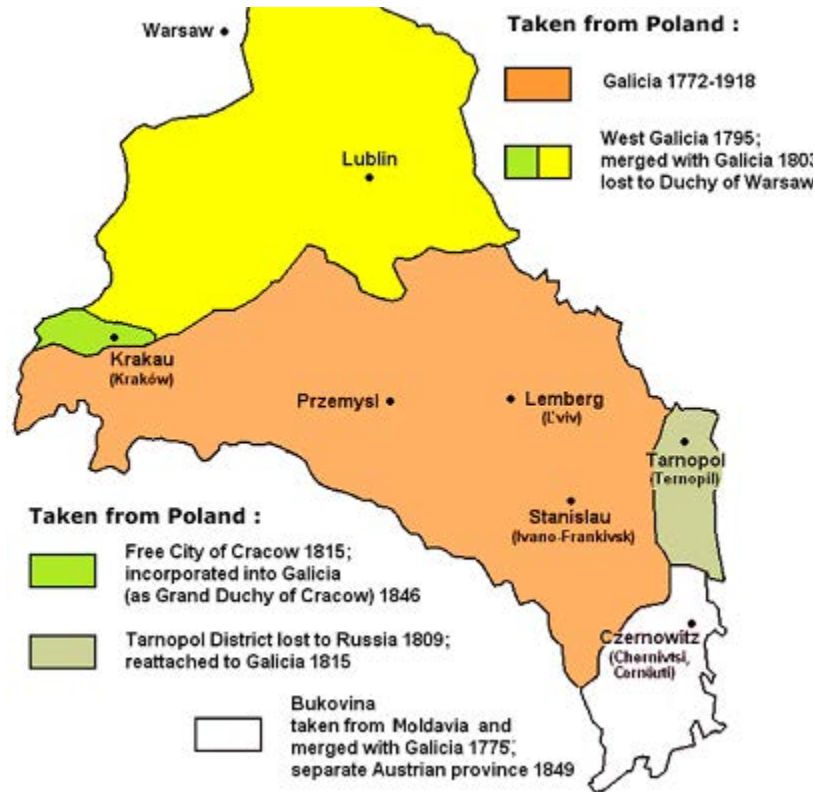


The Rise of the Ukrainian National Movements in Austrian Galicia

Joshua D. Zimmerman



The Ukrainian national movement in Austrian Galicia – a people who then called themselves Ruthenians - arose out of the disintegration of Poland at the close of the eighteenth century. The northeast corner of the Austrian partition of Poland - Galicia - was inhabited mostly by Poles and the Ukrainian-speaking Ruthenians. From the very beginning of Austrian rule in 1772, the Habsburg authorities challenged the Polish definition of Ruthenians as nationally Polish and ethnically Ruthenian. During the first half of the nineteenth century, the Austrians attempted to form a favorable status for the Ruthenians with the aim of weakening the Polish separatist struggle. By granting the Ruthenians the status of a separate nationality, the Austrian authorities successfully cultivated Ukrainian loyalty.

By the close of the nineteenth century, Poles and Ruthenians each constituted over forty percent of the population. Others included Jews, who made up about ten percent of the population, and Germans, constituting most of the remaining population. In 1880, the population of Galicia was six million. Roman Catholics, the vast majority of whom identified, accounted for forty-six percent of the population. Greek Catholics, the religion of the vast majority of Ruthenians, constituted forty-two percent of the population. By language, there were fifty-two percent Polish speakers and forty-three percent Ukrainian-speakers. While most Poles lived in western Galicia, the small percentage living in east Galicia formed the bulk of the landlord class.

This was consistent with the traditional hierarchical pattern in the borderland territories or Kresy of Polish landlord and Ruthenian peasant. The two and a half million Ruthenians in 1880 living in Eastern Galicia were primarily rural and largely uneducated.⁶¹ Thus, the social divisions tended to be divided along class line, with the Ruthenians forming a compact, Ukrainian-speaking, Greek Catholic and overwhelmingly rural East Galician community.

The beginnings of a national awakening in East Galicia among those who referred to themselves as Ruthenians can be traced back to the 1846 peasant uprising against Polish landlords. Incidentally, I will use the term "Ruthenian" because the Greek Catholic (Uniate) East Galicians and the Russian Orthodox Ukrainians began to link their movements into an All-Ukrainian one only in the last decade of the nineteenth century.

Many historians have commented on the degree to which a liberal and tolerant political atmosphere can have profound influence on the growth of a national movement. The progressive educational reforms under Habsburg Emperor Joseph II-and Maria Theresa as well as Habsburg

⁶¹ *Jean-Paul Himka, Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), p. 60.

efforts to counterbalance and weaken the rebellious Poles would serve to hasten the national awakening of the East Galician Ruthenians.

Most significant regarding the Ruthenian national movement was the Habsburg policy towards the Greek Catholic Church. Wishing for political reasons to strengthen the Greek Catholic Church in East Galicia, Maria Theresa set up a seminary for Uniates – the name for Greek Catholics - in Vienna in 1774. Less than ten years later Joseph II opened the first Ruthenian diocesan seminary in Lviv in 1783. "These moves," one Polish historian has commented, "helped to create favorable conditions for the future cultural and educational development of the Ruthenian population in Eastern Galicia and promoted a feeling of linguistic and ethnic individuality among the Ruthenians."⁶²

Joseph II's most significant step was the abolition of serfdom in 1781. Jozef Chlebowczyk, who has studied the crystallization of the so-called "a-historical" nations lying between historic Poland and Russia, writes of the profound consequences of the early dilution of the feudal order in the Habsburg Empire. "The consequences of this step for the development of socioeconomic, linguistic, ethnic and nationality relations in vast areas of East-Central Europe can hardly be overestimated," Chlebowczyk writes. He continues:

by activating the peasant and urban population, the patent of 1781 had a major influence not only on the further development of relations in borderlands, but also on linguistic and ethnic relations in the entire monarchy. The introduction of limited serfdom made the first breach into petrified social and territorial (local) structures...From that time on, the rural population...had preserved its original ethnic character [and] started to flow into towns which were controlled by another ethnic element; this began to change the structure of linguistic and ethnic relations. Contacts between individuals and groups speaking different languages widened and grew in strength, leading to the emergence of the language question and to the increase in the role of language as a means of communication.⁶³

⁶² Jozef Chlebowczyk, *On Small and Young Nations in Europe. Nation-Forming Processes in Ethnic Borderlands in East-Central Europe* (Wroclaw: Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne, 1980), p. 66.

⁶³ Chlebowczyk, p. 67.

When the Habsburgs acquired Galicia in 1772, the Uniate Church was a degraded institution after decades of discrimination under Polish rule. Even the term "Uniate" implied a certain degree of inferiority in relation to the Roman Catholic Church. Socially, as well, the Uniate Church leaders were less educated and came from the lower strata. Almost all nobles and burghers in large Galician cities were Roman Catholic and to a lesser extent Jews. In contrast, almost all Uniates were serfs. Moreover, Uniate priests generally had no formal seminary training while wealth and education were the guarded privileges of a thin stratum of Basilian monks.

The pattern of Uniate degradation began to change, however, when Habsburg emperors introduced reforms that improved the status of the Uniate Church after the Polish partitions. In 1774, Maria Theresa proclaimed that she desired "to do away with everything that might make the Uniate people believe they are regarded as worse than the Roman Catholics." In the next month she decreed that the term "Uniate" would be officially prohibited and replaced by "Greek Catholic." They also sought to improve the socioeconomic level of the Greek Catholic clergy through educational reforms. Thus, as historian John-Paul Himka writes, the Greek Catholic leadership that arose after the first decades of Habsburg rule "had a loyalty to the Austrian state that went well beyond a formal compliance with legitimate authority."⁶⁴

Indeed, for the rest of the nineteenth century, the Greek Catholic hierarchy would remain firmly loyal to the Habsburgs "and decisively opposed to the Polish revolutionary movement," Himka writes, referring to the attempt to restore Polish statehood. He continues that during the 1848 revolutions, the Ruthenians "rallied under the Greek Catholic hierarchy to support the emperor and oppose the aspirations of the Poles and the revolutionary camp as a whole."⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Jean-Paul Himka, "The Greek Catholic Church and Nation-Building in Galicia, 1772-1918," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 3-4 (December 1984), p. 428.

⁶⁵ Himka, "The Greek Catholic Church," p. 429.

Members of the Greek Catholic clergy who formed the Ruthenian educated elite were nonetheless still heavily Polonized throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. Until 1848, Polish was still in daily use among Greek Catholic seminarians in Lviv.⁶⁶

By the mid-nineteenth century, the Greek Catholic church was decisive in fostering cultural distinctiveness amongst Ruthenians as a religious-linguistic group. This did not yet translate into a national identity. Himka writes that religion functioned as a prominent ethnic marker differentiating Ruthenians from Poles. "The confessional link between the priest and the national movement," he writes, "was, first and foremost, a representative of the Greek Catholic church and this religion (more properly, rite) was, along with language, one of the most important characteristics differentiating Ukrainians from Poles and other nationalities in Galicia."⁶⁷

At the same time, the dialect spoken by East Galician peasants was not easy to distinguish, as they were mutually intelligible to Poles and Ruthenians. "The Ukrainians of Kolomyia could converse more easily with a Pole from Rzeszów than with a Russian from Voronezh," he writes. He goes on to concede that "in the early nineteenth century it was not implausible to regard Ukrainian as a dialect of Polish."⁶⁸

If language was not a strong force in differentiating Ruthenians from Poles, then religion came to become a decisive factor in the assertion of a separate identity. The Greek Catholic Church was hereditary since parents could not baptize their children in the Latin rite. Thus, in the nineteenth century, the church preserved Ruthenian ethnicity in the face of many instances of Polish linguistic and cultural assimilation. In Galicia, religion thus became the line of demarcation

⁶⁶ Hirnka, "The Greek Catholic Church and Nation-Building in Galicia," p. 436

⁶⁷ Himka, *Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement*, p.127.

⁶⁸ Himka, "The Greek Catholic Church," p. 434.

between Ukrainians and Poles. What's more, the Greek Catholic clergy distinguished themselves by their devotion to the Habsburgs and opposition to the Polish national movement.

In the second half of the 19th century, Greek Catholic priests played a primary role in the Ukrainian cultural-linguistic revival. Among the leading figures were the three priests and grammarians Markijan Shashkevych, Ivan Vahlovych and Yakub Holovatsky who formed the Ruthenian Triad. Jointly they authored a collection of folk ballads and poems in 1837 called *The Dniester Nymph*, which is often pointed to as signifying the birth of the Ukrainian literary tradition.

That clergymen were overwhelmingly dominant in the formation of a Ukrainian literary tradition is confirmed by the fact that of forty-three Ukrainian-language books published in Galicia between 1837 and 1850, forty were written by clergymen.⁶⁹

The beginnings of a separate Ruthenian political orientation began with the Polish-Ruthenian clash of 1848. The Austrian governor of Galicia, Franz Stadion, exploited well the conflict that arose when the Polish National Council spoke on behalf of Galicia as a whole. In March of 1848, Stadion encouraged the Ruthenians to send a separate petition to Vienna, expressing the demand for a division of Galicia with a separate administration and cultural identity for the Ruthenian part. The following month, a Supreme Ruthenian Council formed under the leadership of Greek Catholic Bishop Hryhorij Jachymovych, who also served as the Ukrainian representative to the Austrian constitutional commission. The council held its first meeting in the St. George's Cathedral in Lviv. Indeed, Stadion reported to Vienna on May 3, 1848, that he was

⁶⁹ Ibid. 442-443.

using the Ruthenians "for the benefit of the government to paralyze Polish strivings."⁷⁰ The Poles were incensed and accused the governor of "inventing" the Ruthenian question.⁷¹

It was also in 1848 that saw the rise Ruthenian political body. The Supreme Ruthenian Council was instrumental in organizing cultural efforts to promote the Ruthenian intelligentsia.⁷²

After 1848, Ukrainian priests played a decisive role in spreading national consciousness to the East Galician countryside. Indeed, from the late 1860s to the 1890s priests were active in the villages building the infrastructure of the popular movement. They founded reading clubs, cooperatives, and other voluntary associations. Moreover, Greek Catholic priests participated in politics as electoral agitators and elected representatives at every level of government, from village council to parliament.⁷³

The identity of priests began to be blurred, however, as the national movement started taking precedence over spiritual duties. Priests began to think of themselves as village activists more than ministers. Thus, by the 1890s, the scepter of the national movement would be handed over to the newly emerging Ruthenian/Ukrainian secular urban intelligentsia and the prestige of the religious elite would deteriorate. It is worth quoting a priest's son who wrote his observations about the activities of his father who spent lots of time in the villages. "Although I came from a priest's family and was always raised in a priest's home," he said,

I could never find in those families or in the churches or in our services as they were then celebrated anything that would nurture me religiously and encourage me to turn to God...The families in which I was raised concentrated their attention on the national aspect, with less attention to the religious aspect...Listening to the conversations in our families, I always heard only about politics, economic matters, family and neighborhood concerns,

⁷⁰ Piotr S. Wandycz, "The Poles in the Habsburg Monarchy," *Nation Building and the Politics of Nationalism. Essays on Austrian Galicia* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982), p. 79.

⁷¹ Piotr S Wandycz, *The Lands of Partitioned Poland, 1795-1918*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1974), p. 145.

⁷² Wandycz, *The Lands of Partitioned Poland*, p. 255.

⁷³ Hirnka, "The Greek Catholic Church and Nation-Building in Galicia," p.443.

local village affairs; but I never heard discussions on working to elevate the youth morally and religiously, on religious organizations and how to manage them.⁷⁴

The Greek Catholic clergy nurtured the formation of a Ruthenian intelligentsia beginning in two ways. Firstly, the sons of priests formed the initial leading roles of the intelligentsia and continued to be an important source for its expansion into the twentieth century. Secondly, the clergy began to foster educated elites outside the clergy in order to expand the national movement. Himka writes, for example, of an occurrence in 1845 when a Ruthenian bishop tried to dissuade a fourth-year law student at the University of Vienna from entering the seminary, arguing that a lawyer could do better for the Ruthenians than another priest. Moreover, two of the five places in the presidium of the Supreme Ruthenian Council were reserved for non-priests.

In the beginning stages, the intelligentsia clearly aligned themselves, and were dependent on, the clergy. After all, the clergy formed the main link from the urban centers to the rural areas. It is no coincidence that the secular figures who publish the first Ukrainian language periodical in Galicia in 1848 consciously chose a priest to be its editor.

Relations between the intelligentsia and the Greek Catholic Church began to change in 1867 when Austria adopted a constitution. Following the creation of the Austro-Hungarian constitutional monarchy, the Polish nobility was given control of Galicia. Ukrainians responded by intensifying the spread of national consciousness more assertively in the East Galician countryside.

The lack of a Ukrainian urban presence nonetheless persisted. In 1890, for example, only seven percent of Lviv was Ukrainian-speaking and Greek Catholics made up only seventeen

⁷⁴ Hirnka, "The Greek Catholic Church," p. 444.

percent of the city.⁷⁵ To link their movement with the peasants, however, they still needed the clergy which made them enormously important in the eyes of the intelligentsia.

The key to the priest's significance was his direct contact with the people. "The priest was spiritual father and counsellor to the peasant," Himka writes. "He was, too, the predecessor and physical progenitor of the secular intellectual. The priesthood, then, was the natural bridge from the intelligentsia to the peasantry."⁷⁶

We can date the beginnings of a mass movement to 1868, when Ruthenian intellectuals founded the popular education society *Prosvita* ("Enlightenment") in Lviv. The society published and distributed booklets for the peasantry and tried to establish a network of village reading clubs. By 1877, *Prosvita* had ninety-one distribution agents in seventy-five localities. Among the agents assigned to bring the booklets to the people were priests, merchants, and booksellers.⁷⁷

Thus, while intellectuals could write and publish booklets in Lviv, it required the participation of clergymen to put the booklets in the hands of peasants. Indeed, *Prosvita* membership showed a high number of clergymen. From 1868 to 1874, the clergy accounted for sixty-five percent of all *Prosvita* members in the countryside, while *Prosvita's* secular membership was predominantly based in the cities.

From the pastors' activities arose many new organizations in the 1870s to add to the traditional village institutions of church and tavern. These included temperance societies, church brotherhoods, reading clubs, cooperative stores, loan funds, schools, choirs, amateur theatrical troupes, gymnastic clubs and volunteer fire brigades. The press and its urban intelligentsia "forged

⁷⁵ Himka, *Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement*, p. 70.

⁷⁶ Jean-Paul Himka, "Priests and Peasants: The Greek Catholic Pastor and the Ukrainian National Movement in Austria, 1867-1900," *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, Vol. 21 (1979), p. 5.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

these new institutions into links connecting the isolated rural committees to the wider community of the nation."⁷⁸

Following the Austrian parliamentary election of 1879 in which only three Ruthenians were elected, Prosvita founded a popular newspaper, *Batkivshchyna* (Fatherland), which was written for the peasants and unambiguously political.

Above all, it was the Ukrainian reading clubs that raise the consciousness of the peasants. Between 1874 and 1900, the number of Ukrainian reading clubs in Galicia increased from two to 461. And by 1908, Prosvita alone was conducting 2,048 Galician reading clubs. These clubs, with a usual membership of fifty people, gathered on Sundays and holidays for public readings. So, while eighty percent of the peasantry were still illiterate in 1890, a kind of ersatz-literacy was being introduced into the Ruthenian village. As Himka writes:

Joining an organization to listen to or read newspapers and booklets gave the Ukrainian peasant membership in a community wider than the village commune, a community that included other peasants in other villages as well as editors and writers in the capital. In short, by joining reading clubs, peasants joined the nation. And the nation itself grew, was formed, by this expanding infrastructure of village institutions.⁷⁹

Priests thus formed a vital link to the peasantry.

By the 1890s, the urban intelligentsia emerged as the new elite of the Ukrainian national movement. At this time, the intelligentsia took decisive control of the movement away from the church which now found itself to no longer be a valued part of the national movement, and even the object of hostility by those with anti-clerical convictions.

The priest's mediation gradually became obsolete when institutions and the press connected the village more directly and more effectively to the wider community. In other words, the priest was essential in the very first phase of the transformation of the village and in the initial

⁷⁸ Himka, "Priests and Peasants", p. 6.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

germination of the movement to establish organizations and read newspapers. But once the Ukrainian movement got off to a solid start, "the priest became an expendable part of the process and very often, in fact, an opponent of the educational movement."⁸⁰ Himka further writes that,

What unraveled the knot binding the intelligentsia to the clergy was the progress of the national movement among the peasants. The priest had fostered that progress, but ultimately it undermined his authority in the village and built new bridges between the intelligentsia and the peasantry that made his own services expendable.⁸¹

The priests were many times dismayed at the growing peasant activism they had awakened. It was an activism that, once the peasants reached a certain level of political awareness, led to the articulation of economic grievances against the priests. Thus, the peasant deputies elected to the Austro-Hungarian parliament in 1848 waged a campaign for the abolition of sacramental fees paid to the clergy.

As the tremendous educational gap between the educated priest and illiterate peasant began to narrow in the last third of the nineteenth century, priest-peasant relations significantly changed. Much of the priest's authority had rested on this cultural difference between the educated pastor and his ignorant parishioners; and yet the whole purpose of the national enlightenment was to raise the cultural level of the Ukrainian peasant. Before the urban secular intelligentsia reached the peasantry, priests had a monopoly on education in the East Galician countryside. Greek Catholicism, moreover, tended to function as an ideology. The peasants, however, increasingly came in contact with secular ideologies as they became more and more linked to the national movement. Peasant grievances about sacramental fees also grew.

The Greek Catholic priest generally had three sources of income: a salary from the government, a sizable farm of twelve to fifty hectares and fees for sacramental rites. Even the

⁸⁰ Himka, "Priests and Peasants", p. 9.

⁸¹ Himka, "The Greek Catholic Church and Nation-Building in Galicia," p. 449.

pastor of a poor parish of eighty households could make more than his salary on the fees from burials alone. It was thus in the priest's interest to keep sacramental fees high. Reading clubs, however, often became the forum for a discussion of peasant grievances and evolved into anti-clerical institutions.

During the late 1870s a schism occurred in the national movement between the conservative Greek Catholic clerics calling themselves Old Ruthenians and the young secular intelligentsia who called themselves the Young Ruthenians or Populists. Around 1900, the Populists began to call them "Ukrainians." The Young Ruthenians became increasingly anti-clerical and although they could count among their members some priests, most were members of a rising lay intelligentsia, especially young high school teachers. By 1890 the scepter of the national movement had been passed to the Populists.

Thus, after the priests succeeded in elevating peasants culturally and strengthened village institutions, rural dwellers could by now bypass the priest altogether and enter into direct, independent contact with the urban intelligentsia. What's more, the Populists, along with the Ruthenian-Ukrainian Radical Party that arose in the 1890s, had largely succeeded in replacing the term "Ruthenian" with "Ukrainian." This promoted, as the late Piotr Wandycz has argued, "the concept of an undivided Ukrainian nation that had been temporarily split by the Russo-Austrian political boundary."⁸²

As the cultural and educational level of the Ukrainian peasantry rose, the Ukrainian-speaking people in Ukrainian territories across the border in Imperial Russia and the Ukrainian-speaking Ruthenians in East Galicia began to forge a new All-Ukrainian movement. These peoples, across two frontiers, began to speak of one Ukrainian nation. The constitutional period

⁸² Wandycz, *The Lands of Partitioned Poland*, p. 258.

following the 1905 Russian Revolution sped up the belated national awakening in the Russian Ukraine.

In conclusion, the initial involvement and eventual decline of the Ruthenian clergy reflects broader patterns of the role of religious elites in East European national movements. In his findings on the role of different social groups in national movements, the Czech historian, Miroslav Hroch, writes that "the preliminary conditions for the peasants' entry into national activity were therefore not only their emancipation...but also a definite level of education, enough to allow them to grasp the connection between national ideology and their own material interests." The most important educational precondition, Hroch continues, is "secularization of the peasants' conception of society [and] their liberation from the domination of a religious ideology."⁸³

The Polish historian Stefan Kieniewicz maintained that the Ukrainian national movement in Galicia was the most clericalized national movement in Europe. Indeed, religion played the largest role and had the most influence among East European national movements. The Galician Ukrainians had the unusual element of having a religion that was synonymous with their ethnicity. What's more, the Galician Ukrainians had a religion that distinguished them from the ruling classes under which they were living. This had profound consequences for the coming of the Galician Ukrainian national movement. In other words, faith coincided with the ethnic East Galician border and differentiated them from the Roman Catholic ruling landlord and ecclesiastical elite.

⁸³ Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 91.

The Galician Ukrainian national movement emerged for a variety of reasons. These include the fact that it: (1) possessed a national church that distinguished it from the ruling classes (Poles, Austrians); (2) that the movement occurred under the liberal and tolerant policies of the Habsburg Empire, and (3) the state authorities favored its growth to counterbalance Polish influence.

Hroch writes that perhaps the most important role played by the clergy in East European national movements was that of bridging the gap between the peasant communities and the surrounding national milieu. The clergy, Hroch writes, “remained deep into the capitalist era, especially in the less developed regions, the main connecting link through which information arrived (and was filtered) about events in the larger world of the nation, and, conversely the medium through which information passed to the outside world about what was happening in the peasant communities.”⁸⁴

The clergy thus played a vital but transitional role in the spread of ethnic or proto-national consciousness in the Galician Ukrainian national movement. The priests tended to educate the overwhelmingly illiterate peasantry and by doing so, raised the cultural and political awareness of a previously inactive element in the national movement. The increasingly sophisticated and informed peasant made demands that brought him into conflict with the priest.

At this juncture, the peasant was sophisticated enough to link himself directly with the urban intelligentsia and thus the priest's role as bridge between town and country came to an end. He was now either driven into the conservative clerical opposition or joined the ranks of the secular national movement. As Hroch concludes, "We can sum up, then, by saying that the share of the clergy in the national movement had a prevailing tendency to decline."⁸⁵ Hroch goes on to explain

⁸⁴ Hroch, p, 143.

⁸⁵ Hroch, p, 143.

the reason for the decline of clergy participation in East European national movements: "The majority of the clergy withdrew into the background as soon as the national movement began to strive for concrete practical and political goals." The Galician Ukrainian clergy's attitude towards the newly emerging secular leaders confirm Hroch's findings.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chlebowczyk, Jozef. *On Small and Young Nations in Europe. Nation-Forming Processes in Ethnic Borderlands in East-Central Europe*. Wroclaw: Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne, 1980.

Himka, Jean-Paul. "The Greek Catholic Church and Nation-Building in Galicia, 1772-1918," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 3-4 (December, 1984), 426-452.

Himka, Jean-Paul. "Priests and Peasants: The Greek Catholic Pastor and the Ukrainian National Movement in Austria, 1867-1900," *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, Vol. 21 (1979), 1-14.

Himka, Jean-Paul. *Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988.

Hroch, Miroslav. *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Wandycz, Piotr S. *The Lands of Partitioned Poland, 1795-1918*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1974..

"The Poles in the Habsburg Monarchy," *Nationbuilding and the Politics of Nationalism*. ed. by A. Markovits and F. Sysyn. Harvard Univ. Pr., 1995.

Essays on Austrian Galicia. ed. by A. Markovits and F. Sysyn. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982.

PICTURE CREDITS

Appel (10): The photo of Titus Flavius Josephus is courtesy of the Biblical Archeological Society via <https://www.biblicalarchaeology.org/daily/people-cultures-in-the-bible/people-in-the-bible/titus-flavius-josephus-and-the-prophet-jeremiah/>.

Bocian (17): The photo of the Marcus Aurelias coin, titled “File:INC-1604-a Ауреус Марк Аврелий цезарь ок. 152-153 гг. (аверс).png” (shorturl.at/eluS5), is courtesy of Wikimedia Commons and the International Numismatic Club as part of a cooperation project with Wikimedia Russia.

Fagin, Kirsch, Kurz (31): The photo of the “depiction of Maimonides teaching students about the 'measure of man' in an illuminated manuscript,” is courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Measure_of_men.jpg.

Frenkel (41): The photo of the Old Synagogue Bima is courtesy of In Your Pocket Essential City Guides via https://www.inyourpocket.com/tarnow/the-old-synagogue-bimah_147181

Gottesman (59): The photo of “Zamir Aritzim V’Charavot Tzurim. Oleksinetz , 1772. The First Work in History to Oppose Chassidut.” is courtesy of Winner’s Auctions, <https://winners-auctions.com/en/items/zamir-aritzim-vcharavot-tzurim-oleksinetz-1772-first-work-in-history-to-oppose-chassidut-one-of-the-rarest-books/>

Hecht (60): The photo of the village of Deir Yassin is courtesy of Google images through their creative common license.

Kurz (75): The photo of Rabbi Dr. Leo Jung is courtesy of Yeshiva University Archives via <https://jewishaction.com/jewish-world/history/rabbi-leo-jung-herman-wouk-and-their-little-known-orthodox-society/>

Ottenstein (91): The photo of the title page from the 1753 printing of Lowth's magnum opus, *De Sacra Poesi Hebraeorum* is courtesy of the library of The College of William and Mary.

Polster (100): The photo of silver Arabic dirhams found in the Gotland hoards is courtesy of Gabriel Hildebrand/The Royal Coin Cabinet, Sweden.

Silverman (105,110): The illustration of the Caricature from an 1869 issue of Der Floh, a Viennese satirical paper is taken from Sacks, Adam. To Whom It May Concern - Gottfried H. Wagner. 2016, https://gottfriedhwagner.eu/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/10.-Adam-Sacks-GW-RW-No-Other-Gods_Full.pdf. The photos of Adolf Hitler and Wagner are courtesy of BBC via Burton-Hill, Clemency. “Is Wagner's Nazi Stigma Fair?” BBC Culture, BBC, 2014, <https://www.bbc.com/culture/article/20130509-is-wagners-nazi-stigma-fair>.

Steiner (116): The illustration of Lady Jane Grey by Magdalena de Passe, by Willem de Passe is courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery via

<https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw81131/Lady-Jane-Grey>

Tanner (128): The photo of “Haham David Nieto” is taken from *A History of the Jews in England*, (Book, 1908) [WorldCat.org] via [https://sammlungen.ub.uni-](https://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/freimann/content/pageview/680818)

[frankfurt.de/freimann/content/pageview/680818](https://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/freimann/content/pageview/680818)

Wolfe (143): The photo of the Louvre Pyramid is courtesy of Wikipedia and under the Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 3.0 License via

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Louvre_Pyramid.jpg

Zimmerman (144): The photo of the map of Austrian Galicia is courtesy of the Forgotten Galicia Project via <http://forgottengalicia.com/historical-maps-of-galicia-1775-1918/>

CHRONOS

The History Journal of
Yeshiva University

2021-2022

Editor-in-Chief

Chaim Book

Editors

Sheindl Berger

Ilan Bocian

Jacob Karp

Meira Steiner

Faculty Advisor

Dr. Hadassah Kosak



Yeshiva University, New York, NY