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Source: *Slavic Review*, Summer, 2008, Vol. 67, No. 2 (Summer, 2008), pp. 277-300

Published by: Cambridge University Press

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27652844>

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Larry Wolff

Introduction: Uncertainty of Possession

“What does Napoleon understand as an equivalent for Galicia?” wondered Metternich in 1811, with Europe in a condition of international upheaval.¹ While the province of Galicia would, in fact, remain under Habsburg rule throughout the nineteenth century, severed from the dynasty only with the dissolution of the monarchy itself in 1918, Metternich in 1811 was quite prepared to trade it away for a calculated territorial “equivalent.” His papers indicate that he was particularly interested in trading landbound Galicia for Dalmatia with its Adriatic coast—though he hoped to be able to avoid surrendering the salt mine at Wieliczka.²

For Metternich, in the spirit of enlightened statecraft, there was nothing inviolable about Galicia’s relation to the Habsburg realm. The province represented a certain measure of territory, count of population, and stock of resources—which was precisely how it was staked out at the moment of the partition of Poland in 1772, the moment of Galicia’s creation, articulation, and annexation. The province was invented as the Habsburg share in the partition—a geopolitical artifice—calculated to balance the gains of Russia and Prussia, with no historic coherence or identity of its own. Since 1772, Galicia had been radically expanded by the partition of 1795 and significantly reduced by concessions to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw in 1809; it was altogether so politically elastic, contingent, and tenuous that in 1811 Metternich noted for Emperor Franz the fundamental fact of “the uncertainty of possession of Galicia.”³ If Napoleon’s invasion of Russia were to lead to the full reestablishment of Poland, then Galicia

This article is dedicated to the memory of Wiktor Weintraub (1908–1988) in his centennial year. He was my professor when I was a college undergraduate, and it was his extraordinary teaching and guidance that inspired my own fascination with Polish culture.

Ach, to może ostatni! patrzcie, patrzcie, młodzi,
Może ostatni, co tak poloneza wodzi!

1. Klemens Wenzel von Metternich, *Mémoires, documents, et écrits divers*, ed. Richard de Metternich, part 1 (1773–1815) (Paris, 1880), 2:420–21.

2. Metternich, *Mémoires*, part 1 (1773–1815), 2:432–33, 436–37; Hans-Christian Maner, *Galizien: Eine Grenzregion im Kalkül der Donaumonarchie im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 2007), 58–61.

3. Metternich, *Mémoires*, part 1 (1773–1815), 2:418–20; Larry Wolff, “Inventing Galicia: Messianic Josephinism and the Recasting of Partitioned Poland,” *Slavic Review*, vol. 63, no. 4 (Winter 2004): 818–40.

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would simply cease to exist. Since its whole history, however, was so recent, the lapsing of Galicia would not have been politically shocking, certainly not in the context of so many other and greater Napoleonic shocks. The pragmatic statesman would calculate its equivalent value and be prepared to trade it away before it disappeared altogether.

The “uncertainty of possession,” clearly discerned by Metternich at this moment, was also reflected in ideological ambivalence concerning the nature and identity of the province itself: with its complex population of Poles, Ruthenians, Jews, and Germans; its multiple languages and dialects of Polish, Ukrainian, Yiddish, and German; its several religions including principally Roman Catholicism, Greek (Uniate) Catholicism, and Judaism with a huge Hasidic element. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when modern nationalism was still a new and unevenly experienced phenomenon, the construction of provincial identity appeared as a plausible cultural vehicle for reconciling ethnographic, linguistic, and religious heterogeneity. The uncertain idea of Galicia, especially in the early nineteenth century, could function as a transcendent political conception, encouraging the possibility of transnational convergence, while, in the latter half of the century, it would come to represent multinational coexistence premised upon the distinctive persistence of national differences. The evolution of Galician political meaning thus suggests the importance of the provincial as an ideological force overlapping with the forces of the national and the imperial.

Rogers Brubaker offers 1792 as a significant date for the birth of modern nationalism, as French revolutionary soldiers went into battle at Valmy crying out “Vive la nation.” The first explicit manifestation of Galician provincial identity also appeared in 1792 when an anonymous Polish poem was signed “by a Galician” (*przez Gallicyana*) who sought to reconcile “the heart of a Pole” with his Galician status as a Habsburg subject. Brubaker stresses the situational nature of the national phenomenon: “as something that suddenly crystallizes rather than gradually develops, as a contingent, conjuncturally fluctuating, and precarious frame of vision . . . rather than as a relatively stable product of deep developmental trends.” Ernest Gellner, when he notes that “nations are not inscribed into the nature of things,” emphasizes instead the existence of “cultures, often subtly grouped, shading into each other, overlapping, intertwined,” mapped approximately onto “political units of all shapes and sizes.”⁴ Contingency and fluctuation, overlap and intertwinement, conditioned an uncertain relation between nationhood and provincial meaning in the early nineteenth century. Each crystallized nation needed to be fitted to a territorial unit of some shape and size, and it was thus, in the search for a plausible fit between presumptive nation and designated space, that political sentiment was experimentally associated with even merely administrative units, with a province such as Galicia.

4. Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe* (Cambridge, Eng., 1996), 1–2, 18–19; Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca, 1983), 48–49; *Skutki dzieł Woltera, przez Gallicyana* (1792), 3, copy conserved in Jagiellonian Library, Kraków; Wolff, “Inventing Galicia,” 833–34.

“To see how administrative units could, over time, come to be conceived as fatherlands,” writes Benedict Anderson, with particular reference to South America, “one has to look at the ways in which administrative organizations create meaning.”⁵ Galicia was invented as an administrative unit in the eighteenth century and gradually accumulated multiple meanings over the course of the nineteenth century, beginning with its reconstitution after the Congress of Vienna when it was definitively reclaimed by the Habsburgs. The alleged legitimacy of the status quo ante bellum conveniently camouflaged the fact that Galicia had been only an improvised artifice of the late eighteenth century. Bohemia and Hungary were historic Habsburg crownlands with medieval crowns as the nuclei for national crystallization, but Galicia—in spite of the dynastic Habsburg insistence on a thread of continuity from medieval Halych—was created virtually ex nihilo in 1772, a mere name for the Habsburg portion of Poland. Continuity would be articulated afterwards in the context of ideological claims upon the Galician space. The invention of Galicia in the late eighteenth century would lead, in the early nineteenth century, to various and competing cultural attempts to articulate what it meant to be Galician.

Precisely because of its improvised origins, the history of Galicia must be the history of a place as an idea, as a cultural accumulation of meanings, and in the case of Galicia this occurred, inevitably, in the context of the Habsburg empire. Edward Said, writing with particular reference to the English and French overseas empires, has emphasized the importance of “the general relationship between culture and empire” and suggested that imperial ideology was “completely embedded” in culture: “we must try to look integrally at the culture that nurtured the sentiment, rationale, and above all the imagination of empire.”⁶ For the Habsburg empire, as for England and France, culture was marked by the tensions and pretensions of imperial rule, and culture was the site of those uncertain meanings and overlapping identities that defined the idea of Galicia. The towering cultural figure of Metternich’s Galicia, in the decades that followed the Congress of Vienna, was Aleksander Fredro, the greatest comic playwright of Polish literature. Fredro’s comedies of Galician life, performed in the theaters of Lviv in the 1820s and 1830s, reflected some of the ideological tensions of provincial identity. The juxtaposition of Metternich’s papers with Fredro’s comedies offers particular insight into the culture of empire in Galicia.

This culture of empire in Metternich’s Galicia may be further studied in such provincial public forums as the newspaper *Gazeta Lwowska* and the journal *Pamiętnik Galicyjski*, as they sought to articulate a Galician identity. In Galicia, Franz Xaver Wolfgang Mozart, the great composer’s son, regarded himself as a representative of Viennese culture in the province, while in Vienna Józef Maksymilian Ossoliński, founder of the Lviv Ossolineum library, ambiguously represented both Polish national culture and Galician provincial concerns.

5. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983; London, 1991), 53.

6. Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (1993; New York, 1994), xi, 12.

In 1835, the year Emperor Franz died, Fredro became the victim of a literary attack, when a Polish critic publicly and crushingly denounced the comedies as “non-national” (*nienarodowe*). Fredro gave up writing comedies, and, though he lived until 1876, he never reacquired his perfect dramatic pitch. The political relation between the “national” and the “non-national” has played a part in important recent works of Habsburg history, like that of Konrad Clewing concerning Dalmatia, Jeremy King concerning Bohemia, and Keely-Stauter Halsted concerning Galicia.⁷ The charge against Fredro in 1835—his allegedly “non-national” cultural work—was certainly related to the Galician inflection of his Polish perspective. The provincial identity of a Galician was perhaps implicitly non-national, though for some, at this early moment in the history of nationalism, it was not altogether unimaginable that Galicia might constitute some sort of nation in its own right. In the case of Galicia, an administrative unit that acquired historical meaning, the “non-national” was certainly not just the absence of national identity but rather itself the product of cultural construction in a provincial context. Indeed, the construction of the non-national may be studied as a kind of invention of tradition, as outlined by Eric Hobsbawm, with non-national forms retroactively projected into the remote past.⁸ The relative newness of Galicia at the beginning of the nineteenth century, taken together with its subtle uncertainty of existence and identity, as well as its manifest complexity of ethnography, language, and religion, all made the province into a strikingly problematic domain for the contingent evolution of provincial and imperial sentiments. In the early nineteenth century the evolution of non-national perspectives in an age of nascent nationalism created overlapping and fluctuating ideological claims to fit the contours of Galician geopolitical space.

The Franco-Galician Army

In 1811, while Metternich attempted to calculate the “equivalent” value of Galicia amidst the upheaval of the Napoleonic campaigns, a semiofficial journal was founded in Lviv, *Gazeta Lwowska*.⁹ In 1812, as Napoleon’s Grande Armée—including 100,000 Polish soldiers—prepared to invade Russia, Polish national hopes of restoring independence were dramatically aroused. *Gazeta Lwowska*, however, sponsored by the Habsburg government, regarded the Polish cause with considerable reserve. In February 1812 *Gazeta Lwowska* reported on the birthday of Emperor Franz, as celebrated in Lviv. The governor, Peter Goess, gave a dinner at which the emperor and empress were ceremonially toasted, and, in the munici-

7. Konrad Clewing, *Staatlichkeit und nationale Identitätsbildung: Dalmatien in Vormärz und Revolution* (Munich, 2001); Jeremy King, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans: A Local History of Bohemian Politics, 1848–1948* (Princeton, 2002); Keely Stauter-Halsted, *The Nation in the Village: The Genesis of Peasant National Identity in Austrian Poland, 1848–1914* (Ithaca, 2001).

8. Eric Hobsbawm, “Introduction: Inventing Traditions,” in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (1983; Cambridge, Eng., 2006), 1–14.

9. Jerzy Łojek, Jerzy Myśliński, and Wiesław Władyka, *Dzieje prasy polskiej* (Warsaw, 1988), 40; Władysław Zawadzki, *Literatura w Galicji* (Lwów, 1878), 42–43.

pal theater, Joseph Haydn's imperial hymn was sung: "Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser." The governor provided charity for the poor in honor of the emperor's birthday, and winners were announced for an essay contest on methods of improving agriculture in Galicia. One winning essay, for instance, meticulously counted 310,758 oxen and 527,519 cows in Galicia, "in our country" (*w naszym kraju*), summing up the province in a fashion that studiously neglected the international crisis. Counting cows was, in some sense, the prescribed Galician antidote for the Polish national fever.¹⁰ Ironically, the dynastic celebration and essay contest occurred in Lviv at the same time that Metternich in Vienna was actually thinking about trading Galicia for Dalmatia.

In March 1812 *Gazeta Lwowska* enthusiastically reported on the preparation of a new almanac for 1813, *The Poetic Almanac for Galicia*. There would be two versions, one in Polish and one in German: "In this manner, we will refute in part the reproach that in our country, till now, learning has progressed too little." The almanac, intended thus as an antidote to allegations of backwardness, was being prepared by Professor Wacław Hann, who wanted Germans and Poles to know one another's poetry in mutual pursuit of "enlightenment" (*oświecenie*) in Galicia: "Oh, that the day may likewise soon be light in the Galician sky, not with blinding brightness, but illuminated by the pleasant rays of the beneficent sun!"¹¹ The project for the almanac thus proposed a provincial Galician identity based upon the mutually illuminating relation of different languages and literatures. Such an almanac would attempt to cross linguistic boundaries in order to achieve a transcultural and non-national synthesis of Galician identity.

In 1812 there were also Galicians who participated in the invasion of Russia, including the young Fredro, born in 1793. He became a Galician volunteer in the Grande Armée and was present at the fateful battle of Borodino. While Lviv celebrated the birthday of Emperor Franz in 1812, demonstrating Galician allegiance, Fredro, as he recounted in his wartime memoirs, was going into battle crying out, "Vive l'empereur!" The emperor for whom he fought was the French emperor, Napoleon, not the Habsburg emperor, Franz. Fredro later described his military company as "the Franco-Galician [*francusko-galicyjskiego*] army or the Galicio-French [*galicyjsko-francuskiego*] army (I no longer remember exactly which)."¹² Perhaps the most striking aspect of the "Franco-Galician" designation was the suggestion that Galician identity could exist apart from the Austrian affiliation, and even from the Polish association. Fredro was very much aware of himself as a teenage Pole during these fighting years, but he also maintained a sense of being Galician. At the same time, his unstable Galician identity was susceptible to unconventional hyphenations and recombinations.

In the same spirit of national recombinations, Fredro offered a Lin-

10. *Gazeta Lwowska*, 7 and 11 February 1812.

11. *Gazeta Lwowska*, 3 March 1812.

12. Aleksander Fredro, *Sans queue ni tête*, trans. Elisabeth Destrée-Van Wilder (Mont-ricer, Switzerland, 1992), 10 and 82; Aleksander Fredro, *Trzy po trzy*, in *Proza*, vol. 8, part 1 (Warsaw, 1968), 71 and 123; see also Jarosław Rymkiewicz, *Aleksander Fredro jest w złym humorze* (Warsaw, 1977).

naean summary of the distinctive species of the Galician German: “Nota bene: The Galician German [*Niemiec galicyjski*] occupies, it is true, in natural history, the place of a race or a profession apart, like the race of French poodles or Tibetan goats, but in fact it is a debased race.” He especially noted the Galician German “hatred of Slavs.”¹³ In fact, Fredro mistrusted both Jews and Germans in Galicia, as they seemed to him clearly distinct from Poles and ultimately aloof from the Polish Napoleonic cause, but he recognized that they too had some claim to being Galician.

The notion of the “Galician German” as a distinctive species in natural history suggested a scheme of political evolution whereby the geopolitical existence of Galicia came to modify and qualify the characteristics of its local populations, linking them to one another by their common Galician qualities, while also generating separate species groups. Hann’s almanac seemed to promise some sort of convergence or rapprochement between Germans and Poles in Galicia, while Fredro’s natural history seemed to acknowledge separate but related groupings of Galician Poles and Galician Germans. Likewise, Galician Ruthenians would emerge as a distinctive population over the course of the nineteenth century, eventually to be reclassified as twentieth-century Ukrainians, while Galician Jews of the nineteenth century survived into the twentieth century, indeed outlived Galicia, under the ethnographic designation of Galitzianer.

Polonaises Mélancoliques

In spite of Fredro’s disparagement, Galician Germans remained prominent in Metternich’s Galicia, especially in the Habsburg bureaucracy. Other Germans—those French poodles or Tibetan goats—hoped to take advantage of the economic and cultural opportunities in the Habsburg province. Franz Xaver Wolfgang Mozart, born in 1791, the year of his father’s death, moved from Vienna to Galicia in 1808 at the age of seventeen to earn his living as a music teacher working for noble families. Himself a talented pianist and even a composer of some promise, he went by his father’s name, Wolfgang, and found a position in the small town of Podkamień, near Brody, giving lessons to the Polish noble family of Count Wiktor Baworowski. The principal edifice of Podkamień was a baroque Dominican monastery, and the small population was divided among Roman Catholic Poles, Ruthenian Uniates, and Jews.¹⁴

At the beginning of 1809, the same year that the sixteen-year-old Fredro joined the Franco-Galician army, young Mozart, his contemporary, gave an account of his situation in a letter to his brother Karl from Podkamień: “For three months I have not been in our beloved native city, but in Galicia, several miles from Lemberg, employed by a count, to give his two daughters four hours of lessons daily. For that I get food, lodging, wood, light, laundry, etc. free. Here I will try my hardest to perfect my

13. Fredro, *Sans queue ni tête*, 105; Fredro, *Trzy po trzy*, 139–40.

14. Walter Hummel, *W. A. Mozarts Söhne* (Kassel, 1956), 61–62 (letters of F. X. W. Mozart, 19 November and 15 December 1808); Mieczysław Orłowicz, *Ilustrowany Przewodnik po Galicyi* (Lviv, 1914), 98.

art.”¹⁵ His mother Konstanze Mozart noted in 1809 that her younger son had composed a song to a poem by “Professor Hann of Lemberg”—none other than the illuminating sponsor of the Polish-German almanac.¹⁶

Young Mozart, however, was quickly becoming disenchanted with the Galician circumstances. In 1810 he wrote from Podkamień to a German friend in Weimar:

Since October 1808 I have been in Galicia, in the country, which cannot compare with the charming surroundings of Vienna. Nevertheless I have already become rather accustomed to my new situation and would perhaps not feel so much the comical contrast (which is in fact rather notable) between Vienna and a desolate Polish village, if here I did not have to be completely deprived of the pleasure of seeing my friends, of hearing good music, and of reading the journals and intellectual productions that deal with my own art as well as literature in general.¹⁷

The sense of contrast, conceived as “comic” in the true Mozartean spirit, represented the difference between Vienna and Podkamień, between the imperial metropolis and a provincial village, and between German culture and Galician backwardness. These oppositions further aligned with the conventional conceptual difference between “Western Europe” and “Eastern Europe.” The Enlightenment’s idea of “Eastern Europe,” with the essential presumption of western civilization in relation to eastern backwardness, was thus adaptable to a civilizing ideology of empire, in which the disparagement of provincial conditions vindicated both the individual representative of Vienna and the Habsburg imperial enterprise as a whole.¹⁸ Young Mozart possessed a powerful conception of Galicia that was, at first, entirely negative, the absence of so many things that he valued: friends, music, journals.

He appealed to his Weimar friend for letters “in my loneliness” (*in meiner Einsamkeit*), a provincial Galician loneliness in which the aloofness of the Enlightenment was flavored with the melancholy of Romanticism.¹⁹ In 1810 he actually composed a song titled “Die Einsamkeit,” but it was unexpectedly cheerful in musical spirit, and the words seemed to welcome solitude:

Mein Wunsch, meine Wonne, bist Einsamkeit du,
und häuslicher Friede und ländliche Ruh.

(My wish and my joy are you, loneliness,
and domestic peace and country calm.)²⁰

This declaration of peace was perhaps an odd note to strike in Napoleonic Europe, with the world at war. In a letter to his brother Karl, also written

15. Hummel, *Mozarts Söhne*, 63 (letter from F. X. W. Mozart, 22 January 1809).

16. Ibid., 64 (letter from Konstanze Mozart, 29 July 1809).

17. Ibid., 66 (letter from F. X. W. Mozart, 8 February 1810).

18. Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford, 1994); see also Wolff, *Venice and the Slavs: The Discovery of Dalmatia in the Age of Enlightenment* (Stanford, 2001).

19. Hummel, *Mozarts Söhne*, 66 (letter from F. X. W. Mozart, 8 February 1810).

20. “Die Einsamkeit,” from *The Other Mozart: Franz Xaver Mozart, The Songs*, recording by Barbara Bonney and Malcolm Martineau, B0005505–02 (Decca, 2005).

in 1810, young Mozart complained that it was difficult for him to compose music in the lonely provincial circumstances: "The sad and lonely life that I must lead here dulls my sensibility so much that I must often torment myself for an entire day in order to bring forth the smallest trifle." He attributed this creative block to the misfortune of living in Galicia. "As an artist I will profit little in a village, in a land where I am perhaps the first in my profession," he wrote to his brother. "If you consider this exaggeration or vanity, I would ask you to come here yourself and become convinced."²¹ The aspiring composer thus found in Galicia the domain where he might consider himself unrivaled, the first among musicians, truly his father's heir, but only within the provincial Galician limits.

In 1811 he left his position with Baworowski's family and moved into the city of Lviv, where he would remain until 1818 and would return for much of his later life. While Napoleon invaded Russia, was compelled to retreat, and was finally defeated at Leipzig and Waterloo, young Mozart gave music lessons in Lviv and followed world affairs from the Galician perspective. He lived as music master with the Janiszewski family and probably gave lessons to the grandest Polish aristocrats, like the Czartoryski family. He was also particularly involved with the Habsburg bureaucratic family of Baroni-Cavalcabó, giving lessons to the daughter of the family, Julie, and possibly becoming romantically involved with the mistress of the house, Josephine. While his lover in Lviv may have been the wife of a Habsburg bureaucrat, the musician's patrons and friends there certainly included Poles. In 1811 he recommended to his musical publishers, Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig, music composed by his Lviv "friends" Lipiński and Kaszkowski.²² The former was probably Karol Lipiński, who would go on to become one of the most famous violinists in Europe; the latter might have been the violinist and composer Joachim Kaczkowski, his last name perhaps misspelled. In any event, such names strongly suggest that young Mozart moved easily in Polish social circles in Lviv. His recommendation of Polish friends to his German publisher corresponded to the cultural rapprochement that Hann sought to advance in 1812 with his literary almanac.

Young Mozart wrote to Breitkopf & Härtel in 1816 to acknowledge receipt of some pieces of his music that he had ordered back in 1814: "The day before yesterday I finally received my so long awaited polonaises."²³ He believed he would find a market in Lviv for these specifically Polish dances, probably the six "polonaises mélancoliques," for the piano, numbered as opus 17 among the composer's works. Furthermore, since he was already requesting copies in 1814 they must have been completed in the preceding period, that is, during the culmination and collapse of the Napoleonic campaigns between 1812 and 1814, as Polish hopes were raised to the point of national ecstasy and then dashed by the disaster

21. Hummel, *Mozarts Söhne*, 68 (letter from F. X. W. Mozart, 22 November 1810).

22. *Ibid.*, 68–72 (letters from F. X. W. Mozart, 20 February 1811, 22 June 1811, 22 August 1812); see also 280–81.

23. *Ibid.*, 74 (letter from F. X. W. Mozart, 6 September 1816).

of the Grande Armée. Young Mozart, Viennese by birth and German by language, was nevertheless sufficiently touched by the Polish context of Galicia to invest his obstructed creativity in the composition of six polonaises. He would compose four more by 1820, dedicated to the countess Rzewuska, and two more by 1823, dedicated to the countess Głogowska.²⁴ In the 1830s it would be Frédéric Chopin who would transform the polonaise through his creative genius, infusing the dance with the spirit of musical Romanticism and the passion of Polish nationalism.

In 1818, young Mozart took leave of Lviv, preparing to set out on an extended tour. He gave a farewell concert in Lviv, playing a piano concerto he himself had composed, as well as some of his father's music: the overture to *Così fan tutte*, and the finale from the same opera buffa.²⁵ In the finale of *Così fan tutte* Ferrando and Guglielmo, who have disguised themselves to court each other's lovers and test their fidelity, pretend to return from combat in war and surprise the unfaithful Fiordiligi and Dorabella. In the opera, there was no real war, and the heroes were only pretending to have been summoned to the army. In Lviv in 1818, however, the Napoleonic wars had ended only three years earlier. Just recently, soldiers of the Franco-Galician army had indeed returned home to faithful or unfaithful wives or lovers. The finale of *Così fan tutte* fit the spirit of peacetime in Metternich's Galicia, precisely because the opera made military service into a merely fictive pretext for romantic comedy. The soldiers returned from a war that had never really happened.

In 1825 Fredro looked back to the age of the Napoleonic wars for the setting of his comedy *Damy i Huzary* (Ladies and hussars). The hussars of the title, including a major, a captain, and a young lieutenant, are all on leave, on a Galician estate in the country, and, though the drama is set in wartime, the war itself is remote from the dramatic action. The only action the soldiers see is the "invasion" of their masculine company by a party of ladies, the major's sisters, intent upon "capturing" one or more of the men for the purpose of marriage.²⁶ Fredro, though he himself had fought in the Napoleonic wars and experienced the bloody intensity of combat, nevertheless took the extreme dramatic liberty of representing those wars in the spirit of domestic comedy.

The ladies' plan is to marry off the old major to his young niece, who has acquired the charming accomplishment of singing Rossini arias, though she might, in fact, have been taking piano lessons with Franz Xaver Wolfgang Mozart in Lviv. In the end she marries the young lieutenant, and the old major declares that military operations are thus complete: "Let it be enough for you ladies that you conquered hussars, that they were forced to capitulate and surrender one of their number to you in slavery."²⁷ Though these hussars could conceivably be counted among Fredro's own "Franco-

24. Ibid., 316–17; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Sohn, *12 Polonaisen für Klavier*, ed. Joachim Draheim (Heidelberg, 1980).

25. Hummel, *Mozart's Söhne*, 75–76.

26. Fredro, *Ladies and Hussars*, in Fredro, *The Major Comedies of Alexander Fredro*, ed. and trans. Harold B. Segel (Princeton, 1969), 123–24.

27. Ibid., 184.

Galician” troops, Napoleon’s name is never mentioned in the play. In 1825, of course, any troops to be found in Galicia would have been wearing the Habsburg uniform, and a comedy performed at the height of the Metternich era in Galicia could not have been permitted to pose the political problem of alienated military loyalties. Looking back to a historical moment when Metternich himself was uncertain about the future of Galicia, Fredro infused some of that spirit of uncertainty into the retrospectively comic scenario of Galicia in wartime.

The non-national representation of the Napoleonic wars—wars that Fredro himself had actually experienced in the spirit of teenage Polish nationalism—reflected his adaptation to Metternich’s Galicia and, at the same time, perhaps just a hint of the possible subversion strategically implicit in the ambiguous Galician circumstances. Fredro and Mozart began the nineteenth century from radically different teenage perspectives, the Polish Napoleonic warrior despising Galician Germans and the visiting Viennese musician expressing supreme contempt for all things Polish Galician. Yet, by the time the wars were over, a certain Galician convergence had occurred between these two figures, as they aged into their twenties and thirties, and into their respective Galician lives. As Galician Pole and Galician German, Fredro and Mozart had something Galician in common, and probably even had common friends and acquaintances in the city they called Lwów or Lemberg. Fredro’s youthful Polish militancy had inevitably given way to Habsburg loyalism within the postwar Galician status quo, while Mozart’s youthful Viennese contempt had mellowed into a more mature adaptation to the postwar situation of a Galician German. Being Galician was a common condition, albeit with definitely divergent modulations, that held meaning for them both in the Metternich era, when Galician hussars were not at war and Galician ladies were taking piano lessons.

To Make True Galicians

In April 1815, while the Congress of Vienna was in session and the diplomats tensely awaited the military outcome of Napoleon’s Hundred Days, Metternich met with Peter Goess, the Habsburg governor of Galicia, in the Austrian capital. Goess proposed “political and administrative regulations in order to confirm more and more the dependence of the Galicians on the Austrian imperial state.”²⁸ Yet, Metternich and Goess were also puzzling over the mingled Polish and German aspects of the province. Metternich appreciated the power of potentially national identities and would spend the next generation trying to deemphasize and even suppress them wherever possible in the Habsburg monarchy. In 1815 Metternich reflected on the issue of identity in Galicia.

28. Arthur Haas, *Metternich: Reorganization and Nationality, 1813–1818: A Story of Foresight and Frustration in the Rebuilding of the Austrian Empire* (Wiesbaden, 1963), 167 (“Vortrag des Fürsten Metternich an Kaiser Franz über die Situation in Galizien,” 18 April 1815).

Concerning political applications Count Goess very rightly remarks that the tendency must principally be: not to make Poles into Germans all at once, but above all first to make true Galicians [*ächte Gallizier zu machen*], since only through this course of stages [*Stuffengang*] can one hope to achieve the ultimate goal [*Endzweck*], and any other conduct by the government would not only lead away from it, but could become at the present moment even dangerous.²⁹

Metternich regarded national identity as potentially dangerous, but he was also sensitive to its possible plasticity. “True Galicians” could be “made” by means of government policy, but Poles could not be pressured to submit to the radical metamorphosis of becoming Germans without risk of a dangerous reaction. The imperfect intermediary Galician identity was in fact ideally adapted to the political circumstance of submission to the Habsburg monarchy. The invention of Galicia in the eighteenth century called for the invention of Galicians in the nineteenth century.

For Metternich the crucial object of Habsburg government policy had to be “to win over the souls of the Galicians” (*die Gemüther der Gallizier zu gewinnen*).³⁰ They had to be won over to the Habsburg government, but also, since they were still Galicians in the making, won over to being Galician. The emphasis on *Gemüther* made it very clear that Metternich understood this to be a matter of interior conversion and metamorphosis, a matter of identity.

In 1817 Galicia received a visit from Emperor Franz. In that same year, the condition of post-Napoleonic Galicia took shape with the reform of the Galician Sejm, the refounding of the university in Lviv, and the establishment in that city of the Ossolineum library. The existence of a Sejm or Diet for Galicia, dating back to the reign of Joseph, served to imply that Galicia was a historic Habsburg province with historic political prerogatives.³¹ The university in Lviv, also first established by Joseph, was described with some condescension in the German account of Franz Kratter in the 1780s: “The university in Lemberg is still an infant [*Wiegenkind*] that needs careful, attentive, motherly nursing.”³² Demoted to lyceum status in 1805, the university was reestablished in 1817, still a German-language university. In the spirit of Metternich’s readiness to win over the Galicians, however, the government conceded the possibility of a chair in Polish language and literature.³³

At this same time, the Galician city of Przemyśl became an important place for the intersection of Ruthenian and Polish intellectual life. The Society of Greek Catholic Priests in Galicia, established in Przemyśl in

29. *Ibid.*, 167–68.

30. *Ibid.*, 168–69.

31. Stanisław Grodziski, *Historia ustroju społeczno-politycznego Galicji 1772–1848* (Wrocław, 1971), 149–50; Maner, *Galizien*, 61–67.

32. [Franz Kratter], *Briefe über den itzigen Zustand von Galizien*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1786; reprint, Berlin, 1990), 1:88–89.

33. Jan Kozik, *The Ukrainian National Movement in Galicia, 1815–1849*, trans. Andrew Gorski and Lawrence Orton (Edmonton, 1986), 32.

1816, mobilized Uniate clergymen on behalf of religious education in Galicia in the Ruthenian language. The official approval of Ruthenian in 1818 for some limited use in school instruction stimulated the writing of basic texts in the language. The Society of Greek Catholic Priests, according to historian Jan Kozik, was committed to “fostering patriotism and loyalty to the Austrian dynasty” and was closely connected to Ruthenian intellectual life in Vienna at the Barbaraeum seminary, constituting a kind of “Vienna-Przemyśl circle.” Ivan Snihursky had been the pastor of St. Barbara’s in Vienna before becoming the Greek Catholic bishop of Przemyśl in 1818. Ivan Lavrovsky, on the other hand, moved from the Greek Catholic seminary in Lviv to the lyceum in Przemyśl, applying a part of his linguistic passion to the distinctively Galician labor of compiling a Ruthenian-Polish-German dictionary. Both Snihursky and Lavrovsky also assembled significant library collections in Przemyśl.³⁴

The Polish literary scholar and collector Józef Maksymilian Ossoliński was, at the same time, preparing to move his personal library from Vienna to Lviv. Although he was very much involved in the Viennese arrangements for the university in Lviv and particularly committed to the chair of Polish, he was sufficiently comfortable with Habsburg rule to have a residence in Vienna. Great bibliophile that he was, Ossoliński amassed his tremendous collection in the Austrian capital and made books and manuscripts available to Polish students there, but the library was ultimately intended for Lviv. In 1809 Ossoliński received a note from Emperor Franz expressing pleasure and satisfaction at the project of “a national library for Galicia.” The emperor offered “the gratitude of the fatherland for your beneficent effort to enhance its intellectual culture.”³⁵ The notion of a “national” library for Galicia suggested that, in the emperor’s mind at least, Galicia might constitute a kind of nation.

With the coming of peace in 1815, Ossoliński himself, at the age of sixty-seven, was intent upon establishing the library and wrote to a friend in Lviv, “I care about this library as if I were giving in marriage an only daughter, whom I would not want to leave behind to a chance destiny.”³⁶ The Ossolineum library, which was, in some sense, the daughter of the union between his Polish culture and his Viennese collecting, was to be purposefully settled in Galicia. In 1817, Ossoliński wrote to the Roman Catholic archbishop of Lviv and primate of Galicia, Andrzej Ankwicz, discussing the library as well as Emperor Franz’s recently concluded visit to Galicia: “I am immensely delighted that our good monarch convinced himself with his own eyes that our nation only needs to see the proofs of his good wishes and paternal feeling in order to become inflamed with

34. Ibid., 54–58; Stanisław Stepień, “Borderland City: Przemyśl and the Ruthenian National Awakening in Galicia,” in Christopher Hann and Paul Robert Magocsi, eds., *Galicia: A Multicultural Land* (Toronto, 2005), 55–60.

35. Władysława Jabłońska, ed., *Korespondencja Józefa Maksymiliana Ossolińskiego* (Wrocław, 1975), 188 (letter from Kaiser Franz, 23 February 1809); Władysława Jabłońska, *Józef Maksymilian Ossoliński: Szkic biograficzny* (Wrocław, 1967), 66–67.

36. Jabłońska, ed., *Korespondencja Józefa Maksymiliana Ossolińskiego*, 220–23 (letter from Ossoliński, 19 November 1815).

the most lively affection for him.”³⁷ Ossoliński thus offered an unabashedly Galician conception of what it meant to be Polish at the beginning of the nineteenth century. What the nation most needed was to have its non-national attachment to the Habsburg monarch stoked and stroked, beyond mere loyalty to flaming affection.

From Vienna Ossoliński played a prominent part in the renewal of Galician cultural life in the aftermath of the Napoleonic wars, and he was honored in 1817 both with a Viennese decoration as a knight of the Order of St. Stephen and with a Galician title as a marshal of the Kingdom of Galicia. In December Ossoliński received congratulations on both honors as well as end-of-year greetings and warm wishes, in German, from Joseph Mauss, professor of history at the university in Lviv. Mauss offered a particular New Year’s wish for Galicia itself: “For the new year I wish for our Galicia that its great ones, in possession of great properties and much gold, may, in spending it, consider and imitate more and more the example of the numerous wise ones of today and yesterday.”³⁸ Mauss further suggested that Ossoliński was a model of “national wisdom” (*Nationalweisheit*)—but what was the nation to which Mauss alluded? Clearly, in this New Year’s wish for Galicia, Mauss must have envisioned Ossoliński in relation to some sort of Galician nation.

Mauss, while stressing the importance of mutually appreciative cultural relations between Poles and Germans, also associated his own perspective more broadly “with the good people of the land and with the best people among my listeners of all three tongues [*aller drei Zungen*].” With this allusion the Galician drama of Polish-German relations was alternately conceived as a three-cornered affair, and though the third tongue was not named, Ossoliński would have certainly understood the reference to the Ruthenian language. To the extent that it was possible to think nationally about Galicia, it was necessary to envision the convergence of several languages and traditions, which Mauss proposed to Ossoliński as a matter of reciprocal literary appreciation: “Provocations and spitefulness, which only separate, and therefore hinder the two sides from achieving the common good, are to be left only for the masses. The intellectuals, however, love one another, build together a common heaven, and honor each other eternally.”³⁹ Mauss’s almost messianic New Year’s fantasy envisioned Galicia as heaven itself, at least for the intellectuals, and the temple of the new religion of brotherly love was to be none other than Ossoliński’s library: “Parnassus Ossolinus.” Mauss’s own contribution was to be an epic history of Galicia, and he reported that he had reached the year 1347.⁴⁰ He was thus busy appropriating the history of medieval Halych in order to explain modern Galicia’s present and was working to forge historical continuity from the reign of Casimir the Great to the reign of Maria Theresa. Such an affirmation of Galicia’s meaningful coherence as a provincial en-

37. *Ibid.*, 253–54 (letter from Ossoliński, 30 August 1817).

38. *Ibid.*, 264 (letter from Joseph Mauss, 29 December 1817).

39. *Ibid.*, 264–66.

40. *Ibid.*, 267.

tity involved, not only an interpretation of the historical past, but also a vision of the utopian future in which Mauss imagined the rites of Polish-German mutual love being celebrated at the Parnassus Ossolinus—and Metternich imagined the remaking of Poles into Galicians.

I Will Sing the Carpathians

In 1821 the journal *Pamiętnik Galicyjski* appeared in Lviv, as a “journal dedicated to the history, literature, and industry of the country,” self-consciously seeking to give expression to the distinctive concerns of Galicia. The editors explained the journal’s particular purpose:

Entering into the publication of a new journal we feel the full importance of the obligation placed upon us. The editors of a periodical journal are in some sense interpreters of the public opinion of their own country [*swojego kraju*]. . . . The conferring of the new title upon our journal has no other purpose than to make the journal national. In Poland and in Lithuania various journals are coming out that are occupied mostly with matters of their own countries [*swoich krajów*]; likewise therefore we also wish to be occupied with our country, till now not completely known.⁴¹

To “know” Galicia was a scientific and cultural enterprise, as in Willibald Besser’s Galician botany, *Primitivae Floriae Galiciae Austriacae Utriusque*, published in 1809, which treated the province as the natural and legitimate object of comprehensive knowledge.⁴² The editors of *Pamiętnik Galicyjski* made the same assumption as they focused on their “country” (*kraj*) Galicia, which perhaps even possessed a “national” aspect.

In 1821 *Pamiętnik Galicyjski* published a long Polish poem by Stanisław Jaszowski about the Carpathian mountains, Galicia’s most prominent topographical feature. Jaszowski commenced in the epic spirit: “Śpiewać będę Karpaty. . .” (I will sing the Carpathians . . .).⁴³ In another article in 1821 the journal offered its readers “Fragments toward a History of the Jewish People in Europe,” considering especially Jewish history as a case study in national identity. The large Jewish population of Galicia guaranteed that every Galician reader would have some familiarity with Jews.

The Jewish people, even in dispersal, has so steadily preserved the unefaced stamp of nationality [*niezatarte piętno narodowości*], a special kind of existence, a completely singular relation. Thus, they may share with us the common protection of the law and the advantages brought to Europe by the progress of enlightenment, the growth of industry, and the improvement of education, but they preserve all the marks of an individual tribe. Ultimately, there is the constant resistance that governments today experience, resistance to the assimilation of this people with regard

41. *Pamiętnik Galicyjski*, vol. 1 (July, August, September 1821) (Lviv, 1821): 3–4.

42. Willibald Swibert Besser, *Primitivae Floriae Galiciae Austriacae Utriusque*, pts. 1 and 2 (Vienna, 1809); copy conserved in Czartoryski Library, Kraków.

43. Stanisław Jaszowski, “Karpaty,” *Pamiętnik Galicyjski*, vol. 1 (July, August, September 1821): 140.

to various forms, resistance to the imposition of equal obligations, resistance to a closer unification through the bonds of a common fatherland and common destinies.⁴⁴

From a provincial Galician perspective, or from a Habsburg imperial perspective, the persistent national individuality of the Jews could be seen as an obstacle to the state concerns of forming a common fatherland. At the same time, from a nationally Polish perspective the Jewish resistance to assimilation might have appeared as an inspirational example of the resistance that Poles might hope to sustain in the face of foreign rule in Russia, Prussia, and even Austria. If Metternich believed that identity was plastic—that, for instance, the inhabitants of Galicia could be made into Galicians—the example of the Jews suggested a less tractable model of identity.

The Jews of Galicia had been pressed toward some degree of assimilation ever since the reign of Joseph II, who limited economic leasing by Galician Jews, encouraged them to practice agriculture, extended to them some measure of religious toleration, assigned to them German surnames, and encouraged a system of German education. In the Josephine decade of the 1780s Franz Kratter, in his *Letters about the Present Situation of Galicia*, had envisioned that the Galician Jews would find in Galicia a new “promised land,” as “brothers of their fellow men” and “patriots in the bosom of the fatherland.”⁴⁵ During and after the Napoleonic wars, the Jewish enlightened movement, the Haskalah, pursued some of these same concerns, creating modern German schools in Tarnopol in 1813 and Brody in 1815. Important in this educational enterprise was the enlightened writer Joseph Perl of Tarnopol, who wrote a text in German against Hasidism in 1816 and then a novel in Hebrew, *Revealer of Secrets*, satirizing Hasidism, which was published in Vienna in 1819.⁴⁶ Traditional Jewish identity in Galicia was thus contested in the early nineteenth century, even as *Pamiętnik Galicyjski*, in 1821, suggested that it was tenaciously impervious to change. This issue of constancy, whether of loyalty to the Habsburg emperor or of fidelity to religious or national identity, was central to Galician concerns in an age when being Galician seemed to imply some sort of convergence or conciliation.

In 1822 Fredro’s *Mąż i Żona* (Husband and wife) was performed in Lviv, representing Galicians on stage in the first of his important comedies. Set

44. “Ułomki do historyi ludu żydowskiego w Europie,” *Pamiętnik Galicyjski*, vol. 2 (October, November, December 1821): 175–76.

45. [Kratter], *Briefe über den itzigen Zustand von Galizien*, 2:54 and 59; Stanisław Grodziski, “The Jewish Question in Galicia: The Reforms of Maria Theresa and Joseph II, 1772–1790,” in *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*, vol. 12, *Focusing on Galicia: Jews, Poles, and Ukrainians, 1772–1918*, eds. Israel Bartal and Antony Polonsky (London, 1999), 61–72; Wolff, “Inventing Galicia,” 824–28.

46. Israel Bartal and Antony Polonsky, “Introduction: The Jews of Galicia under the Habsburgs,” in *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*, vol. 12, *Focusing on Galicia*, 12–13; Michael Stanislawski, *A Murder in Lemberg: Politics, Religion, and Violence in Modern Jewish History* (Princeton, 2007), 16–17; Paul Robert Magocsi, *Galicia: A Historical Survey and Bibliographic Guide* (Toronto, 1983), 230.

in the home of Count Waclaw, in a town that is presumably Lviv itself, *Husband and Wife* depicts a society in which politics and economics have been displaced by idle boredom that provokes the characters to compulsive romantic infidelity. Waclaw's wife Elvira is unfaithful to him with her lover Alfred, while both men are also involved with Elvira's servant Justysia. Thus every one of the four characters in the play is romantically involved with every other one of the opposite sex, so that the drama seems to propose a sort of law of maximal and universal heterosexual infidelity based on the supreme volatility and fragility of human love. Though the drama ends with the servant girl banished to a convent, and with husband and wife reconciled after the mutual begging and granting of pardon, Fredro's devastating vision of marriage—at least as cynical as *Così fan tutte*—could not be dramatically evaded by the happy ending. Fredro, in his memoirs of Metternich's Galicia, would declare that “the domestic happiness of the Pole [*szczęście domowe Polaka*] is at present a flowering oasis in the Sahara desert,” the only refuge from the barren prospect of post-Napoleonic political life.⁴⁷ Yet, in *Husband and Wife* he implied that domestic happiness was so unstable as to be almost unattainable, that the oasis was a mirage.

In 1822, in Vilnius, within the Russian empire, Adam Mickiewicz published his *Ballads and Romances*, the opening salvo of Polish Romanticism. The poem whose title summed up the whole movement, “Romantyczność,” was exactly contemporary with Fredro's *Husband and Wife*, composed in 1821, appearing before the public in 1822. The subject of the Mickiewicz poem was a girl at her lover's grave, faithful to him even beyond death. The spirit of Polish Romanticism permitted contemporaries to appreciate the masked political implications of such fidelity, suggesting the possibility of loyalty to Poland itself beyond the grave of the partitions. If the political interpretation of romantic fidelity in the poetry of Mickiewicz was meaningful in the context of Russian Poland, then it should also be possible to consider the political meaning of infidelity in Fredro's drama in the context of Habsburg Poland.

Metternich's Galicia was founded on the condition of “uncertainty” that hovered over the province from the moment of the Napoleonic crisis: the uncertainty of Habsburg possession, the uncertainty of Galician identity, the uncertainty of Polish allegiance. Fredro himself experienced precisely such uncertainty in his own life as he passed from Napoleonic commitment to Galician resignation. His drama of infidelity, *Husband and Wife*, hardly seems intended as a moral lesson in the evils of inconstancy, but rather appears as an appreciation of the dynamics of infidelity, an acknowledgment of the universal principle of inconstancy that constitutes the comedy of domestic life. In *Husband and Wife* every romantic passion is inconstant, tenuous, and volatile, like the political loyalties of Fredro's contemporaries who lived through the Napoleonic age and into the era of Metternich's Galicia. The institution of marriage might cloak, but could never banish, the wayward impulses of the unfaithful heart, just as the inescapable political reality of Habsburg rule might dominate, but could

47. Fredro, *Sans queue ni tête*, 202; Fredro, *Trzy po trzy*, 210.

never resolve, the volatile mix of sentimental uncertainties and ambivalent identities at play in Galicia.

In the first scene of *Husband and Wife* the audience learns of the adulterous romance between Elvira and Alfred. When Waclaw comes home early, Alfred hastily departs, and Elvira hurriedly takes up her sewing.

WACLAW: [Standing in front of Elvira] How is it that at least once a year you don't go out? Once in a while you should show yourself in the world. You're always at home; I always see you alone.

ELVIRA: I like to be alone [*Lubię samotność*].⁴⁸

Fredro, after traveling far and wide in the Napoleonic wars, as far east as Moscow, as far west as Paris, stayed at home in Galicia after the wars were over, found refuge in the domestic oasis, and wrote comedies. Yet, the renunciation of the world was something deceptive in the Galician condition, and, as every member of the audience knew, Elvira was deeply involved in worldly intrigue without leaving home at all. Fredro's comprehensive vision of ambivalent infidelities and fluctuating disloyalties suggested the dramatic uncertainties underlying the domestic oasis of purposefully cultivated solitude in Metternich's Galicia.

Gin-Li-Kia-Bo-Bu, a Chinese Mandarin

Metternich himself came to Galicia in 1823, on the way to Czernowitz in Bukovina where Kaiser Franz was to meet with Tsar Alexander, as conservative pillars of the Holy Alliance, to discuss the manifestations of revolution in Naples, Spain, and Greece. Metternich wrote to his wife from Rzeszów in Galicia on 25 September: "The country is quite different from how I had imagined it. It is very beautiful and well cultivated. The entry into Galicia is very mountainous and resembles Upper Austria; then comes the plain, but it is varied, wooded, and very beautiful. What spoils the country [*ce qui gâte le pays*] is encountering Jews at every step. One sees only them, and they swarm [*ils pullulent*]."⁴⁹ The persistence of Jewish identity, the visible and recognizable distinctiveness of the Jews of Galicia, was evidently disturbing to Metternich. He professed to be surprised both by the presence of the Jews and by the cultivation of the land, though he had long presided over the Habsburg monarchy from Vienna, and there was every reason for him to have known and expected these circumstances. His conception of Galicia rested upon the premise of his own supreme judgment, calculating the positives and the negatives, the surprises and the disappointments, and ultimately evaluating the province from the perspective of the metropolis.

Metternich was in Lviv on 28 September, but travel had taken a toll on the statesman who now collapsed in bed with what was diagnosed as rheumatic fever. His illness would prevent him from continuing his voy-

48. Fredro, *Husband and Wife*, in Fredro, *Major Comedies*, 75.

49. Metternich, *Mémoires, documents, et écrits divers*, ed. Richard de Metternich, part 2 (1816–1848) (Paris, 1881), 4:15 (letter of 25 September 1823).

age and from being present at the meeting of the sovereigns. "Imagine my moral situation!" he exclaimed. "In bed in Lemberg, with the two emperors tête à tête in Czernowitz."⁵⁰ The future of Europe was in jeopardy—Metternich supposed with characteristic arrogance—because he himself was too sick to travel.

Under these circumstances Metternich was unlikely to form a favorable impression of Lviv, though he claimed to pity the poverty of the inhabitants: "One must not make fun of such unfortunate people [*se moquer de gens aussi malheureux*]."⁵¹ Even from his sickbed, Galicia appeared to him as an object of ridicule. "I thank you very much for the oranges that you had the inspiration to send me," Metternich wrote his wife on 17 October. "It would have been impossible for me to procure them here. It is not in this land here that the lemon trees bloom."⁵² Johann Wolfgang von Goethe had celebrated Italy in verse as the land where the lemon trees bloom: "Kennst du das Land, wo die Zitronen blühn?" Metternich now made Goethe's poem into the occasion for sarcasm at the expense of Galicia, which, given its geographical situation, could hardly have been expected to enjoy a Mediterranean climate. "Kennst du das Land?" (Do you know the land?) could have been the motto of the metropolitan chancellor coming to see for himself the province over which he ruled. For knowledge confirmed the mastery of imperial power, especially since knowing Galicia was an exercise in disappointment and disparagement.

On 21 October Metternich was well enough to be taken on a tour of Lviv, but he was resolutely unimpressed: "The city is half beautiful and half ugly. A lot of houses are better constructed than those of Vienna, for they have architecture. Then come stretches, either empty or encumbered with barracks. The Orient begins to reveal itself."⁵³ Metternich, who famously remarked that the Orient began at the Landstrasse leading out of Vienna, revealed in Lviv that his mental geography was firmly grounded in the Enlightenment's idea of "Eastern Europe," conceived as an intermediary zone between Europe and the Orient, between civilization and barbarism.⁵⁴

On 30 October Metternich exulted in having finally left Galicia behind him, and he permitted himself to generalize about the province as a whole.

My dear, here I am in Moravia, that is, in a civilized country [*un pays civilisé*], and at a distance from Vienna that the courier will cross in thirty hours. I have never seen anything as striking as the passage from Galicia into Moravia. The land is the same, and very beautiful on the one side as on the other; but the first village on this side gives the impression of being finally inhabited by humans. No more rags; the houses are clean and the inhabitants well covered; no more Jews, no more mange, no more scurf, no more misery or death.⁵⁵

50. Ibid., 4:16 and 19 (letters of 28 September, 17 October 1823).

51. Ibid., 4:16–17 (letter of 29 September 1823).

52. Ibid., 4:19 (letter of 17 October 1823).

53. Ibid., 4: 20–21 (letter of 21 October 1823).

54. Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 356–61.

55. Metternich, *Mémoires*, part 2 (1816–1848), 4:23 (letter of 30 October 1823).

Though he had spent most of his time in Lviv in bed, Metternich felt that he now knew Galicia well enough to generalize about its provincial character. After the frustrating month of October 1823, Galicia received his unambivalent contempt, expressed in the name of civilization, a judgment that also vindicated Habsburg imperial rule.

Gazeta Lwowska in the 1820s was shaped by the restrictions of bureaucratic absolutism and Metternich's censorship. The newspaper gave lots of space to government edicts, in German and Polish, printed not as news but as pronouncements: *Ankündigung*, *Obwieszczenie*. In February 1825 the newspaper, typically, reported on the birthday celebrations of Emperor Franz, already a kind of invented tradition in the province. From all over the province, Galicians gathered in Lviv, united in "one spirit of joy, one rapture, and the most sincere attachment to the sanctified person of the best of monarchs." The day began at ten o'clock with artillery salvos, followed by a parade, culminating in a church ceremony with the singing of hymns in honor of the emperor. In the evening the town was illuminated, and there were incessant cries of "Niech żyje Franciszek!" (Long live Franz!).⁵⁶

The appointment in 1826 of Prince August Lobkovic, a Bohemian nobleman, as Habsburg governor of Galicia, was attentively studied by the Galician nobility who hoped to discover sympathetic intimations of imperial favor for the province. Ossoliński in Vienna, now almost eighty, in the last year of his life, wrote to Lobkovic immediately in German, soliciting his support for the library that had been established in Lviv in 1817.⁵⁷ Fredro, also appealing to the solidarity of the Habsburg nobility, sent Lobkovic the gift of a live Galician bear. The dramatist wrote to Lobkovic in French: "Mon Prince! I hasten to send to Your Highness a bear from the Beskidy mountains, that I have just received from my brother Julian. The pious and loyal physiognomy promises much, and it is to be supposed that cubs will find in him a worthy preceptor. I believe that it would be well to be reassured for the future by the Italian manner of his sweetness and of his good conduct; there may thus also exist among his numerous talents that of singing."⁵⁸ Hailing from the Beskidy range of the Carpathians, the bear would have handsomely represented Galician wildlife, and Fredro's humorous presentation may have also sought to represent an inward aspect of Galicia. The bear's "pious and loyal physiognomy" seemed to suggest something about the population of the province, seemed to offer a promise of "good conduct." As for singing, the Galicians were already singing hymns of loyalty to the Habsburg emperor on his birthday.

Galicia remained loyal to the Habsburgs during the governorship of Lobkovic, though these were years during which loyalty was notably tested by the explosive example of insurrection and war against Russia in the Congress Kingdom of Russian Poland during 1830–1831. Suddenly Gali-

56. *Gazeta Lwowska*, 11 March 1825.

57. Jabłońska, ed., *Korespondencja Józefa Maksymiliana Ossolińskiego*, 474 (letter from Ossoliński, 6 March 1826).

58. Fredro, *Korespondencja*, ed. Krystyna Czajkowska, *Pisma Wszystkie* (Warsaw, 1976), 14:72–73 (letter from Fredro, undated).

cians were given a glimpse of an alternate physiognomy that was anything but pious and loyal. Lobkovic was sufficiently sympathetic to Polish aspirations to permit some insurrectionaries to take refuge in Galicia after their defeat in 1831, and this indulgence was one reason he was dismissed as governor in 1832.

Lobkovic was replaced by a member of the Habsburg imperial family, Archduke Ferdinand d'Este, who was more conservatively inclined. At the beginning of 1832, Fredro wrote to a friend expressing political distress at the crushing of the insurrection in Russian Poland. Even the oasis of domestic happiness was insufficient to assuage his political pangs altogether: "I have a good wife, I have a little boy, I have books, and a peaceful home: in a word, I would be happy if I were not a Pole. When I have to write, how gladly I would sign myself today: Gin-Li-Kia-Bo-Bu, a Chinese Mandarin."⁵⁹ Paradoxically, it was Fredro's national sense of Polishness, that is, his Polish disillusionment, that inspired the hypothetical effacement of nationality in favor of a new identity that was both wistfully comical and pointedly non-national. The nonsense syllables of this "Chinese" identity could not conceal its imperial meaning: for what was a Mandarin but an elite official in the service of the Chinese emperor? Metternich claimed to discover displeasing intimations of the Orient in Galicia, and Fredro pretended to assume a nonsensical oriental identity, but in both cases orientalism hinted at the dynamics of imperial power in a subject province.

Some Hidden Power

In 1833 Mickiewicz in Paris composed an epistle to the Galicians, the poet already as much an apostle as Paul addressing the Galatians. The question was how to organize on behalf of the Polish national cause in the aftermath of the failed insurrection of 1830–1831, and whereas St. Paul lectured the Galatians against circumcision, Mickiewicz warned the Galicians against excessive circumspection: "Internal activity ought to have for its goal the preparation and gathering of forces and means for a future insurrection." St. Paul warned the Galatians against Jewish influences on Christianity; Mickiewicz urged an inclusive project of Galician political activity: "Priest, count, peasant, and Jew are equally necessary to us." Furthermore, he encouraged the landed elite "to protect the clergy of every confession, having particularly in mind the Ruthenian clergy, being careful to avoid quarrels and legal cases with them."⁶⁰ Mickiewicz thus took into account the particular details of Galician ethnography, as he contemplated organizing on behalf of eventual Polish national independence. He was already looking ahead to the next insurrection.

Fredro, on the other hand, continued to write comedies. In 1832, the year that Lobkovic was dismissed, the year that Fredro himself wished he were a Chinese Mandarin, he saw the Lviv premiere of his comedy *Pan Jowialski*, featuring the most jovial of all possible Galician noblemen. Jowialski

59. Ibid., 77 (letter from Fredro, 2 January 1832).

60. Adam Mickiewicz, "Do przyjaciół Galicyjskich," *Pisma filomackie, pisma polityczne: Z lat 1832–1834* (Warsaw, 2000), 316–17.

makes everything into a joke, an occasion for the exercise of his eccentric humor. "One must not make fun of such unfortunate people," wrote Metternich about the Galicians, but Fredro dared to discover comedy in the Galician circumstances. In 1833 came the premiere of *Śluby panieńskie* (Maidens' vows), about two young women, Aniela and Klara, who, in a spirit of independence and idealism, resolve never to marry. In 1834 there was Fredro's *Zemsta* (Revenge), a comedy about the hatred between rival Polish noble families that ultimately ended in reconciliation, marked by a wedding. *Pan Tadeusz*, published by Mickiewicz the same year in Paris, also involved details of petty noble rivalries and also ended in reconciliation, though the message was distinctly more political, as the Poles enthusiastically joined together to celebrate Napoleon's invasion of Russia.

In 1835 the painter Piotr Michałowski returned from Paris to Kraków, the city of his birth. Michałowski was born in Kraków in 1800, born a subject of the Habsburg Emperor Franz in Galicia. Seven years younger than Fredro, Michałowski experienced the Napoleonic interlude not as a fighting teenager but as a fascinated child. In the 1830s, with his return to Kraków, soon followed by the assumption of responsibility for his family's Galician estate, Michałowski commenced upon a life dedicated simultaneously to the land and to his art. While he managed his estate as a Galician subject of the Habsburgs, his art, beginning around 1835, was more and more focused on painting the figure of Napoleon and scenes of Napoleonic warfare. Known for his particular ability to paint horses, Michałowski also represented mounted Habsburg hussars, but he kept returning to the historically dramatic figure of Napoleon on horseback (see, for example, figure 1). Like Fredro he could not escape from the shadow of the Franco-Galician moment.⁶¹

Fredro was born in 1793, one year after Franz came to the throne, and, though the future playwright fought for the Napoleonic cause, he spent both his childhood and the greatest years of his literary maturity in the 1820s and 1830s as the Galician subject of the Habsburg emperor. Franz died in 1835, and in that year Fredro completed what was perhaps his last great comedy, the strange and bitter *Dożywocie* (Life annuity), set in a town that was presumably Lviv. Metternich was utterly bored in Lviv, but Fredro's Galician hero Leon Birbancki—"Leon the Reveler"—enjoyed the town's diversions only too well and squandered his income on revels, on nightlife, and, especially, on gambling. That income came to him in the form of regular payments, an inherited life annuity, made to him from some estate. To pay his debts, he has to alienate his annuity, and the policy with its income falls into the hands of a nasty old miser, modeled on Molière's miser. The Lviv miser must therefore take an interest in protecting Leon from the medical consequences of his revelries, for fear that his premature death would cancel the annuity.

Leon's life becomes the miser's investment: "When I bought Leon Birbancki's life annuity I wanted someone clever who'd stay by him all the

61. Anna Zeńczak, "Piotr Michałowski: Sa vie, son oeuvre," in *Piotr Michałowski: Peintures et dessins* (Paris, 2004), 10–19; Jan Ostrowski, "Pomiędzy Paryżem i galicyjską prowincją," in *Piotr Michałowski 1800–1855* (Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, 2000), 15–31.



Figure 1. Piotr Michałowski, *Napoleon I* (prior to 1846).

Courtesy of Muzeum Narodowe, Kraków, Poland

time, someone who'd keep watch over his esteemed health, over his life." Leon is aware that he has become the object of some sort of protective surveillance but does not understand why.

For more than a year now some hidden power [*skryta władza*] that's always with me, guarding every step I take, helps me out of every trouble. When at public masquerades sometimes nasty brawls break out around me, I'm instantly surrounded by Harlequins and Doctors. If I'm somewhere and it's pouring, though I've said a word to no one, somehow a coach comes to fetch me. . . . Even when I come home late at night sometimes not so steady on my feet, someone's hung a lantern for me, or an arm comes out to help me.⁶²

Leon has the unsettling feeling of living under special surveillance, protection, guardianship, which is in fact a sort of supervised captivity, delicately administered to spare his sensibilities. Because he no longer owns his own life annuity and is, in some sense, no longer the master of his own life, his existence has become the parasitic object of someone else's financial interest.

62. Fredro, *The Life Annuity*, in Fredro, *Major Comedies*, 353 and 367; "Dożywocie," *Pisma Wszystkie*, ed. Stanisław Pigoń (Warsaw, 1956), 6:212 and 237.

Fredro, beyond the peculiar entertainment of the comedy, meant to satirize the miserly greed that pervaded modern life, and perhaps particularly the financial operations that deprived people of their natural independence. This hostility to finance was consistent with Fredro's conservative values as a member of the landed Galician gentry. Yet, Fredro was also the provincial subject of a great empire, and as Edward Said has suggested, modern European culture, including literary culture, was marked by the tensions and contradictions of imperial rule. The alienated life annuity functioned as a metaphor for imperial relations, inasmuch as provincial Galicia existed under imperial protection, and the imperial attention given to its problems and ailments was intended to benefit the empire as a whole and further the interests of the Habsburgs. They profited by preserving the province in good condition, deriving regular income in the form of taxes. Metternich, who was famous for making use of police surveillance in modern administration, was the minister who protected the Habsburg emperors' investment in Galicia. Franz was the ultimate possessor of the imperial annuity, which he laid down with his death in 1835, the year of *Life Annuity*.

That year also marked the end of Fredro's literary prime, for *Life Annuity* was the last of his great Galician comedies. Though he lived until 1876, and wrote more plays in the 1850s and 1860s, his most brilliant work belonged to the reign of Franz in the 1820s and 1830s. In 1835 Fredro was confronted with a fierce public denunciation. The poet and critic Seweryn Goszczyński, who had participated in the November insurrection and then taken refuge in Galicia, published "The New Epoch in Polish Poetry," a salute to Romanticism that included a scathing attack on Fredro. He was criticized for the Frenchness (*Francuszczyzna*) of his style—for his evident emulation of Molière—and, above all, for failing to create drama with nationally Polish qualities: "Comedy, written for the nation [*dla narodu*], should grasp and reveal the content of its life, from that perspective unique to the vocation, and on that everyone agrees who admits that comedy is not a childish toy but one of the most valiant means for the education and formation of the nation. That the comedies of Fredro do not correspond to that purpose, that they are non-national [*nienarodowe*], one may be convinced by reading them."⁶³ The denunciation was crushing to Fredro and virtually silenced him as a dramatist for twenty years.

The blow was all the more devastating for the important insights it contained. Though Goszczyński clearly failed to appreciate what made Fredro a great dramatist, labeling his work "non-national" was perfectly plausible in the Polish cultural context of Romanticism in the 1830s. Fredro, of course, considered himself a Pole, had fought for the Polish cause in the Napoleonic wars, and had sympathized with the Polish insurrection in 1830–1831—which left him in despair, wishing he were anything but a Pole. Yet, it was the non-national nature of Galician provincial life, muting nationality in the political conditions of Metternichian

63. Seweryn Goszczyński, "Nowa epoka poezji polskiej," in Zygmunt Wasilewski, ed., *Dzieła zbiorowe*, vol. 3, *Podróże i rozprawy literackie* (Lviv, 1911), 229.

absolutism, transcending nationality in the cultural spirit of Habsburg heterogeneity, that permitted Fredro to dramatize the comedy of the human condition. The tensions of Polish identity and the contradictions of Galician identity were sublimated in the comedy of irresistible marital infidelities, untenable maidens' vows, perversely insistent joviality, and the existential alienation produced by an alienated annuity. Galicia, as a geopolitical entity and administrative unit, would persist through the nineteenth century until the abolition of the Habsburg monarchy in 1918, but the accumulated meanings and constructed identities of the province remained unstable and uncertain, provincially paradoxical and imperially irreconcilable. The juxtaposition of Metternich's imperial policies and Fredro's provincial comedies suggest some of the ideological tensions of the culture of empire.