

Citation: Hoyte-West, A. (2023). Promoting Habsburg cultural identity to secondary school pupils in late Austrian-ruled Bukovina: A case study of the first Imperial and Royal Gymnasium in Czernowitz. *Colloquia Humanistica*, 2023(12), Article 2973. <https://doi.org/10.11649/ch.2973>

Colloquia Humanistica 12 (2023)
Centre-Periphery Relation and the Formation of Collective and Individual Identities in the Balkans and Central Europe
Article No. 2973
<https://doi.org/10.11649/ch.2973>

COLLOQUIA



HUMANISTICA

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Promoting Habsburg Cultural Identity to Secondary School Pupils in Late Austrian-Ruled Bukovina: A Case Study of the First Imperial and Royal Gymnasium in Czernowitz

Abstract

This contribution explores how notions of Habsburg cultural identity were promoted at the main grammar school (*kaiserlich-königliches I. Staatsgymnasium*) in Czernowitz, capital of the multilingual and multi-ethnic crownland of Bukovina, between 1900 and 1913. After presenting the relevant historical and linguistic context, the school's yearbooks from that era are examined to obtain information regarding the celebration of relevant holidays and events, musical and literary performances, as well as the commemoration of important cultural luminaries. Through this analysis, insights into the contemporary means utilised to promote a wider Habsburg identity will be gained, providing useful qualitative data and thus adding to the broader discussion on educational policies in late Habsburg Bukovina.

Keywords: k. k. I. Staatsgymnasium, Czernowitz, cultural identity, Habsburg Empire, Bukovina, history of education.

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Publisher: Institute of Slavic Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences

Editor-in-chief: Jolanta Sujcka

Conception and academic editing: Wojciech Sajkowski

Introduction

Now divided between the modern nation states of Romania and Ukraine, the Habsburg crownland of Bukovina was once distinguished by its considerable ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity. Formerly part of the Ottoman principality of Moldavia, it was annexed by the Habsburg monarchy during the reign of Maria Theresa in the late eighteenth century. After the revolutions of 1848, the territory of Bukovina was situated in the Austrian portion of the Habsburg lands, and it remained the empire's easternmost province until the fall of the Habsburg Empire, when Bukovina was incorporated into the interwar Kingdom of Romania.

Considerable research has already been undertaken on aspects relating to the history, languages, and ethnicities of Habsburg-ruled Bukovina, including on the role of educational institutions in this multilingual and multicultural province. Building on these analyses, and in seeking to explore the dynamic between centre and periphery at the micro level in late Habsburg times, the present contribution seeks to explore how concepts of a wider Habsburg identity were promoted and promulgated in secondary education in Bukovina in the first years of the twentieth century. In the first instance, brief information regarding Bukovina's geographical and ethnolinguistic situation will be provided, before relevant discussions of identity and language politics in the broader Habsburg Empire are presented. Subsequently, the role of the education system will be outlined, noting general trends across the Habsburg lands before focusing on Bukovina through the presentation of the selected case study. In terms of sources, the main data used in this analysis are the series of yearbooks (1900–13) published by the *kaiserlich-königliches I. Staatsgymnasium* (First Imperial and Royal Gymnasium) in Czernowitz, the crownland's capital. Particular attention is paid to the section of the yearbooks (*Chronik*) focusing on school life. This has been scrutinised to glean information regarding the celebration of relevant holidays and events during the twilight years of the Empire. As such, this qualitative analysis aims to present and discuss the means used to help form an overarching Habsburg identity among secondary school pupils in this peripheral province.

Habsburg Bukovina: A Historical and Linguistic Overview

The territory which comprised the Habsburg crownland of Bukovina was incorporated into the Habsburg lands in the aftermath of the 1768–1774 Russo-Turkish War. It was initially given the status of a separate crownland

within the Empire firstly in the mid-nineteenth century, and then definitively in 1861 (Osterkamp, 2022, p. 863; H. F. van Drunen, 2013, pp. 5–6). Its location on the fringes of the Habsburg lands notwithstanding, Bukovina was remarkable even by Habsburg standards for its diversity, with a mixed population of ethnic Germans, Romanians, Ruthenians (Ukrainians), as well as smaller numbers of other ethnicities. In terms of confessional plurality, adherents of Roman Catholicism, Greek Catholicism, Orthodoxy, and Judaism were represented (Stambrook, 2004, pp. 185–186; J. van Drunen, 2019, p. 244). This ethnic and cultural mix meant that German, Romanian, Polish, and Ukrainian were official languages (*Landessprachen*) of the crownland, with other languages such as Yiddish also present in its linguistic environment (Kuzmany, 2016, p. 52; J. van Drunen, 2019, p. 244).

Late nineteenth-century Bukovina could be characterised as a rural, agrarian province (Stambrook, 2004, pp. 186–187). Unlike certain other parts of the Habsburg lands, it had escaped industrialisation, and thus its economy and toponymy had not been transformed by factories and coal mines. It was also one of the smallest crownlands, both in terms of its area and of its population, which stood at around 800,000 in 1910. As mentioned previously, the crownland's capital was at Czernowitz. Far from being a sleepy provincial backwater, with a population of just under 90,000 (Stambrook, 2004, p. 185) the city was a vibrant intellectual capital, a cultural and educational centre belying its small size. It was a home to the prestigious Franz Joseph University, which was the easternmost in the Empire and had been founded in 1875. As outlined elsewhere (e.g. Ungureanu, 2014, 2015a; Varga, 2015, pp. 186–187), the university acquired a significant reputation despite its peripheral location. In addition, as will be discussed subsequently, numerous other educational institutions were created in Bukovina, including the school which is the subject of the current analysis.

Interestingly, as observed elsewhere (e.g. Kuzmany, 2016 pp. 52–53; J. van Drunen, 2019, p. 244), Bukovina appeared comparatively immune to the waves of nationalism which convulsed much of the Habsburg lands and wider continental Europe, perhaps due to its peripheral setting and its high levels of linguistic and religious diversity, despite German's dominant status as the administrative language of the province. Bukovina's geographical location on the frontiers of the Habsburg Empire meant that the freedoms enjoyed there by Polish and Ukrainian speakers could be contrasted with the strict curbs on the usage of those languages within the neighbouring Russian Empire (Pavlenko, 2006, p. 80). In addition, the province's Jewish population (J. van Drunen, 2019, p. 245) was able to live freely in Bukovina,

as compared to the raft of restrictions imposed on Jewish people living in the Pale of Settlement within the Russian Empire (see e.g. Pinchuk, 2000, pp. 496–498).

Indeed, and especially for Bukovina’s Jewish population, the relative interethnic and interreligious tolerance of the latter days of Habsburg rule were often remembered highly favourably (Stambrook, 2003, p. 3). As such, taking Pierre Nora’s nomenclature (Nora, 1989), Czernowitz (and by extension, Bukovina itself) could arguably be viewed as a *lieu de memoire* in the post-Habsburg context (see e.g. Antohi, 2018; Chmurski, 2022; Heymann, 2010, 2022). In addition, the promotion of this legacy has been arguably assisted by the presence of so many well-known writers from the region, including Paul Celan, Rose Ausländer, and Gregor von Rezzori, who helped to immortalise this vanished world through their literary works (see for example, Hoyte-West, 2023).

At the macro level, however, the storm clouds that would lead to the outbreak of the 1914–1918 conflict were gathering. By the turn of the twentieth century, the Habsburg Empire, as a contemporary embodiment of the composite monarchies of early modern times (Elliott, 1992), was an anachronism. As outlined by Benedict Anderson’s notion of the “imagined community” (Anderson, 1983/2006), nationalism, the concept of *Einzelssprache* (see Kamusella, 2016), and the language and nation-state model was proving problematic for this multi-ethnic, multilingual monarchy.

Though succession at the dynastic level seemed to be assured despite the suicide of Emperor Franz Josef’s son and heir Archduke Rudolf in Mayerling in 1889 (see Hamann, 1989), as well as the Empress Elisabeth’s assassination in 1898 (Hametz & Klabjan, 2018), questions remained regarding the administrative structure of the Empire itself. Divided into Austrian and Hungarian portions, these halves had different linguistic, educational, and political approaches. Crucially, this split seemed not to satisfy Slavic speakers both within and outside of the Empire (for a contemporary view, see Levine, 1914), especially in the light of growing national consciousness (Hoyte-West, 2022).

This is despite the fact that following the 1848 revolution, both the October Diploma of 1861 and the subsequent Compromise (*Ausgleich*) of 1867 incorporated specific accommodations for ethnic and linguistic plurality. As outlined in Article 19 of the Compromise, a key area (*Gleichberechtigung*) concerned the implementation of equal linguistic rights for the 11 recognised nationalities of the Empire, including the use

of their respective languages in imperial schools and universities (for more information on legal aspects, see e.g. Burger, 2003; Fischel, 1910).

Unlike in Hungary, where Hungarian dominated through a process of Magyarisation (van der Plank, 2012, pp. 380–381), in the Austrian portion of the Empire, specific initiatives regarding the use of other languages alongside German – as seen in the case of Bukovina – meant that accommodations for greater linguistic plurality were created. However, this was not always without issues: in Galicia, the neighbouring province of Bukovina, the important historical role of the Polish majority meant that Polish gained increased importance at the expense of other languages such as Ukrainian (Kuzmany, 2016, pp. 55–56). In contrast, as noted previously, in Bukovina no one single ethnicity or language group predominated, which arguably may have led speakers of the three other official languages alongside German (Polish, Romanian, and Ukrainian) to build greater consensus.

Educational Aspects in Habsburg Bukovina: An Overview

As a key vector in forming and promoting linguistic and cultural identity, the valuable role of education policies and practices is well-known. In the Habsburg lands, the advent of widespread education had already begun in the eighteenth century during the reign of Empress Maria Theresa (O'Brien, 1970). Indeed, when Bukovina was annexed to the Habsburg Empire, efforts to establish schools – typically at the basic level – were implemented. This was particularly necessary for, as noted in Morariu (1889a, p. 265), previously little formal education existed. Building on this initiative, and in common with changing social and economic structures across wider Europe, access to education accelerated during the 1800s, opening up what had previously been the preserve of an elite few. Following the 1867 Compromise, broad-minded official initiatives in Habsburg Austria led to the establishment of multilingual schooling at a variety of levels which catered for pupils from a range of linguistic, cultural, and religious backgrounds. Primary, basic, and grammar schools were founded for male and female students. Additionally, a system of bilingual and multilingual grammar schools was created. Using the format of parallel classes (*Parallelklassen*) developed by the Slovene educator Josef Šuman (Burger, 2003, p. 7), this method of teaching was promoted and implemented across the Austrian portion of the Empire. These school-level reforms had been preceded by wide-ranging changes to the Austrian university sector

in the decade or so after the 1848 revolution, which had been spearheaded by the then education minister Leo Graf von Thun-Hohenstein (see Aichner & Mazohl, 2017).

Several schools had been founded in Bukovina after annexation, including the first iteration of the gymnasium in Czernowitz in 1808. It was the first grammar school in the region and thus enjoyed significant prestige, even though others were created in the city and elsewhere as the century progressed. In his study of the grammar schools of Bukovina, Morariu (1889b) writes that there were gymnasia in Czernowitz, Suczawa, and Radautz. These were later supplemented by additional institutions, including a grammar school for girls (Fodor, 2011).

At this juncture, it is important to note that as with the general history of Habsburg-ruled Bukovina, educational topics have also been widely researched, especially by scholars from the region. In addition to broad surveys (e.g. Baltag, 2014; Ungureanu, 2015b), examples have focused on specific gymnasia (e.g. Ungureanu, 2009, 2012, 2013), as well as on the roles of specific languages such as German (Odoviciuc, 2021), Romanian (Prisacaru, 2020), Polish (Petraru, 2008), and even foreign languages (Labinska, 2012).

Accordingly, the present analysis focuses on the series of yearbooks published by the German-language *kaiserlich-königliches I Staatsgymnasium* in Czernowitz in the early twentieth century. Many schools in Habsburg Austria published similar such annuals, and these sources have been analysed not only in the Bukovina context (primarily from a statistical perspective), but also elsewhere, as Wehowski's (2019) study of the Ober-Realschule in the Silesian city of Teschen demonstrates. Like other examples, the volumes chronicling the grammar school in Czernowitz contain extraordinarily detailed information about school life at that time, the staff, and the pupils, focusing not only on academic content such as syllabi, textbooks, and other linguistic and curriculum-related aspects, but also on the demographic origins of the pupils themselves.

The selected yearbooks survey the period from the 1900/1 academic year up until the 1912/13 academic year, giving a total of 13 volumes. Although this period corresponds neatly with the last few years of pre-war Habsburg rule in Bukovina, another factor in selecting this timescale was the availability of the relevant yearbooks in digital format. This was owing to the impact on travel caused by the COVID-19 pandemic.

Although the opening pages of each annual observes that the yearbook had been published since 1851, only these last 13 volumes could be located

online. The selected volumes generally had a similar structure, consisting of one or two scholarly articles written by a staff member on an academic topic relating to the humanities or sciences, followed by a section entitled *Schulnachrichten* (school news). This last section was divided into several subsections, focusing on varied topics including the names and positions of the academic staff, information about course syllabi and examinations, library acquisitions, financial accounts, the physical health and wellbeing of the students, as well as details of students who had successfully passed the school-leaving examinations. Significant statistical information about the pupils was also provided, as well as a written *Chronik* (chronicle) of school life which provided insights into important events over the course of the academic year. Taking this portion of the yearbook as a point of departure, and bearing in mind the topic of this thematic issue, this study therefore uses these snapshots of school life to focus on aspects relating to the promotion and promulgation of a broader Habsburg cultural identity among staff and pupils of the grammar school in Czernowitz.

Habsburg Identity as Portrayed in the School Yearbooks

For the purposes of this analysis, it was decided to divide the yearbooks into two chronological groups, corresponding to those volumes completed under the editorship of the archaeologist Heinrich Klauser (1838–1911), headmaster of the school until 1908, and those published under his successor, Karl Wolf. The chronicles overwhelmingly focus on the everyday (and even relatively mundane) aspects of school life – for example, visits by the imperial school inspectors, preparation for Matura school-leaving examinations etc. Yet, even though events such as visits from state dignitaries, including politicians and representatives of the different religious groupings, it is possible to gain insights into how grammar school education in Bukovina functioned at that time.

Regarding promotion of a Habsburg identity, the principal themes consisted of events celebrating milestones of the ruling dynasty. Every year, it was noted that church services took place to record the name-day of the Emperor (typically celebrated on 4 October), as well as the anniversary of the Empress's assassination. In the *Chronik* section of the 1900/1 yearbook, the festivities celebrating the 70th birthday of Emperor Franz Joseph were outlined. Although the imperial birthday was actually in August, the celebrations took place in October 1900. This included a church service of thanksgiving as well as a special event, with the yearbook noting that

the hall was bedecked with exotic flowers and decorated with carpets. One of the senior students gave a lecture offering an overview of the key events and merits of the Emperor's reign from 1848 onwards. This was then followed by an important speech:

Hieraufhielt der Director an die studierende Jugend eine Ansprache, worin er auf die Bedeutung des Festes, ferner auf die Wirksamkeit Se. Majestät für seine Völker hinwies und die studierende Jugend aufforderte, in dieser weihevollen Stunde das Gelübde abzulegen, dem Kaiser und dem Kaiserhause unverbrüchliche Treue zu bewahren und dereinst im Nothfalle Gut und Blut für Kaiser und Vaterland einzusetzen. (Klauser, 1901, p. 42)¹

Subsequently, poems in German, Romanian, and Ukrainian were read out, and the national anthem (*Kaiserhymne*) was sung. As the powerful words of the headmaster demonstrate, pupils were exhorted to give the very fibres of their beings to the Habsburg dynasty and to their country. It is to be wondered how many reflected on these words during the global conflict that was to erupt less than a decade-and-a half later.

Another factor promoting Habsburg cultural identity on a regular basis was the commemoration of a notable figure of culture, such as a poet, musician, or writer. These commemorations included special events featuring poetry readings and musical performances by students of the gymnasium, as well as other forms of cultural entertainment. Figures recognised included the poet and writer Taras Shevchenko in the 1900/1 academic year (Klauser, 1901, p. 43), the anniversary of the noted philosopher and critic Johann Gottfried von Herder (Klauser, 1904, p. 87), the poet and playwright Friedrich Schiller (Klauser, 1905, p. 81) and the composer Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (Klauser, 1906, p. 60).

It is interesting to note that, aside from Shevchenko and in line with the German-language profile of the grammar school, all the personages commemorated were generally accepted as being ethnically German cultural figures, although only Mozart was born within the contemporary limits of the Habsburg Empire. In highlighting Shevchenko, it could be argued that the recognition of the 40th anniversary of the Ukrainian cultural luminary's passing represented a testament to his importance and pivotal

¹ "Thereupon the headmaster gave an address to the pupils, in which he referred to the significance of the event and also how effective His Majesty was for his peoples, calling upon the pupils at this solemn time to take a vow to maintain their unbreakable loyalty to the Emperor and the Imperial House and, should the need arise, to one day give their very all for the Emperor and the Fatherland". All translations are by the author [A.H-W].

role in the development and promotion of Ukrainian cultural heritage during the nineteenth century. In addition, it also underscores the so-called Shevchenko ‘cult’ which had inspired a resurgence in Ukrainian culture and identity from the 1860s onwards (see e.g. Noack, 2019; Sereda, 2014). As this institutionalisation demonstrates, by extension it could also be seen as a symbol of Habsburg tolerance vis-à-vis the repression faced by those Ukrainians living within the territory of the Russian Empire at that time.

The headmaster of the school, Heinrich Klauser, retired in 1908 and Karl Wolf was thus the editor of the 1908/9 yearbook, which recounted the numerous events of this celebratory year, which was particularly important on many counts. At the imperial level, Emperor Franz Joseph celebrated his diamond jubilee. As outlined in detail by H. F. van Drunen (2013, pp. 419–427), the 60th anniversary celebrations of the monarch’s accession were celebrated across Bukovina by vast official parties, processions, and other large-scale public events. In the school, special proceedings took place on 2 and 3 December 1908, with religious services and a special event featuring music, poetry, and speeches. With a programme including a recital of the patriotic song “*O, Du, mein Österreich*” [Oh, thou, my Austria], the Emperor and the country were honoured in style.

1908 also represented the centenary year of the gymnasium, a significant event in the school’s history that was celebrated on Tuesday 27 and Wednesday 28 October 1908. To jointly commemorate the anniversary of the school and Franz Joseph’s jubilee, a series of 400 bronze plaques were cast, with silver versions made for selected dignitaries. The proceedings began on the Tuesday with speeches and thanks to the Emperor, the singing of the national anthem, before guests from outside the province attended a reception in the evening. On the Wednesday, the students formed a procession towards the archbishop’s residence, where the main celebrations were to take place, and where the governor (*Landespräsident*) of Bukovina, Dr Oktavian Regner, Ritter von Bleyleben was in attendance. The main speech was given by Professor Dr Hermann Rump, who outlined the school’s history through citing the well-known personalities who had attended it or taught there during its existence. The visits to the school made by the Emperor (on 21 October 1851 and on 29 June 1855) were remembered, as was the visit made by Crown Prince Rudolf on 8 July 1887. The speech ended with a plea to the Almighty that the school should remain:

...ein Hort wahrer Religiosität und echter Vaterlandsliebe; möge endlich Seine Majestät, unser erhabener Kaiser und Herr, mit dessen Regierungsanfang die neue Aera unseres Unterrichtswesens ins Leben gerufen wurde, noch lange Jahre als

Schutz und Schirm aller Wissenschaft die Geschicke unseres teuren Vaterlandes lenken zum Heil und Segen aller Seiner Völker, Se. Majestät unser vielgeliebter Kaiser Franz Joseph I. lebe hoch! (Wolf, 1909, p. 84)²

Subsequently, a telegram from the Emperor's office (*Kabinettskanzlei Sr. Majestät des Kaisers*) in Budapest was read, and this was followed by speeches from luminaries such as the state governor, the chairman of the state government (*Landeshauptmann*), and the mayor of Czernowitz among others. In the evening, a celebratory banquet took place, where the headmaster, Heinrich Klauser, gave a toast to the Emperor, opening by stating that:

Zu den vielen Vorzügen, welche die Bewohner unseres schönen Vaterlandes auszeichnen, gehört die Liebe zu ihrem verehrungswürdigen Kaiser. Ob Deutscher oder Nichtdeutscher, ob Christ oder Nichtchrist – jeder Österreicher liebt und verehrt seinen Kaiser. Er hat aber auch Grund dazu, denn alles Gute und Schöne wird durch die Huld und Gnade Seiner Majestät gestützt und gefördert” (Wolf, 1909, pp. 87–88).³

With the detailed attention given to the proceedings and speeches, the *Chronik* subsection of the 1908/9 yearbook is significantly longer than the two or three pages usually allocated to it in previous editions. Following the first volume edited under the auspices of the new headmaster, this trend for greater length continued, with events described in much more detail than previously. As a result, comprehensive transcripts of speeches and information about the programmes of school concerts were also listed. These concerts frequently included music by Habsburg composers such as Franz von Suppé and Antonin Dvořák, as well as by composers of German ethnicity such as Felix Mendelssohn and Robert Schumann, the latter of whom was also the subject of a special event to commemorate the centenary of his birth (Wolf, 1910, pp. 97–98).

² “...a stronghold of true religiosity and genuine love of the Fatherland; may His Majesty, our exalted Emperor, with whose reign the new era of our education system has come to life, as the protector and shield of all science, continue for many more years to guide the destiny of our dear Fatherland for the salvation and blessing of all of His peoples. Long live His Majesty, our much-loved Emperor Franz Joseph I!”

³ “Among the many virtues which distinguish the inhabitants of our beautiful Fatherland is their love for their venerable emperor. Whether German or non-German, whether Christian or non-Christian – every Austrian loves and reveres his Emperor. Yet he has also reason to do so, for all that is good and beautiful is supported and promoted by the benevolence and grace of His Majesty”.

For example, an account of the dedication of the Schiller monument in Czernowitz contains the speech made by the headmaster at that public event, in which he observes the writer's importance for German culture, noting also that "*Der Österreicher hat ein Vaterland und liebt's und hat auch Ursach' es zu lieben*" [The Austrian has a fatherland and loves it and also has a reason to love it] (Wolf, 1910, p. 95). This patriotic note was also continued by the commemoration later in the academic year of Andreas Hofer, the innkeeper from Tyrol who was the instigator of the Austrian rebellion against Napoleon during French occupation, where the speech contained the following exhortation: "*heget und pfleget auch Ihr, liebe Schüler, in Eueren Herzen die Liebe zum Vaterlande, zum Kaiserhause und vor allem zu unserem greisen Kaiser!*" [you yourselves, dear students, cherish and cultivate in your heart love for the Fatherland, for the Imperial House, and above all for our aging Emperor!"] (Wolf, 1910, p. 96).

The 1910/11 school year saw the celebration of the Emperor's 80th birthday. In a long speech by Professor Rump which was recorded in the *Chronik* of that year, the Emperor's numerous achievements were outlined, noting that he had brought the Empire into the modern age through its constitution which promoted equality, by technological advances such as the development and spread of the railway, as well as in the field of education and schooling. Indeed, it was stated that "*was die große Kaiserin Maria Theresia begonnen, das hat ihr Enkel vollendet*" [what was begun by the great Empress Maria Theresa has been completed by her grandson] (Wolf, 1911, p. 83).

Moving to the last yearbook in the series (1912/13), several paragraphs are devoted to a special event on 19 April 1913 which commemorated the bicentenary of the Pragmatic Sanction (*Pragmatische Sanktion*). Briefly defined (for more information, see e.g. Roider, 1972), this was an official decree issued by Emperor Charles VI (father of Maria Theresa), which provided the legal framework for bringing together the possessions of the Habsburg crown, as well as enabling female succession to the throne. At this event, a specially-composed poem about the Sanction and its legacy was read by its author, one of the senior students, and was printed in the yearbook. The event concluded with musical performances, including of "Hymne an der Österreich" and of von Suppé's "Das ist mein Österreich", this commemoration thereby highlighting to the students the unity of the Habsburg Empire and its various peoples (Wolf, 1913, pp. 95–96).

Interestingly, given Bukovina's peripheral position at the Empire's frontiers, the yearbooks are generally characterised by an almost complete absence

of references to external geopolitical events. This is despite the considerable build-up of political tension between the various European powers at that time, where Austria-Hungary had secretly sided with the German Empire and Italy in the so-called Triple Alliance. An exception to this can be found in a portion of Professor Rump's speech commemorating the 80th birthday of Franz Joseph, where he highlights the monarch's role in ensuring peace. Here, after mentioning how important the Emperor was in ensuring that the German Empire switched from adversary to ally, he alludes briefly to – but does not name explicitly – the troubles in restive Bosnia and Herzegovina. These provinces had been occupied by the Habsburgs since 1878, but were officially annexed as a crownland only in 1908, a situation that caused an international crisis (for more information, see Okey, 2007).

Als in jüngster Zeit im Südosten unserer Monarchie am politischen Horizonte Gewitterwolken gefahrdrohend aufstiegen, da war es der Friedenskaiser Franz Josef, der seine Völker vor den Greueln des männermordenden Krieges bewahrte (Wolf, 1911, p. 85).⁴

In highlighting the personal role of the monarch in diplomatic negotiations and in ensuring peace, a highly positive image of the dynasty and the empire was promoted among the students of the grammar school. However, as the world knows, there was no salvation from the “murderous” war, but merely a postponement. The events of 28 June 1914 in Sarajevo were to precipitate a worldwide conflict that would lead not only to the fall of the Habsburg dynasty and empire, but with it, the overarching concept of a multi-ethnic and multicultural Habsburg identity.

Concluding Remarks

The present study has provided a brief overview of the ways and means of how Habsburg cultural identity was promoted in Bukovina during the twilight years of the Empire. In contextualising the situation through analysis of literature in a variety of languages, it has supplemented previous research through examination of relevant primary sources to ascertain how this overarching Habsburg identity was presented to the grammar school pupils.

⁴ “When, in recent times, the political horizon in the south-east of our Monarchy was endangered by gathering storm clouds, it was the Emperor of Peace, Franz Joseph, who saved his peoples from the horrors of a murderous war”.

As depicted in the yearbooks, it is apparent that Habsburg identity was primarily promulgated through the celebration of events relating to the ruling dynasty and the person of the Emperor. This included the regular commemoration of the Emperor's name-day as well as the anniversary of the Empress's murder. In addition, special occasions and jubilees were also celebrated, such as Franz Joseph's diamond jubilee in 1908. As outlined in the selected excerpts, it has been shown that numerous speeches encouraged students to actively demonstrate their allegiance to the Empire and to the Emperor, and the singing of patriotic songs also took place. These large-scale occasions were also bolstered by events celebrating major cultural figures linked to the Empire and/or to the German language, including important writers, poets, and musicians. However, little attention in the yearbooks appears to have been devoted to external events and politics.

Accordingly, this study has uncovered several possibilities for additional research. Subject to archival access, this could include conducting comparative research with the yearbooks issued by other academic institutions in Bukovina and elsewhere in the former Habsburg lands. In addition, given that the names of the students and staff are listed in each volume, it could also be interesting to cross-reference the events depicted in the yearbooks with memoirs, letters, and other resources written by those affiliated with the school. Newspaper articles from the era could provide further contemporary viewpoints on the relevant celebrations and happenings. As such, these would provide additional grassroots information on the effectiveness and efficacy of promoting a broader Habsburg identity through the educational system, thereby offering new and insightful perspectives on the last years of Bukovina's existence as a Habsburg crownland.

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Promowanie habsburskiej tożsamości kulturowej wśród uczniów szkół średnich w późnoaustriackiej Bukowinie. Studium przypadku Pierwszego Cesarsko-Królewskiego Gimnazjum w Czerniowcach

W artykule zbadano, w jaki sposób w latach 1900–1913 w głównym gimnazjum (kaiserlich-königliches I. Staatssgymnasium) w Czerniowcach, stolicy wielojęzycznego i wieloetnicznego regionu Bukowiny, promowano pojęcie habsburskiej tożsamości kulturowej. Po przedstawieniu odpowiedniego kontekstu historycznego i językowego przeanalizowano roczniki szkolne z epoki w celu uzyskania informacji na temat obchodów świąt i wydarzeń historycznych, przedstawień muzycznych i literackich, a także upamiętnienia ważnych luminarzy kultury. Dzięki tej analizie uzyskano wgląd w środki wykorzystywane do promowania szerszej tożsamości habsburskiej, dostarczając użytecznych danych jakościowych, które stanowią istotny wkład w szerszą dyskusję na temat polityki edukacyjnej w późnohabsburskiej Bukowinie.

Słowa kluczowe: Cesarsko-Królewskie Gimnazjum w Czerniowcach, tożsamość kulturowa, Imperium Habsburgów, Bukowina, historia edukacji.



Note

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The preparation of this article was self-funded by the author.

No competing interests have been declared.

Publication History

Received: 2023-01-15, Accepted: 2023-07-26, Published: 2023-12-23