

Discursive practice in Bukovina textbooks: aspects of hegemony and subordination

Petrea Lindenbauer

1. Introduction

The conception of the nineteenth-century Habsburg Empire as multilingual society and state encompassing dominant and subordinate social groups of different languages underpins the present volume (cf. Rosita Schjerve-Rindler, Introduction, this volume). The aim of this paper is to explore the power relations between the Habsburg central power and the subordinate ethnic groups of the empire, and to examine how they manifested themselves in a wide range of public institutions in an interethnic context which was presumably characterised by diglossia. From this perspective, we will focus on one particular area of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the Bukovina, which today forms the north-eastern part of the state of Romania. Because of its position at the easternmost periphery of the huge Habsburg state and its high degree of multiethnicity, this region represented a unique historical setting for the interplay of language, social practices and hegemony manifesting themselves in a wide range of religious denominations and languages which were in contact in this area (cf. Chapter 2).

The concept of diglossia encompasses a number of factors that reflect the particular sociopolitical structure of a bi- and multilingual society. These include the interethnic relationships within a particular state, the functional distribution of languages in the various domains of public and private life, such as administration, religion, the judiciary, education, family life and neighbourhood, etc. and the valorisations ascribed to the individual languages, which operate in a hierarchical relation of High and Low Varieties. Moreover, the functional distribution of the languages can be viewed as an important indicator of the social status and prestige ascribed to the various speech communities within a state, correlating with these groups' access to power in a society. Thus, diglossia must always be viewed as an expression of asymmetrical power relations, in other words, as hegemony in the interaction of dominant and subordinate groups (cf. Rindler-Schjerve / Vetter, this volume).

Diglossic conditions and power relations in a multilingual society are discursively produced and reproduced (cf. Rindler-Schjerve/Vetter, this volume). Of particular interest in this respect are discourses which serve to construct and reconstruct specific mental schemata in these collectives which justify and legitimise existing relations of hegemony, presenting them as inevitable and natural. In consequence, state education in general and textbooks in particular are prime locations for the formation of such discourses which aim to perpetuate existing power relations as well as to reproduce them in compliance with the interests of the dominant group in a state.

Our analysis will focus on the discourse of textbooks and readers that developed in the Bukovina in the second half of the nineteenth century and whose reconstruction will allow us to throw light on the power relations which prevailed in this specific historical setting in this particular period. We will apply discourse-analytical and textsemantic procedures (cf. Chapter 6) to identify those discursive strategies which were instrumental in forming valorisations and identities that were to maintain the relation of hegemony between the Romanian ethnic group in the Bukovina and the central authorities in Vienna. Discourse-historical analysis of the data will be particularly effective in our case, as such an approach is much better suited to uncover diverse ideological presentations of political and cultural institutions and ethnic groups than a (purely) historiographical study.

2. The historical context of the Austrian Bukovina¹

Originally the Bukovina belonged to the historic province of Moldavia, which today forms part of Romania². By the terms of the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji of May 7, 1775, the Bukovina, or Upper Moldavia, as it was formerly called, became part of the Habsburg Empire and was ceded to the newly developed state of Romania only in 1918/1919 under the Peace Treaty of Saint-Germain³. By ceding the Bukovina, Moldavia lost the important

¹ If not stated otherwise, the dates of Bukovinan history are primarily taken from Ion Nistor's book, *Istoria Bucovinei* (The history of the Bukovina). Ion Nistor is a renowned historiographer, who focuses primarily on Romanian, South-Eastern European and general history, using documents of many different languages as his sources. A former Ph.D. candidate at the University of Vienna's history department, the author, who hails from the Bukovina, also uses those documents which are written from the perspective of the Habsburg occupying forces (cf. The preface of Nistor's work, *Istoria Bucovinei* 1991, V-XXXII). This is important to note, as there are numerous historical studies of Romanian history which are either biased or written with a particular ideological stance.

² Present-day Romania originated from 3 large historic provinces, Moldavia, Wallachia (also called Muntenia) and Transylvania (or Ardeal or Transilvanien) as well as the smaller historic territories Maramuresch and Dobrukscha. Of these principalities and regions, Transylvania in the West (from the 17th century onwards) and the Bukovina (from the end of the 17th century) came under the rule of the House of Habsburg

³ The first unification of the two large principalities Moldavia and Wallachia occurred in the years 1856-1859, in 1881 the Kingdom of Romania was proclaimed, in 1878 the Dobrukscha came under Romanian rule. The *Marea Unire*, the grand unification, i.e. the unification of all historic Romanian principalities and regions (the already unified principalities of Moldavia and

administrative unit of Czernowitz with the old capital city of Suceava, as well as the grave of Stephen the Great, one of the most important rulers and symbolic figures in Romanian history. Moreover, it lost one of its most prosperous and densely populated regions (cf. Pop 1998).

It can safely be assumed that Habsburg had a number of good reasons for annexing the Bukovina⁴. Geopolitically and strategically, the Bukovina was an important link between Habsburg-dominated Transylvania and Galicia⁵, which had already become a part of Austria in 1772. Moreover, the Bukovina was an important bridge-head which was crucial for Austria's aspirations to expansion towards the Black Sea. And finally, there were economic advantages, as the Bukovina was a rich agricultural region. Even before the annexation, a Habsburg representative, Karl Enzenberg, who was the commander of the 2nd Regiment, was ordered to investigate the opinions and attitudes of the Bukovinan population (cf. Nistor 1991:13). Almost at the same time, another representative, Baron Gabriel Spl'eny of Mihald, was commissioned to document the economic situation of the Bukovina. In his report dating from 1893 he described the economic 'wealth' of the area and meticulously recorded its products 'according to cultivation' [sic]: grain, fruit, vegetables and pulse, hay and pasture, products of cattle breeding, i.e. cows, oxen, sheep, horses, pigs, bees, products of the woods and the mountainous region, timber, game, mines, saltworks, minerals, oxen and cows, game, butter, suet, sheep and goats, wool, goatskin, sheep's milk cheese, goat cheese, horses, pigs, honey and wax etc (cf. Polek 1893: 57-88).

The period of Habsburg rule affected the political institutions in the Bukovina in a number of ways. The military occupation of the Bukovina, which began in 1774⁶, was followed by a military administration under Austrian generals, which lasted for several years (1775-1786). In 1786 the administrative unit Bukovina was officially joined to the administration of the Galician gubernium. While Galicia was already enjoying the status of an autonomous province under the Austrian constitution, the Bukovina was granted this status only in 1848, following the revolution.

Wallachia and Wallachia with Transylvania and the Bukovina) happened only after the collapse of the Habsburg Empire in 1918/1919

⁴ the designation *Bukovina* 'land of the beeches' was chosen by the Habsburgs for this region after the occupation and replaced the original Romanian name *Țara de Sus* [of Moldavia] (Upper Moldavia). Apparently the Habsburgs avoided designations which referred to historic cultural sites and thereby to Romanian history (such as Austrian Moldavia, The County of *Suceava*, etc.) (cf. Nistor 1991:15).

⁵ Here reference is made to the historic province of Galicia, situated between Poland and the Ukraine, which was incorporated into the Habsburg Empire under the name of Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria in the years 1772 - 1918

After the military annexation of the Bukovina and the official announcement of the new government through General Baron Gabriel Splény, the commander of the occupying forces, Habsburg assumed control and in the context of the military administration largely determined the issues in the fields of administration, law, church organisation, the school system and defence policy. Initially, the Bukovina was an administrative district (*Kreis*) with its own provincial office (*Kreisamt*) and two subordinate district offices (*Distriktsdirektorate*) in Czernowitz and Suceava. Habsburg mainly employed two strategies to change the internal structure of the Bukovina: the secularisation of church property and the foundation of a special fund of the Greek-Orthodox church (*Geistlicher Regierungsplan*), on the basis of which the emperor⁷ appointed the bishop of the Bukovina and reorganised the institutions of the Greek-Orthodox church. In the Greek-Orthodox diocese of Czernowitz, Romanian was the official language as well as the language used in worship, while German was the language for communication with the state authorities (Nistor 1991: 45-46).

The role of the Greek-Orthodox church in the Bukovina proved a significant indicator of the power struggle between the Romanian ethnic group and the central authorities. Initially, the Orthodox Church was granted full recognition and was able to act freely and publicly, but from 1786 Habsburg gradually attempted to gain more influence. To this end, the Austrian representation in the Bukovina intervened in the existing church structures and organisation, as has been noted earlier. General Enzenberg, for example, tried to establish a bishopric in Czernowitz which was oriented towards the Serbian Orthodox church of Karlovci. The Bukovinians, however, attempted to protect their ancient privileges and rights in religious matters, which they had enjoyed since the times of the Ottoman Empire and demanded to retain their autonomy in religious matters.

Between 1786 and 1848 the Galician gubernium – with Lemberg as its centre – had authority over the Bukovina. The *căpitanul cercului bucovinean*, or governor, resided in Czernowitz and was assisted by the two commissioners of the districts of Czernowitz and Suceava. Legal issues were either dealt with by the *Kreisvorsteher* or the district commissioner – members of the aristocracy had to appear before the forum nobilium in Lemberg/L'vov. The official language of the gubernium was German. For the administration of the Bukovina a translation agency was set up, which translated government directives, regulations, etc. from German into Romanian and even published these translations from the beginning of the 19th century

⁶ To be more precise, the Bukovina comprised the regions of Czernowitz and the larger part of Suceavas

onwards (cf. Nistor 1991: 53). This task was given to the Romanian philologist and law scholar, the author Ioan Budai-Deleanu, who himself was of Transylvanian origin⁸.

From about 1860 the political situation began to improve for the Bukovinan population - an improvement which lasted until the end of the Dual monarchy (1918). From 1860 there was a separate provincial parliament (*Landtag*), the province had its own statutes as well as its own coat-of-arms and flag. From 1848 the region's official designation was that of a duchy⁹. Before 1912, the Romanians constituted the absolute majority of delegates in the provincial parliament. The president of the provincial parliament (*capitamu tarii*) was always a member of the Romanian ethnic group. Representatives of the Bukovina were sent to the provincial government of Czernowitz and to the Parliament in Vienna. They were also part of an Austrian delegation (*Delegatiune*) which convened together with the Hungarian delegation every second year in Vienna and Budapest respectively. The Romanians were even represented in the *Casa magnatilor de la Viena*, the Magnates' Chamber in Vienna, by a metropolitan and a boyar, who held the title of Imperial Treasurer (cf. Nistor 1991: 1-6)

Looking at the ethnic and cultural composition of the Bukovina under Habsburg rule we can say that due to its geographical position, this region had apparently always been multiethnic and polyglossic in character (cf. Pop 1998:111-112), which continued throughout the Habsburg occupation (from 1774/1775) and up to the turn of the century (cf. Pop 1998:111-112). The region was characterised by ethnic, religious, linguistic and cultural diversity, in other words it was a polyglossic region *par excellence*. The ethnic groups of the Bukovina included Romanians, Ruthenians¹⁰, Hutzuls, Lippovianians, Germans, Poles, Hungarians, Slovaks, Armenians, Sinti and Roma, and Jews (cf. *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie* 1899, cf. Bodnarescu 1901:26-27, Weigand 1904:1-15). Moreover, there was a large number of different churches such as the Roman Catholic Church, the Greek Catholic Church, the Greek Orthodox Church, the Armenian Catholic Church, the Armenian Orthodox Church, Jews and Protestants (cf. Hugelmann 1934:724, cf. Weigand 1904:14-15, Bogza 1991).

⁷ The Emperor was now the supreme patron of the Orthodox Church in the Bukovina

⁸ Ioan Budai-Deleanu (ca. 1762-1820) had studied theology in Transylvania and law in Vienna

⁹ The Emperor now called himself *Duce-Duke of the Bukovina*.

¹⁰ The Ruthenians (Ukrainians), whose language belonged to the Slavic languages, inhabited Galicia, an area, which was between Poland and the Ukraine. For a detailed ethnographic description of the Ruthenians and their costumes, traditions, family life, festivities and customs, etc. cf. part 8 of the volume on the Bukovina: *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild*, 1899.

The statistics compiled by General Splény on imperial order show a large Romanian-speaking majority (11,099 Moldavian families, cf. Nistor 1991: 17-23). In addition, the 1779 census under General Enzenberg reveals the presence of colonists who had fled from Moldavia, Transylvania, Maramuresch¹¹, Pocutia, Galicia, etc. Among these colonists were craftsmen from Transylvania (millers, potters, wheelwrights, etc.), Ruthenian serfs¹², Lippovianians¹³, Slovaks, Armenians, Sinti and Roma, Jews from Galicia and Podolia and German speakers - among them craftsmen, artisans (e.g. in glass production, mining) and officials (cf. Nistor 1991: 17-23).

Prior to the annexation the political organisation of the region had been in the hands of the Romanian population. Of the ethnic minorities only the Jews and some members of the German-speaking group wielded a certain extent of political power, the former because of their involvement in financial matters, the latter because they occupied positions as civil servants. By and large, all these ethnic groups coexisted peacefully (cf. Nistor 1991:22). The language of the region was Romanian, or 'Moldavian', as it had been called by the local peasants before the annexation. Although a more detailed investigation of all the ethnic groups living in the Habsburg Bukovina as well as an analysis of their relationships with each other and with the central power would undoubtedly be of great interest to us, it cannot be done within the context of this paper. We will therefore concentrate on the Romanian ethnic group, which had for a long time been the major autochthonous ethnic group of this region.

The Habsburg rule over the Bukovina affected the various political, social and cultural domains of interethnic coexistence in different ways. After the annexation Vienna pursued a consolidation policy which was to guarantee Habsburg sovereignty. This implied, on the one hand, the administrative subordination of the Bukovina under Galician administration in 1786 as well as an intensive colonisation policy, which primarily aimed at encouraging German- and Ruthenian-speaking people to settle in the Bukovina and consequently led to an increase of the German-speaking and Ruthenian-speaking ethnic groups (cf. Diaconovich 1898-1904: s.v. *România*). This intervention in favour of the 'Ruthenian speakers' in the Bukovina has to be understood as yet another attempt to bind Romanian adherents of the Greek-Orthodox church more closely to the Uniate Churches. The Galician Ruthenians had already accepted

¹¹ Generally we may assume a strong fluctuation of the population between the Romanian provinces, but also between neighbouring provinces at the end of the 18th century and throughout the entire 19th century, which was probably due to political reasons.

¹² These were predominantly serfs and statute labourers who had fled the estates in Pocutia and Galicia.

¹³ They were Russian merchants and coachmen who settled in the Bukovina and the Dobruška

the Catholic faith and were apparently expected to influence the Romanians in this respect. There was also a certain amount of intermarriage, as many Ruthenians who, in response to the Habsburg colonisation policy, had left North Galicia to settle in the Bukovina, married Moldavian women. As a result, the Ruthenian language increasingly gained importance alongside Romanian, which was the language associated with everyday-life domains such as the market or the home. In contrast, the German language, which had been imported by both colonists and officials, was the language of a minority group whose members inhabited the principal urban centres such as Czernowitz, Suceava, or Radautz. Thus, Baron Gabriel Splény of Milhaldi, who has been mentioned previously, is said to have arrived in the Bukovina accompanied by a whole state of Austrian civil and military officials (cf. Polek 1893:53).

German-speaking officials were in charge of important administrative and military tasks, such as the administration of the province or the establishment of a German-speaking army - documented by the existence of German-Romanian military handbooks which German-speaking officers needed to communicate with their Romanian-speaking recruits (cf. Sangeorzanu Basilius, *Rumänische Militär-Sprache. Ein Handbuch für Officiere im Verkehr mit Untergebenen und für Cadetenschulen. Von k.k. Lieutenant in der Reserve im 43. Linien-Infant.-Regimente*, Vienna, Seidel & Sohn, 1883). Yet given the fact that German was the official lingua franca used in most core public domains, the Habsburg representatives seem to have been aware of the necessity to communicate in an indigenous language from very early on. General Splény argued that for the supreme administrative and judicial posts civil servants were required to be competent in written and spoken Moldavian (cf. Nistor 1991:22). Under Habsburg rule the German language became firmly established as the language of administration, organisation, and the military, and was, moreover, the language endowed with cultural prestige.

While the demographic and linguistic profile of the region was considerably affected by the new regime, the field of education in the Bukovina changed entirely. Elementary education became compulsory for the first time and a system of primary and secondary educational institutions was established, which subsequently expanded in a relatively short time (cf. Burger in: Slawinski / Strelka 1995:93-127). While at the beginning of Habsburg rule around 1775 there were only a handful of state schools in the Bukovina, with the educational system

being largely in the hands of the clergy and itinerary private tutors¹⁴, around 1869 - only a hundred years later - the Bukovina had 108 schools, with another 104 schools in planning. The foundation of the Imperial University of Czernowitz, finally, was regarded as the culmination of this process. The foundation ceremony took place at Schönbrunn Palace in Vienna on September 30, 1875.

With increasing educational opportunities provided by Habsburg the German language was gradually established as the language of higher education in the Bukovina. Proficiency in German was the *conditio sine qua non* for a place in higher education and for access to any prospects of higher employment¹⁵. At least initially, the university of Czernowitz was a German-medium university with German as the language both of instruction and of internal communication, as it was explicitly laid down in the university statutes (cf. Fischel 1910, No. 368). But because of the pressure exerted by the Romanian group, the Romanian language was introduced for part of the instruction at a later stage. Of the three university faculties - theology, law and philosophy - only the Greek-Orthodox department of the theology faculty introduced tuition through Romanian (cf. Hugelmann 1934:733). Thus, at the end of the 19th century, the system of higher education, which served a predominantly Romanian-speaking community was firmly tied to the German language.

To date, extremely varying opinions have been expressed on the nature of the Habsburg rule in the Bukovina both from an intra- and extra-Romanian perspective¹⁶. While some historians with a German background believe that Habsburg rule and language policies were *liberal* - K. G. Hugelmann, for example, could see 'no discrimination against the other ethnic groups' in the Bukovina, and perceived this region as the most peaceful part of old Austria, whose autochthonous population was entirely integrated into the Austrian empire and was not exposed to any kind of irredenta (Hugelmann 1934:725) - this view has not always been shared by Romanian authors, who have frequently deplored the Germanisation tendencies and repressive policy of Habsburg towards the autochthonous Romanian population in the Bukovina. For the renowned Romanian author Mihai Eminescu, for example, the

¹⁴ On this point see Diaconovich 1898-1904, s.v. *România*, also Nistor 1991, pp. 31-50.

¹⁵ This is how Matiasieviciu describes the situation of the educational system in the Bukovina in the *Precuvîntare* (Preface) of his Grammar of 1871.

¹⁶ Even today we can observe both tendencies, a Germanophobe and a Germanophile, in the Romanian self-awareness, which presumably dates back to the times of Habsburg rule in the regions of present-day Romania.

'pangermanismul' represented the enemy who dominated the Bukovina (cf. his book *Rapirea Bucovine / The Rape of the Bukovina* (1996:33-41)¹⁷.

Moreover, even contemporary Romanian historiographers sometimes described the Habsburg regime in negative terms. They argued that in the first half of the 19th century imperial rule in the Bukovina and Transylvania was an absolutist regime, which rested on centralisation, Germanisation and Catholicisation and such repressive means as censorship or a secret police (cf. Pop, 1998:111-112). Historical sources taking a Romanian stance reflect a wide range of more or less negative associations, evident, for example, in the terminology they used for describing the political act of the acquisition of the Bukovina on the part of Habsburg as *anexare, ocupare, alipire, răpire*, etc., the Romanian lexemes for 'annexation, occupation, incorporation, theft'.

3. Data selection: the textbook discourse

Our discourse analysis is based on extracts from predominantly Romanian-medium textbooks and readers which were used in the educational institutions of the Habsburg Bukovina during the second half of the 19th century. These texts have been selected because they were produced in a period marked by a intensive struggles over hegemonic interests within the context of an essentially diglossic domain. However, this does not mean that we can expect to find a clear and complementary distribution of languages in our data. Nevertheless the situation in the Bukovina may be viewed as diglossic in the sense that the dominant group, which represented a linguistic minority vis-à-vis the Romanian majority population, was the determining and controlling agent of the contents, the discourse and the presentation of these textbooks, which were, of course, intended for members of the Romanian ethnic group. It is in this sense that the socio-political context in which our texts originated and were used may be interpreted as diglossic, and it is with this in mind that these monolingual texts must be analysed and interpreted. German, as we have indicated previously, was the institutionalised language of the hegemonic power which was used in the domains of administration, culture, higher education, jurisdiction, and the military. Romanian, on the other hand, was the language of a majority group which was only a minority at the political level.

¹⁷ Mihai Eminescu refers in his book to the political act which placed the Bukovina under Habsburg rule

Secondly, the Bukovina is a particularly interesting geographical area as it constituted the easternmost of the Habsburg crownlands, being located at the periphery of the sprawling Habsburg central state. In consequence, we will focus on texts which discursively reflect the self-presentation of the hegemonic centre as well as the way this centre presents the subordinate Romanian ethnic group. In turn, we will look at texts in which the Romanian group presents itself, as for example in several textbooks passages written by Romanian authors. Frequently, the discursive representation of hegemonic centre and subordinate groups is done in terms of self- and heterocategorisations. In our data, these categorisations can be regarded as potential indicators of existing power relations. These texts, therefore, provide useful insights on the Habsburg language policy and reveal the strategies which were used vis-à-vis a peripheral ethnic group. They also inform about the actual degree of tolerance of Habsburg language policy: did it grant an ethnic group which was both peripheral and subordinate sufficient autonomy, or were there attempts to integrate this group into its cultural system by assimilation ?

Finally, we have selected textbooks as the data set of our discourse-analytical study because in any society textbooks are instrumental in the socialisation of individuals. By developing and consolidating ideological contents which serve the interests of a state, textbooks echo existing power relations. The educational domain becomes a prime site where learners, in particular young learners, are exposed to the dominant set of values and inherent ideologies which are discursively established. We have also included teaching materials for further education in our study, as the target users of these materials were primarily adult officials who were expected to contribute to the preservation of hegemony in one way or another. These were primarily those German-speaking officials who had to communicate in the Romanian language in their jobs.

Since we cannot expect explicit references to the Habsburg language policy in our data, we will have to identify the implicit interethnic discrepancies that determined the interaction between hegemonic and subordinate groups. Such discrepancies are manifested in the form of cautiously formulated aspirations towards hegemony or by stereotyped auto- and heterovalorisations. These are discursively constructed both within the context of Habsburg self-presentation and valorisations ascribed to the Romanian group, as well as through self-presentation of the Romanians. It is also important to focus upon those discursive elements

which appear to be constitutive in national and supranational identity construction, given the fact that the Romanians were able to choose between identification with the hegemonic Habsburg state or with the features and characteristics of their own ethnic group.

4. The domain of education

The present analysis look at texts that originate from a domain which received considerable impetus from the new regime in the Bukovina, as evidenced, for example by the large number of new educational institutions which were founded during this period.

Even prior to the Habsburg rule, the princes of the provinces had established six Romanian elementary schools in Suceava, Cernowitz, Radautz, Putna and both towns of Câmpulunguri. There were a few secondary theological schools, for example near Putna (cf. Nistor 1991:46). From 1786, the *Geistliche Regulierungsplan* stipulated that under the direction of the Romanian church a *școală urbană*, i.e. a state school, was to be established in each of the above-mention six towns, as well as a *o școală trivială* or *rurală*, i.e. a provincial school, next to each parish church. In addition to these Romanian schools, the new government also founded German-medium schools for officials, which were, however, also open to the Romanian population (for example, elementary schools, the 'trivium-schools' of Czernowitz and Suceava). From 1786, elementary education became compulsory by law even though its implementation was a long and slow process in the Bukovina. Moreover, a number of tertiary educational institutions were founded, such as the *Liceul clasic* in Czernowitz¹⁸ (1808), a chair of Romanian language and literature in Czernowitz (1848), a new *Liceu clasic* in Suceava (1860), a *Liceul real* in Czernowitz (1860), and a *Liceul german* in Radautz (1872).

Initially, the Bukovinan educational system developed out of the institutions of the Greek-Orthodox church and its affiliated monasteries and parishes. After the annexation, the state attempted to reduce the influence of the Greek-Orthodox church and increasingly took over the educational system, for example by appointing headmasters who had much closer affinities with the Uniate or the Catholic tradition¹⁹ than with the Greek-Orthodox church. Instead of appointing local ecclesiastical teachers as headmasters, the Habsburg administration appointed headmasters who had been recommended by the Metropolitan of the

¹⁸ After an initial stage in which Latin was the medium of instruction, German was introduced as the language of instruction.

¹⁹ For example, this happened in 1786 when in the *Școala clericală* Sf. Ilie, near Suceava, a Serbian headmaster was appointed on the recommendation of the metropolitan instead of a Greek-Orthodox one.

Uniate Church of Karlovci. Until 1869, elementary education was organised by the Orthodox diocese of Czernowitz and the Catholic diocese of Lemberg. Subsequently, it was taken over by the state.

It seems that the Romanian language had been introduced as a compulsory subject in the schools before 1855 and that from 1848 it increasingly gained ground as the language of instruction (Nistor 1991:XIII). The elementary schools of the Bukovina seem to have been attended mainly by Romanian-speaking children. Basil Janovicz wrote his *Grammatik der rumänischen Sprache für Deutsche* (Imperial Textbook Publishing Company, Vienna 1855) because obviously the 'Non-Romanians' or 'Non-Romanian pupils' of elementary schools - who were speakers of German - had to be taught the Romanian language (cf. Preface III-VI in this grammar). In higher education, however, German remained the language of instruction for a long time. Even Ion Nistor was still taught in German throughout his entire *studiile liceale*, that is, his entire secondary education in Radautz, although the only language spoken in the villages of this area was 'Moldavian' (cf. Nistor 1991:XIIss).

Teachers for the schools of the Bukovina were sometimes recruited from other regions under the Habsburg colonisation policy. The teachers of the German trivium schools of Czernowitz and Suceava, for example, came from the Saxon, i.e. German elementary school (*Normalschule*) in Hermannstadt (Transylvania). Teaching materials for the Romanian schools were produced upon German models, some – among them even catechisms – contained both Romanian and German texts (cf. Nistor 1991:48). The subjects taught in the above-mentioned schools can be reconstructed on the basis of so-called school programmes, which contain accurate data about teachers, materials, and contents for the different grades of the respective school. One such programme, the *Erste Jahresschrift des Staats-Gymnasiums in Radautz. Fuer das Schuljahr 1873-74* (p. 52) for example, gives detailed information about the first- and second-year curricula of this grammar school.

'Romanian' as a subject was taught three hours a week, and so was German. Eight hours were devoted to the teaching of Latin. Concerning the Romanian language the programme states: 'Hiezu Lectüre und schriftliche Uebungen. Grammatik und Lesebuch von Pumnul vorgesehen' (p. 53). [Reading and written exercises. Grammar and reader by Pumnul should be used].

The history of the Bukovina and the way this subject should be taught seems to have been a matter of utmost importance in Habsburg eyes. It took a long time before the Bukovinan population was granted the right to (academically) study this subject. Ion Nistor, who received

his secondary education in Radautz, was still taught almost no Romanian history, and the little he learned seemed to contradict what his parents had taught him. Interestingly, it was this discrepancy in the presentation of historical facts between the school and the home which prompted Nistor to subsequently devote his life to the study of history.

After the foundation of the German university at Czernowitz (1875), the Romanian ethnic group repeatedly formulated petitions calling for the establishment of a chair of national history. Yet it was only in 1912 that these petitions were heard and a *catedră de Istoria Europei sud-estice, cu deosebită considerație a istoriei românilor*, a chair of Southeastern European history with a focus on Romanian history²⁰ was established. Again it was Ion Nistor who played a decisive role in the reorganisation of the German university at Czernowitz. At a later stage, after 1918, he even succeeded in establishing A *catedră de Istoria românilor* (cf. Nistor 1991:V-XXXII). In view of these facts, one does get the impression that the people of the Bukovina were deliberately denied access to their own history.

5. The data

In the second half of the 19th century - the period under focus - the materials used by the teachers in the many diverse educational institutions and at many different levels are numerous and varied²¹. Because of the large amount of data in this area the present analysis will be a tentative rather than an exhaustive study and will not yield definitive results. However, it will attempt to throw some light on the discursive construction of hegemony and resistance through the medium of the textbook. For our analysis we have selected textbooks intended for elementary schools as well as for lower secondary schools, but we have also included materials used in further education outside a school context. These textbooks were usually published in several editions and used over many years. To be able to compare our data, we have concentrated on two different areas: textbooks that were written and published in the Bukovina, i.e. in a Habsburg-dependent region, and those that were written and published in areas outside Habsburg influence, such as the provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia, which today form part of the state of Romania. While the former were usually published in the principal urban centres of the Habsburg empire, such as Czernowitz and Suceava in the Bukovina, Lemberg in Galicia, or in Vienna, the latter came out in the capitals of Wallachia and Moldavia, Bucharest and Jassy.

²⁰ Ion Nistor was appointed for this task as a professor without tenure. His inauguration lecture (in German) at Czernowitz University on October 12, 1912 was about the historical significance of the Romanians

²¹The library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest contained hundreds of textbooks

All our data have been selected on the basis of one criterion, i.e. whether they were intended for teaching the Romanian language. Moreover, we have complemented our study by history and geography textbooks and readers, as they contribute an interesting aspect to our study²². We have included, for example, the *Istoria română. Legende naționale / Romanian History. National Legends*, by Serafim Ionescu, whose declared aims was to provide information about Romanian history (Fălticeni / Moldavia, i.e. Independent Romania, ⁵1894).

In regard to function, these textbooks can be grouped into texts which describe the language as a system of rules (Romanian: *gramatică* / grammar) and texts which teach language on the basis of shorter reading passages (Romanian [*Carte de*] *citire* oder *leptuarium* / reader). There is, however, a third group of materials which combines both aspects, for example the books by I. Suchianu and M. Stroescu, *Citire și gramatică / Reader and Grammar* (Bucharest 1910). Therefore we do not make a distinction between the texttype categories of 'readers' and 'grammars' in our analysis. Grammars and readers can also be classified on the basis of their language. Our data contains both German-medium and Romanian-medium books, even though both types have the same teaching aim, that is the teaching of the Romanian language. Another grouping can be made on the basis of the target users of these works. Most of our texts were intended for children and young people, but a small number of textbooks aimed at German-speaking adults, mostly civil servants. Finally, all our primary texts from the school domain were intended for elementary schools (*Volksschulen*), lower secondary schools or other types of secondary schools.

The works selected for in-depth analysis are the following²³:

5.1. First, textbooks/readers and grammars produced for elementary schools in the Bukovina, which were published both in Vienna and in the Bukovina around the middle of the 19th century or around the turn of the century:

Ianoviciu, Vasilie, *Gramatica limbii românești pentru întâia și a doua clasă a școalelor poporene / Grammar of the Romanian Language for Grades 1 and 2 of Elementary Schools*, Vienna, 1869.

²² From Transylvania, for example, we have a *Description of theGlobe* for elementary schools (*Normalschulen*), Klausenburg (Transylvania) 1842.

²³ All texts written in a mixed Cyrillic-Latin alphabet are transliterated and rendered according to modern orthographic rules of standard Romanian.

Ieremievici-Dubău, Nicolae, *Carte de citire pentru anul II și III al școalelor primare / Reader for second- and third-year pupils of Elementary Schools*, Viena, În editura i.r. de cărți școlare, 1897.

Vicol, Mihaiu, *Gramatica elementară a limbii române pentru cursul inferior al tuturor categoriile de școli primare (al II-lea an școlar) / Introductory Romanian Grammar for Beginners (Second year of Elementary Schools)*, Suceava, “Școala Română”, ²1913.

Lepturariu pentru ortografia română. Regule și vocabulariu ortografic / Reader. Romanian Orthography, Rules and Vocabulary, Viena, Carol Gorischeck, 1893.

5.2. Secondly, we have examined textbooks/readers and grammars written for various types of lower secondary schools (*Gymnasium, Realschulen, Mittelschulen*), which were also published both in Vienna and the Bukovina, either around the middle of the 19th century or around the turn of the century:

Arune, Pumnul, *Lepturariu rumânesc [...] cules de'n scriitori rumâni pre'n Comisiunea denumită de către 'naltul Ministeriu al învățământului*, an anthology of texts by Romanian authors intended for pupils from grades one to eight (*Gymnasium*), compiled between 1862-1865. This anthology was published by the Imperial Textbook Publishing Company in Vienna and was, as its title indicates, adopted by the Ministry of Education. There are six volumes; in our analysis we concentrated on the first part of Volume One.

Ștefureac, Ștefan, *Carte de cetire pentru ântâia clasă gimnasială / Lesebuch für die erste Klasse Gymnasium*, Suceava, Herman Beiner, ²1897. This work was intended for the first-year pupils of grammar schools.

Simionovici, Dionis, *Carte de citire. Partea I^a pentru clasa V a școalelor secundare / Lesebuch. Erster Teil für die fünfte Klasse der Sekundärschulen*, Viena, Editura fondului religios gr.or. al Bucovinei, 1898. Reader. Part 1, for fifth-year pupils of secondary schools.

Bodnarescul, Leonidas, *Rumänisches Sprech- und Lesebuch für mittlere Classen der Realschule und verwandter Lehranstalten / Czernowitz*, printed and published by *Bukowinaer Vereinsdruckerei*, 1901. Romanian reader and spelling book for various types of secondary schools.

To ensure comparability and objectivity of our findings we have also looked at the following works:

5.3. The following books are textbooks/readers and grammars for lower secondary schools (*Gymnasium, Realschulen, Mittelschulen*) produced in the territory of independent Romania, either around the middle of the 19th century, or around the turn of the century:

Creangă, I. et al., *Metodă nouă de scriere și citire pentru uzul clasei I primară / A New Method of Reading and Writing. For Grade 1 of Elementary Schools*, Iași, ²³1893.

Tocilescu, Gr. G., *Carte de citire alcătuită pentru elevii și elevele clasei IV primara urbană / Reader for Fourth-Year Pupils attending Grade 4 of state schools*, București, Tipografia Corpulului didactic, ¹1899.

5.4. We have also analysed the history book by Ionescu, Serafim, *Istoria română (Legende naționale). Partea I-a. Pentru Cl. II. și III. rurale sau II. urbană / Romanian Legends. Part 1. For the First and Second Years of Provincial and Urban Schools*, Fălticeni (Moldavia), M. Saidman, ⁵1894.

5.5. Moreover, we have focused on teaching materials used in the schools, in further education and adult education, which were primarily intended for speakers of German. These works appeared in the Bukovina and in Vienna, again either around the middle of the 19th century or around the turn of the century.

Theoktist, Blazewicz, *Theoretisch-praktische Grammatik der dacoromanischen, das ist der moldauischen oder wallachischen Sprache / A Theoretical and Practical Grammar of the Daco-Romanian, Moldavian or Wallachian Language*, Lemberg & Czernowitz, published by Eduard Winiarz, 1844.

Janovicz, Basil, *Grammatik der romänischen Sprache für Deutsche, / Grammar of the Romanian Language for Speakers of German*, Imperial Textbook Publishing Company, Vienna 1855. This grammar served as the model for a Romanian grammar for the Romanian youth written in 1869 by the same author (see above).

All these texts have been chosen for analysis because they were written by prominent authors who spread and taught the Romanian language. In particular, the works and scholarly publications by Ieremievici-Dubău (*1837), Arune Pumnul (1818-1866), Ștefan Ștefureac (1845-1893), Ion Creangă und Theoctist Blazewicz have to be mentioned in this context, as their works were crucial for the development of the Romanian language and literature in the 19th century .

6. Methodological frame of the analysis

As has been explained previously, the texts chosen for this study date from approximately the same period and were intended for users of approximately the same level, that is, pupils of elementary schools and lower secondary schools. Both readers and grammars have been examined. Readers usually contain more material than grammars, because they provide sections where users are asked to perform various activities at the sentence level, such as reading or copying sentences and answering questions.

Readers usually contain lengthy reading passages which may reflect the relationship between the hegemonic and the subordinate group resulting from the asymmetry in their relation due to their political influence.

However, even grammars can be useful for our investigation. Individual words and sample sentences or the order of presentation of these items may point to political power structures. Consequently we will focus on those thematic aspects which shape the relationship of political hegemony and subordination at the semantic level, in other words, we are concerned with the discursive construction of power relations resulting from the different political weight assigned to the various groups in contact.

The analysis consisted of various steps. First, a reader or grammar was scanned for first information before an in-depth investigation of relevant sections were carried out on a micro-structural level. Looking at textbooks as integral units in an introductory analysis helps to reveal the major tendencies in a text. In this respect, semantic analysis was of primary importance and proved much more effective than an analysis of the textual structure, for example of the way language rules are presented. We have therefore concentrated on the

analysis and classification of semantic issues and identified those text passages which were in one way or other 'politically relevant', such as statements about the ethnic groups of the Bukovina or geographical or historical information, etc. (for a detailed analytical matrix see below). Such 'clues' were frequent in our data, although scattered throughout the text. In order to explore the works in the most exhaustive way possible, the following analytical criteria of the matrix below were applied:

- contextualisation of the work in question according to place of publishing, date of publication, author and target users
- general semantics

identification of semantic elements which, explicitly or implicitly, overtly or covertly, provide politically relevant information, as for example:

- references/statements to the Romanian identity (nation /ethnic group, representatives and status quo, verbal and ethical actions on the part of the members of the Romanian ethnic group, moralising / socialisation, historical, geographical/territorial references, religion, language etc.)
- references to the identity of the ruling power (nation / ethnic group/rulers, descriptions, their presentation in moral terms, historical and geographical information, religion, language, etc.)
- salient and characteristic features of the discourses (e.g. in particular repetitive topics, style)
- connotations, both at the macro- and micro-level (which may be hidden in one single word of a long text, etc.)
- (First) interpretation

In Chapter 7 we will discuss these analytical steps on the basis of a number of case studies²⁴.

Our textual analysis has shown that conclusions cannot be drawn about the semantic properties of a text by just looking at its title. Therefore classification of any text was

²⁴ The analytical matrix is based, among other things, on the criteria of state ('Staatlichkeit') and 'stae organisation ('Staatskonstruktion'), which were devised by Michael Metzeltin (*Nationalstaatlichkeit und Identität. Ein Essay über die Erfindung von Nationalstaaten*, Vienna, Eigenverlag 3 Eidechsen, 2000).

preceded by in-depth reading. At the semantic level, identical elements often appeared in different text-types, for example in narratives, fables, poems, or epigrams. At the micro-level, figures of speech, metaphors, similes, personifications, epitheta etc. were examined for politically relevant associations and connotations. A number of concrete analyses will follow in Chapter 7, applying either holistic or detailed procedures depending on the nature of the text. In consequence, as we shall see, the individual analyses will present different images, which will be summarised in the Conclusion (Chapter 8).

7. Case studies

This chapter will present a number of analyses carried out within the methodological framework outlined previously. The analyses will either focus on individual aspects or identify general tendencies which seem relevant for our topic.

7.1. Vasile Ianoviciu

V. Ianoviciu wrote his *Gramateca limbei românești pentru întei și a doa clasa a scoalelor poporene* / A Grammar of the Romanian Language (Vienna 1869) for first and second-year pupils of elementary schools and modelled it upon the German-Romanian grammar he had written earlier for non-Romanian pupils of Bukovinian elementary schools, which he had published in 1855. The *Gramateca limbei românești* describes the Romanian language as a system of rules and contains no politically relevant information.

7.2. Nicolae Ieremievici-Dubău

In contrast, the reader by N. Ieremievici-Dubău for second and third-year pupils of elementary schools and published in Vienna in 1897 contains a number of narrative passages featuring Crown Prince Rudolph, Empress Maria Theresia, Emperor Franz Joseph and Emperor Franz: cf. Ieremievici-Dubău 1897, *Partea a patra. Narațiuni istorice: 217. Rudolf de Habsburg, 218. Împeratul Rudolf, 220. Cum onoră imperăteasa Maria Teresia betrânețele, 221. Împeratul Iosif II., 222. Împeratul Francisc I., 226. Împeratul Francisc Iosif intr'o școală, 227. Principele de coroană Rudolf* (pp. 143-155). The rulers are presented as outstandingly

moral, honourable and respectable people. There is an account of how Maria Theresia went to the house of an old woman to wash the woman's feet because she was too frail to leave her home (cf. Text 220). Another passage illustrates the exemplary character of Emperor Franz I, by telling the story how he, coming across a funeral procession, accompanied the - unknown - deceased to his last resting place (cf. Text 222). There is also a text about a man who helped an old woman to collect firewood in the woods and whose identity is not revealed until much later when the reader learns that this helpful person was Crown Prince Rudolph (cf. Text 227). Reading passage 210, *Districtul și țeara* ('The district and the country') gives a description of the political and administrative structure of the Bukovina and makes the following reference to the empire: "Țeara noastră se numește Bucovina. În fruntea Bucovinei stă locțiitorul împărătesc sau președintele Țerii [...]. El poruncesce, în numele Împeratului, tuturor căpitanilor districtelor / Our country is called the Bukovina. It is headed by an imperial governor or provincial governor [...], who instructs all the other district governors [of the country] in the name of the Emperor" (p. 136). Here, the Bukovina's subordination under Habsburg authority is clearly indicated by pointing explicitly to the *locțiitoriu* as the supreme political and administrative authority who governs the region as the representative of the emperor ("în numele Împeratului" / in the name of the Emperor). The imperial representative of the city of Czernowitz is referred to as the supreme authority superordinate to all the other district governors. This passage explicitly points out the Bukovina's political dependence on the representatives of central power decision-making and shows how the supreme level of administration and government of the Bukovina was under direct Habsburg control. Finally, the book concludes with the Austrian imperial hymn in its Romanian version: "Francisc Iosif viețuească / Prin ani mulți și fericiți, / Elisaveta traiească / Cea iubită de sudiți" / Long live Emperor Franz Joseph, may he live for many happy years / Long live Elisabeth / who is loved by her subjects (op. cit, *Imnul imperătesc*, p. 156).

7.3. Mihai Vicol

M. Vicol's *Gramatica elementară a limbii române pentru cursul inferior al tuturor categoriile de școli primare (al II-lea an școlar)* / Elementary Grammar of the Romanian Language for the Lower Grades of Various Types of Elementary School (Grade 2) is an introduction to the Romanian language, its writing system, orthography, and syllabification. The grammatical material is complemented by a number of exercises, for example, in *Tema 93* the user is asked

to give definitions of a number of words including certain political terms which were relevant for the political situation of the Bukovina: “Spun ce este fiecare din ființele însuflețite și lucrurile următoare: Tata, Bucovina, tabla, trandafirul, Francisc Iosif, Cernăuțul, zidarul, brânza...” / I will explain what the following living creatures and things mean: father, the Bukovina, blackboard, rose, Franz Joseph, Czernowitz, builder, cheese. In contrast to Ieremievici-Dubău's reader, making associations with the emperor, for example with his moral authority, is entirely left to the reader. There is no particular focus on Emperor Franz Joseph nor is the order in which these terms are presented in any way conspicuous.

7.4. Aron Pumnul

In the following we will analyse A. Pumnul's *Leptuarius* more closely and within the framework of the analytical criteria outlined above. An analysis of this work may prove particularly fruitful and allow interesting interpretations which may have implications for subsequent discourse analyses of textbooks. Volume I of this reader is intended for first and second-year pupils of the lower grades of grammar schools (Vienna 1862). The names of the authors of the individual contributions are given, among them eminent figures of Romanian literary life who hail from all the provinces of Romania such as A. Pann, G. Asachi, A. Donici, V. Alecsandri, G. Sion. The 85 reading passages of the first part of Volume I can be broadly grouped into moralising texts (fables, proverbs, etc.), descriptions of natural phenomena, (plant and animal life) and in texts dealing with matters of everyday life etc. Moralising texts are most frequent and try to encourage readers to work and behave properly (cf. Texts 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 23, 25, etc.). Other texts describe living creatures, plants, mountains, etc., such as *Bourul / The Aurochs*, *Cuibul de vespi / The Wasps' Nest*, *Vanilia (epidendrum vanilla) / Vanilla*, *Tapirul / The Tapir*, etc. (cf. Texts 2, 11, 12, 15, 21, 22 or 24 on the Elora Mountain in India, etc.).

At closer inspection, however, many of these texts go beyond mere descriptions or purely moralising messages. *Bourul / The Aurochs* (Text 2) begins with the following lines: "Bourul, după mărturiile istoriei, locuia în tâmpurile vecie și în codrii Moldaviei / According to historical accounts, the aurochs had always lived in the woods of Moldavia"; "Bourul este cel mai mare și mai puternic animal european / Der aurochs is the biggest and strongest animal in Europe", "la luptă poate ridica și arunca în sus pe urs și pre leu, dacă-i prinde bine / in a fight, it is able to throw a bear or a lion into the air if it manages to seize them". Here the text points to the geographical origin of this animal, an area that coincides with the historic Romanian

province of Moldavia. Even today, the aurochs is still the most ancient heraldic symbol of this region.

Cocoșul / The Cock (Text 10) is another text which, at first glance, seems to teach the reader something about efficient housekeeping. At the same time, however, this is the story of a cock which continues to put up a brave fight in a hopeless situation. In some aspects this story resembles that of the Wallachian Prince Brîncoveanu, who also led a hopeless but courageous fight against the Turks - a story which lives on in historical Romanian memory and is an important element of Romanian identity. There are only a few but very clear indications which point to the analogy between the story of the cock and Brîncoveanu's fight against the Turks. The final struggle of the cock is described in the following lines 'În urmarea astei trătări finale deveni pradă dușmanului său, căci el nu mai avea cu ce se apăra; dar' de câte ori îl liberam de legături, de atâtea ori ră'ncepea lupta eară-și cu cerbiciea cea *vechie* / [the cock] had nothing left to defend itself; but every time I loosened the string, it resumed the fight with its former vigour'. This may, of course, be interpreted as an analogy between a cock and human beings that never give up and show courage and resistance even in hopeless situations. There are many texts in Pumnul's *Lepturiu* which allow such a double reading. Thus texts 30 and 33 *Moșul Nistor / The Old Nistor* und *Cântec / Song* may be understood as encouragement not to lose patience, texts 17 und 74 *Țăranul și ochelarii / The peasant and the glasses* and *Îndreptăciunea copilului leneș / The education of lazy child* may be interpreted as playdoyers for learning in general. Most clearly, however, this is expressed in the concluding lines of text 74: "Făr' a ști carte, omu-i dobitoc ! Toate 'naintează și el stă pe loc / One who is not able to read and write is a fool! The others make progress while he does not move". These contents, which appear again and again in Pumnul's reader, simply present the idea of learning, thus indirectly encouraging the Romanian readers to learn to spell and read their own language.

The first part of Volume I of *Lepturariu* contains almost no references to Romanian history or to the Romanian territory, nor does it explicitly mention any geographical topics. As mentioned earlier, the province of Moldavia is referred to in the text about the aurochs (Text 2 *Bourul*, aurochs, see above). Of the about 100 texts only Text 13, *Peștera de'n Vifleim*, deals with an important religious topic from a Christian perspective, and there are no other references to the Greek-Orthodox faith (of the Romanians). Text 40 *Den descripciunea băilor de Borsec* describes a Szekler Village in Transylvania. Text 43, called *Însemnele Moldaviei / The Insignia of Moldavia*, on the other hand, mentions Rome as the origin of this symbol:

"Însemnele Moldaviei este un cap de bour, cum se poate vedea la întradele și zidirile cele vechi. Originea ăstui însemn este romană fără îndoială [...] / Moldavia's heraldic symbol is the head of an aurochs, which can be seen on ancient town gates and walls. Undoubtedly, the origin of this symbol is Rome". The idea of Roman descent reoccurs in Text 88 *Podul lui Traian peste Dunăre* /Trajan's bridge over the Danube.

A quick analysis of the other sections and volumes of *Lepturariu* reveals a number of interesting passages. In the introduction to a passage about a Romanian author, Pumnul explicitly refers to Romanian literature and Romanian national self-awareness: "acest bărbat este foarte însemnat pe'ntru literatura națională rumână; cunoștința națională a națiunii; renăscirea națiunii / This author is of great importance for national Romanian literature, national identity, the rebirth of the nation" (cf. 1862-1865, *Tomul IV. Partea 2*, 33-37). Within one single sentence, and by means of five different lexemes, i.e. national, Romanian, national literature, national identity, national rebirth, the Romanian identity is foregrounded in a conspicuously striking manner, given additional emphasis by the reference to a national identity, national literature and national self-perception, as well as by the repeated use of "national". Such passages, however, are not frequent and rather hidden in the text.

At the same time, there are many passages in the work by A. Pumnul which seem to directly refer to Habsburg power: In the first part of the second volume of *Leptuarariu*, titled *Descripciunea Viennei* ('The description of Vienna') Vienna is portrayed as an impressive city (op. cit., 1863, *Tomul II, Partea I*, Reading Passage §. 39., pp. 81-88). Eight pages are devoted to a comprehensive and extremely detailed description of the city of Vienna, including its historical development since Roman times, its exact location, its surrounding mountains and rivers, its architecture, and the number of houses and churches. In addition, the text discusses the principal streets, palaces, important buildings, the inhabitants, the size of the various religious groups as well as the ethnic composition of the population, the organisation of secondary and higher education, the library holdings, etc. and in so doing, emphasises Vienna's monumental greatness and splendour. This resembles the strategies of the Greek and Romans, who also provided descriptions of architectural splendour to corroborate their aspirations to power.

Another passage of this volume is dedicated to the description of Czernowitz, the capital of the Bukovina. The current appearance of town is compared to that it had previously: *Înainte de o sută de ani Cernăuțul eră un târg [...]. Acum se află clădiri sau zidiri multe și frumoase,*

precum: biserica catedrală, în apropierea ei casa și birourile (căncelăriile) președintelui Țerii, cu grădina cea mândră pe piața «Francisc Iosif», și alte multe biserici, curtea primăriei cu un turn destul de înalt, reședința cea măiestros zidită a mitropoliei cu căncelăriile consistoriului, casa tribunalului, spitalul militar și civil, curtea drumului fierat sau gara, mori de vapor [...]. Pentru creșterea tinerimii se află în Czernowitz universitate, gimnasiul și școala reală superioară, școala profesională, școala agronomică, școala pedagogică și multe școli primare publice și private. Stradele sunt bine prunduite, pe laturile lor au trotuare de lespedi ('One hundred years ago Czernowitz was a village [...]. Today the city has many fine buildings and edifices, which include the Cathedral, the residence and the offices of the provincial governor which are close by, a splendid park in Franz Joseph Square, numerous churches, the town hall with its imposing tower, the magnificent palace of the Greek Orthodox archbishop with the chancelleries of the consistory, the provincial courts, the military hospital and civic hospital, the 'Hof' with well-kept paths, steam mills [...]. For the young people Czernowitz offers a university, a Gymnasium and a Höhere Realschule, a vocational school, an agricultural college, a pedagogical college and a great number of elementary schools both public and private. The streets are well paved, with grassy pavements on both sides'. This text, which is developed antithetically, describes the development of the city from a village to a splendid city. In the past, the reader learns, Czernowitz was only a village, whereas now it is a magnificent town boasting of the most recent developments of architecture and civilisation, such as monuments, squares, schools, streets etc. By mentioning 'magnificent Franz Joseph Square', an image of the House of Habsburg is created which is intricately linked with the splendour of the city's buildings and thus the architectural greatness of the Bukovina appears to rest entirely on Habsburg rule.

7.5. Ștefan Ștefureac

The textbook which was published by Ștefan Ștefureac at Suceava in ²1897 and used by first-year pupils of grammar schools and lower secondary schools over several years, contains 110 shorter reading passages on 156 pages, the majority of which were written by Romanian authors (cf. *Prefață* / Preface). The main contributors include Vasile Alecsandri, Alexandru Donici and Anton Pann, who not only devoted their lives to propagating the Romanian language and to using it in various forms such as poems, prose pieces, anthologies, adaptations of texts and subjects from folk literature, etc., but who were also - as members of

the Romanian Academy - leading figures in the process of cultural, linguistic and national identity construction of present-day Romania²⁵. This is particularly true of Vasile Alecsandri, who is the author of 25 texts in this volume, thus being the author who contributed most. But given the importance of many of these authors for the development of the Romanian language, Romanian culture and Romanian national identity, the texts in this reader appear remarkably non-political in content.

Primarily, the volume contains religious-moralising texts, pieces of folk wisdom (Romanian *proverbe*) and texts from folk literature as well as texts on various natural phenomena, describing Romania as an agrarian country. Other texts refer to general and moralising proverbs, for example *Nu e aur tot ce strălucește; Mai bine adi un ou, decât mâne un bou; Omul propune, Dumnezeu dispune; Mai bine în coliba ta, decât în palatul altuia* ('All that glitters is not gold; A bird in hand is worth two in the bush; Man proposes, God disposes; Better a dinner of herbs than a stalled ox where hate is'). Among the texts of folkloric character we find various versions of fairy tales, legends and ballads, in which appear, among others, characters and animals typical of Romanian folk literature (*Groza, Pâcală, Tândală, or the little magic lamb Miorița*). Other contributions either contain descriptions of "realia", i.e. of living creatures, scenery, countries, natural phenomena, animals, different types of human being, rivers, mountains, cities, volcanoes, oceans, etc., or present lyrical poetry, for example poems by Vasile Alecsandri, in which nature and natural phenomena feature prominently, for example in the Texts § 33. *Elefantul*, § 35. *Vulcani*, § 44. *Leul*, § 50. *Omul polar*, § 28. *Cerbul*, § 22. *Sfârșit de toamnă*, § 39. *Earna*, § 40. *Gerul*, § 48. *Păingenuț*, § 51. *Viscolul*, § 52. *Miedul ernei*, § 69. *Bradul*, § 79. *Sfârșitul ernei*, § 86. *Dimineața*, § 93. *Tunetul*, § 96. *Plugurile*, § 100. *Semenătorii* ('The Elephant, The Volcanoes, The Lion, The Inuit, The Stag, The End of Autumn, The Winter, Frost, The Spider, The Tempest, Winter Solstice, The Fir Tree, Morning, Thunder, The Ploughs, The Sower', etc.). Less frequent are lyrical descriptions of emotional states, such as the poems § 7. *Dor*, § 14. *Doina*, § 24. *Fericirea*, § 88. *Dor de călătorie* ('Desire, Grief, Happiness, Wanderlust'). Further, we find topics of agricultural interest, such as the seasons, the weather, agricultural tools, peasant life, or insects and pests, see for example, *Gârgărița grâului*, § 64. *Coropișnița*, § 68. *Cârțița* ('the wheat bug, the mole-cricket, the mole') or a historical description of a plague of migratory locusts, which afflicted Transylvania in 1780: § 38. *Locustele migrătoare în Ardeal în anul 1780 (Migratory locusts in Transylvania in 1780)*.

²⁵ In Bukovinian textbooks we also find authors who lived in Romania, i.e. in an area which was outside Habsburg influence.

The anthology of Ștefan Ștefureac contains three texts which at first glance do not seem to relate to our topic. *Petrea Dascălul* ('Petrea, the teacher') is a story about two Englishmen of high aristocratic origin, who travel the mountainous area of Moldavia, hunting bears. In the beginning, the two Englishmen are caricatured, for example, in describing how, during a fast coach ride, they are shaken about so that neither their hairdos nor their spectacles stay in place. Later they visit an inn where they are served the local dishes of the region: Game, smoked trout, smoked goat meat, wine from Odobești and Cotnariu. The Englishmen are also introduced to Romanian customs and traditions during their travels. During a bear hunt they are accompanied by Petrea, a Romanian, who in contrast to the two Englishmen, is courageous, in control, experienced, wise, clever and good at hunting. The two foreigners are so impressed by the courage and the hunting skills of their companion that they reward him generously, and even have a picture of him published in an English magazine (cf. op. cit. Text §. 102, pp. 131-136). In summary we can say that this text illustrates Romanian ways of life, customs and traditions and at the same time describes Romanian mentality as being superior to that of members of other ethnic groups.

In the prose text *Țeranul român* ('The Romanian peasant') the author, Vasile Alecsandri, also expresses great pride in Romanianness and a deep love for his Romanian home country: *Mie mi-i drag românul [...] el e simplu și frumos în înfățișarea lui; căci e curat și înțelept, vesel și poetic în graiul seu; Îmi plac obiceiurile sale patriarhale, credințele sale fantastice, danșurile sale vechi și voinicesci, portul seu pitoresc, care la Roma se vede săpat pe columna lui Traian, cântecele sale jalnice și melodioase, și mai ales poeziile sale atât de armonioase* ('I like the Romanian [...] he is simple and good-looking because he is neat, intelligent, cheerful, and his language is poetic; I like his patriarchal ways, his fantastic imagination, his old dances of the haiduks, his picturesque traditional costumes, which are depicted in a carving on Trajan's column in Rome, his sad and melodious songs and, in particular, his harmonious poems'. Text 70, *Țeranul român* ('The Romanian peasant'), which is strongly argumentative in structure, is about a traveller, who takes a rest in the house of a peasant, where he considers the various advantages and disadvantages of rural life. Finally the traveller persuades his host that being a peasant is the superior way of life. In these passages, too, we find the specific qualities, habits, customs, traditions, the language, the costumes, the songs and the literature of the Romanians and their rural way of life, which all are associated with positive values: beautiful appearance, cheerful and poetic language, harmonious poetry, etc.

7.6. Dionis Simionovici

D. Simionovici wrote his *Carte de citire. Partea I^a pentru clasa V a școalelor secundare* (Vienna 1898) as a teacher of the Greek-Orthodox secondary school (*Realschule*) in Czernowitz. Compared to the other works discussed so far, this is a long text with many interesting features. One is the inclusion of an appendix which gives information about the authors who all played a leading role in the development of Romanian national identity, Romanian literature (I. Creangă, M. Eminescu V. Alecsandri), the Romanian press and the theatre (G. Barițiu, D. Bolintineanu, V. Asachi). There are also eminent Romanian historiographers and politicians (N. Bălcescu), as well as promoters of the Romanian language and literature (A. Pumnul), etc. from *all* historic provinces which form today's Romania (cf. *Autorii*, pp. 281-186). Generally, a certain degree of asymmetry exists between the texts which represent ethnic Romania on the one hand, and texts which refer to Habsburg on the other. A great number of texts are devoted to Romanian folk literature, such as *Român Grue Grozovanul* / the Romanian Grue the Terrible, there are contributions which refer to the entire Romanian territory (cf. *Malul Siretului* / *The bank of the [river] Sireth*, *Balcanul și Carpatul* / *The Balkans and the Carpathian Mountains*, *Mănăstirea Argeșului* / *Argeș Monastery*, *Ardealul* / *Transylvania*), to decisive events in Romanian history (*Mănăstirea Argeșului* / *Argeș Monastery*, *Despre începuturile Românilor* / *On the origin of the Romanians*, *Caracterul lui Ștefan cel Mare* / *The character of Stephen the Great*, etc.), to eminent Romanian personalities (*N. Bălcescu murind* / *When Bălcescu approached his death*, *Aron Pumnul, Lui Eminescu* / *An Eminescu*), to a Romanian self-awareness which is explicitly called for (*Imnul festiv* / *Song of praise*, *Glasul unui Român* / *The Voice of a Romanian*). Moralising texts and texts describing natural phenomena also occur, although not as frequently as the above mentioned texts. Only two contributions deal with the world of Habsburg: *Împăratul Iosif II ca coregent* / *Emperor Joseph II as co-regent; Austria, patria mea* / *Austria, my home country*.

7.7. Leonidas Bodnarescul

Alongside moralising texts, The *Rumänisches Sprech- und Lesebuch für mittlere Classen der Realschulen und verwandter Lehranstalten* / *The Romanian Reader for the Middle Grades of Secondary Schools and Similar Institutions* by L. Bodnarescul (Czernowitz 1901) contains texts describing nature and matters of everyday life, much like the textbooks we have

described so far, as well as pieces of folk literature and texts which explicitly refer to the Bukovina. Text 29, for example, *Bucovina I*, gives a general description of the region in terms of its geography, its population, and its rich agriculture. Several texts are explicitly devoted to history, religion, and the origin of the Romanians, for example, Text 21. *Mama lui Ștefan cel Mare / The mother of Stephen the Great*, Text 35 *Calendariul / The Calender*, Text 18 *Despre începuturile Românilor / On the Origins of the Romanians*, and Text 17 *Mănăstirile din Bucovina / The Monasteries of the Bukovina*. In Text 35 the reader learns that there are adherents of both the Orthodox and the Catholic church. In Text 30, "Cu ce se ocupă poporul bucovinean / What Does the Population of the Bukovina Do?" neither the Romanians nor the other ethnic groups of the Bukovina are explicitly mentioned. In Texts 19 *Patria / The Home Country*; 20 *Austria, patria mea / Austria, My Home Country*; 30 *Bucovina II* and 34 *Bucovina III*, explicit references are made to Habsburg. In Text 30, for example, we find the following reference to the Bukovina: "Când s'a încorporat Bucovina la Austria / When did the the Bukovina join the [Empire]", "Bucovina s'a alipit Austriei în anul 1775 / The Bukovina joined Austria in 1775". The Romanian verbs used to describe this act are reflexive verbs, implying that the Bukovina deliberately and out of its own free will joined Austria. Further, the monarch and supreme cultural authority of the Bukovina, Emperor Franz Joseph, and his institutions are mentioned: "Ce rang are Bucovina între țerile Austriei / Which Title was Given to the Bukovina among the Austrian Lands?"; "Titlul de ducat, ce-l are Bucovina de la 1848, l-a primit ea de la prea grațioasul ei duce și împărat Francisc Iosif I. / The Bukovina is a duchy, a title it has had since 1848 when it was granted to her by her most benevolent Duke and Emperor Franz Joseph I.". In Text 31, Cel mai frumos [liceu] dar l-am primit de la prea bunul nostru împărat în anul 1875 adică cel mai înalt institut cultural din țară, care este universitatea Francisco-Iosefină / But the most beautiful *Lyzeum* we received from our most benevolent Emperor in 1875, that is, the supreme cultural institution of this province, the Franz Joseph University".

7.8. Ion Creangă

The reader by I. Creangă. et al., *Metodă nouă de scriere și cetire pentru uzul clasei I primară* (Jassy ²³1893), for first-year pupils of elementary schools, was used in Moldavia over many decades. Again, texts predominate which moralise, describe natural phenomena, present subjects from folk literature or deal with matters of everyday life, but there are also some contributions which discuss the history and the state of Romania in a national and geographical-historical context, e.g. Text 15, *Mărirea strămoșilor / The Significance of Our*

Ancestors and Text 9, *Stefan cel Mare și șoimul / Stephen the Great and the Hawk, or Text 54, Unirea face puterea / Union Gives Strength*, which explicitly calls for the Romanians to unite: "Uniți trebuie să trăiască și Românii, dacă voiesc să fie tari și respectați chiar și de vrășmașii lor / The Romanians must also live together in unity if they want to be powerful and be respected by their enemies". In Text 8, *Patria mea / My Home Country*, the historic Romanian provinces are mentioned: "România se alcătuesce din trei părți mari: Valahia, Moldavia și Dobrogea / Romania comprises three large parts: Wallachia, Moldavia and Dobrușcha".

7.9. Gr. G. Tocilescu

In contrast to Ion Creangă's work, the reader *Carte de citire alcătuită pentru elevii și elevele clasei IV primara urbană* (București ¹1899) written by Gr. G. Tocilescu for fourth-year pupils of elementary schools discusses many key historical incidents which are important for Romanian history and Romanian national self-awareness. Particularly interesting in this respect is Text 205 *Grigore Vodă Ghica-Perderea Bucovinei (1775-1777) / Prince Ghica- The loss of the Bukovina*, which describes the Habsburg occupation of the Bukovina as a strategic and aggressive military act: "Austria pusese ochii, de mai mult timp, pe trei districte din Nord-estul Moldovei (districtele Cernoviților, Sucevei și Câmpulungurilor), pe așa numita Bucovinei. Acest teritoriu cu o întindere de 181 mile pătrate avea pentru Austria mare însemnătate politică și militară. Ca să'l capete ușor, îl ocupă mai întâi cu oști... / Austria had long cast an eye on the three districts in the Northeast of Moldavia, i.e. Czernowitz, Suceava, and Câmpulunguri, the so-called Bukovina. This territory extending over 181 square miles was important for Austria in a political and military context. The military occupation of this region facilitated Austria's subsequent annexation of the Bukovina.....".

7.10. Serafim Ionescu

The Romanian history textbook by S. Ionescu, intended for second and third-year pupils of various types of elementary school, *Istoria română (Legende naționale). Partea I-a. Pentru Cl. II. și III. rurale sau II. urbană* (Fălticeni / Moldavia ⁵1894) provides much important information on Romanian history, Romanian national self-awareness, the ideal of being descendants of Latin-speaking Romans, and the existence of 'Romianness' outside Moldavia: "Românii nu sunt numai în România ci și peste munții Carpați, în Transilvania, Bucovina,

Teмиşана, Марамуроş şi Crişана: peste Prut în Basarabia, şi peste Dunăre, în Macedonia. Cei din Transilvania, au fost tot d'auna asupraşi de Unguri / Not only do Romanians live in Romania, they also live beyond the Carpathian Mountains, in Transylvania, the Bukovina, in Maramuresch and Krischana: beyond the River Pruth in Bessarabia, beyond the Danube, in Macedonia. *The [Romanians] in Transylvania have always been suppressed by the Hungarians*" (ib. p. 53). In this last sentence, as well as in another, shorter text (ib. p. 53) of the Hungarians are explicitly presented as the historic opponents of the Romanians.

7.11. Teoctist Blazewicz

The grammar by T. Blazewicz, published in Lemberg and Czernowitz in 1844 and intended for German speakers, primarily civil servants who had to communicate in the Romanian language in their jobs (cf. *Preface*, p. 43) outlines the grammatical rules, and takes its sample sentences predominantly from the sphere of everyday life: "I've seen a colt and several horses", "The streets of this beautiful town are wide", "Your language is much easier than ours" (p. 31, 47, 48, etc.). Issues of national or state identity are only touched upon in a few passages. Among the examples of ethnonym formation, three different word formation patterns are offered: first: "Moldavians, Italians, Galicians"; second, "Englishman, Greek" and third, "Frenchman, Russian Prussian, Turk, Jew" (p. 36, 141).

References to Romanian history and geography only occur at a very general, neutral level: "The Moldavians have not always been able to protect their country from the invasions of the Tartars", "On this side of the Carpathian mountains it is colder than on the other side of the mountains", "The city of Suceava got its name from the Hungarian word 'soce'" (p. 141, 151, 173). There is only one mention of the former capital of Moldavia in the sentence: "Suceava used to be the capital of Moldavia" (p. 166). In addition, a small number of references point to the conception of a strictly hierarchical state structure. Under the concept 'state', a German-Romanian glossary gives a list of lexemes in the following order: town, country, fatherland/*home country*, regent / monarch, emperor, court, king, prince, authorities, advice, council, judge, law-court / verdict, subject, citizen, castle / citadel, nobleman, peasant, etc.' (cf. Blazewicz 1844, concluding section: 194-221). In putting the monarch first and the peasant last, this order clearly reflects a hierarchy from the state at the top down to the peasant at the lower end. Another word list at the end of this grammar section gives the following lexical items, some of which form semantic fields, although they are semantically not related, such as

North Pole, South Pole, wine-grower, farm-hand, eye of a needle, etc. The list concludes with several names of countries, toponyms, and designations associated with the state” (Empire, Kingdom, Archduchy, Principality, Free State). What is rather striking about this list, however, is not only the toponyms as such which are enumerated here, but primarily the order in which they are presented. First, and long before any terms referring to Romanian regions are mentioned, a number of items are given in exactly the following order: Austria, Russia, France, Turkey, various territories of the Habsburg empire, other politically powerful states of the time. Then there are several Romanian regions followed by states bordering on Romania as well as important points of reference pertaining to the Habsburg Empire: Austria (*Austria*), Russia (*Rossia, Țara-Rusăscă, Țara-Turcească*), France (*Țara-Franțuzăscă*), Prussia (*Prússia, Preuszen*), England (*Anglia*), Carinthia (*Carnútia*), Bohemia (*Bohémia*), Moldavia (*Moldávia / Moldóva*), Wallachia (*Valáhia*), Italy (*Itália*), Transylvania (*Tranzilvânia / Ardeál*), Hungary (*Ungária*), Poland (*Țara-Leșească / Polónie*), Buda (*Búda, Ofen*), Pest (*Péstina, Pesth*), Vienna (*Viána...*), Lemberg (*Leóv*), Czernowitz (*Cernăuț*), Danube (*Dunăré*), Pruth (*Prút*), the Carpathian Mountains (*Carpáți*), Dnister (*Nístru*), Alps (*Alpi*), etc. (ib., pp. 220-221).

Historically, this textbook mirrors the political situation of the Romanian regions at the time when Blazewicz published his book: It reflects the complex set of tensions to which the Romanian principality found itself exposed in the first half of the nineteenth century: these were the three powers Habsburg, Russia and Turkey. Austria, mentioned first in his list, was officially the main political partner of the Romanian regions. At the same time, however, Russia, which was gradually replacing Turkey and its ambitions to dominate the Moldavian region, had assumed the protectorate over Moldavia and by the 19th century had become a political power sufficiently strong to incorporate large parts of the Moldavian territories (Bessarabia), at least temporarily. This is reflected in the text by placing Russia and Turkey second and third respectively. France, fourth in the list, was developing into one of the principal political and cultural models for the Romanians in the 19th century. By listing the important centres and regions of the Habsburg Monarchy such as Vienna, Lemberg, Czernowitz, or the Danube region and the Alps etc. the users of this grammar were given a vivid description of the Habsburg Empire and its geographical dimensions. The presentation of Austria at the top of the list - long before the Romanian regions - highlights this impression of Austria's territoriality coupled with associations of prominence, magnitude and sovereignty in a wider sense. On the whole, however, such passages do not occur frequently in this grammar.

7.12. Basil Janovicz

Basil (or Vasil) Janovicz wrote his *Grammatik der rumänischen Sprache für Deutsche* (Imperial Textbook Publishing Company, Vienna 1855), because he had been repeatedly asked to write a Romanian grammar for 'Non-Romanians who were competent in German', i.e. for the non-Romanian pupils of the elementary schools in the Bukovina. Primarily, this grammar provides a system of rules but makes no political references. Sample sentences are taken from everyday communication, for example, "Son, do not drink muddy water".

8. Conclusion

As our case studies have demonstrated, there is a wide range of diverse texts from the domain of education in the Habsburg Bukovina which must be grouped in different categories. In summary, our analysis yields the following picture:

V. Ianoviciu's book (Vienna 1869) contains no references to the (historical) relations of power in the Bukovina. Ieremievici-Dubău (Vienna 1879) portrays the ruling figures of the House of Habsburg through narrative passages and points to the fact that the Bukovina depended on the emperor and even quotes one of the most important historical text which praises the emperor. The work by M. Vicol (Suceava 1913) refers to the emperor, without, however, encouraging the user to make any positive associations. Aron Pumnul's book (Vienna 1862-1864) presents a large number of Romanian authors and their works. Many of these texts encourage the readers to develop their own personalities in order to be able to resist the enemy, or points to the importance of education as a necessary requisite in the competition with others, etc. It touches upon the geographical-historical conditions of Moldavia (cf. the text about the Moldavian insignia) and the notion of the Roman-Latin descent of the Romanians (cf. the text about the Roman Emperor Trajan, who conquered the regions which form the Romanian territory of Transylvania. A few comments by Pumnul even explicitly attempt to kindle the Romanian national self-awareness. Other texts in the same volume describe Vienna as a magnificent city and cultural centre.

The reader by Șt. Ștefureac (Suceava 1897) also contains contributions by many different authors who were important for the cultural development of Romania, but there are also pieces of folk literature and stories which reflect on Romanian national identity. Similarly, most of the contributions in the book compiled by D. Simionovici (Wien 1898) are written by eminent authors from all Romanian provinces, but there are also texts on Romanian

geography, history and Roman-Latin descent alongside texts which deal with eminent people of this country. Information about these authors are given in a separate appendix at the end of the book. There are only two contributions which refer to Habsburg. The reader by L. Bodnarescul (Czernowitz 1901) contains few but important texts about Moldavian history (about the most renowned Moldavian ruler, Stephen the Great, and about the monasteries of the Bukovina). There is also a rather general and non-political description of the Bukovina and a text on the different calendars. In this contribution explicit mention is made of the fact that there are adherents of both the Catholic and the Orthodox faith and a few articles explicitly point to the Bukovina as a part of Austria and to Habsburg as an institution which sparked the cultural development of the Bukovina and which granted the Bukovina political distinction (The Austrian emperor gave the Bukovina the University of Czernowitz and the title of a duchy). Other texts define the incorporation of the Bukovina into the Habsburg empire as a deliberate act actively supported by the Bukovinan population. The grammar by Th. Blazewicz (Lemberg & Czernowitz 1844), on the other hand, has only a small number of passages which are relevant to our topic: there is the presentation of a particular type of state organisation as well as a reference to the political situation of the Romanian lands in a European context in the middle of the nineteenth century.

The analysis of the textbooks which originated in independent Romania, however, shows that the popular primer by Ion Creangă (Jassy ²³1893) contains fables, pieces of folk literature and texts on everyday life, but only few contributions about Romanian history (Stephen the Great, the ancestors, etc.). Yet there are also texts which explicitly call for the Romanians to unite, and one text explicitly mentions the large historic provinces Wallachia, Moldavia, and Dobrudscha. The work by Gr. G. Tocilescu (Bucharest 1899) contains numerous contributions which are relevant to the historical and national self-awareness of the Romanians and one text even defines the acquisition of the Bukovina as an act of aggression. The work by (Fălticeni / Moldavia, ⁵1894) contains many historical references as well as references to a Romanian national self-awareness, the theme of Roman-Latin descent, the unification of the Romanians, and portrays the Hungarians as the enemies of the Romanians in Transylvania.

The individual analyses of our data reveal that the texts originating from Wallachia, Moldavia and the Bukovina show similar characteristics at the semantic level. Many texts are in part identical, for example, nature descriptions, adaptations of folk literature, as well as narratives about events from all provinces of today's Romania (e.g. a plague of migratory locusts in

Transylvania). References to Habsburg, however, differ both in quantity and in the way the empire is presented as a great power. In our analysis, the Bukovina-based textbooks contain more descriptions and portrayals of the hegemonic power than the Romania-based textbooks which sometimes portray Habsburg as a foreign power in clearly negative terms. Whereas one text from Wallachia written at the end of the century expressly defines the acquisition of the Bukovina as a military act of aggression, the Bukovinian authors do not voice their attitude towards the hegemonic centre openly or aggressively. In the Bukovina, the centre and the Romanian ethnic group were not opposing each other 'openly'.

If we return to our initial question, which is the point of departure of the present book (cf. Rindler-Schjerve / Vetter, this volume), i.e. whether to assess the Habsburg policy in the Bukovina as liberal-democratic or as repressive, we cannot give a clear answer. One reason for this may be the fact that textbooks rarely become the site for struggles over political aspirations and hegemony. On the other hand, our analysis indicates that at the textual level and against the hegemonic background, certain ambiguities must be viewed from both perspectives, the central and the peripheral. The discourse which developed in these textbooks clearly helped identify these two interactants and assigns a discursively constructed identity to each of them which they accepted or had to accept.. We may also note on the basis of this discourse that the central power in Vienna seems to have been aware that a certain degree of tolerance was required as well as respect for the interests and needs of the Romanian ethnic group in the Bukovina.

The semantic characteristics which have been identified in the analysis of our data show a number of mental images and associations, either connected with the presentation of the hegemonic centre or the presentation of the subordinate ethnic group which were constructed in different ways according to the themes they presented. The textbooks of the Bukovina point to specific, frequent and redundant 'images' of the Habsburg rulers, which are narratively constructed and focus on certain moral qualities of the rulers, such as loyalty, benevolence, or charity. Moreover, our data contains descriptive sequences about geographical or urban features of the Habsburg empire which are used in order to present Habsburg as idealised and mythical great power. Young Romanians are encouraged to praise and honour the rulers and wish them well. Habsburg is portrayed as the source of the cultural progress of the city of Czernowitz, and it was Habsburg who brought civilisation to the Bukovina. Thus architectural splendour seems to be closely connected with the Habsburg rule in the Bukovina. The ideation of Habsburg is coupled with the presentation of an absolutist, hierarchically

organised and superordinate political authority and its political and territorial greatness. The textbooks of the Bukovina as well as those originating from other provinces contain only little or no information at all about the Habsburg empire or its German-speaking representatives.

Whereas the textbook discourse of the Bukovina presents the centre through images of hegemonic greatness, the Romanians are frequently presented in terms of national and nation-specific relevance. Thus, the primary aim of the extensive 'Romanian reader' by A. Pumnul is to make young Romanian people familiar with many Romanian authors²⁶. An extract from the second part of Volume 4 has demonstrated that Romanian nationality is explicitly referred to in this work (cf. Pumnul, 1862-1865, *Tomul IV, Partea 2*, pp. 33-37), even though these references occur only sporadically. Generally, the data from the Bukovina (and from the other provinces) contain descriptions which introduce the reader to particular qualities, habits, customs, traditions, the language, the costumes, the songs and the literature of the Romanians and their rural way of life. As we have seen, these 'attributes' of Romanianness are mostly associated with positive values: beautiful appearance, harmonious poetry, cheerful and poetic language, etc..

The emphasis on Habsburg's superior status as the sovereign and the source of culture and refinement may have engendered a discourse which, more or less explicitly, called for the Romanians to construct their own identity, an identity which had its roots in customs and traditions, in the revival of old folk traditions and popular literature, in rural life and primarily in the Romanian language, represented by the works of Romanian authors. The subordinate status of the Romanian language, which was only gradually replacing German in the public domains of the judiciary, the administration, or secondary and higher education, became one of the most crucial elements in Romanian ethnic group formation. The way this was done, however, entirely corresponded with the interests and ambitions of the ruling power. Considering Habsburg's strong economic interest in the Bukovina (cf. Polek 1893, pp. 57-88), it seems only logical that the ruling power encouraged and morally indoctrinated young Romanians to perceive themselves as hard-working peasants and future cultivators of the land. For the Romanians, this emphasis on rural life and on Romanian traditions, culture and language served as a source of their identity construction and coincided with a process that eventually led to the formation of the Romanian nation-state after 1918. In doing so, the Romanians focused on ethnic and national values,

²⁶ In general, these are presented to the readers in favourable terms (cf. also Candrea 1926-193: s.v. *Pumnul*).

building on the historical dimension of their identity. Presumably this was the only form of national articulation which they were permitted by the ruling power at the time the book by Ștefan Ștefureac was published. The analysis of the reading passages and the extracts from Ștefan Ștefureac's primer reveal the strong ideological orientation of these texts, although this is not always evident at first glance.

However, that ideologically a distinction can be made between the hegemonic discourse which emphasises the advantages of peasant life in order to socialise young Romanians in compliance with the ruler's aims, and the discourse of the subordinate group of Romanians, who gradually develop their own identity, is noticeable in all the texts. In the context of a diglossic situation, these hegemonic and ethnic discourses can be identified as two sides of a unity. On the one hand, the hegemonic centre expresses more or less openly its aspirations to power, but, on the other hand, it allowed the Romanians enough space to embark on a process of self-identification. In response to these claims to hegemony, the Romanians in turn defined their own value system. Certain components of a Romanian identity were, however, determined by the ruling power in Vienna and imposed on the Romanian ethnic group, for example, the alleged predestination for peasant life. In this discourse, in which the ruling and the ruled parties are – unequal – interactants, auto- and hetero-categorisations are discursively produced and reproduced. In making these categorisations, however, both groups achieve consensus in this situation of domination and subordination which is discursively balanced and maintained in the Romanian text books of the Habsburg Bukovina.

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²⁷ The data on which this study is based are listed in Chapter 5 (The data) .

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