

9 Lemberg or L'vov

The Symbolic Significance of a City at the Crossroads of the Austrian and the Russian Empires

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Today's city of Lviv in western Ukraine has had a checkered history. The city has been located in a disputed border region under changing rule since the Middle Ages, and in the twentieth century, the region became a shatter zone once again. The frequent changes of rule are also reflected in the many names by which the city is known – as L'viv in Ukrainian, Lwów in Polish, Lemberg in German, or L'vov in Russian. In the late eighteenth century, in the course of the partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth between Russia, Prussia, and Austria, the region was incorporated into the Austrian Empire, and Lviv became the Austrian city Lemberg for 140 years – until Austrian rule in the region was challenged by the Russian Empire in World War I. However, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Lviv was a city where imperial and national interests crossed.

The research perspective on Lviv as an imperial city reveals on the one hand how the empire manifested itself in the capital of a border region, which had been incorporated into the Habsburg Monarchy relatively recently compared to other parts of the empire, and how its urban structure was shaped by institutions of the imperial state as well as by its ethnoculturally mixed population. On the other hand, it examines the significance of the city for the empire. Lviv, the center of a peripheral province, had less economic but rather political and representative significance and mirrored Austrian ideological ambitions – the more so as it was a potential part of the sphere of influence of the neighboring Russian Empire.

This chapter outlines the symbolic significance of the city for local national movements as well as for imperial rule in the region: Lviv was perceived as a regional political and cultural center and as an outpost of the Austrian and Russian Empires. The focus of the article will be on Austrian and Russian discourses on Lemberg/L'vov during World War I, when imperial as well as national conflicts over the city culminated. How was Lviv conceptualized as an Austrian or Russian city? Which concepts of imperial rule underly these discourses? To what extent does a transfer of concepts

between the two empires become apparent? This will be analyzed on the basis of wartime reporting in Austrian and Russian newspapers.

This chapter first gives an overview of the integration of the region into the Austrian Empire and highlights Lviv's role as a capital of the new Austrian province Galicia and as a starting point for reforms. Moreover, the effects of Austrian rule on the development of the city are shown. Furthermore, the article outlines the role of the multiethnic city as a site of national formation of the different population groups in the region. Thereafter, it shows the growing interest of the Russian Empire in neighboring Galicia and its capital from the late nineteenth century against the backdrop of the growing political tensions between the Austrian and Russian Empires which culminated in World War I and the impact of Russian national concepts and local national movements. The analysis of Austrian and Russian wartime reporting highlights the propagandistic claims to Lviv as an outpost of Western culture in the East or as the most westward outpost of the Russian people and reveals differences in the underlying concepts of imperial rule in the region, which emphasized the multinational character of the Austrian Empire or postulated a Russian character of the Russian Empire. Finally, the chapter juxtaposes these propagandistic concepts with the politics of the changing Austrian and Russian wartime regimes in Lviv.

The Galician Capital

When the new crownland Galicia and Lodomeria was incorporated into the Austrian Empire in the late eighteenth century, Lviv became the capital of this new province that was (apart from Hungary) the largest and easternmost in the Habsburg Monarchy. Thus, Lviv maintained its role as the center of a border region, a region where the borders changed again and again.¹ In the thirteenth century, the city had developed into the center of the Principality of Galicia-Volhynia, which was the western part and one of the successors of the Kievan Rus'. In the fourteenth century, the region became a part of the Kingdom of Poland and was now known as Ruthenian Voivodeship (referring to the region's former affiliation with the Rus'). While the rural population was henceforth ruled by Polish or polonized nobility, Lviv was granted Magdeburg city rights. The city was a major trading center at that time, inhabited by a variety of population groups, including Armenians and Germans. Over time, Poles became the dominant group in the city, and Jews the second. Thus, the urban population significantly differed from the rural surroundings, where the population majority was Ruthenian (later known as Ukrainian). Religious divisions between the different population groups played a major role and mostly coincided with social and linguistic divisions. While the majority of Poles belonged

to the Roman Catholic Church, the Ruthenian population belonged at first to the Orthodox and later to the Greek Catholic Church. The latter dates back to the Union of Brest 1596, when most of the Ruthenian Orthodox Church eparchies in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth placed themselves under the authority of the Pope but maintained the eastern rite. In the Galician territories, it took longer for the Union to prevail than in many other regions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Around 1700, however, the Eparchy of Lviv joined the Greek Catholic Church. Also, the predominantly Yiddish-speaking Jewish population differed not only in their religion but also linguistically from other population groups. Jews were therefore often conceived as a national group in Galicia, while in Austria they were considered a religious group.

When Lviv became the center of the new Austrian administration in 1772, the city gained in significance compared to other cities in the region and its population grew steadily. Indeed, Lviv had lost some of its importance as a commercial center to Brody, which was located directly on the new border with the Russian Empire.² However, it gained political relevance. The new Austrian crownland comprised not only parts of the former Principality of Galicia-Volhynia or Ruthenian Voivodeship but also other parts of the Lesser Poland Province in the west. As the capital of the Austrian crownland, Lviv became a serious competitor to Krakow, the hitherto undisputed center of Lesser Poland. Although the city of Krakow was temporarily granted the status of a Free City in 1815, it was finally incorporated into Galicia in 1846. Moreover, in the late eighteenth century, Lviv became the starting point for the reforms of the Austrian Emperor Joseph II in the region. Galicia, which was perceived as the most backward area of the Habsburg Monarchy, served as an experimental ground for Joseph's ideals of an enlightened state.³ The emperor's efforts for centralization, however, met with resistance from the local Polish nobility. Not only in Austria, but even more so in neighboring Russia and Prussia, the Polish elites' intentions to restore an independent Polish state caused unrest and repeatedly led to Polish uprisings. Like other border regions, Galicia played an important role as a seismograph for the course of domestic politics as well as foreign policy.⁴ Since Galicia was bordering two major powers, the region was, not least, of military importance. While the Austrian government initially perceived Prussia as the major threat, in the late nineteenth century the increasing political tensions with Russia came to the fore.⁵ The military significance of the region is also evident in Lviv's position as an important garrison city. However, the Galician capital lost its role as the main fortress to the city of Przemyśl. Lviv's fortifications were pulled down and boulevards took their place.⁶

The Austrian rule also had at least a temporary impact on Lviv's population structure. Austrian German-speaking officials first came to the city to

administer the province. However, this changed in the 1860s. As a result of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, Galicia became part of the Austrian half of the empire. The Austrian government now made major concessions to the Polish elites in Galicia, who were willing to cooperate after the failed uprisings and became important supporters of the government in the Austrian parliament. Galicia was granted self-government and Polish was introduced as the administrative language. Poles thus started to play an important role in Galician politics and administration, which also encouraged the assimilation of German speakers into the Polish language and culture. At the same time, Lviv became a statutory city and had self-government rights of its own. Thus, the Galician capital was not only the seat of the governor (the representative of the imperial central power) and the Galician self-government (including the Galician Diet) but also a self-assured municipal government. From the 1860s, all these institutions were dominated by the local Polish elites.⁷ Although political reforms in the Habsburg Monarchy had expanded opportunities for participation since the 1860s, the electoral rules at the regional and local levels continued to privilege the upper class.

The city's political and administrative functions were an important factor in its dynamic population growth, especially in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when it developed into the fifth largest city in Austria-Hungary.⁸ Lviv experienced a moderate economic upswing at that time. It was an important sales and consumer market and a service and administrative center, but it was not an important industrial location. Overall, the level of industrialization was relatively low in Galicia, which earned the province the reputation of backwardness.⁹ Hence, Lviv exemplifies the concept of "emerging cities," a city at the imperial periphery that showed that modernization did not necessarily have to be interconnected with high industrialization. Its assumed backwardness became an important resource for an ambitious urban development policy that was at the same time nationally charged.¹⁰ The Polish city administration pushed for construction activity and investment in infrastructure, including the first electric tramway of the Habsburg monarchy.¹¹ Thus, the Galician capital positioned itself as a "metropolis," as a modernization engine of the region, and as a modern Polish center, competing with Krakow, the more traditional, historic center of the region. At the same time, it claimed the status of a "substitute capital" of divided Poland since Polish culture was able to develop more freely in Austrian Galicia than in Russian-ruled Warsaw.¹²

However, these Polish aspirations did not challenge Austrian rule in the region or the loyalty of locals to the Habsburg Monarchy. The Polish political actors knew that Lviv had taken over the function of a Polish political center due to the favorable political conditions of Habsburg rule.¹³

The role of Lviv as a Polish or an Austrian provincial capital was not mutually exclusive: Lviv was perceived as an Austrian *and* Polish city.¹⁴ In this sense, the imperial as well as the Galician provincial government underlined their contribution to the prosperity of the city – the latter arguing that Lviv flourished only under the conditions of gained autonomy. At the same time, Polish claims to the multiethnic city were increasingly challenged by its Ruthenian/Ukrainian counterpart at the local level, while at the imperial level, neighboring Russia laid claim to the region.

A Multiple National Center

Lviv owed its symbolic significance for local as well as imperial actors not only to its role as a political and administrative capital but also to its increasing role as a cultural center within the region. Besides administrative institutions, educational and cultural institutions played a major role in the flourishing of the city and were a major concern of first the imperial and later the municipal government and local national movements.

The reform policies of Emperor Joseph II had laid the foundation for Lviv's revival as a cultural center in the late eighteenth century. Besides initiatives of the imperial authorities, the fact that more and more members of the Polish nobility took up residence in the city played a role. In 1784, Joseph II established a new university in Lviv. Five years later, the city's first public theater was established, where a German company and a Polish company performed alternately. The repertoires of both companies were quite similar. The Polish theater was quick to incorporate new cultural trends from Vienna and intended to show that the Poles were on the same cultural level as the Germans. The German theater lost its prestige over the course of the nineteenth century. By the end, the audience of the German theater was *de facto* limited to the soldiers and officers garrisoned in Lviv.¹⁵

The Jewish population also played an essential role as a bearer of German culture in Lviv. From the late eighteenth century, Austrian politics and access to education had led to the Germanization of Jewish elites in the city, while the majority of Jews were Yiddish-speaking.¹⁶ In the first half of the nineteenth century, Lviv was an important center of the *Haskalah* (Jewish Enlightenment). In the late nineteenth century, however, the outstanding role of German language and culture was gradually replaced by assimilation into the Polish ones. The Polish education system played a crucial role in this process.¹⁷

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Galician autonomy and municipal self-government contributed to the strengthening of Polish cultural and educational institutions in Lviv. At that time, however, the main competitor of Polish culture in Lviv was the local national movements

rather than imperial German culture. The city became a magnet for the intelligentsia of *all* religious and national groups in Galicia.

While in the first half of the nineteenth century, the small Ruthenian elite and urban population in Lviv still tended to assimilate into Polish culture, they began to distance themselves from the Poles and to develop a distinct national consciousness in the mid-nineteenth century. The Greek Catholic clergy played an important role in this process. However, united in their resentments against Polish domination, the national activists were disunited on the matter of their national orientation. Some of the activists were inspired by Ukrainian activists in the Russian Empire, who had begun to distinguish themselves from the Russians a few decades earlier. An important factor was that literary Ukrainian, as it was first formulated by the writers of the Ukrainian movement in Russia, was almost perfectly intelligible to Galician Ruthenians. Thus, some activists saw Galician Ruthenians as part of a Ukrainian nation and distanced themselves from Russians and Poles alike. Other activists, however, who became known as Russophiles, tended toward the Russian culture. Inspired by Russian pan-Slavists, they saw Galician Ruthenians as part of an all-Russian nation. While the Russophile orientation initially prevailed in Galicia, the Ukrainophile orientation won out in the 1880s. Russophiles continued to play a role in cultural and political life, but the Ukrainian national movement now took the lead.¹⁸ Thus, the term “Ukrainians” for the Ruthenian population in Galicia became more and more widespread. However, “Ruthenians” remained the official term in the Habsburg Monarchy. Moreover, the term “Ruthenians” reflects that still in the early twentieth century not all of them identified as Ukrainians.

Lviv was the most important location for both Russophile and Ukrainophile institutions in Galicia. In addition to rather elitist cultural institutions controlled by Russophiles such as the Ruthenian “National House” and the Stauropegiion Institute, Ukrainophile organizations in Lviv in particular gave a great deal of attention to the mobilization of peasants, and thus they had a strong influence on the rural areas of Eastern Galicia.¹⁹ However, the attraction of Lviv reached even beyond Galicia. Though the Ruthenian/Ukrainian population was a minority in the city, Lviv finally became the undisputed center of the Ukrainian national movement – not only in the Habsburg Monarchy, but in general. The Ukrainian national movement had its origins in the Russian Empire. However, the Russian imperial authorities soon took repressive measures against the Ukrainian national movement. They denied the existence of a Ukrainian language and banned the printing of Ukrainian books. Ukrainians (or Little Russians as they were called in the Russian Empire) were considered part of the Russian nation. The Russian authorities thus regarded the Ukrainian national

movement as a threat to the unity of the Russian nation. In Austria, the conditions for the Ukrainian national movement were significantly better, even though Galician politics and administration were Polish-dominated. Ruthenians were recognized as a distinct nationality and their national rights were protected by the Austrian Constitution of 1867.²⁰ Thus, the Ukrainian national movement increasingly challenged the local Polish elites in Lviv.

The Polish-dominated city administration, which discursively constructed Lviv as a purely Polish city, responded to the challenge posed by the Ukrainian national movement with increased efforts to “secure Lwów’s Polish character.” The city administration actively supported the founding and expansion of *Polish* museums, theaters, and other cultural institutions; schools and educational institutions were of particular importance.²¹ Whereas in the first decades of Austrian rule in Galicia German was the dominant language of education, it was largely replaced by Polish in the second half of the nineteenth century. But Ukrainian also gained in presence. At the turn of the century, there were five gymnasia in Lviv: three with Polish, one with German, and one with Ukrainian language of instruction. Nevertheless, German remained an important educational language and was also taught in the non-German secondary schools.²² As a seat of several secondary schools (including the first Ukrainian gymnasium in Galicia) and higher education institutions – including one of two universities in Galicia (beside Krakow) and a higher polytechnical school – the city provided access to education and positions, and thus was a gate to social mobility and a window to the wider world, especially to Vienna, the center of the empire.²³

The University of Lviv in particular was a main attraction as well as a site of national formation. Academic life increasingly adhered to the national idea. The educational languages Latin and German were gradually replaced by Polish in the course of the nineteenth century; Ukrainian played a secondary role.²⁴ While Polish professors promoted the expansion of the use of Polish as the only language of instruction and administration at the University of Lviv, Ukrainian aspirations for a separate Ukrainian university in the Galician capital increased at the turn of the century, and the university became a major site of Polish-Ukrainian conflicts in Galicia.²⁵ The symbolic significance of Lviv as a cultural center becomes evident in debates on the location of a Ukrainian university, the foundation of which was finally approved by the Polish-dominated Galician government on the eve of World War I. While the Ukrainian representatives insisted on Lviv as the location for “their” university, the Lviv City Council vehemently rejected this request, as a Ukrainian university posed a threat to the “Polish character” of the city.²⁶

Though the Polish-Ukrainian competition was at the foreground of political debates, Lviv was also one of the largest and most important centers of Jewish population in the Habsburg Monarchy, and Jews made an important contribution to the cultural life of the city. Besides the progressive assimilation into the Polish language and culture, Zionism and the concept of an independent Jewish nation gained more and more influence. By the end of the nineteenth century, Lviv had become one of the first strongholds of Zionist organizations. However, large parts of the Jewish population remained bound to the Orthodox tradition.²⁷ Thus, Lviv was a center of Zionist as well as Orthodox and Hasidic associations.²⁸

Overall, Lviv represented a site of national formation for Poles, Ukrainians, and Jews which was reflected in the numerous Polish, Ruthenian/Ukrainian, and Jewish political parties, educational and academic societies, newspapers, welfare organizations, and cultural institutions.²⁹ In addition to the Polish and German theaters, for example, there was a Ukrainian theater company³⁰ as well as a Yiddish one.³¹ Lviv's symbolic significance for the local population groups was reflected in the perceptions of the city as a "Polish bastion" amid the Ukrainian rural surroundings, as a "Ukrainian Piedmont," or "Mother of Israel."³² Thus, the city's public space became a battlefield for representation on behalf of its ethnic groups, in particular Poles and Ukrainians.

These national aspirations were also reflected in building activities. Polish efforts to shape the public space had great support in the provincial and municipal administrations. This is exemplified by the building of Lviv's new theater, which was designed by a Polish architect from the Lviv Polytechnical School and opened in 1900. The project was inspired by the Czech national theater in Prague. However, while the Czech theater had been financed by private donations, the Lviv theater was financed by the provincial and municipal administrations and thus was an expression of the Polish elite's control of the province. The building was a typical late nineteenth-century opera house, with an iconographic program aiming to integrate Polish culture into the cultural canon of European civilization. Soon after, the idea of building a Ukrainian national theater in Lviv was born, which aimed at demonstrating the Ukrainians' cultural equality with the Poles. A Ukrainian modernist architect drafted a design combining folk motifs and elements of Greek Catholic church architecture with the decorative styles associated with the Secessionists, emphasizing the uniqueness of Ukrainian culture while linking it to modernity. However, the project lacked financing and was never realized.³³

Despite the efforts of Poles and Ukrainians to express their national ambitions in architecture, it was to a large extent the Austrian Empire that left its stamp on the local environment. In urban planning and in architectural

fashion, Lviv was strongly shaped by Vienna throughout the nineteenth century and was frequently called “little Vienna of the East” for its architectural tradition.³⁴ Although the German language gradually lost its importance in the course of the nineteenth century, imperial buildings continued to bear witness to Lviv’s affiliation with the Habsburg monarchy. And there were also other cultural phenomena which testified to Lviv’s connections to Vienna. One example is coffee house culture.³⁵ Hence, Lviv was not only the administrative center of Austrian rule in Galicia but was also perceived as a stronghold of Austrian culture in this remote province.

A City at the Crossroads of the Austrian and the Russian Empires

Due to its political, cultural, and symbolic significance, Lviv was a contested city, and it was not only local population groups, especially Poles and Ukrainians, that competed for the city and its public space – Galicia and its capital had increasingly become the subject of tensions between the Austrian and the Russian Empires.³⁶ Galicia’s location at the border between the two empires drew the attention of the imperial governments to the region when, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the foreign relations of Austria-Hungary and Russia deteriorated due to their competition in the Balkans. In addition, the agency of national activists in Russia and Galicia, as well as the two empires’ different treatment of local national movements, caused considerable resentment.

In the first decades after the partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the partitioning powers had been mainly concerned about Polish insurrections aimed at restoring the Polish state. The Austrian and the Russian Empires therefore, had a common interest in countering these Polish aspirations. However, Austrian and Russian politics gradually diverged. While Russia took increasingly repressive measures, Austria eventually made far-reaching concessions to the Polish elites in Galicia. Moreover, from the mid-nineteenth century, Galician Ruthenians/Ukrainians increasingly became the focus of attention.

Russian pan-Slavists made contacts with Russophile activists in Galicia with whom they shared the view of the Galician Ruthenians as part of the Russian nation. These were mostly private contacts among intellectuals. However, to some extent, Russian government funds were spent through the activities of the “Slavic Benevolent Committee.” They supported Russophile newspapers in Galicia, which gradually lost popularity among the Galician readership, and cultural institutions such as the Ruthenian “National House” in Lviv. Contacts intensified at the beginning of the twentieth century, when a radical faction developed among the Galician

Russophiles that was oriented not only culturally but also politically toward Russia. The most important organ of the radical Russophiles was the Russian-language newspaper *Prikarpatskaia Rus'* published in Lviv. At the same time, Russian nationalists devoted themselves more to Galicia and promoted a Russian commitment to the "compatriots" in Eastern Galicia, which were suppressed by the Polish provincial authorities and "German" central bureaucrats. These contacts were especially centered around the "Galician-Russian Benevolent Society" in St. Petersburg, which consisted of Galician émigrés and Russian nationalists and enjoyed support, particularly among the Russian provincial elites in the western periphery of the Russian Empire. Also, some high-ranking clerics of the Russian Orthodox Church called for increased engagement in Galicia and were sympathetic to the efforts of individual Galician rural parishes to convert to Orthodoxy. The Austrian government was greatly concerned about these contacts of Galician Russophiles with Russian nationalist and pan-Slav activists and tried to counteract these activities. In 1882 and 1914, several Galician Russophiles went on trial in Lviv for treason. However, the Austrian authorities overestimated the political importance of the Russophiles and the Russian government's involvement in Galicia.³⁷ It was only on the eve of World War I that the Russian government was increasingly willing to support action groups who claimed Eastern Galicia for the Russian Empire.³⁸

Overall, the Russian presence in Lviv was relatively modest and was mainly limited to supporting cultural institutions of local actors, who identified with Russian culture. Russia was officially represented by a consulate in Lviv, but there was no major Russian diaspora in the city. The only Orthodox church in Lviv was under the jurisdiction of the Austrian metropolitan archdiocese of Bukovina and was built for Orthodox soldiers from Bukovina serving in the Lviv garrison.³⁹ Indeed, the most important group of Russian citizens in Lviv were Ukrainian intellectuals.

Due to the severe restrictions of the Ukrainian national movement in the Russian Empire, several Ukrainian intellectuals from Russia found a cultural-political field of activity in Galicia. The University of Lviv was a main attraction. Though the language of instruction was in general Polish, there were several Ukrainian chairs and Ukrainian courses, which would have been unthinkable in Russia at that time. One of the most prominent Ukrainian immigrants was the historian and political activist Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi who held the chair of Eastern European history at the University of Lviv from 1894. Hrushevs'kyi took an active part in the Ukrainian national movement in Galicia and was particularly committed to the establishment of a Ukrainian university in Lviv.⁴⁰ In this respect, the plans to establish a Ukrainian university in Lviv were a thorn in the side of both

the Polish city administration and the Russian government, as the university would attract Ukrainian activists at both sides of the border.⁴¹ The Russian government was concerned about the Ukrainian national activists' contacts across the borders and their anti-Russian attitudes. It suspected that Austria was deliberately promoting the Ukrainian movement in order to use it as a weapon against Russia. Moreover, the fact that the Austrian authorities tolerated Polish paramilitary organizations in Galicia which engaged in anti-Russian agitation further worsened Russian-Austrian relations.⁴²

Austrian-Russian conflicts culminated during the war. Large parts of Galicia became a war zone in August 1914, when Russian troops advanced far into the province. Hence, the war offered the opportunity for geopolitical change, and the annexation of Eastern Galicia became an official war aim of the Russian government.⁴³ The Galician capital was the focus of attention from both sides at that time. The "Battle of Lemberg," as it was called in the Austrian press, lasted for about two weeks,⁴⁴ and the capture of the city in early September was a major triumph for the Russian army. Lviv remained under Russian occupation for several months. In a joint offensive, the Central Powers recaptured most of Galicia and the Galician capital in June 1915. During the major Russian offensive of summer 1916 (known as the Brusilov offensive), the Russian army advanced again in Galicia but this time did not reach Lviv.⁴⁵ Overall, the Galician capital received a great deal of attention in the Austrian and the Russian press during the war. Lviv was a contested city – not only on the battlefield but also in wartime propaganda.⁴⁶

An "Outpost of Western Culture"

An analysis of press reporting during World War I provides an insight into the strategies which were used by the various actors to justify their claim to Lviv. Pre-war Polish-Ukrainian competition in Galicia continued in wartime mobilization. Indeed, a vast majority of Galicia's Polish, Ukrainian, and Jewish activists declared their loyalty to the Habsburg Monarchy – but they did so almost always separately.⁴⁷ In fact, they highlighted the role of their own nation in the fight against Russia. The common enemy thus hardly represented a unifying element. Nevertheless, the varying Austrian, Polish, and Ukrainian narratives about Lviv and its role in the war had a common determinant: the Galician capital was an "outpost of Western culture" that had to brave the assailing "Russian-Asiatic barbarism."

The sense of belonging to European, western culture was usually based on historical arguments. Hence, outlines of the history of Lviv figured prominently in war reporting. Moreover, Polish as well as Ukrainian activists published numerous brochures to win a wider Austrian and international

audience for their cause.⁴⁸ However, Polish and Ukrainian historical arguments differed significantly. Ukrainian authors referred to the foundation of the city by King Danylo in the thirteenth century and highlighted the close relations of the Galician-Volhynian prince to the “European West.” In contrast to Russian concepts of the Kievan Rus’ as a proto-Russian state, they considered the Rus’ as a Ukrainian state and highlighted in particular the role of the Galician-Volhynian principality, its dynastic ties to European rulers, and finally, the royal crown offered to Danylo by the pope.⁴⁹ Regarding Lviv’s European culture, Ukrainian authors were often willing to acknowledge German-Austrian influences on the “Ukrainian city” Lviv, but they notably downplayed Polish contributions to the development of the city.⁵⁰ From a Polish perspective, in contrast, Lviv’s European culture dated back to its incorporation into the Kingdom of Poland in the fourteenth century. Polish authors, on the one hand, pointed to the city’s flourishing under Polish rule. On the other hand, they emphasized Lviv’s mission as a bulwark against the East, as a defender of Polishness and of European civilization over the centuries. This narrative, which picked up the widely accepted myth of Poland as *Antemurale Christianitatis*, had been used to legitimize the Polish dominance in the city in the context of Polish-Ukrainian conflicts in the pre-war years. However, in light of the war against Russia, the interpretation of Lviv as a bulwark gained additional significance.⁵¹ From a Viennese perspective, Lviv’s “German character” was added to the set of interpretations. German nationalists usually reduced the flourishing of the city to the positive influence by German settlers who had allegedly brought “trade, commerce, and culture” to the Polish-ruled city in the Middle Ages: “With the decline of Germanness, of course, the decline of the city went hand in hand.” But after a period of decline, the “Austrian administration, full of German spirit,” had revived the city, as the German nationalist newspaper *Ostdeutsche Rundschau* put it.⁵² Viennese liberals also often linked Lviv’s “intimate” affiliation with the Habsburg monarchy and the “indissoluble bond that connects us to it” with the presence of German culture in the city,⁵³ and referred to an Austrian or German civilizing mission at the eastern outpost of the empire. The assumed civilizing activities of the Austrian state and its institutions ranged from the enlightened reforms in the eighteenth century to improvements in Galicia’s infrastructure by the army during the war.⁵⁴ However, except for German nationalist newspapers preoccupied with Germanness, Viennese reporters were usually willing to integrate Polish and Ukrainian narratives on their contribution to the defense of western culture against “eastern barbarism” into an Austrian imperial narrative.⁵⁵ Concepts of an Austrian mission to defend and develop European culture at the empire’s eastern periphery did not exclude the idea of Lviv’s mission as a shield for the Austrian Empire and European civilization. Some authors compiled different,

even contradictory historical arguments, which ranged from claims to the region as an “ancestral Germanic territory,” and dynastic rights of the Hungarian crown dating back to the Middle Ages, to anti-Russian Polish narratives,⁵⁶ provided that they were compatible with Galicia’s affiliation with the Austrian Empire and served to distinguish Galicia from Russia. Lviv’s “western culture” was a key argument.

The “Russian City L’vov”

The advance of the Russian army in Eastern Galicia was also accompanied by an appropriation of the region in Russian press reporting. The goal was not only a military occupation but the permanent integration of this “Russian region” into the Russian Empire. Particular attention was paid to the Galician capital. Russian newspapers as well as brochures popularized the image of the “Russian city of L’vov.” In contrast to the idea of Lviv as a bulwark of Polish or Western culture, from a Russian perspective the city seemed to be the most westward outpost of Russian culture, which had to be reconnected to its motherland.⁵⁷

Russian representations of Lviv were also often based on historical arguments.⁵⁸ They usually located not only the foundation but also the heyday of the city in the time of the Kievan Rus’. As in Russian discourse the Rus’ (contrary to Ukrainian views) was generally recognized as a Russian state, these representations emphasized the “Russian character” of the city. Some authors went even further, equating the capture of the city by the Polish king Casimir III in the fourteenth century with the beginning of the city’s decline. This narrative obscured the economic prosperity and expansion of the city under Casimir and his successors, as well as the significant boom from the late nineteenth century, and regarded both the Polish and Austrian periods as “foreign domination” that entailed a decline of the Russian character of the city.⁵⁹

Galician Russophiles who had emigrated or fled to the Russian Empire at the beginning of the war played an important role in popularizing the image of the “Russian city L’vov.”⁶⁰ Indeed, the Galician-Russian Benevolent Society had promoted the unification of the “subjugated Russian territories” in the Austrian Empire with Russia for several years.⁶¹ However, they only reached a wider Russian audience during World War I, when an annexation of Eastern Galicia became realistic. In September 1914, the conquest of Lviv, the “heart” of this “Russian fiefdom which had been detached from Russia 600 years ago,” was praised by Russian nationalists as the completion of the “reunification of the Russian territories.”⁶² Moreover, Russian nationalists sometimes based their claims on religious arguments, presenting the Russian Tsar as “anointed by God to guide the whole, united from now on and forever indissolubly Orthodox Russian

people.”⁶³ They considered Greek Catholics to be in fact Orthodox and regarded the Greek Catholic Church as imposed by Catholic Poles and Austrians as a tool for violently separating Galician Ruthenians from the Orthodox community,⁶⁴ referring to the relatively late acceptance of the church union in Lviv.

This interpretation of Lviv's history, which clearly dominated in Russian press reporting, was partly reflected in descriptions of the contemporary city as well. Some of the Russian reports on Lviv highlighted “Russian elements” in Lviv's cityscape, focusing on a few buildings and thus omitting all the other architectural traditions that would disturb the image of the “ancient Russian city of L'vov.” They ignored the fact that virtually no monuments from the time of the Kievan Rus' were preserved in Lviv. One article referred, for example, to the St. Paraskeva Church as “one of the oldest Russian churches in L'vov, built by Prince Lev Daniilovič.”⁶⁵ The newspaper did not mention that the ancient church had been destroyed by fire and rebuilt in the seventeenth century nor that it currently belonged to the Greek Catholic Church.⁶⁶

Other authors, on the contrary, emphasized “foreign” architectural influences and criticized them as a symbol of centuries of foreign rule. One of these articles pointed to the numerous churches and synagogues in Lviv, arguing that even the Ruthenian – that is, Greek Catholic – churches hardly differed in their appearance from the Roman Catholic ones.⁶⁷ Besides the city's architecture, the Russian nationalists were also bothered by the presence of Orthodox Jews and their exotic appearance with sidelocks and long black coats⁶⁸ as well as by the presence of the Polish language – the “Polish talk all-around”⁶⁹ – which marked the foreign domination over the Russian city.⁷⁰

Though these nationalist discourses were widespread in the Russian press, there were other approaches that showed the newly conquered city in a positive light. In particular, the liberal newspaper *Rech'* took a position counter to Russian nationalist narratives, characterizing Lviv on the one hand as an “unquestionable Polish city”⁷¹ and appreciating, on the other hand, the diversity of the cityscape with its various influences, which had imposed a “strong local stamp” on Galician architecture.⁷² The newspaper thus defended the historically developed multicultural character of the city and the region. This perspective was rather an exception in Russian public discourse. More common were depictions of Lviv which kept aloof from these political debates. Many war correspondents and reports of Russian soldiers who invaded Lviv in the autumn of 1914 were less concerned with whether it was a Russian, Polish, or Austrian city. Rather, they were impressed by the beauty of the city, the wonderful architecture of the stone rows of houses, and the wide belt of parks and avenues.⁷³ Only Kiev could compare with this magnificent city, as several Russian correspondents argued.⁷⁴ A highlight in Lviv's cityscape was the railway station

with its unforgettable, majestic architecture,⁷⁵ which appeared as a symbol of the city's progressiveness.⁷⁶ In contrast to the historical narratives of a decline of Lviv under Polish and Austrian rule, these reports valued the conquered city as an enrichment of the Russian Empire.

Concepts of Imperial Rule

Austrian and Russian war reporting on Lviv and Galicia in general aimed to legitimate Austrian or Russian rule in the region.⁷⁷ To this end, the reports transmitted different concepts of the city and of imperial rule in the region. One important aspect of these concepts was the handling of the multiethnic character of the city. Neither Austrian nor Russian discourses were uniform in this respect. However, there was a dominant concept in each of the two states. Austrian wartime propaganda was inspired by the concept of the Habsburg Monarchy as a multi-ethnic state or *Nationalitätenstaat*. This was also reflected in the image of Lviv as a multi-ethnic city. Indeed, several reports in Viennese newspapers claimed a kind of German cultural hegemony in the city that tied it to the Austrian Empire. At the same time, Polish and Ukrainian authors often laid exclusive claims to Lviv as a Polish or Ukrainian city. However, Austrian propaganda aimed to integrate all these contradictory nationalist narratives into the image of "unity in diversity" and transmitted the ideal of the cooperation of all peoples of Austria-Hungary in the fight against the external enemy. Thus, Viennese newspapers referred to the activities and declarations of Polish, Ukrainian, and Jewish organizations; their loyalty to the Habsburg Monarchy; and their contribution to the war against Russia.⁷⁸ Overall, the Austrian Empire presented itself as a guarantor of nationality rights and as a beloved multinational monarchy standing united against the Russian threat.⁷⁹

Apart from varying historical arguments and different national goals,⁸⁰ Polish and Ukrainian national activists usually shared the view that the Austrian Empire provided significantly better conditions for Lviv's thriving than the Russian Empire, as it granted freedom to the development of national cultures. Thus, various national organizations in Lviv cooperated with the imperial government in the effort to mobilize for war and presented the war against Russia as a war against Russian oppression. The latter argument was of particular importance to Lviv's Jewish population to whom the anti-Jewish violence of the Russian army posed an immediate threat. However, by no means did the external threat lead to a settlement of internal conflicts. On the contrary, conflicts and mutual mistrust between Poles, Ukrainians, and Jews significantly increased during the war. Russian occupation politics contributed to these conflicts, as did the Austro-Hungarian army's spy hunt. Austrian politics were less and less in line with its claim to guarantee the rule of law and the equality of nationalities.

With the beginning of the war against Russia, the Austrian authorities' fears of Russian espionage in Galicia increased dramatically. They especially suspected alleged Ruthenian Russophiles. Russophile institutions were closed as soon as war was declared. Some activists fled to Russia, while those who remained were arrested on charges of high treason. However, these measures were not confined to Russophile activists. The Austro-Hungarian military administration, which wielded administrative power in Galicia due to the province's status as a war zone, suspected the Ruthenian/Ukrainian population, in general, to be sympathetic to Russia. Military defeats encouraged this hysteria about possible treason at the local level. Thousands of Ruthenians/Ukrainians were deported from the war zone and interned in camps in the monarchy's interior; summary executions were regular occurrences. Suspicions were often based on the nationality of the accused, and not on evidence. The actions of the military authorities thus stood in stark contrast to the propagated unity and cooperation of all peoples of Austria-Hungary in the fight against the external enemy.⁸¹ Rather, they seemed to share the Russian assessment that the local Ruthenian/Ukrainian population longed for unification with Russia. Russian newspapers reported extensively on the Austro-Hungarian army's acts of violence, which confirmed their allegations about Austrian oppression of the "Russian people" in Galicia and legitimated Russia's mission in the region.⁸²

In Russian discourse, concepts on the Russian character of the Russian Empire clearly prevailed, although Russia was undoubtedly a multi-ethnic state as well. However, Russian nationalist discourses dominated, especially with regard to Galicia and its capital L'vov, which was considered to be a Russian national territory and thus part of the heartland of the Russian Empire.⁸³ While the Ruthenian/Ukrainian population was regarded as part of the Russian people,⁸⁴ the presence of Poles and Jews in the city as well as the activities of Ukrainian national activists disturbed the image of Russian L'vov. Thus, Ukrainian activists as well as Jews and Poles were frequently perceived as Austrian agents who helped to consolidate Austrian rule in the region and to suppress the "Russian" majority in Galicia. Accordingly, Russian nationalists demanded that measures be taken to strengthen the "Russian character" of the Galician capital.

These ideas were widespread in Russia but not without controversy. The leader of the liberal Constitutional Democratic Party Pavel Miliukov, for example, opposed this Russian nationalist concept and explicitly referred to the concept of the Austrian *Nationalitätenstaat*. He argued that the freedom of development of their national cultures would strengthen the loyalty of the local population to the state, and he pointed to the widespread Austrian patriotism among the local population. By no means did Miliukov reject Lviv's incorporation into the Russian Empire. He highlighted

the fact that the actions of the Austro-Hungarian military administration in Galicia during the war were far from the principles of the Austrian constitution and thus had undermined the loyalty of the local population to the Habsburg Monarchy; and even before the war, the principle of equality of nationalities hardly corresponded to reality. In fact, the Galician autonomy at the provincial level established a Polish dominance in politics and administration. This dominance was even more pronounced at the municipal level in Lviv. However, Miliukov questioned the widely held assessment in Russia that the vast majority of the Ukrainian population in Lviv felt Russian and was seeking unification with “Mother Russia.” Instead, he proposed recognizing Ukrainians as a nationality in order to win their loyalty. Overall, Miliukov advocated rethinking the concept of Russian rule in the region and regarded the Austrian *Nationalitätenstaat* as a role model.⁸⁵

Realities of Wartime Regimes

These debates took place in the context of the Russian occupation in Galicia which gave rise to the Austrian propaganda about Russia’s “barbaric oppression” of the local national cultures, in contrast to the Habsburg Monarchy as a guarantor of nationality rights.⁸⁶ After the Russian victory at Lviv, the temporary military General Government of Galicia and Bukovina was established in September 1914 with Lviv as its administrative center. Besides ensuring stability in the hinterland of the Russian army, an important aim of the Russian occupying regime was to prepare Galicia for “reunification” with Russia. Hence, the policies of the Russian military governor in Lviv were heavily influenced by the demands of Russian nationalist circles to promote the “Russian character” of the city and the region. Accordingly, the Russian occupation regime introduced the Russian language in schools and administration. On the one hand, these measures were directed against Polish dominance in the city, as the Russian authorities regarded Poles as “foreign elements” in a “Russian national territory.” On the other hand, Russification efforts targeted the Ukrainian language, which the Russian authorities did not recognize as a language, but rather considered a Russian dialect. Ukrainian cultural institutions were regarded as anti-Russian separatist organizations and thus closed. Many Ukrainian political activists were accused of Austrian sympathies, arrested, and deported to Russia. At the same time, the Russian spy-hunt was directed especially against the Jewish population. Jews were regular victims of physical violence in Russian-occupied Galicia. One of the most violent wartime pogroms occurred in Lviv at the end of September 1914. However, even though the Russian policy in Galicia was clearly aimed at Russianizing the region, the occupying regime had to make some concessions

in order not to jeopardize stability in the hinterland of the Russian front. For example, plans for missionary work by the Russian Orthodox Church among Greek-Catholics were postponed to the post-war period. Though the Russian authorities intended in the long term to ban Polish from the Galician administration and schools, they made interim compromises with the local Polish elites and decided for practical reasons to keep most of the Polish civil servants in office during occupation. In this respect, the Russian occupation regime disappointed the Galician Russophile activists, who had hoped for leading positions in the local Russian administration.⁸⁷

When the Russian army had to withdraw from Lviv in the summer of 1915, criticism of the failed occupation regime soon became loud in Russia. Although most critics did not question the objective of Galicia's Russification in principle, the russifying policy of the occupying regime was considered premature. In the event of a new occupation of Galicia by the Russian Empire (which was hardly in doubt for most observers), the military interests should therefore be given priority.⁸⁸ In Austria there also were some doubts about the commensurability of the violent measures of the Austro-Hungarian army at the beginning of the war. However, when the Austro-Hungarian army re-entered Lviv in 1915, they again cracked down on alleged collaborators. While at the beginning of the war, it was mainly the Ruthenian/Ukrainian population that suffered from the Austrian spy hunt, in 1915 accusations of collaboration were often directed against the local Polish elites. Instead of restoring constitutional order and local self-government, the Austrian authorities once again established a military regime in Galicia. The appointment of a "neutral" German-speaking general as Galician governor could not appease the growing national conflicts among the local population and was met with criticism, especially among the Polish population. Large numbers of the Polish and Ukrainian elites lost their loyalty to the Habsburgs and began to work for national independence.⁸⁹ The discrepancy between the promised liberation from the "Russian yoke" and the reality of Austrian military rule was an important factor that undermined confidence in the Austrian Empire. After all, Austrian as well as Russian political practices during the war had little in common with the propagated concepts of rule and were often inspired by military considerations.

Conclusion

Lviv, the capital of the Austrian province Galicia and one of the largest cities in Austria-Hungary, was of decisive symbolic significance – not only for the local population groups but also for Austrian imperial rule. Though it was not a principal economic center, it was the uncontested political and cultural center of the region. Thus, the city represented a site of national formation for Poles, Ukrainians, and Jews, as well as a stronghold

of Austrian imperial culture, in this remote eastern province. At the same time, Lviv was of crucial importance for Russian interests in the region. On the one hand, the role of the city as a Ukrainian cultural center thwarting the suppression of the Ukrainian movement in Russia was a thorn in the Russian government's side. On the other hand, as the historical "Russian city L'vov," it was crucial for Russian claims to the region.

Yet the symbolic significance of the city at the crossroads of the Austrian and Russian Empires increased even more during World War I, when Galicia became a theater of war between the two. The needs of war time propaganda reinforced efforts to exalt Lviv as an outpost of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and of Western culture in the East or as the most westward outpost of the Russian people. Moreover, the shifting front lines and the changing rule in the city allowed an immediate comparison between the policies of the two empires, which both sides sought to use for their own interests. The Russianizing policy of the Russian occupation regime in Lviv, for example, was picked up by Austrian propagandists to underline Russia's "barbaric oppression" of the local national cultures in contrast to the ideal of the Habsburg Monarchy as a multi-ethnic state and guarantor of nationality rights. And Russian propaganda referred to the persecution of Russophiles in Galicia by the Austrian army to underline the Austrian oppression of the "Russian people" in Galicia and legitimate Russia's mission in the region. Both sides paid a great deal of attention to the other empire's actions. However, open efforts to adopt the other's concept of rule – that is, for example, the Austrian *Nationalitätenstaat* as a role model for Russian rule in the region – were relatively rare. Rather, both sides sought to distinguish their own policies from those of the enemy, even though the actions of the Austrian and Russian military regimes in the region did not differ much as both sides relied on repressive measures toward certain population groups. Despite the promises to liberate Lviv from the oppression of the enemy, the situation of the local population deteriorated during the war under both Russian and Austrian rule and increasingly alienated the local population from the Austrian Empire. At the same time, national conflicts between the local population groups increased.

World War I marked a climax of Lviv's symbolic significance for the Austrian and the Russian Empires. At the same time, the war led to the deterioration of imperial rule and to the rise of a new political order in the region. However, the city did not lose its symbolic significance for the local population with the dissolution of the empires – on the contrary. Polish-Ukrainian competition for the city, which dated back to the mid-nineteenth century, took on a new dimension. Both Poles and Ukrainians insistently claimed Lviv for their nation-states coming into being, and the competition for the city ended in a Polish-Ukrainian war.

Notes

- 1 For an overview of the city's history, see Yaroslav Hrytsak, "Lviv: A Multicultural History through the Centuries," in *Lviv: A City in the Crosscurrents of Culture*, ed. John Czaplicka (Cambridge, MA: Ukrainian Research Inst., Harvard Univ., 2005), 47–73.
- 2 Börries Kuzmany, *Brody. Eine galizische Grenzstadt im langen 19. Jahrhundert* (Wien: Böhlau, 2011), 39–71.
- 3 On Austrian politics in Galicia, see in detail Hans-Christian Maner, *Galizien. Eine Grenzregion im Kalkül der Donaumonarchie im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Munich: IKGS-Verl., 2007); on the reforms of the late eighteenth century, see especially 28–53.
- 4 Hans-Christian Maner, "Zentrum und Grenzregionen in der Habsburgermonarchie im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. Eine Einführung," in *Grenzregionen der Habsburgermonarchie im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. Ihre Bedeutung und Funktion aus der Perspektive Wiens*, ed. Hans-Christian Maner (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2005), 10.
- 5 Maner, *Galizien*, 168–97.
- 6 Hrytsak, "Lviv," 54.
- 7 On Galician Autonomy, see Józef Buszko, *Galicja 1859–1914. Polski Piemont?* (Kraków: Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza, 1989); on Lemberg's municipal government, see Heidi Hein-Kircher, *Lembergs "polnischen Charakter" sichern. Kommunalpolitik in einer multiethnischen Stadt der Habsburgermonarchie zwischen 1861/62 und 1914* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2020).
- 8 John Czaplicka, ed. *Lviv: A City in the Crosscurrents of Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Ukrainian Research Inst., Harvard Univ., 2005), 36.
- 9 Christoph Mick, "Nationalismus und Modernisierung in Lemberg 1867–1914," in *Städte im östlichen Europa. Zur Problematik von Modernisierung und Raum vom Spätmittelalter bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Carsten Goehrke and Bianka Pietrow-Ennker (Zürich: Chronos, 2006), 181.
- 10 Hein-Kircher, *Lembergs "polnischen Charakter" sichern*, 16; on the concept of "emerging cities," see also Eszter Gantner, Heidi Hein-Kircher, and Oliver Hochadel, "Introduction: Backward and Peripheral? Emerging Cities in Eastern Europe," *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* 67, no. 4 (2018), 479–82.
- 11 Mick, "Nationalismus."
- 12 Heidi Hein-Kircher, "Securitizing the Polish Bulwark. The Mission of Lviv in Polish Travel Guides during the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," in *Rampart Nations: Bulwark Myths of East European Multiconfessional Societies in the Age of Nationalism*, ed. Lilija Berežnaja and Heidi Hein-Kircher (New York, Oxford: Berghahn, 2019).
- 13 Hein-Kircher, *Lembergs "polnischen Charakter" sichern*, 330–31.
- 14 Hein-Kircher, "Securitizing the Polish Bulwark."
- 15 Hugo Lane, "The Ukrainian Theater and the Polish Opera: Cultural Hegemony and National Culture," in *Lviv: A City in the Crosscurrents of Culture*, ed. John Czaplicka (Cambridge, MA: Ukrainian Research Inst., Harvard Univ., 2005), 153–54.
- 16 Yiddish, however, was not recognized by the Austrian administration as an independent language but classified as a German dialect. Yiddish speakers were therefore classified as German speakers in the censuses.

- 17 Waclaw Wierzbieniec, "The Process of Jewish Emancipation and Assimilation in the Multiethnic City of Lviv during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in *Lviv: A City in the Crosscurrents of Culture*, ed. John Czaplicka (Cambridge, MA: Ukrainian Research Inst., Harvard Univ., 2005), 226–36.
- 18 John-Paul Himka, "The Construction of Nationality in Galician Rus': Icarian Flights in Almost All Directions," in *Intellectuals and the Articulation of the Nation*, ed. Ronald Grigor Suny and Michael D. Kennedy (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1999), 111–45; Anna Veronika Wendland, *Die Russophilen in Galizien: ukrainische Konservative zwischen Österreich und Rußland, 1848–1915* (Vienna: Verl. d. Österr. Akad. d. Wiss., 2001).
- 19 John-Paul Himka, *Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement in the Nineteenth Century* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988); Wendland, *Die Russophilen in Galizien*, 82–87.
- 20 Andreas Kappeler, "Die ukrainische Nationalbewegung im Russischen Reich und in Galizien: Ein Vergleich," in *Entwicklung der Nationalbewegungen in Europa 1850–1914*, ed. Heiner Timmermann (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot 1998), 179–85. On the Russian Empire, see also Alexei Miller, *The Ukrainian Question. The Russian Empire and Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Central European Univ. Press, 2003).
- 21 Hein-Kircher, *Lemberg's "polnischen Charakter" sichern*, 214–66.
- 22 Stefaniya Ptashnyk, "Deutsch im alten Österreich: Zur Mehrsprachigkeit und Sprachvariation im habsburgischen Bildungswesen in der 2. Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts am Beispiel der Stadt Lemberg," in *Dimensionen des Deutschen in Österreich: Variation und Varietäten im sozialen Kontext*, ed. Alexandra N. Lenz (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2015), 383–87.
- 23 Czaplicka, *Lviv*, 36–40.
- 24 Stefaniya Ptashnyk, "Sprachengebrauch und Sprachenwechsel an der Lemberger Universität im ausgehenden 18. und in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Vernakuläre Wissenschaftskommunikation: Beiträge zur Entstehung und Frühgeschichte der modernen deutschen Wissenschaftssprachen*, ed. Michael Prinz and Jürgen Schiewe (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), 341–55.
- 25 Jan Surman, "Figurationen der Akademia. Galizische Universitäten zwischen Imperialismus und multiplem Nationalismus," in *Galizien – Fragmente eines diskursiven Raums*, ed. Doktoratskolleg Galizien (Innsbruck: StudienVerl., 2009), 20–28.
- 26 Harald Binder, *Der nationale Konflikt um die Universität Lemberg* (Praha: Výzkumné Centrum pro Dějiny Vědy, 2003), 201–2; 211–12.
- 27 Wierzbieniec, "Process"; Hrytsak, "Lviv," 56.
- 28 Mick, "Nationalismus."
- 29 Czaplicka, *Lviv*, 36–40.
- 30 Lane, "Theater," 157.
- 31 Delphine Bechtel, "Le théâtre yiddish Gimpel de Lemberg: une Odyssée oubliée," *Yod* 16 (2011), 83–98.
- 32 Yaroslav Hrytsak and Victor Susak, "Constructing a National City: The Case of L'viv," in *Composing Urban History and the Constitution of Civic Identities*, ed. John Czaplicka (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2003), 142–5.
- 33 Lane, "Theater," 154–61.
- 34 On Lemberg's architecture and its symbolic significance, see Markian Prokopovych, "Lemberg (Lwów, Lviv) Architecture, 1772–1918: If Not the Little

- Vienna of the East, or the National Bastion, What Else?," *East Central Europe* 36 (2009), 100–24.
- 35 Even today, Lviv advertises its Viennese cafés. Delphine Bechtel, "Von Lemberg nach L'viv. Gedächtniskonflikte in einer Stadt an der Grenze," *Osteuropa* 58, no. 6 (2008): 221.
- 36 Klaus Bachmann, "Ein Herd der Feindschaft gegen Rußland." *Galizien als Krisenherd in den Beziehungen der Donaumonarchie mit Rußland (1907–1914)* (Vienna: Verl. für Geschichte u. Politik, 2001).
- 37 Wendland, *Die Russophilen in Galizien*, 468–72; 514–39.
- 38 M.E. Klopova, "Vneshniaia politika Rossii i problemy Galitsii nakanune pervoi mirovoi voiny (K postanovke voprosa)," *Vestnik Moskovskogo Universiteta, Seriia 8: Istoriiia*, no. 3 (1999), 39–47.
- 39 Wendland, *Die Russophilen in Galizien*, 479–80.
- 40 Surman, *Figurationen*, 25–28.
- 41 Bachmann, *Herd der Feindschaft*, 194–95; Armin Mitter, "Galizien – Krisenherd in den Beziehungen zwischen Österreich-Ungarn und Rußland (1910–1914)," *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte der sozialistischen Länder Europas* 28 (1984): 223.
- 42 Bachmann, *Herd der Feindschaft*, 65–127.
- 43 Aleksandra Iu. Bakhturina, *Politika Rossiiskoi Imperii v Vostochnoi Galitsii v gody Pervoi mirovoi voiny* (Moskva: Airo-XX, 2000), 57–60.
- 44 The first phase of the battle lasted from August 26 to 30. As a result, the Austro-Hungarian army withdrew from the city on September 2. In the second phase from September 6 to 11, Austro-Hungarian troops made an unsuccessful attempt to recapture Lemberg.
- 45 Mark von Hagen, *War in a European Borderland. Occupations and Occupation Plans in Galicia and Ukraine, 1914–1918* (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 2007).
- 46 Elisabeth Haid, *Im Blickfeld zweier Imperien. Galizien in der österreichischen und russischen Presseberichterstattung während des Ersten Weltkriegs (1914–1917)* (Marburg: Verlag Herder-Institut, 2019).
- 47 Maciej Górny, "Identity under Scrutiny. The First World War in Local Communities," in *Imaginations and Configurations of Polish Society. From the Middle Ages through the Twentieth Century*, ed. Yvonne Kleinmann, et al. (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2017), 264.
- 48 Ukrainian activists focused on a German-speaking audience in particular to win the support of the Central Powers. On their publication activities, see Rudolf A. Mark, "Zur ukrainischen Frage im Ersten Weltkrieg: Flugschriften des 'Bundes zur Befreiung der Ukraine' und ihm nahestehender Publizisten, 1914–1916," *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 33, no. 2 (1984), 197–222.
- 49 Burkhard Wöller, "Europa" *als historisches Argument. Nationsbildungsstrategien polnischer und ukrainischer Historiker im habsburgischen Galizien* (Bochum: Winkler, 2014), 335–42; Stephan Tomaschiwskyi, *Die weltpolitische Bedeutung Galiziens*, vol. 1 (München 1915), 20–21. "Bilder aus der Geschichte Galiziens. I.," *Reichspost*, June 20, 1915, supplement *Der Sonntag*, 24–25.
- 50 See, in particular, Eugen Lewicky, *Galizien. Informativer Ueberblick über nationale, wirtschaftliche, soziale und kulturelle Zustände des Landes* (Vienna: Verlag des Bundes zur Befreiung der Ukraina, 1916), 17–18.

- 51 Alois Woldan, "Lemberg als *Antemurale christianitatis* zur Zeit des Ersten Weltkriegs," *Studi Slavistici* IX (2012), 56–59; Hein-Kircher, "Securitizing the Polish Bulwark."
- 52 Zöckler, "Aus Lembergs deutscher Vergangenheit," *Ostdeutsche Rundschau*, June 12, 1915, 2–3.
- 53 "Die Räumung Lembergs durch unsere Truppen. Ein Wort der Sympathie für diese Stadt," *Neue Freie Presse*, September 8, 1914, morning ed., 3.
- 54 Alice Schalek, "Bilder von der russischen Front. I.," *Neue Freie Presse*, July 6, 1917, morning ed., 2. On the "civilizing activity" of the Austro-Hungarian army, see also "Die Armee im Dienste der Kultur," *Reichspost*, October 26, 1915, morning ed., 4.
- 55 See "Kaiserworte über Galizien. Der Empfang der galizischen Adelsvertreter in Schönbrunn," *Reichspost*, January 10, 1915, morning ed., 2; "Eine Kundgebung der vereinigten polnischen Parteien," *Reichspost*, May 4, 1916, evening ed., 3; "Die Kundgebung der Polen in Krakau," *Neue Freie Presse*, May 3, 1916, morning ed., 5; "Die Ukrainer gegen den Zarismus. Ein Aufruf an Europa," *Reichspost*, September 10, 1914, morning ed., 2.
- 56 See, for example, "Zur Geschichte Galiziens," *Reichspost*, June 06, 1915, supplement *Der Sonntag*, 26.
- 57 Woldan, "Lemberg," 60.
- 58 See, for example, "Obzor voennykh deistvii," *Novoe Vremia*, August 21, 1914, 2; "Gorod L'vov," *Rech'*, August 21, 1914, 2. All Russian newspaper articles are cited according to the Julian calendar. According to the Gregorian calendar, the two above-mentioned articles appeared on September 3 – that is, in the context of the capture of Lemberg by the Russian army.
- 59 Dm. Vergun, "Slavianskii zametki," *Novoe Vremia*, August 15, 1914, 4; "Na russko-avstriiskom fronte," *Russkoe Znamia*, August 24, 1914, 1–2.
- 60 For example, the Galician Russophile Dmitrii Vergun, the vice-chairman of the Galician-Russian Benevolent Society, played an important role. Apart from publishing Russian-language pamphlets on Galicia, Vergun had been a journalist of *Novoe Vremia* – one of Russia's most influential newspapers – since his emigration to St. Petersburg in 1907. Moreover, the Russian-language newspaper *Prikarpatskaia Rus'* – the paper of radical Russophiles in Lviv – served as an important source of information for Russian reporters. When the paper was banned by the Austrian authorities at the beginning of the war, it was published in Kiev. After the capture of the Galician capital by the Russian troops, the *Prikarpatskaia Rus'* returned to Lviv.
- 61 Wendland, *Die Russophilen in Galizien*, 468–78.
- 62 M. Men'shikov, "Dolzhny pobedit'," *Novoe Vremia*, August 23, 1914, 3–4, and August 18, 1914, 2–3.
- 63 "Petrograd, 11 aprelja 1914 g.," *Russkoe Znamia*, April 11, 1915, 1.
- 64 "Reč' archiepiskopa char'kovskago Antonii posle molebna o darovanii pobedy russkomu oružiju," *Russkoe Znamia*, September 4, 1914, 1–2.
- 65 *Novoe Vremia*, August 30, 1914, supplement, 7.
- 66 A Russian book on Lviv's history and architecture, in contrast, described the Baroque architecture of the St. Paraskeva church. The author also mentioned that it was a Uniate church. He emphasized, however, that divine service here was closer to the Russian rite than in other Uniate parishes. V. A. Vereshchagin, *Staryi L'vov* (Petrograd: Tipografia Sirius, 1915), 62–63.
- 67 R. I., "Na voine," *Russkoe Znamia*, November 6, 1914, 3.

- 68 I. K-iarov, "Na voine," *Novoe Vremia*, September 19, 1914, 4.
- 69 R. I., "Na voine," 3.
- 70 Vergun, "Slavianskii zametki."
- 71 "Vo L'vove," *Rech'*, September 13, 1914, 3.
- 72 A. Rostislavov, "Starinnaiia arkhitektura Galitsii v ocherkakh i risunkakh," *Rech'*, June 1, 1915, 4.
- 73 K-iarov, "Na voine," 4.
- 74 V. Bauder, "S letuchim otriadom," *Rech'*, April 18, 1915, 2; "Avstriiskaia Lemberg – snova drevnii russkii L'vov," *Ogonok*, August 31, 1914, 1–2.
- 75 K-iarov, "Na voine," 4; S. Bel'skii, "Po L'vovskoi gubernii," *Novoe Vremia*, October 11, 1914, 3.
- 76 On the Lviv railway station and its function as a prestigious building, see Nadja Weck, "Ein neuer Bahnhof für Lemberg (Lwów, L'viv) – Die symbolische Bedeutung der Eisenbahn für das Selbstbewusstsein einer modernen Stadt," in *Galizien. Peripherie der Moderne – Moderne der Peripherie?*, ed. Elisabeth Haid, Stephanie Weismann, and Burkhard Wöller (Marburg: Verl. Herder-Inst., 2013), 31–43.
- 77 Haid, *Im Blickfeld zweier Imperien*.
- 78 See, for example, "Ein Aufruf des Polenklubs an das polnische Volk," *Neue Freie Presse*, August 18, 1914, morning ed., 6; "Die polnischen Legionäre," *Reichspost*, September 7, 1914, midday ed., 2; "Aufruf des ukrainischen Nationalrates," *Neue Freie Presse*, August 18, 1914, morning ed., 6; Roda Roda, "Das Volk und der Krieg," *Neue Freie Presse*, August 23, 1914, morning ed., 4.
- 79 Elisabeth Haid, "Galicia: A Bulwark against Russia? Propaganda and Violence in a Border Region during the First World War," *European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire* 24, no. 2 (2017): 203–5.
- 80 Although the political parties of the Galician Poles and Ruthenians swore loyalty to the Habsburg Monarchy, an important purpose of their wartime organizations was to represent own national interests, and both appealed to the national enthusiasm of their people. While Polish politicians pursued the goal of expanded Galician autonomy and various concepts of a united Poland, Ukrainian politicians called for the province of Galicia to be divided into Polish and Ukrainian provinces. Both claimed Lviv for their national goals.
- 81 Elisabeth Haid, "Nationalitätenpolitik und Kriegspropaganda. Die galizischen Ruthenen aus der Perspektive Österreich-Ungarns und Russlands," in *Frontwechsel. Österreich-Ungarns „Großer Krieg“ im Vergleich*, ed. Wolfram Dornik, Julia Walleczek-Fritz, and Stefan Wedrac (Wien: Böhlau, 2014), 17–23; Hagen, *War in a European Borderland*, 10–6; Christoph Mick, *Lemberg, Lwów, L'viv, 1914–1947: Violence and Ethnicity in a Contested city* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2016).
- 82 See, for example, Galičanin, "Pered vzjatiem L'vova," *Novoe Vremja*, September 10, 1914, 2; "V L'vovskoj tjur'me," *Novoe Vremja*, September 20, 1914, 15.
- 83 Alexei Miller, *The Romanian Empire and Nationalism. Essays in the Methodology of Historical Research* (Budapest: Central European Univ. Press, 2008), 161–79.
- 84 See Miller, *Ukrainian Question*.
- 85 P. Miliukov, "Soedinennye shtaty Avstrii," *Rech'*, September 4, 1914, 2–3; P. Miliukov, "Poljaki v Avstrii," *Rech'*, September 7, 1914, 2; P. Miliukov, "Pol'skij P'emont," *Rech'*, September 15, 1914, 2; "Petrograd, 4 sentiabria," *Rech'*, September 4, 1914, 1.

- 86 See, for example, “Die Polen und die Russifizierung Galiziens,” *Reichspost*, March 13, 1915, morning ed., 3; “Russische Freundschaft für die Ruthenen,” *Reichspost*, October 31, 1914, morning ed., 2–3.
- 87 On the Russian occupation of Lemberg, see Mick, *Lemberg, Lwów, L'viv*, 23–62. On the policies of the Russian occupation regime in Galicia, see also Bakhturina, *Politika Rossiiskoi Imperii*.
- 88 Bakhturina, *Politika Rossiiskoi Imperii*, 214–22.
- 89 Mick, *Lemberg, Lwów, L'viv*, 62–96.

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