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**Portraits of Galicia:
Guidebooks from the Late Habsburg Empire
To Interwar Poland**

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读万卷书，行万里路。

---董其昌

Read a thousand books, walk a thousand miles.

---Dong Qichang

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Rhea

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Introduction

The region of Galicia in Central-Eastern Europe (not to be confused with the Spanish Galicia) today is divided between Poland and Ukraine. It has always been a contested region, with fluxes of different communities with different cultures. Historically, Ukrainians/Ruthenians, Poles, Jews, Germans and other communities has been residents of this region, and each had laid their claims and left their marks. Through changes of ownerships and international conflicts, Galicia nevertheless retains a strong local identity, engraved in its everchanging people, locales, and stories. The aim of this thesis is to paint portraits of Galicia presented by guidebooks and to understand what and how perceptions and identities of the region are promoted in different time periods. I argue that Galicia's local identity is highlighted in the guidebooks from both the Habsburg empire and interwar Poland, although these two regimes were vastly different in terms of their territories, political systems, and historical relationships with Galicia. While Galicia is fit into the Austrian pursuit of a diverse empire, it stands out again in the Polish nation's idealized homogeneity. This continuous emphasis on Galicia's diversity and uniqueness consolidates a specifically regional identity, which survives even beyond its mother states.

The Habsburg Empire

The history of Galicia – at least known under this name – officially began with the Partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1772, when Austria, Prussia, and Russia divided this large state. The Habsburg empire named its new crownland “the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria,” with Lemberg (Lviv/Lwow) as its capital. After a failed insurrection in 1846, the Free City of Krakow (Cracow) was annexed into Galicia. Until 1918, Galicia was ruled by the Habsburg empire.

Galicia's relationship with the empire was a complicated one, and it cannot be separated from how one views the imperial system. For those who see the empires as an archaic system that was destined to be replaced by nation-states, policies of integration, tolerance, and diversity were efforts to prevent the inevitable downfall.¹ For those who argue for the functionality and possible coherence of the empire, the coexistence of a regional identity and an imperial identity validates the possibility of imperial legacy. In Pieter Judson's book, for example, he uses Galician peasants' loyalty to the emperor as a manifestation of a shared identity across national, ethnic, and linguistic barriers.² Whether the argument for such identity is sufficient is still up for debate, but compared to the mature theoretical framework of nationalism, the study of empire lacks a corresponding foundation. Based on his ethnographic works, Karl von Czörnig (1804-1889) defined the empire by its diversity in the 1850s, painting distinctive maps of natural, cultural, and linguistic differences.³ Czörnig's theory is not a fully developed one, because it fails to define "Austrian" or "Habsburg" in its attempt to build the "empire." While a nation-state's projected picture of homogeneity naturally alienates other nation-state by differences, an empire must distinguish itself in another manner, since differences are supposedly internalized.

This thesis does not attempt to provide a theoretical framework for imperialism in the context of the Habsburg empire, as it would require a far more comprehensive survey of the empire's different regions. It, however, does not assume an unavoidable failure of the imperial project, and intends to investigate the tension and compromise between a regional identity and an imperial identity in the empire's presentation of Galicia, which suggests that these two identities

¹ Solomon Wank, "Some Reflections on the Habsburg Empire and its Legacy in the Nationalities," *Austrian History Yearbook*, 28 (1997), 137.

² Pieter Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History*, (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016), 124.

³ Judson, *Ibid.*, 243.

are not inherently mutually exclusive and their dynamic had a far-reaching influence on the crystallization of the empire and of Galicia.

The Second Republic of Poland (1918-1939)

The newly reborn Poland after the collapse of the three great powers that participated in the Partitions in the aftermath of the First World War was riddled with challenges and problems. In the twenty years of independence, interwar Poland fought to define its new borders, confronted with social and economic crises, and tried and failed its democratic experiment.⁴ In contrast with the Habsburgs loosely defined imperial project, interwar Poland was explicitly trying to build a Polish nation-state. Its problem, however, similarly had to do with diversity. Interwar Poland's demography, judged by consensus or educated estimations of self-identification, was far from homogenous. Furthermore, even ethnic Poles were coming together from three different territories with more than a century of history of those states.⁵ In this context, the exported image is vital to understand the effort to reconcile with history and expectation for the future.

Galicia, after a century and half's influence from the Habsburg empire, was combined with the other two Polish regions and was related to them. Its demographic diversity and vibrant culture inherited from the Austrian past needed to be reconsidered and remodeled into a Polish narrative that belonged to the Independence, along with its complaints and ambitions.

Again, this thesis does not intend to judge the success and failure of the Second Republic in its construction of a Polish nation-state, but utilizes guidebooks as sources of reconciliation

⁴ Norman Davies, *Heart of Europe: The Past in Poland's Present*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 106.

⁵ Jeffrey S. Kopstein, Jason Wittenberg, "Who Voted Communist? Reconsidering the Social Bases of Radicalism in Interwar Poland," *Slavic Review*, v. 62, no. 1. (Spring, 2003), 92.

and identification to understand the struggle between the projected image of nationalism and its multinational, or at least multiethnic, reality.

Guidebook as Primary Sources

Guidebooks are relatively dry materials at the first glance. Today we use tourist websites or guidebook series before travel for useful information about fun activities, local cuisines, transportations, and accommodations. The formulated information we get, however, went through centuries of development to become what it is like today. Both the physical objects and the contents of guidebook reveal much about how people travel. In antiquity, when travel was dangerous and expensive, guidebooks were multivolume and should not be taken on the road.⁶ Instead, valuable manuscripts about foreign culture and lands were read by the few literate elites who could afford such luxury. In the Middle Ages, pilgrimage was the main goal of travel, so guidebooks, albeit still heavy and difficult to access, provided route information for later pilgrims.⁷ When the Renaissance inspired the Grand Tour, young European men (and occasionally women) traveled across the continent to learn and experience high culture. Their guides, both in print and in person, began to offer more practical information about logging, foreign currencies, and foreign languages.⁸ The invention and popularization of printing press also allowed guidebooks to be made more cheaply available. And finally, the rise of mass

⁶ Christian Habicht, "An Ancient Baedeker and his Critics: Pausanias' Guide to Greece," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 129, no.2, (June, 1985), 220.

⁷ Martin Jacobs, "'A Day's Journey': Spatial Perceptions and Geographic Imagination in Benjamin of Tudela's Book of Travels," in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. 109, no. 2 (Spring 2019), 217. Although the accuracy of the information provided in this example is questionable, it is undoubtably a development from previous centuries.

⁸ Thomas Martyn, *The Gentleman's Guide in His Tour Through Italy with a Correct Map, and Directions for Travelling in That Country*, (London: G. Kearsley, 1787), 138. "Cicerones and Books are by no means wanting at Rome." While hiring a Cicerone is "the least the trouble" and "the surest way of seeing everything according to rule," a commitment to books provides "everything described with almost the same degree of admiration."

tourism from the end of the nineteenth century also brought forth guidebook series such as the Baedekers and Cook's Tourist's Handbooks, giving a more uniform travel experience for the middle class. As travel became cheaper and more popular, guidebooks evolved to be cheaper, more portable and practical.

Where do the guidebooks examined in this thesis fit into this development? In terms of time period, they seem to belong to the age of mass tourism. Galicia certainly was equipped with enough modern transportation infrastructure to accommodate a significant influx of tourists, and its capital Lemberg/Lviv/Lwow and Krakow/Cracow should offer enough cultural attraction.⁹ In general, however, Eastern Europe was a blind spot in the history of travel. Although the Grand Tour was supposed to be a trip across the European continent, in reality travel was much limited to West Europe. Most grand tourists traveled from North to South, passing through major cities in France, but their ultimate destination was Italy, with the highlights of Florence, Naples, Venice, and the climax of Rome.¹⁰ If one looks at a map of usual travel routes, it is evident that Vienna was the easternmost city to visit.¹¹ Those few who ventured into the East, for example to Poland and Russia, did not aim to experience high culture, which was the goal of the Grand Tour.¹² These travelers often reported experiencing a world between civilization and barbarity. As Wolff eloquently argues in his book on the formation of the idea of Eastern Europe, the Enlightenment began a realignment of the perception of a Europe divided between the East and

⁹ Dominik Kaim, Jakub Taczanowski, Marcin Szwagrzyk and Krzysztof Ostafin, "Railway network of Galicia and Austrian Silesia (1847-1914)," *Journal of Maps*, vol. 16 no. 1, (2020), 132.

¹⁰ Julian Brooks, *The Lure of Italy: Artists' Views*, (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2017), 5.

¹¹ John Towner, *An Historical Geography of Recreation and Tourism in the Western World, 1540-1940*, (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 1996), 107-109.

¹² Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: the Map of Civilization On the Mind of the Enlightenment*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 26.

the West, rather than the division between the North and the South from the Renaissance.¹³ This impression lasted a long time and perhaps still remains in place today, with modern history of the two world wars and the Cold War, cementing the separation of the East and the West.

It is the impression, however, against which countries and regions in Eastern Europe have wanted to resist. Inviting tourists to visit by promoting a certain image of themselves is one of the ways to be rid of these stereotypical preconceptions. As mass tourism often failed to put them on the maps, guidebooks of Galicia from the late imperial era to interwar Poland resemble those guidebooks by individual publishers in the transitional period from the Grand Tour to mass tourism. Since they focus on one region specifically, they hardly belong to any stylized series, but they remain light, small, cheap, and are accompanied with maps and advertisements.

Three out of the main four sources that are used in this thesis are written or coauthored by one Orłowicz Mieczysław who was one of the most important authors of guidebooks on Galicia from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. He was born in 1881 and a passionate traveler throughout his life, contributing his illustrations and photos to his works. He later became the minister of tourism and communication in interwar Poland. He published many travel guides under both regimes. The two English guides, *Poland and Its Curiosities (A Tourists' Guide)* (1927) and *Southwestern Poland: Illustrated Guide* (1927), were both published in his official capacity in the Ministry of Public Works and the Ministry of Communications.¹⁴ These two guides are referred as *Curiosities* and *Southwestern Poland* in the following pages. The choice of English implies a specific western audience. Both guides from the Habsburg period are in German, *Illustrierter Führer durch die ungarischen Ostkarpathen, Galizien,*

¹³ Ibid., 357.

¹⁴ While *Poland and Its Curiosities* has always been a guidebook in English, *Southwestern Poland* was translated.

Bukowina und Rumänien (Illustrated Tour Through Hungarian East-Carpathians, Galicia, Bukovina, and Romania, 1882) and *Illustrierter Führer durch Galizien* (Illustrated Tour Through Galicia, 1914).¹⁵ They were published by the same publishing house based in Vienna and Berlin and belonged to the same series of illustrated guides. Since they share similar names, they will be simply referred by their publishing year in the following pages, the 1882 guide and the 1914 guide. The former was written by Alexander Heksch and Wladimir Kowszewicz, while the latter was the product of Orłowicz and his colleague Josef Londzin. Although Orłowicz's personal perspective influenced his works, working as a Polish government official also informed greatly how certain images were presented in a national environment. Comparing how he described Galicia in different contexts reveals how the region was situated in different regimes. His specialty in the region also demands a comparison with other writers. For these reasons, these four guidebooks are chosen as the main primary sources for this thesis.

Structure and Significance

This thesis is initiated by two sets of questions. Where does Galicia situate itself on the map of Europe and on the maps of the states? When did Galicia become Galicia, or when and by whom was Galicia founded? Who lives in Galicia, or how do different peoples live in Galicia?¹⁶ What are there in Galicia, or what should represent Galicia? Guidebooks often provide straightforward and dry answers to the first set of questions, but reading them in relation to the historical contexts can deepen the understanding of the formation and adaptations of a local identity. The following pages will focus on addressing these questions with related themes of

¹⁵ All translations of these sources from German to English are done by me.

¹⁶ The even more poignant question would be: to whom does Galicia belong?

diversity, ethnicity, nationality, and historical narratives. Generally, the four main sources will be used in a chronological order, from the Habsburg empire to interwar Poland.

One of the most important concepts in discussion is diversity, which can be defined in several ways and often signifies different meanings in different contexts. In Galicia, it manifests itself in linguistic, ethnic, confessional, and national differences, and whether these differences are beneficial or detrimental depends heavily on the projected audience and the time period. Diversity in itself does not necessarily connote an advantage or a disadvantage, and its existence also does not necessitate deep-seated policies of exclusion or inclusion. In different narratives and perceptions, however, it becomes a point of contentions. In more than one occasion, it is pitched against the concept of homogeneity, the idea of sameness. In different contexts, diversity can mean inclusion – the coexistence of differences – and multicultural communications, but it can also mean an inability to connect and the inevitability of conflicts. In the latter, diversity is synonymous with incorrigible difference. Diversity in reality is difficult to overlook, as it is evident in people's dress, speech, and behavior, but writings can put diversity in different light, giving readers different expectations and creating particular images in which certain things are emphasized while others are downplayed. This thesis analyzes how diversity is constructed or demolished in different periods.

Questions asked, sources available, and the designed framework of this thesis allows a close examination of Galicia's exported images to the western audience. Nevertheless, this work is not without its limitation. Sources in English and German rather than in Polish or Ukrainian present a specific view towards a specifically western audience. Orlowicz's dominance in the field of guidebook also curtails more diverse presentations of the region, though his importance and influence still ensure the representativeness and receptiveness of his works. Focusing on

guidebooks means that the opinions in them are presented in a determined format. This thesis does not claim that these sources represent the logic, advantages, or shortcomings of each regime but maintains that they imply and offer a glimpse into how perceptions of Galicia are expressed and transmitted.

Furthermore, this thesis does not seek to discuss whether or how much the images presented in the guidebooks correspond to historical reality. It is difficult to reconstruct the historical Galicia with any definitive confidence, as written historical records of other kinds remain perceptions of contemporaries. The same condition also applies to physical evidences, such as photographs and household objects, with regard to their collection and preservation. Therefore, the subject in discussion, as the title of the thesis suggests, is the imagined, perceived, and portrayed Galicia. For this reason, this thesis mostly utilizes the present tense, as a reminder of the fashioned nature of the subject matter. The use of past tense signifies discussions of historical events outside of the guidebooks, which can be useful for understanding the presented images.

While this introduction includes the literature reviews for the three relevant fields and briefly summarizes the methodology and important themes, the two main chapters will focus on the primary sources. Each chapter is divided into two parts, discussing the respective sources from the Habsburg and the Polish periods. In the first chapter, the main question is regarding the geographical and strategic locations of Galicia. I argue that the Habsburg guides paint Galicia as a puzzle piece that fits into the larger picture of a vibrant, colorful, and blooming empire, despite its social and economic problems. Galicia is presented almost as an exotic glimpse into the rich composition of a powerful empire, its position in the East downplayed and its membership in the empire emphasized. On the other hand, guides from interwar Poland not only position Galicia in

the South but also characterizes it as the mediocre place caught between the advanced West and the underdeveloped East. In the second chapter, the question shifts from that of present perception to that of historical origins. As history is intimately linked to the legitimacy of states, narratives of Galicia's past imply its relationship with the governing regimes. The Habsburg guides are unequivocal about Galicia's changing ownerships in the past centuries, and they are straightforward about past social and administrative experiments that are done in the region by Habsburg monarchs, pointing out their wishes, failures, and successes. In general, however, the Habsburg rule brings progress and development. The Polish guides deal specifically with the Partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, treating it as the central event for the state to reconcile. The narratives emphasize the continuous persistence of Polishness in the century of bondage and occupation, until Galicia is finally reunited with its rightful owner, with the new Republic.

As a way to simulate tourists' experience, the thesis has two appendixes attached. They are two "travel guides" to Lemberg (the Habsburg period) and Cracow (interwar Poland), modeled after today's online travel guides. With dramatized language and shortened lengths, the imagined guides demonstrate how different guidebooks promote certain images of the cities. They are not practical, and some of the things implied in the sources are stated outright in a way that would be detrimental for any real tourism promotion. Subtlety is exchanged for a more direct expression of messages. All information used in these caricatures comes from the sources analyzed. Lemberg is chosen to represent a Habsburg guide because it is favored in the German sources, and Cracow is chosen for the interwar period for the same reason. These two cities can best present the projected images.

This thesis has two goals. The first is to better understand the portraits of Galicia, including its formation, perception, hopes, and ideals. As a case study of promoted local image, it hopes to inspire further examination of not only the historical reality of the region but also historical understanding of it. The second is to test and promote the use of guidebook as a primary source. Travelogues have always been useful primary sources in many academic explorations, but guidebooks also conceal rich information of material history under their dry outlook. As a type of text that often goes through many editions through a long period of time without major changes, guidebook, like in in the case of Galicia, is an object with historical value in uncovering people's understanding of certain locales and their significance.

Where is Galicia? Shifting from the East to the South

This chapter of the thesis discusses the position of Galicia on the mental maps of the states. Innocuous geographical positions are not necessarily straightforward. Giving the GPS coordinate of present-day Lviv in Ukraine as 49° 50' 34.6452" N and 24° 1' 51.9996" E is largely meaningless, but locating Lemberg as eastern of Vienna in the Habsburg empire and Lwow as southern of Warsaw in interwar Poland gives different images. As ownership of Galicia shifted from the empire to the Polish state, its position in the state hierarchy also changed, not only because of its relative geographical location but also because of its mother states' position on the international stage. While in the Habsburg guides, this location is less obvious, because Galicia's uniqueness is shown through its membership in the empire, along with other unique regions, the Polish guides give Galicia a place in the South, relating it with the other two parts of Poland by situating it in the middle. On the one hand, the Habsburg guides make an effort to downplay the image of an underdeveloped and barbaric East by stripping away the geographical meaning of Galicia. On the other hand, the Polish guides reinforce the dichotomy between East and West in their effort to align the new Polish state to the progressive and civilized West. In their respective strategies, guides from both periods are guided by the long-established perceptions of certain locations that have meanings beyond its mere position on the maps.

Habsburg Galicia: A Piece of the Puzzle

Was Galicia a unique component of the Habsburg empire? Absolutely. At the same time, however, each part of this massive empire followed its distinct historical development and it is unfair to generalize any of them. In this sense, perhaps different crownlands of the Habsburg empire were similar in their differences. They were different from Vienna, with people speaking

different and various languages, following different religious and social traditions, and writing different courses of history. Galicia's story, from its annexation to the empire, inevitably involves the dichotomy between East and West. As Eastern Europe was perceived by western visitors as a combination of civilization and barbarism, the Habsburg monarchs' project for this "blank slate" was to cultivate and enlighten.¹⁷ It is difficult to evaluate how much of their ambition was realized, as illiteracy rate remained high and peasant riots frequent in Galicia, compared to the rest of the empire.¹⁸ The struggles for social, economic, and educational improvements, however, are rarely shown in guidebooks. In their portrayal, Galicia is a vibrant part of the empire and a uniquely colorful piece in an amazing big picture. In this kind of narrative, the stereotypical perceptions of Eastern Europe as backward are transformed into a positive outlook of curiosity and pride for diversity.

The German guidebooks are much thicker and denser than the two English ones discussed later. Their relatively early time period also assumes a different style. All practical information, such as climate and useful language tips, centers at the beginning. A significantly larger portion of the books is devoted to major cities and their surroundings. Historical information is detailed and the sources are often cited. Despite the inclusion of pictures, maps, and their small sizes, the German guidebooks require more time and attention to read its well-organized and professional contents. Figuratively, they are more like manuals than travel companions.

Illustrierter Führer durch die ungarischen Ostkarpathen, Galizien, Bukowina und Rumänien (Illustrated Tour Through Hungarian East-Carpathians, Galicia, Bukovina, and

¹⁷ Larry Wolff, *The Idea of Galicia: History and Fantasy in Habsburg Political Culture*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), 45.

¹⁸ Judson, 220.

Romania) was published in 1882 by a major publishing house based in Vienna. The authors of the 1882 guide were Alexander Heksch, who was a member of the Hungarian Carpathian and Galician Tatra Society, and Wladimir Kowszewicz, who was the head official of the office of post and telegraphs in Galicia.¹⁹ As the title suggests, the 1882 guide covers regions and crownlands beyond Galicia. The characterizations of them, however, are uniform in the foreword: “trades from and to the East increases annually, and interrelations enhances. Despite these facts, most people are still in the dark, as if we still live in the time of Goethe’s Faust.”²⁰ Although these regions are ascribed to the East unequivocally, the attitudes towards them are positive and friendly, showing a desire for further knowledge and understanding. The 1882 guide almost implies a certain civic duty for other citizens of the empire to understand this part of their country. The reason is that “the future absolutely belongs to these nations (*Ländern*) and the civilized West can only benefit from the changed political and social position.”²¹ Despite the much more moderate language, the editor of the 1882 guide maintains a somehow condescending tone towards the East, consciously or unconsciously differentiating the civilized West and the developing East. While the 1882 guide shows respect and hope for the East, it nevertheless perceives it as something different from the West. What is rare in the occasion is that this othering does not necessitate a negative attitude towards difference.

While Galicia belongs to the East, itself is further divided. The 1882 guide carefully distinguishes between western and eastern Galicia, “not on geographical but only on

¹⁹ Alexander F Heksch and Wladimir Kowszewicz, *Illustrierter Führer durch die ungarischen Ostkarpathen, Galizien, Bukowina and Rumänien*, (Vienna: A. Hartleben’ Verlag, 1882), ii.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, vi.

²¹ *Ibid.*

ethnographical ground.”²² While the western part is almost all Polish, the eastern part is predominantly Ruthenian. This division, however, is not evident in the experience of travel, as the authors admits.²³ It is noticeable that the major city Krakow/Cracow does not belong to eastern Galicia, a classification that is also present in a guide from interwar Poland analyzed later.

In the introduction to various routes and regions, the 1882 guide does not comment on the relative level of convenience and it seems to appeal to people who want to experience difference by listing necessary and helpful things to prepare but does not discourage them by pointing out any deficiency in the infrastructure. For example, the 1882 guide promises that the knowledge of German would be enough for all Galicia because of the presence of Jewish population. Knowing any Slavic language allows communication in Polish and Ruthenian.²⁴ Whether these advices and statements were practical in real life is debatable, but they facilitate people who want to travel rather than impose any objective assessment of the destinations.

Illustrierter Führer durch Galizien (Illustrated Tour Through Galicia) was published twenty-two years later in 1914. It was coauthored by Josef Londzin and Mieczyslaw Orłowicz who also wrote the other two English guides during the interwar period. Although the two guides were published with a gap of more than two decades, the structure and many contents of the guides remain unchanged, as they both belong to the series of illustrated guides published by A. Hartleben. The 1882 guide is numbered nine, and the 1914 guide is numbered sixty-six. Quick

²² Ibid., 89.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid., 90.

reeditions and little revision through decades have always been common traits for the genre of guidebooks, so they allow an examination of persistent perceptions.

Similar to the previous guide, the 1914 guide also aims to facilitate further understanding of Galicia. In the foreword, the editor describes Galicia as “a region that is much criticized, yet little known by the outside world.”²⁵ He chastises people who make judgement without being informed properly and thereby require readers to learn more about Galicia before forming any formulated idea. Where exactly does “outside world” or “Außenwelt” refer to is unclear. As the guide is in German, its audience could be German-speaking citizens of the empire or from other countries. Because much of the materials were generated based on people’s answers to questionnaires, it is highly likely that the guidebook was targeted at other people of the empire, mainly from the western region.²⁶ Nevertheless, the intention was to overturn certain negative preconceptions of Galicia by producing a comprehensive guide dedicated to its culture, landscapes, and history.

To emphasize the undeniable importance of Galicia, the introduction of the 1914 guide begins with a series of impressive statistics: “its population of 8,025,675 is more than fourth of the Austrian population (around 26% to 28%). It is Austria’s largest crownland, twice as big as Holland.”²⁷ These figures forcefully place Galicia on the mental map of its readers, expanding their world from a focus on the state western of Vienna to its vast eastern region. As the guide is solely focused on Galicia, there is minimum attempt to compare it with other neighboring regions. Descriptions of urban development are independent and noncompetitive. Therefore, just

²⁵ Mieczyslaw Orłowicz and Josef Londzin, *Illustrierter Führer durch Galizien*, (Vienna: A. Hartleben’s Verlag, 1914), iii.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.

by reading the texts, it is difficult to tell how Galicia fares compared to other crownlands. Conveniently, this specified approach isolates and solidifies characteristics of the local culture and environment without too much association with the central government, presenting an image of local specialty. This does not mean that the Austrian government does not attempt to take credits for its effort, which will be examined in the second chapter.

Habsburg guidebooks do not specifically locate Galicia in the East, since there had been an established negative perception. With their intention to attract more tourists, they fought against this perception not by dragging Galicia toward the West but by defining it as a uniquely local space that fitted into the empire.

Interwar Poland: Between East and West

Interwar Poland occupied a position of frontier and borderland on the European map, caught between East and West and unsure of its future development. Within the Polish borders, Galicia had a similar position, not in a geographical sense but in a social sense. Less westernized than the part previously occupied by Prussia yet more advanced than the part previously ruled by Russia, former Austrian Poland/Galicia in its southern location was also caught between East and West and was characterized and confused by its medium progress of modernity and the dual existence of diversity, which supposedly belonged to an archaic empire that was destined to fail.

Poland and Its Curiosities (1927) was published at the suggestion of the American Consulate General in Warsaw to attract American tourists, hence its use of the English language. Although the circumstances of publications and the intended audience seem drastically different from the Habsburg guides, the interwar Polish guides share similarities with the Habsburg ones in more general terms. They are written in English and German respectively, but the targeted

audience could be generalized as those from the western world, people from the United States, the United Kingdom, or western parts of the Habsburg empire. And they most likely know little about Galicia. The participation of a constant author, Mieczyslaw Orlowicz, also gives a stable point for comparison. The major difference between the Habsburg guides and the interwar Polish guides is the authors' liberty to comment on the state. The Habsburg empire had its censorship laws, but as a private company, A. Hartleben had more freedom than Orlowicz publishing in interwar Poland in an official capacity. This difference will be more evident in the second chapter, which deals with historical reconciliation.

Structurally *Curiosities* is divided into thirteen parts, covering general information, townships, travel advice, natural landscapes, so other sections individually. In *Curiosities*, the effort to distance Poland from the East is apparent from the first sentence of the guide: "Poland occupies the north-eastern part of Central Europe."²⁸ Instead of ascribing Poland to, for example, the north-western part of Eastern Europe, the author specifically attributes Poland to Central Europe. Beyond this characterization, *Curiosities* promotes the western part of the Poland from all angles, advertising its convenience and advancements.

Administratively and conceptually, the Second Republic still understands and divides itself by its three historical regions. In the section titled "Administrative Division," *Curiosities* introduces the sixteen provinces of Poland. Except the capital of Warsaw, all other provinces are divided into three regions: "the former *Prussian Poland* consists of... The former *Russian Poland* includes... The former *Austrian Poland* consists of..."²⁹ The statuses of partitioned Poland are italicized as keywords and used throughout *Curiosities*. Several times, Prussian

²⁸ Mieczyslaw Orlowicz, *Poland and Its Curiosities (A Tourists' Guide)*, (Warsaw: The Ministry of Public Works, 1927), 5.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 5-6.

Poland becomes synonymous with Western Poland, Russian Poland with Eastern Poland, and Austrian Poland with Southern Poland.

Language, which is an important part of identity, is not mentioned in general information. The discussion about language only appears in the instructions for tourists as guidance. *Curiosities* does not name any official or a national language, although it assumes the dominance of the Polish language and begins the section with: “those who do not speak the Polish language...”³⁰ The second most useful language for tourists is German, because it “is generally known in the former Prussian and Austrian Poland, the sections most frequently visited by foreigners and tourists.”³¹ This statement does not mean that German is the second most common language in Poland but that it is widely used in the more frequently visited regions. French is viewed as an intellectual language that is not used in daily life, because it “is used only by the educated classes who seldom come in contact with tourists.”³² Speakers of English are limited to people who migrated back from America, and Russian is used in the former Russian Poland.³³ It is noticeable that except Polish and Russian, the three languages in discussion are all western European languages, whereas other languages possibly spoken by the locals are not mentioned, such as Yiddish and Ukrainian. *Curiosities* expects tourists to travel only in regions where dominant western European languages are spoken. At least, it appeals its readers to visit the former Prussian and Austrian Poland by arguing for the linguistic convenience in these regions.

³⁰ Ibid., 102.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid., 103.

The desire to attract tourists to Western Poland is also clear in the descriptions of better infrastructures in this region. All direct accesses to Poland recommended are from its south-western borders: trains from Germany, Austria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Romania, Czechoslovakia, and airlines from Germany and Czechoslovakia.³⁴ Although it was highly unlikely for American tourists, the intended audience of this travel guide, to enter Poland from Soviet Russia, *Curiosities* does not even mention such possibility or any means of traveling to or from the East. Transportation in Poland relies primarily on railroad lines, and their different qualities in description also show the appeal of travelling in West Poland. The densities of railroad lines are ranked with “the western districts occupying...the first place, and Southern Poland coming next (former Austrian Poland).”³⁵ As a way to normalize the history of Partitions, the agency of the former ruling governments is often removed. That is to say, *Curiosities* states the existence and quality of infrastructures without noting the regime that built them, unless, of course, the former regime is to be blame for its incompetence. That is the case with the lowest ranking density of railroad lines in the former Russian Poland, “since the Russian Government did not build any and raised difficulties for strategical reasons against building private ones.”³⁶ Besides density, the service in the former Russian Poland is also less satisfactory. While larger stations have “*railroad restaurants*,” small stations in the former Russian Poland only have “lunch bars with a display of cold food, alcoholic beverages and tea.”³⁷ The Prussian and Austrian governments are not credited with their infrastructure construction, but the Russian government is marked as the

³⁴ Ibid., 98-100.

³⁵ Ibid., 100.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

reason for the region's underdeveloped state with a specific explanation of how and why it does so.

The same pattern and narrative reemerge in the description of highways in Poland. The best and most connected highways are in the former Prussian Poland, which includes the western provinces. Southern Poland, which is the former Austrian Poland, has less highways, but it compensates with "beautiful sights in the Carpathian Mountains and in the Podkarpacie."³⁸ The former Russian Poland again is ranked as the lowest, "where highway construction was greatly neglected by the Russian authorities."³⁹ *Curiosities* only mentions the former ruling states on these two occasions, and both involves criticizing the Russian state for its poor management. This narrative not only discourages tourists from visiting Eastern Poland but also forms a negative impression of the East in general.

The comparison between the three previously partitioned regions continues. There are first-rate hotels in all larger towns, but of the thirteen larger towns and resorts listed in the travel guide, six are in the former Austrian Poland (Krakow, Zakopane, Lwow, Biala-Bielsk, Cieszyn, and Krynica), and five are in the former Prussian Poland (Lodz, Poznan, Bydgoszcz, Katowice, and Gdynia), and only two are in the former Russian Poland (Warsaw and Ciechocinek). One of them is Warsaw, whose capital status makes its developed state an exception.⁴⁰ In small towns, tourists can find "good hotels only on the territory of the former Prussian Poland {western district of Poland} and in a few larger towns of the former Austrian Poland," whereas "in the

³⁸ Ibid., 102.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 104-105.

smaller towns of the former Austrian Poland and Russia there are only second class hotel.”⁴¹ Food in these regions is also less desirable, because visitors must order warm food “a few hours in advance.”⁴² In comparison, first-rate restaurants in larger towns have a cuisine “similar to French” that is “generally very satisfactory.”⁴³ In general, Western Poland (the former Prussian Poland) and large cities in Southern Poland (the former Austrian Poland) offer more convenient transportation, more comfortable accommodations, and more delicious food, while Eastern Poland (the former Russian Poland) has less larger towns, is harder to reach, and is not expected to deliver good service to tourists, with the only exception of its “best pastry shops.”⁴⁴ Galicia, or the former Austrian Poland in *Curiosities*, occupies a place of mediocracy between East and West, providing medium-rated service and transportation.

Structurally, *Southwestern Poland: Illustrated Guide* (1927) has a different style, although it was written by the same author and published in the same year. *Southwestern Poland* follows different routes from Warsaw to different cities, almost walking side by side with travelers and marking the distances between destinations. This structure, therefore, leads to more dispersed information and less generalization. Since it only covers southwestern Poland, which according to *Curiosities* is more welcoming (former Prussian and Austrian Poland), *Southwestern Poland* is allowed space to go into more details, covering more historical information for each location mentioned. The change in structure, however, does not shift the essential tone, principles, and core information of the guide. Several features are also present in this guide. For example, the Russian government is again blamed for the underdevelopment of

⁴¹ Ibid., 105-106.

⁴² Ibid., 106.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

communication in certain regions. Two major train stations, Ostrowiec (former Russian Poland) and Nadbrezezie (former Austrian Poland), are not connected, because the Russian government has strategic concerns.⁴⁵ Interestingly, for a decision that may concern two regimes, Austria is not blamed for the disconnection in the railway system.

One curious small detail in *Southwestern Poland* is the use of “Lemberg.”

Lemberg/Lviv/Lwow, as the most important city in Galicia, is not mentioned in this guidebook on Southwestern Poland. The only occasion it is mentioned is in a railway line, from Dabica to Cracow as a part of the line “Lemberg-Cracow.”⁴⁶ On the advertisement pages, one traveling agency located in Lwow marks the city’s name properly in Polish.⁴⁷ The inconsistency in names can be explained by two reasons. First, the railway infrastructure still operated by its Austrian tradition. Successor states after the collapse of the Habsburg empire discreetly inherited many of its administrative infrastructure, although they were attempting to build completely different political systems from the empire.⁴⁸ The other reason also explains why Lemberg/Lviv/Lwow is not included in *Southwestern Poland* and is cut from its accompanied map. Compared to Krakow/Cracow, which has a significantly more homogeneous Polish population and a deeper connection to Polish history, which will be discussed in the next chapter, Lemberg/Lviv/Lwow has a much more diverse population and is renowned for its multiculturalism. Although there are more than 52% of residents in Lemberg/Lviv/Lwow who claimed to be Polish, and much more claimed Polish as their mother tongue, the city also has significant Jewish, Ruthenian/Ukrainian,

⁴⁵ Mieczysław Orłowicz, *Southwestern Poland: Illustrated Guide*. Trans. I. Domaniewska, (Warsaw: The Ministry of Communication, 1927), 48.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, I.

⁴⁸ Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, 388.

and German presences.⁴⁹ In a paradoxical way, the city has an enough western outlook for *Southwestern Poland's* promotion, but it is insufficient by the definition of nation-state. This struggle with nationalities and ethnicities continues in the next chapter.

⁴⁹ Timothy Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 134.

What is Galicia? History and Ownership

This chapter of the thesis explores the attempts at historical reconciliation in association with self-identification in guidebooks. In a simple introduction to a place, as in the case to a person, chronology plays an important role, enabling readers to see its “roots.”⁵⁰ In order to formulate a cohesive narrative for the articulation of present-day identity, guidebooks must trace back to certain points in history for an origin story. In doing so, authors are demanded to assign a beginning to Galicia, which reflects its image and relationship with the rest of the states. Tracing back history also inevitably leads to the question of ownership, as in what people reside the space from the start. Whether initial occupation qualifies and justifies later ownership is up for debate, but a fluent narrative often gives a sense of legitimacy. Galicia’s diversity then requires explanations to how different peoples come together, what are the relationships between them, and what role do the states play in these developments.

Some of these attempted reconciliations are straightforward, such as statements or stories of Galicia’s past. Some are implied through recommendations of sightseeing. Physical locales serve as evidence and witness to the narrated history. The selection of famous sites reveals how certain places are valued and promoted. For a successful reconciliation, history should match contemporary images, forming a clearer and more definite identity in the process.

The Habsburg guides and the interwar Polish guides deal with the central event of Partitions differently. The Habsburg guides do not treat the Partition as the most important event for Galicia, although it is the turning point, after which the empire rules. They list many historical events that happened in the region before the Habsburgs take over, and their attitude towards the Habsburg administration resembles, in a crude analogy, someone commenting on the

⁵⁰ Maria Lewicka, “In Search of Roots: Memory as Enabler of Place Attachment,” *Place Attachment: Advances in Theory, Methods and Application*, ed. Lynne Manzo and Patrick Devine-Wright, (New York: Routledge, 2014), 55.

achievements and wrongdoings of one's grandparents. With respect and affection, the guides admit and apologize certain failures done by previous rulers but generally they paint a picture of a progressive trajectory towards a bright future. By comparison, the guides from interwar Poland cannot put more emphasis on the Partition, almost always treating it as the beginning of the state story. Although the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is viewed as the original model of the state, the Partition signify not only the its end but also the beginning of Polish struggle. In descriptions of various cities, Polishness persists in architecture and nature, which serve as the evidence of national persistence.

Habsburg Galicia: Diversity and Progress

One would expect some kinds of justification for Habsburg's participation in the partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the narrative of Galicia's history. The two Habsburg guidebooks, however, significantly downplay this central event and focuses on the history before and after it. Their portrayal of Galician history and of urban history of major cities deal primarily with the diversity and progress made after being annexed into the Habsburg empire.

The 1882 guide offers no general history of the crownlands it describes, but its historical narratives of individual cities are detailed and attempt to trace back to the very beginning. This attentiveness sometimes belies the effort to obscure certain historical moments. For example, the 1882 guide traces the history of Krakow/Cracow to the seventh century, since anything before is "shrouded in the deepest darkness."⁵¹ After carefully describing its historical peak in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the 1882 guide quickly goes over its recent encounter with

⁵¹ Heksch, *Illustrierter Führer durch die ungarischen Ostkarpathen, Galizien, Bukowina and Rumänien*, 32.

Austria without detail: “from 1815 to 1846, Cracow was the capital of the Republic with the same name, which was under the protections (*Schutze*) of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, but it was annexed (*einverliebt*) into Austria in 1846.”⁵² It makes no mention of local revolt and ends the section on the city’s history with the result.

Compared to Krakow/Cracow, the 1882 guide seems to favor Lemberg, devoting six pages to its history, detailing from its establishment along the river around 1270 to its constant struggles against invasions, plagues, and fires in the Middle Ages.⁵³ Its constant ill fate seems to finally end with the arrival of Austrian troops after the withdrawal of Russian occupation in 1772. With the official establishment and naming of the province of Galicia, Lemberg is elevated to a state of prosperity, of stability, and of importance as its capital. The words used in describing the Partition are interesting: “Austrian officials proclaimed the unification (*Vereinigung*) of these parts of Poland...which were named as Galicia with the Austrian empire.”⁵⁴ In the event of a partition, “unification” is used to emphasize the unity of Galicia with its new state.

The lengthy descriptions of urban history serve not only educational and informative purposes but also as a way to simplify the issue of territorial claims by a chronicle of shifting ownerships through battles, treaties, occupations, and negotiations. As demographic statistics are presented elsewhere, ethnic and national compositions of the region became less important in determining the legitimacy of the state.

In the 1914 guide, any national character of Galicia continues to fade, and although the authors are straightforward with admitting past Habsburg rulers’ mistakes, the general message

⁵² *Ibid.*, 34.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 94-100.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 100.

conveyed is the benefits and progress brought by the imperial regime. Because in Eastern Galicia Poles (1/3 of the population) and Ruthenians (2/3) are mixed, there is “no one coherent national district.”⁵⁵ Statistically, Galicia, especially its eastern part, displays elements of diversity in its residents’ ethnic, national, and confessional affiliations. The 1914 guide completely dismisses any potential conflict that may arise from these differences, including local peasant riots and debates over public spaces, and offers high praises for its development in other areas: “in the last decades, the specific Galician history has few impressive events to record. To become more sustainable, the crownland devoted itself to cultural and scientific pursuits.”⁵⁶ The result of which is the popularization of schools for different linguistic groups.

In the 1914 guide, the description of the Partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is unequivocal, but it still showcases the image of well-intentioned but misguided rulers in an apologetic tone. The centralizing policies adopted by Maria Theresa and Joseph II have “economically benevolent intentions for the peculiarities of the new territories with little understanding.”⁵⁷ Nevertheless, recent years of autonomy facilitate stronger (*kräftiger*) social lives, and industrialization leads to the boon of economic developments.⁵⁸ Overall, Galicia is described as going through a long time of difficulty but also aiming towards a path of social and cultural improvement for its diverse populations.

⁵⁵ Orłowicz, *Illustrierter Führer durch Galizien*, 1.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 2-3.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.

Interwar Poland: The Partitions and the New Republic

The Partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth are the inescapable topic in guidebooks from interwar Poland for two reasons. The first is that the Commonwealth is often seen as the precursor or at least an attempt to create a Polish state that would have been successful if there had not been unjustifiable interferences. This attitude is also obvious in the characterization of interwar Poland often as the Second Republic. The second is the curious multicultural nature of the Commonwealth. In many ways, this historical state bears many resemblances to the imperial structure of the Habsburg empire. Therefore, even on the path to create a nation-state, nostalgia to the old power continues to manifest itself.

In *Curiosities*, the section titled “Area and Population” covers the history of the Partitions. The language used to describe them is strong and alludes to religious symbols. In the three Partitions, “Poland was dismembered by the three neighboring States,” and it only becomes “reconstituted” after “100 years of bondage.”⁵⁹ The independence of Poland in 1918 is described as a “resurrection.”⁶⁰ The reference to dismemberment, subjugation, and rebirth personifies the Polish state as a person undergoing a religious trial, in which it is oppressed illegitimately by three neighbors but is eventually able to regain its rightful status. There is, however, also the implication that the current result is not enough. The author compares the territories before the Partitions with Polish territories in 1918, when “Poland regained but slightly more than half of its old territory.”⁶¹ This statement indirectly lays claim to the territories and population that Poland does not recover after the war. It is also noteworthy that the name Polish-Lithuanian

⁵⁹ Mieczysław Orłowicz, *Poland and Its Curiosities (A Tourists' Guide)*, (Warsaw: The Ministry of Public Works, 1927), 6.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

Commonwealth does not appear in this historical narrative. In the narrated history of the Partitions, the Commonwealth is simply replaced by Poland, its duality ignored. At least in names and titles, the history of Poland flows smoothly, presenting a linear timeline. The much larger Polish state in the past is wronged by its neighbors for over a century and its successor is only able to regain its lawful and natural right of independence recently, with much more to be desired and compensated.

Orłowicz inherits certain words from the Austrian era, when he describes the demography of Poland. Throughout the “General Information About Poland,” he discusses race, nationality, and ethnicity indiscriminately. Although he uses “racial minorities,” he titles the section that talks about population composition as “Nationalities.”⁶² Nationality is a legitimate category in the imperial context, in which the empire encloses different nations in the form of crownland. Its appearance in the nation-state context, on the other hand, is awkward, but the Orłowicz had little choice. The reason is relatively clear, since in the Polish state, only 69% of the population are Polish, while the remaining 31.7% are “of other nationalities.”⁶³ The author and by extension the state seem unsure if they want to include these minorities as a part of the nation. On the one hand, they want to claim both the territories and the population living there, as the old Commonwealth does. At least from the de facto leader of Poland Józef Piłsudski’s point of view, the creation of a state has less to do with its ethnic composition and more with its history.⁶⁴ On the other hand, the idea of homogenous nation-states from the West was so influential that diversity became a sensitive topic in interwar Poland. The dilemma leads to the

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid., 5.

⁶⁴ Norman, *Heart of Europe*, 120.

confusion in terminology and description, and causes different attitudes towards regions with various diversities This problem is less pronounced in central and western Poland, where “the *Poles* in habit in a homogenous block,” whereas in the south-eastern part of Poland “the *Ruthenians*” prevail.⁶⁵ The aspiration for a homogenous nation-state championed in the West and the diverse population in Poland can explain the state’s unwillingness to accept its non-Polish population and its equal reluctance to give legitimacy to other groups’ possible nationalistic agendas.

The confusion is further intensified, when religious denominations are considered. Again, the Polish population causes the least trouble, since “especially nearly all Poles are *Roman Catholic* (63.9%).”⁶⁶ The Ruthenian situation is more complicated. 75% of the Ruthenians are Greek Catholic but those who lived in Volhynia are Orthodox. The most confounding one is in the Jewish case, which is seen as both a nationality and a religion. There are 10.5% of the population “belonging to the *Jewish* religion, the majority of whom are Jewish nationality.”⁶⁷ In the previous section, the Jewish nationality is the second largest minority in Poland and makes up 7.8% of the population.⁶⁸ The implication, therefore, is that there are more people of Jewish faith than of Jewish nationality. *Curiosities*, however, does not offer any further information about who else are of the Jewish religion in Poland. In general, these sections that describe the population composition of Poland do not define the concepts of race, ethnicity, and nationality clearly, creating a confusing picture of diversity but also that of separation. The mostly

⁶⁵ Orłowicz, *Poland and Its Curiosities*, 6.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 6.

homogenous Polish population concentrates in western Poland, while other minorities that the state does not know how to deal with scatter in other areas.

What is Galicia in this Poland? As mentioned in the previous section, Galicia is understood and characterized as Austrian Poland, locating the formation of its individual identity in the Habsburg period. This does not, however, mean a disconnection with the Polish identity. Although there is no effort to mention history before the Partitions, recommended tourist sites emphasize the importance and attractions of places with historical significance, often dated before the Partitions. Because the Habsburg empire is not credited for the developments of Galicia, it leaves a minute and easily overlooked gap in the narrative.

In *Curiosities*, two major cities in Galicia, Cracow (Krakow) and Lwow (Lemberg/Lviv), are ranked as the third and the fourth introduced in the section “Cities and Towns,” immediately after Warsaw and Lodz. Cracow (Krakow) is described as “the most interesting” place because of “historical remains,” which are dated to the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.⁶⁹ Tombs, churches, and museums are worth visiting because of their rich Polish background, turning Cracow (Krakow) into “the best place to get acquainted with Polish history and art.”⁷⁰ Lwow (Lemberg/Lviv) is referred as a “center of higher education.”⁷¹ The developments of higher education in Galicia could not be separated from the Habsburg era, since education had been on the agenda of several rulers. Public libraries, universities, and research academies were established to facilitate public interests in science and technology.⁷² None of these efforts are mentioned in *Curiosities*, as the former regime is not credited for any positive impact on the

⁶⁹ Ibid., 12.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, 139.

current territories, even if of the thirteen important schools mentioned, seven of them were located in or near Cracow and Lwow.⁷³ To further downplay Austrian memories and intensify the Polish connection, Lwow is primarily associated with the Lublin Union Mound.⁷⁴ Celebrations for the Lublin Union of 1569, which created the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, had been a controversial enterprise during the Habsburg era because of its strong national connotations, as Polish intellectuals and committees collided with central administrations.⁷⁵ *Curiosities*'s portrayal of hill as one of the most important fixtures of Lwow recognizes the triumph and pride of its Polish residents for celebrating such an important event in their national history.

Besides urban life, exploration of nature is the other major theme in guidebooks.

Curiosities covers a great length on the mountains of Poland. The region that belongs to Galicia is Eastern Carpathians, which is described as “wide and practically uninhabited.”⁷⁶ Much of the tourist activities in the mountains are managed by the *Polish Tatra Society*, which is credited for the maintenance of mountain trails.⁷⁷ As in most stories of wilderness and exploration, Eastern Carpathians was by no means empty. The Hutsuls had inhabited the space for a long time, and the “discovery” of the Tatra Mountains by Polish mountaineers was largely a narrative to firmly associated the landscapes with Polishness.⁷⁸ The Polish Tatra Society, established in 1873, began

⁷³ Orlowicz, *Poland and Its Curiosities*, 8.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁷⁵ Markian Prokopovych, *Habsburg Lemberg: Architecture, Publica Space, and Politics in the Galician Capital, 1772-1914*, (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2008), 210.

⁷⁶ Orlowicz, 36.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁷⁸ Patrice Dabrowski, *The Carpathians: Discovering the Highlands of Poland and Ukraine*, (Ithaca: Northern Illinois University Press, 2021), 79.

to write such narrative during the imperial era, exploring, mapping, documenting, and exhibiting their geographical and ethnographical findings. After half a century, the Polishness of these natural landscapes has been established and proclaimed in guidebooks in sections such as “Polish Mountains.” Such title assumes possession not only in the political sense as *legal* territories but also in the historical and ethnic sense as *legitimate* territories.

Although it includes more detailed information, *Southwestern Poland* demonstrates a similar effort to link Galicia to Polish history. In Cracow (Krakow), the royal castle is on the top of the list for visits.⁷⁹ Its historical importance as the “*capital of Poland*” and “*the place of coronation*” is emphasized and italicized, and its splendor is closely associated with the presence of Polish rule, while its decline is likewise caused by its departure.⁸⁰ In the description of Cracow’s torrent history, the author uses emotionally charged verbs for its ownership: while Cracow “belonged to” and is “occupied by” Austria, it is “united” with the Principality of Warsaw in 1807-1815.⁸¹ The subtle word choice is one of the ways to comment on the history of the Partitions without evoking conflicts.

From tombs of medieval Polish kings to monuments of famous national intellectuals, the walk-through Cracow is filled with visits to various figures who contributed to either past Polish glory or Polish independence of different periods. In the case of the royal castle, which is the most important site to visit in the city, *Southwestern Poland* even establishes a dichotomy between Poland and others, as the castle is “quite ruined by the Austrians, who turned the building into barracks and carried away to Vienna every thing of artistic and architectural

⁷⁹ Orłowicz, *Southwestern Poland: Illustrated Guide*. 61.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 62-63.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 63-64.

value.”⁸² The Austrians of the Habsburg era are described as invaders, although the restoration of the castle also happens under the same regime. The deliberate distancing from the previous Austrian rule is clear. Cracow’s constant negotiation of ownership between Austria, Poland, and its Independence Republic, is cast as a narrative of national struggle, a past that is difficult to construct from the history of Lemberg/Lviv/Lwow, which does not appear in *Southwestern Poland*.

⁸² Ibid., 72.

Conclusion

In the end, what do the portraits of Galicia look like? In the centuries before the Partition, it is claimed and reclaimed by different people. The Habsburg empire in naming the region bestows it a beginning of a narrative that cannot shake off its former history. Galicia is not a black slate as the Habsburgs monarchs assume.⁸³ Even socially it is not a land of wilderness that allows them to experiment. Intercommunal tensions are not eased by the presence of the imperial power but become an almost permanent fixture in Galician local characteristics. The guidebooks have no need to deal with the tensions brought by diversity but celebrate it as an acceptable and welcomed feature of the empire. In its uniqueness, Galicia becomes mundane in the narrative, as the other acquired territories who are also embraced and supported by the empire. Being a member of the empire overshadows possible negative perceptions of its location in the East: all crownlands have their unique people, traditions, and history, but they come together under one umbrella.

Does this mean that the empire is more inclusive than other forms of government? Not necessarily. The imperial structure does allow the existences of national identities that are in the guise of or mixed with local identities, but it is constantly struggling with a hierarchical relation when it comes to different scopes of identities, unsure of what to do. As the price, as long as the empire cannot define itself specifically, it must look at the present and the future rather than the past for legitimacy.⁸⁴ While the empire can safely grant its territories their own historical narratives, it must be the force of improvement and progress. In the guidebooks, this capability and the need for explanations manifest themselves as the confidence in talking about local

⁸³ Judson, 72.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 71.

ancient history and the achievements made by the Austrian government, in the field of education, infrastructure, and commerce.

The tensions created by diversity, nevertheless, do not simply disappear because the guidebooks gloss over them. When the empire collapses, they become more pronounced in the new political system. The removal of the possible imperial identity reveals the much more deeply-engraved local identity that can become a national identity in the suitable environment.⁸⁵ In interwar Poland's pursuit of nationalism, diversity becomes acute. The colorful puzzle piece from the empire is frustratingly placed on an imagined monochronic map of Poland, its location clearly marked. In terms of infrastructural convenience and the level of diversity, Galicia is placed by the guidebooks between the desired West and the criticized East.

Although the empire's government comparatively elevates the quality of life in Galicia, it never sees and most possibly cannot see it as a distinctly Polish space, a characterization that the new Republic must change. In the guidebooks, this urgent need is translated into the dismissal of the effort made by the previous regime and a smooth narrative of national struggle since the Partition. Their recommended sites, from churches and castles to memorials and natural landscapes, strive to permeate the Polishness of Galicia in the tourists' experience. If not exclusionary, the nation-state is at least less equipped to deal with diversity than the empire, but it is much more clearly defined than empire. Therefore, the narratives in the guidebooks trade lengths and colorful details from the Habsburg period for a clean-cut linear line leading towards the new regime.

What became Galicia afterwards? After three decades of independence, the newly reborn Poland died with all its ambitions and struggles as World War II unfolded. The map of Eastern

⁸⁵John Connelly, *From Peoples into Nations: A History of Eastern Europe*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020), 27.

Europe drastically changed during the war, along with its diverse populations. Galicia's imperial past is sometimes remembered fondly for its projected inclusivity, which forms a stark contrast with the atrocity committed in the war. After the war, Galicia was divided between the new Poland and Soviet Ukraine. Somehow similar to the guidebooks' preferences in cities,⁸⁶ Cracow still belongs to Poland, while Ukraine gains the city of Lviv (Lemberg). Although beyond the scope of this thesis, the methods and sources used in the previous pages could initiate new sets of questions regarding Galicia's images afterwards. In a world where the division between East and West has become more striking and dangerous, where would Galicia be located? How far back would guidebooks trace its history? And how would the region be related to the larger state?

Why do these portraits from the guidebooks matter? Instead of tracing the history of Galicia, this inquiry traces the history of the ideas of Galicia. While the history of Galicia reveals the changes in society, governance, and beyond, the history of the ideas uncovers changes in characterizations, frustrations, and dreams. The Habsburg guides show the desire to fit Galicia into the empire's beautifully diverse image, while the guides from interwar Poland express the hope for a more uniform and advanced nation. In many ways, the ideas guide reality, so in seeking causes and reasons, this thesis tries to reach for the obscure perceptions and images to better understand Galicia and its mother states. It may deal with less tangible materials, but its subject and findings are no less important.

⁸⁶ The appendixes after the conclusion showcase the Habsburg preference for Lemberg and the Polish preference for Cracow in exaggerated language.

Appendix 1

A Weekend in Lemberg

Do you know the Kingdom of Galicia is the largest crownland in the empire? Have you ever been to its amazing capital Lemberg, or as people often call it the “small Vienna?” Here is an itinerary for those who are ignorant of the city’s greatness and speak of it without understanding, including travel tips and the most worth-seeing places squeezed into a weekend’s time!

Editor’s City Tips:

- Lemberg is easily accessible by the major railway connection Vienna-Lemberg, which was completed in 1856. From Lemberg, railway networks allow you to visits all parts of the empire and beyond. If Lemberg has not satisfied your wanderlust, why not take the train to Krakow and experience more of Galicia?
- With your ability to speak German, it is easy to navigate through the city, since there are many Jewish residents who speak the language. If you know any Slavic language, you would also be able to talk to local Poles and Ruthenians without trouble!

Day 1

Hohes Schloss (Wysoki Zamek) Plan to stay: 1-2 hours

Why not begin your tour with the best viewpoint over the entire city? Located at the center of Lemberg, the High Castle is the highest point, allowing a glimpse into the whole city and its natural surroundings. Since its construction in the thirteenth century, the castle has defended the city’s residents and rebuilt many times. It has faced Turks, Poles, Lithuanians, and

Cossacks, as the city went through wars, uprisings, and rebellions. At this historical ruin, you can feel traces of Lemberg's turbulent history before its union with the empire.

Ringplatz Plan to stay: 1 hours

The walk through the inner city must begin with the central square, where the city hall now stands. As a central place for social and political activities, many important historical events happened here. You may search for their traces in the statues on the square. The central square is connected to various major streets and other interesting places to visit. But before you go forward, why not turn onto Hetmannsstrasse and have a cup of coffee at Wiener Kaffeehaus? You might not expect it, but cafés are also important social locations for Galicians.

Kapitelplatz Plan to stay: 2-3 hours

Lemberg has many churches to see, and one of the most important one is the Arch-cathedral Basilica of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, or simply the *Latin Cathedral*. This one-and-only Gothic architecture was built by King Casimir the Great of Poland in 1360. In the centuries of remodels, Byzantine, Baroque, and Neogothic elements are added. Outside of the Latin Cathedral is the *Chapel of the Boim Family*. Built in the early seventeenth century, it is the most beautiful Renaissance monument in Lemberg.

Theaters

Let's wrap up today with a visit to a theater! For the less adventurous visitor, the *City Theater*, built by the state in 1900, holds mostly performances in German, opera in the winter and plays all years around. But if you want to know more about local art, the *Skarbek Theater* is the choice. It was built by Count Stanislaw Skarbek in 1843. Every week operas are performed three time and plays four years, all of which are in Polish. If you by chance knows the language, please visit this fabulous center of Polish culture!

Day 2

Naturwissenschaftlichen Dzieduszycki-Museum Plan to stay: 2 hours

Let's experience Lemberg as a center for education today! The first stop is the Didushkytskyi Museum of Natural Science, which was formerly the palace of Count Volodymyr Didushytskyi. Since 1870, the Count, being a supporter and enthusiast for natural study, has opened his collections to the public and participated in the World Exhibition in Vienna (1873). His collection of butterflies is world-famous and definitely worth-visiting. Come here to witness some of the most comprehensive exhibitions on animals, plants, and minerals, as well as one of the best libraries of natural science.

Ossolnuem (Ossolinski) Plan to stay: 2 hours

Opened to the public since 1817, the Ossolinski Institute is the center of Polish culture, consisting of a massive archival library, the Lubomirski Musuem, an engraving cabinet, a coinage cabinet, and a photo gallery. It is also a research institution, offering the largest collection of Polish literature, including famous manuscripts such as Nicolaus Copernicus's *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium*. The institute is a powerful reminder of the rich culture the Polish people have to offer in the empire.

Universität Plan to stay: 1-2 hours

The Lemberg University was founded by King Johann Casimir in 1661 and became a state institution in 1784. Through many decades, the university was transformed from a Latin-German institution to a multilingual one, accepting Polish as a teaching language in 1879. With state support, it now also produces Ruthenian teachers for the educational improvement in Galicia. Of the 5500 students, almost fourth are Ruthenian. If you walk through the campus, the

university library, or its beautiful botanic garden, you may encounter students of different nationalities and have interesting conversations about their learning and lives!

Here is the end of this brief itinerary. In limited time and space, we hope that this guide is instrumental to your planning. We wish that you enjoy your experience in Lemberg and are able to marvel at the incredible progressive and unique city that has blossomed in our empire! When you return from this trip, perhaps you will know more about Lemberg and Galicia, which are important components of this great state and hold its bright future.

Appendix 2

Come to Cracow for Polish History and Art!

Although it is located in the former Austrian Poland, which is not so convenient for travelers as the former Prussian Poland, Cracow cannot be missed by those who are interested in Polish history. Still equipped with better infrastructure than the former Russian Poland, Cracow was the ancient capital of the Polish nation and the place of coronations of Polish kings. In more than a century of bondage, the city never stops its struggle for a united Polish nation, which you can see in every monument and architecture. Come to Cracow for an immersive experience in Polish history and art!

Editor's City Tips:

- The best hotels in Cracow are De France (French Hotels), ul. Pijarska, “Grand Hotel” and “Hotel Saski” (Sxon Hotel), ul. Slawkowska. They also have first-rated restaurants that serve French cuisines. Cafés are also attached to the hotels’ restaurants, so you do not have to worry about food if you decide to book one of these western-style hotels.
- In the former Austrian Poland, German is most common western language. French is only spoken by intellectuals and rarely used in daily life. As most signs are in Polish, it would be wise to bring a small language manual to navigate locally.
- An interesting excursion can be made just outside of Cracow is to the *Tumulus of Kosciuszko (Kopiec Kosciuszki)*, where a Polish national hero who also fought in the American War of Independence is buried. Its location also offers a great view of the Carpathian and Tatra mountains.

Day 1

The Royal Castle (Zamek Krolewski) Plan to stay: 1-2 hours

Let's focus on older historical places for the first day! On the top of the list must be the Royal Castle, which was built during the reign of Casimir the Great (1333-70), and some of its original gothic rooms remain. Used to be a royal residence and the place of coronation, the castle is THE most important historical and cultural site for Poland. Although the Austrians ruined this great architecture by removing many of its arts and furniture, the restoration effort is being greatly supported by the public and is currently being done. The only finished part is the courtyard, but we believe in no time the castle will be restored to its original and rightful glory!

The Cathedral on the Wawel Plan to stay: 1-2 hours

This beautiful cathedral near the Royal Castle is unequivocally the second on the list. Built in the eleventh century but reconstructed and expanded later, it is the church with the highest artistic and historical value in all Poland. Various styles, Roman, Gothic, Renaissance, Baroque, can all be seen in the cathedral or in the eighteen chapels built around it. Artists from many different countries used to flood to Poland and filled the church with their brilliant masterpieces.

The Church of Saint Mary Plan to stay: 1-2 hours

This Gothic church is the largest and the most beautiful of its style in all Poland. It treasures the sculptures by the famous Cracow artist Wit Stwosz from the Middle Ages. The big altar is also considered one of the finest in Poland. From its highest Gothic tower, you will also have a nice view of the town, so it is highly recommended to ascend the stairs.

National Museum (Muzeum Narodowe) Plan to stay: 2-3 hours

Going into more detailed demonstration of history, you should visit the National Museum. Despite its small size, it holds the richest artistic collection in Poland. In its small gallery, contemporary artworks record centuries of Polish history through pictures and sculptures.

Day 2

The Town Hall Plan to stay: 30 minutes - 1 hour

The second day can be used to focus on more recent monuments and places. The tower of the town hall in the Rynek is the remnant of the old Gothic town hall built in the fifteenth century. Near the tower is the Sukiennice market place, where you can purchase all kinds of local souvenirs. On the side of the market is a monument to the Polish national poet *Adam Mickiewicz* (1798-1855).

Wawel Plan to stay: 1 hour

Besides the Royal Castle and the Cathedral, the limestone hill of Wawel holds more monuments, effectively becoming the most important and emotionally charged place for every Pole. It thus acquires the name of the *National Pantheon*. Near the entrance to the Castle, there is a monument to *Tadeusz Kosciuszko*, who was the leader of the insurrection for the Polish independence in 1794. Several old churches were torn by the Austrians for building materials. In the courtyard, guns taken from the Bolsheviks during the war in 1920 are displayed.

Royal Tombs Plan to stay: 1-2 hours

Important historical figures from many centuries are buried here. All kings from the fourteenth century to the eighteenth centuries are buried here. More recently heroes, the greatest Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz (d. 1855), and two national heroes in the struggle for Polish

independence Tadeusz Kosciuszko (d. 1817) and Prince Joseph Poniatowski (d. 1813) are also buried in the Royal Tombs.

Ethnographic Museum

Also located on the Wawel, the Ethnographic Museum provides a good opportunity to learn about Poland's diverse population and ethnographic research, especially Polish explorers' discovery of the Carpathian and the Tatra mountains. If you have time, you should go beyond the maps and visits the well-maintained mountain trails yourself to experience these amazing Polish landscapes. One of the legendary curiosities is the *Dragon's Den* (a limestone cave) near the museum.

Two days are a short and insufficient time to experience all of Cracow, where you can find many Poland's greatest and finest, despite its southern location. We hope that this guide at least provides a beginning point for you to consider and explore. Every stone in the city is marked and demonstrate to you the glorious Polishness that could not be erased by outsiders. Beautiful architectures ruined by foreign powers would eventually be restored. Overlooking the relative inconvenience in accommodations and transportation, you will not regret coming to Cracow for a trip into Polish history and art!

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