes also existed in Klokuczka, Kaliczanka, Manasterishte, and Rosha.

NUMBER AND ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF PUPILS IN THE ROSHA SCHOOL

From the very beginning of the school's existence (23 pupils at enrolment), the number of pupils steadily increased, and the number of classes expanded accordingly. According to school inspector S. Gviazdomorski, who attended the examinations on 12 March and 30 July 1868, the school had 83 pupils (58 boys and 25 girls), most of whom were Roman Catholics. At the same time, headmaster Johann Lewicki reported a higher figure (98 pupils), likely due to a discrepancy between the official register and actual attendance, as 15 children failed to appear

for examinations.³²

On 7 May 1872, the municipal council resolved to expand the Rosha school into a two-class institution. Instruction under the new statute began on 1 October 1872. Records indicate that in the 1872–1873 school year, the number of pupils reached 86 (59 boys and 27 girls) of various confessions and nationalities. Among them were 59 Roman Catholics, 1 Greek Catholic, 19 Greek Orthodox, 5 Evangelicals, and 2 Jews; by nationality: 64 Germans, 19 Romanians, 1 Ruthenian, and 2 Poles. For comparison, in 1873, the suburbs of Chernivtsi also had schools in Manasterishte (106 pupils), Klokuczka (67 pupils), and Horecza (57 pupils).³³

The number of pupils at the Rosha school continued to grow steadily from 1873: 98 in 1873, 140 in 1874, 174 in 1875, and 241 in 1879. As a result, the school was gradually expanded into a three-class institution (1880) and then a four-class one (1881). At the end of 1885, during a visit by school inspector Wilhelm Vysloužil, instruction was conducted in four parallel classes with a total of 275 pupils. In the 1896–1897 school year, a fifth class was opened at the Rosha school.

By 1894, detailed statistical data on the primary schools of the Rosha suburb were available. According to Bukovina's primary school statistics, the school's classes were attended by 305 pupils (196 boys and 109 girls), of whom 157 were Germans, 143 Romanians, 3 Ruthenians, and 2 Slovaks. Confessionally, the pupils were divided into 148 Roman Catholics, 143 Orthodox, 2 Evangelicals, and 9 Jews. Languages of instruction were German and Romanian.³⁴

In 1901, as reported by the Chernivtsi newspaper "Deșteptarea", the school in Rosha enrolled 113 Germans, 214 Romanians, 7 Ukrainians, and 3 Poles (a total of 337 pupils).³⁵ According to Constantin Ungureanu's research, over the last two decades of the Austrian administration, the number of Romanian pupils increased steadily: 189 in 1900 (total 428), 198 in 1906 (total 704), and 288 in 1913 (total 584).³⁶

At the beginning of the 1902–1903 school year, a newly built municipal public school, "Rosha II," was opened near the cavalry barracks in Rosha, which reduced the number of pupils attending "Rosha I."³⁷ The authorities decided that

³² SAChR, F. No. 39, Inv. 1, Arch. Unit No. 820, 14 p.

³³ Constantin Ungureanu, *Învățământul primar*, p. 109.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

³⁵ "Deșteptarea" [Awakening], 1901, 11/24 martie.

³⁶ Constantin Ungureanu, *Învățământul primar*, p. 197, tab. No 25.

³⁷ Josef Wotta, *Geschichte der kommunalen*, p. 10.

the Rosha I school should be mixed (German-Romanian) with three parallel classes for German and, respectively, Romanian children. At the same time, Rosha II was established as a German school.³⁸ In 1905, the Rosha I school had 312 pupils, including 143 Germans, 168 Romanians, and 1 Ukrainian, while the other school was attended by 210 Germans, 11 Romanians, 68 Ukrainians, and 16 Poles.³⁹ According to the April 1909 report of headmaster Nicolae Mihailescu, the school had 367 pupils divided into two sections (grades I-III): German and Romanian. The German section had a total of 114 children (41 in first grade, 32 in second grade and 41 in third grade). The Romanian section had a total of 130 pupils (52 in first grade, 39 in second grade and 39 in third grade). In the upper grades, pupils studied in mixed classes, with the fourth grade comprising 68 pupils and the fifth grade 55 (fig. 9). As of 12 September 1913, the distribution of 305 pupils across classes was as follows: first class – 91 pupils; second – 36; third – 38; fourth – 40; fifth – 48; sixth – 25; seventh – 27.⁴⁰

During the First World War (1914–1918), schooling in the suburbs of Chernivtsi, including Rosha, was suspended.

THE PROBLEM OF INSUFFICIENT SCHOOL FACILITIES

As noted at the beginning of this study, the steady increase in the number of pupils required the constant expansion of school premises. After the school was established in 1816 in the building provided by landowner Gheorghe Dumitrescu, the first significant expansion occurred in 1839, when a new two-storey school building was constructed. However, as later developments showed, the rapid growth in the number of pupils and the increase in classes made even this new building too small to accommodate the educational process. Over time, it became necessary to rent rooms in private houses.

Beginning in spring 1909, the administration of "Rosha I" repeatedly emphasised the urgent need to expand the school premises. For three years, the school operated with five main classes and three parallel ones, while the building had only five classrooms. Under these circumstances, the staff demanded either the construction of four additional classrooms or the rental of private premises. To address the shortage of teaching space at "Rosha I," the Chernivtsi magistrate established a special commission composed of city councillor A. Brunnstein

³⁸ *Nationale Volkschule (III)*, in "Bukowinaer Post", 1905, 2. Februar, S. 1.

³⁹ *Nationale Volkschule (I)*, in "Bukowinaer Post", 1905, 15. Janner, S. 1.

⁴⁰ SAChR, F. No. 43, Inv. 2, Arch. Unit No. 116, p. 89.

(chairman), city school inspector Rafael Kaindl, building adviser Karl Navrátil, magistrate commissioner Dr J. Shottenfeld, and school headmaster Nicolae Mihailescu. The commission inspected two houses proposed by the headmaster for rental – the Duczek and Altman properties. Based on the findings, it was recommended to rent the Duczek house for two classrooms after the necessary alterations were made. The Altman house (No. 217) was deemed unsuitable for educational purposes, although negotiations concerning its possible use continued throughout 1909, but ultimately proved unsuccessful. It is noteworthy that this house had already been serving as an auxiliary school building for eight years (figs. 10–12).

In 1912, the administration (director Michael von Geller) once again appealed to the Chernivtsi School Council, requesting the construction of additional classrooms or the opening of a separate school. In 1913, negotiations also began for renting premises in house No. 397 (opposite the school), which belonged to Roman Spiridon and later passed to Philip Runzer.

ACHIEVEMENTS. NOTABLE GRADUATES

The most relevant result of the school in Rosha was the literacy of tens of generations of students and the training of skills in thousands of graduates. With the increase in the number of graduates, the young people who trained at this school became increasingly visible within the intellectual elite of Bukovina. In the second half of the 19th century, graduates of the Rosha primary school repeatedly demonstrated a high level of education, particularly as teachers. Already in 1904 it was recorded that seven school headmasters in Bukovina had come from Rosha: Alexandru Cantemir (born on 9 August 1844), headmaster of the Klokuczka suburban school; Mihai Pitei (b. 20 August 1854), headmaster in Horecza; Petru Pitei (b. 13 January 1852), headmaster in Kaliczanka; Nicolae Hluško (b. 23 March 1865), headmaster in Ostritz; Corneliu Klain (b. 13 October 1877), headmaster in Nyzhni Stanivtsi; Nicolae Prodaniuc (b. 1 October 1874), headmaster in Opryshany; Leon Zavatski (b. 8 May 1864), headmaster in Budynets.

Among the notable alumni of Rosha Primary School, Daniel Werenka deserves special mention. After completing primary school, he studied at the Chernivtsi Lyceum and later at the University of Vienna, where he earned a doctoral degree in philosophy in 1883. Werenka authored several works in history and linguistics, the most important of which is *Topographie der Bukowina*

(1895).⁴¹ He later served as the director of the Higher Realgymnasium in Câmpulung Moldovenesc (now Suceava County, Romania).⁴²

CONCLUSIONS

The first school in the Rosha suburb was opened in 1816. Its establishment was driven not only by the general educational reforms of the Maria Theresa and Joseph II era but also by the Austrian administration's policy of developing the newly annexed territory. The immigration of German-speaking settlers led to a sharp increase in Rosha's population and heightened interest in schooling, particularly in a religious context. Both communities – Romanian and German – initiated the creation of the trivial school. At the same time, the institution faced material, financial, staffing, and confessional difficulties from the beginning: the repair of the first building, the construction of the new 1839 facility, equipment shortages, and the rental of additional rooms due to rising enrolments. In the early period, a competing illegal Evangelical school posed a challenge, especially attracting children of non-Orthodox confession. Interconfessional and national tensions led to a prolonged conflict between communities from 1858 to 1869. Additional difficulties included collecting school dues and recruiting qualified teaching staff.

The second stage of schooling development in Rosha began in the 1870s, following the adoption of the Imperial School Law of 1869. Four educational institutions operated in the suburb: Rosha I, Țețina-Roșa, Roșa-Stynka, and Rosha II (a German-language six-class school). Their further development was hindered mainly by the lack of adequate premises needed for the growing number of pupils.

The study of the history of schooling in Rosha has enabled, for the first time, the identification of previously unknown facts. Notably, it clarifies the name of the person who donated the house for the first school, local landowner Gheorghe Dumitrescu. It also provides previously unpublished information about the competition between the trivial school (teacher Johann Lewicki) and the illegal Evangelical school (teacher Johann Künzelmann), as well as the long-standing conflict documented in the mid-nineteenth century as the "school question." For

⁴¹ Daniel Werenka, *Topographie der Bukowina zur Zeit ihrer Erwerbung durch Österreich (1774-1785). Nach Acten aus folgenden Archiven: K. u. k. Kriegsministerium; dessen Kartenarchiv; k. k. Ministerium für Cultus und Unterricht*, Czernowitz, Selbstverlag, 1895.

⁴² Teofil Rendiuc, Domnica Gorduna-Svijynsca, *Nesecat izvor...*, pp. 19, 43.

the first time, data on financial difficulties, material shortages, building repairs, rental of private premises, inspection reports, and statistics on pupils and teaching staff are published.

Operating in a multicultural and multiethnic environment, even though the majority of students at the Rosha school were Romanians and Germans, both the languages of instruction and the composition of the teaching staff reflected this reality. The local community played a crucial role in shaping this educational institution. The Austrian authorities supported local initiatives and ensured the establishment of quality education that would meet the needs of Bukovina.

ANNEXES

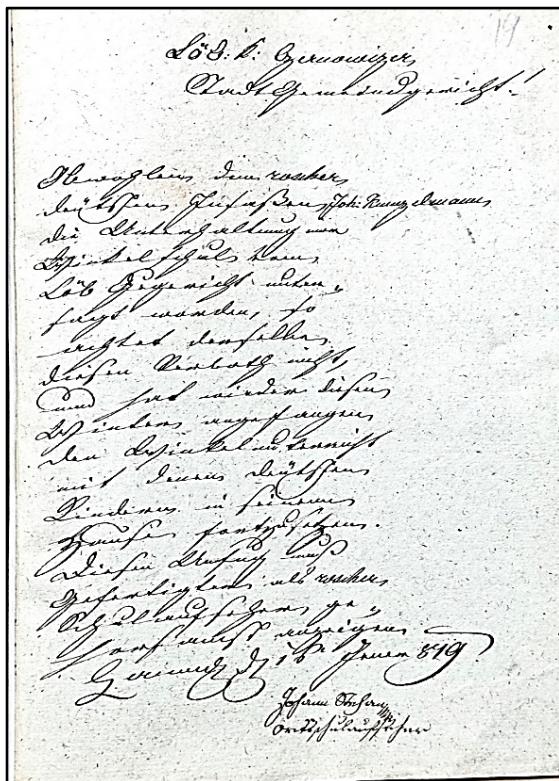


Fig. 1. Report letter from school inspector Johann Stephanowicz to the Chernivtsi Municipal Public Court regarding the repeated violation of the prohibition on maintaining a private school by Künzelmann (1819).



Fig. 2. Part of School No. 10 (Rosha), built in 1839. Photograph from the first half of the 20th century.
Source: Museum of Chernivtsi Municipal Gymnasium No. 10.



Fig. 3. The expanded school building. Today: Chernivtsi Municipal Gymnasium No. 10. 2025. Photo by A. Moysey.



Fig. 4. Chernivtsi Municipal Gymnasium No. 10. Contemporary view (2025). Photo by A. Moysey.

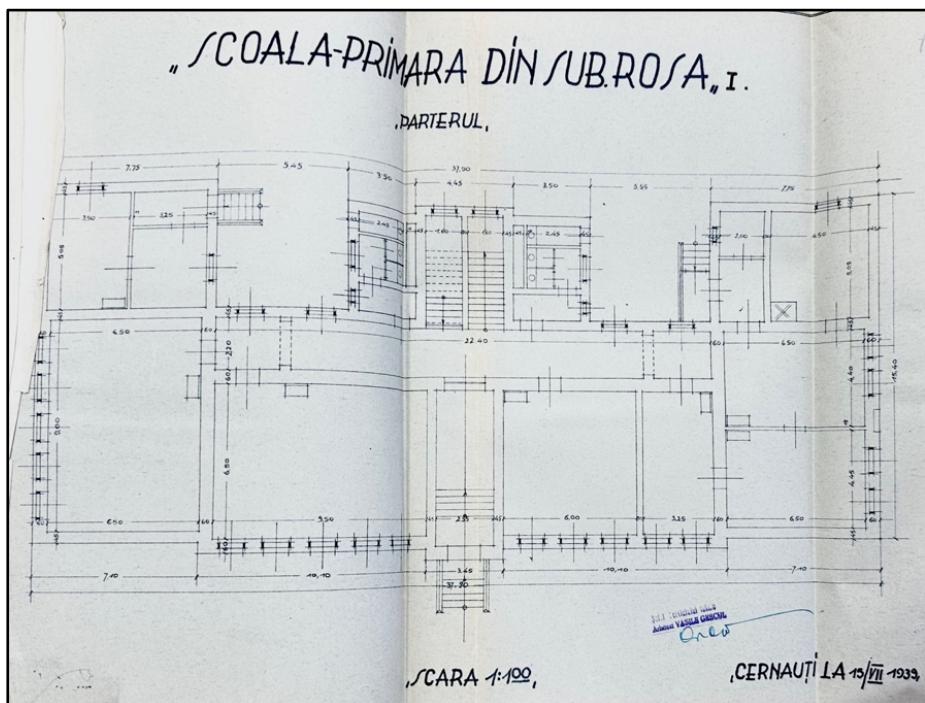
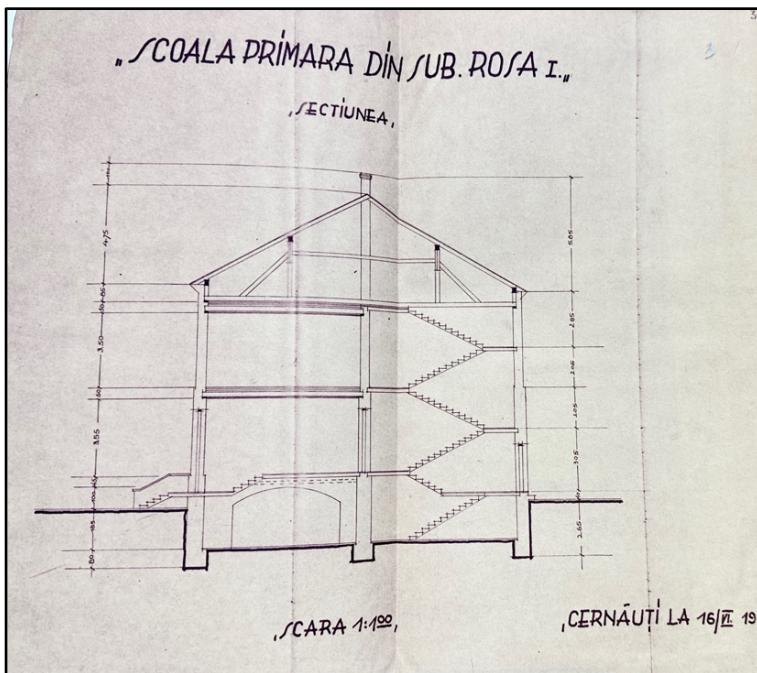


Fig. 5-6. Plan diagrams of the Rosha school. Architect V. Grecu. 1939.

Source: State Archives of Chernivtsi Region

Fig. 7. Report on the languages of instruction in the Latin (Roman Catholic) schools of Bukovina, compiled at the request of the Catholic Consistory in J.viv (1859).

Source: *SACHR*, F. 3, Inv. 2,
F. 1991.

Fig. 8. Report of the Rosha suburb elder Heorhiy Ostafi to the Chernivtsi magistrate confirming the payment of the teacher's salary and the in-kind contributions to teacher

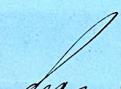
Source: *SACHR*, F. 39, Inv. 1, F. 535.

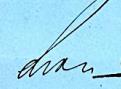
11

Lütticher - Konservenmuseum,
Sachen sind öffentlich ab
geschafft werden
am 23. July 1883. 1883.
mit folgenden Kost- und
gewöhnlichen Preisen,
die durch C. W. Müller
mit den Konserven
Rathaus Lippstadt
Leinwand für anno
888, dem Konserven
Alten & Naturalien-
Museum am Hof- und
Königlichen & Naturalien
museum pro Tob.
dem Lippstadtischen
Leinwand ausgezahlt.
Johann Dr. 24th
Kloppen
Michael Thielekloppen
Georgi Ostal
Kloppen











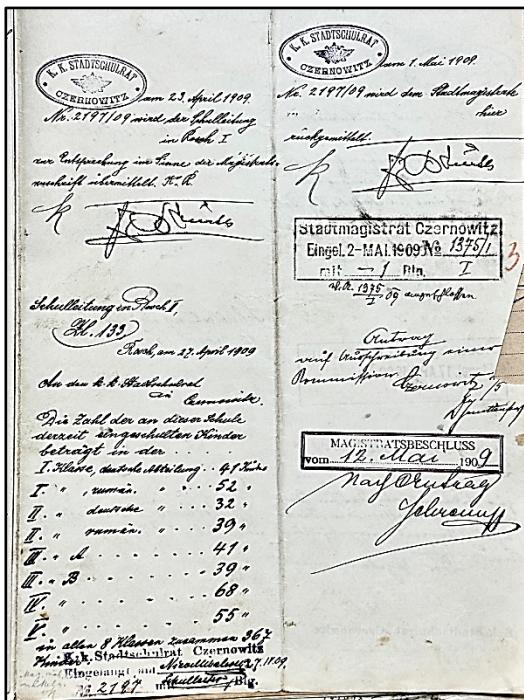


Fig. 9. Report of the headmaster of the Rosha I school, N. Mihailescu, of 27 April 1909 to the Chernivtsi Municipal School Board.

Source: SACHR, F. 43, Inv. 2, F. 116.

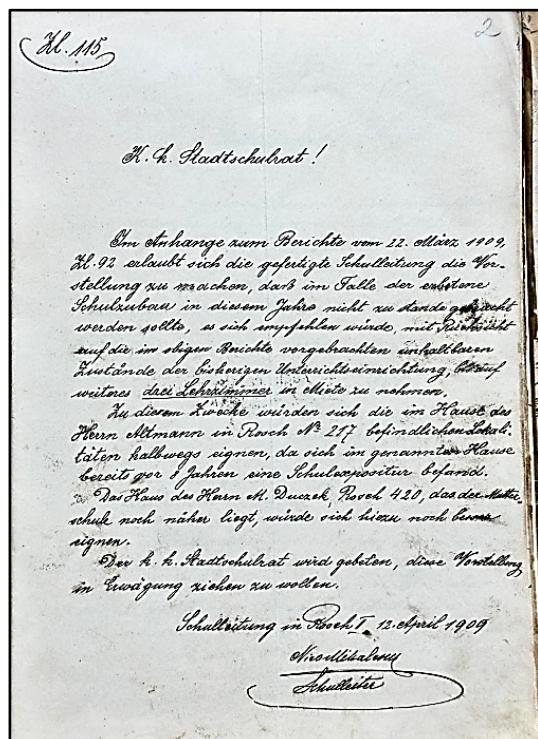


Fig. 10. Letter from the Rosha school headmaster N. Mihailescu of 12 April 1909 to the Chernivtsi School Board regarding the feasibility of renting premises in the Altman (No. 217) and Dyczek (No. 420) houses.

Source: SACHR, F. 43, Inv. 2, F. 116.

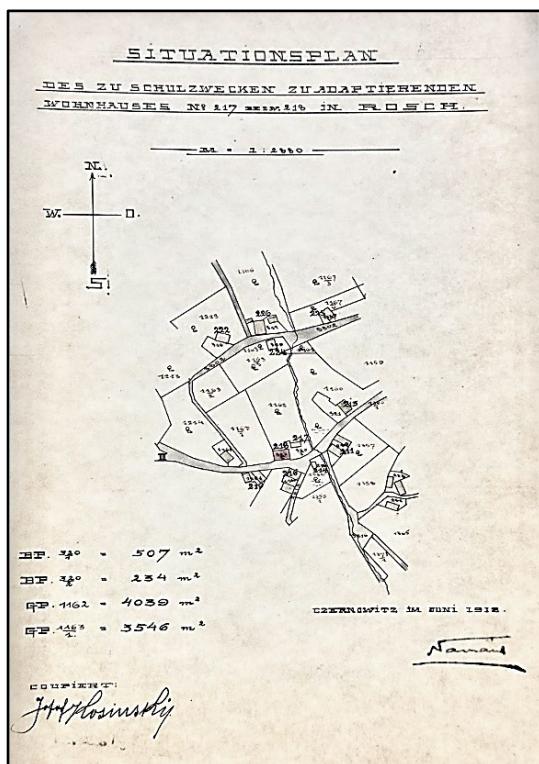


Fig. 11. Situational plan showing the location of the Altman house and land plot (Nos. 217, 218) on the map of the Rosha suburb.

Source: *SAChR*, F. 43, Inv. 2, F. 116.

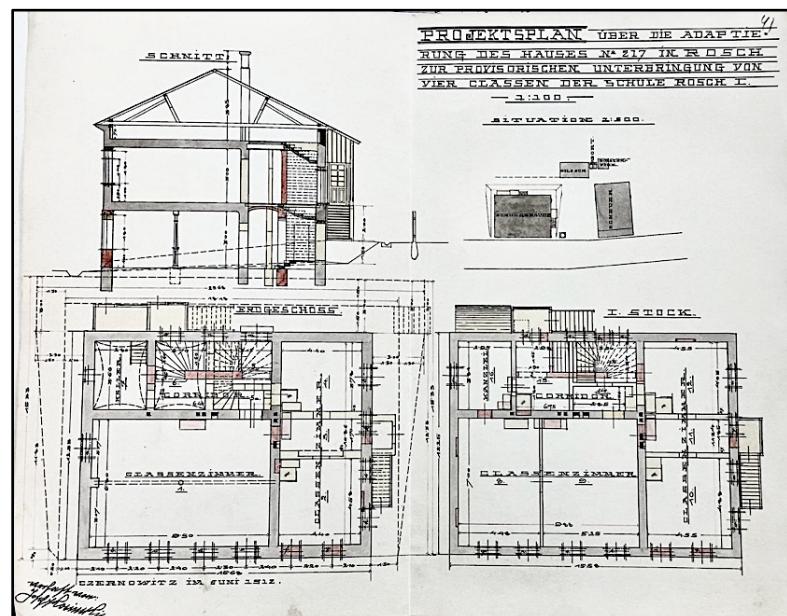


Fig. 12. Project plan for converting the premises of the Altman house (No. 217) into classrooms.

Source: *SAChR*, F. 43, Inv. 2, F. 116.

REFERENCES

1. "Bukowinaer Post", 1905.
2. Covalciuc Victor, *Cea mai veche școală românească din Cernăuți* [The Oldest Romanian School in Chernivtsi], in "Zorile Bucovinei", 1991, 23 iulie, 25 iulie, 30 iulie, 4 august, 8 august.
3. Dan Dimitrie, *Un autor român bucovinean din anul 1826/7* [A Romanian Author from Bukovina in the Year 1826/27], Cernăuți, Institutul de arte grafice și editură Glasul Bucovinei, 1922.
4. Nistor Ion, *Istoria Bucovinei* [History of Bukovina], București, Humanitas, 1991.
5. Rendiuc Teofil, Gorduna-Svijynsca Domnica, *Nesecat izvor al științei de carte. Școala N 10 din Cernăuți – la 200 de ani de la înființare* [An Inexhaustible Source of Literary Knowledge. School No. 10 in Chernivtsi – 200 Years After its Foundation], Cernăuți, Bukrek, 2016.
6. State Archives of the Chernivtsi Region (SAChR), Fonds: No. 1 *District Administration of Bukovina, Chernivtsi*; No. 3 *Regional Administration of Bukovina*; No. 39 *Chernivtsi Municipal Magistrate*; No. 43 *Chernivtsi City Hall*.
7. Ungureanu Constantin, *Învățământul primar din Bucovina (1774-1918)* [Primary education in Bukovina (1774-1918)], Chișinău, Editura Civitas, 2007.
8. Ungureanu Constantin, *Sistemul de învățământ din Bucovina în perioada stăpânirii austriace (1774-1918)* [The Educational System of Bukovina during the Austrian Rule (1774-1918)], Chișinău, Tipografia Centrală, 2015.
9. *Tețina. Societatea cultural-economică a românilor din Roșa-Cernăuți (10 mai 1896 – 10 mai 1936). 40 de ani de activitate cultural-economică* [Tețina. The Cultural-Economic Society of the Romanians of Rosha-Chernivtsi (10 May 1896 – 10 May 1936). Forty Years of Cultural and Economic Activity], Cernăuți, Tipografia Glasul Bucovinei, 1936.
10. Werenka Daniel, *Topographie der Bukowina zur Zeit ihrer Erwerbung durch Österreich (1774-1785). Nach Acten aus folgenden Archiven: K. u. k. Kriegsministerium; dessen Kartenarchiv; k. k. Ministerium für Cultus und Unterricht*, Czernowitz, Selbstverlag, 1895.
11. Wotta Josef, *Geschichte der kommunalen Volksschulen. I. Trivial-Schule in Rosch*, in "Bukowiner Schule. Zeitschrift für das Volksschulwesen", IV Jahrgang, 1907, 1. Heft, S. 1-11.