

A Dissonant Unity at Two Habsburg-Era Expositions: Vienna (1873) and Lviv (1894)

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ABSTRACT

In the nineteenth century, world's and regional fairs were touted as peaceful, unifying competitions. But upon closer scrutiny, exhibitions, international or local, promoted civilizational hierarchies and sidelined subaltern groups. This article examines how two Habsburg-era expositions, the 1873 Vienna World's Fair and the 1894 General Provincial Exhibition in Lemberg/Lwów/Lviv, balanced the Habsburg state's agenda of supranational unity against the rising tide of late-nineteenth century nationalist discord. At the *Weltausstellung*, the newly autonomous Galicia figured as a barely distinct part of Cisleithania. Two decades later, the *Landesausstellung* in Lemberg allowed Galicians to supplant the earlier, disappointing presentation. Devised as a parade of Polish industrial and cultural achievements, the exhibition relegated Ruthenians to the ethnographic village. Nevertheless, the Provincial Exhibition marked a milestone in Ruthenian national revival while contributing to a sharp turn in the Polish-Ruthenian conflict. The analysis points to the broader significance of state-sponsored celebrations for national self-assertion in late Austrian Galicia and beyond.

KEYWORDS: Habsburg Galicia, Vienna World's Fair, Galician General Provincial Exhibition, nationalism, ethnography

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1 Introduction

International and regional expositions were some of the most emblematic public spaces to emerge out of the nineteenth century.¹ Contributing to the development of political and cultural categories such as nation, heritage, and progress, world's and regional fairs shared similar agendas, promoting progress in technologies, agriculture, quality of life, and advertising cultural riches of nations and regions. But provincial expositions served two masters—the state and the region. In the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the dual obligation could pull expositions in different directions, tugging at cultural equality and undermining the Habsburg motto of unity.

Studies of exhibitions have contributed to the exploration of nineteenth-century nationalist discord, revealing how national groups grappled for prominence or suffered marginalization. In 1873, among the Habsburg lands at the *Weltausstellung*, only Hungary could present its kingdom at separate displays; other nations were grouped together to underscore the administrative unity of Cisleithania. This caused Czech nationalists to boycott the Vienna World's Fair, a dent in the monarchy's façade of cohesion. At provincial fairs, local elites often interfered with self-representation by non-dominant groups.

This article compares two momentous fairs, the 1873 *Weltausstellung* in Vienna and the 1894 *Landesausstellung* in the Galician capital, Lviv (Germ. Lemberg, Pol. Lwów, Russ. Lvov)² with respect to the representation of Galicia's national groups, to pursue the following questions:

Firstly, in the nineteenth century, fairs often entered into dialog with prior exhibitions.³ Did the regrets among Galician elites about the province's disappointing representation in Vienna provide an impetus for the 1894 crownland show to reimagine it as a forward-looking cultured land? Secondly, as official exhibitions, both events were part and parcel of the Habsburg policy to recognize the empire's diversity while impressing state unity upon the monarchy's subjects. How did an imperial and a regional exposition adhere to or subvert the state's agenda? Finally, did Habsburg expositions reinforce, or also contest the imperial and regional power relations? What strategies could non-dominant nations use to unsettle such hierarchies within the fairs' contexts?

A close look at the respective chronologies and geographies of the Vienna World's Fair of 1873 and the 1894 Galician Provincial Exhibition helps contextualize the animus between Poles and Ukrainians in Galicia. My inquiry be-

1 I wish to thank Kit Belgum, Ola Hnatiuk, Doug Young, the editors of this journal, and the anonymous reviewers for their helpful feedback on this article.

2 I follow contemporary English usage for city names.

3 First suggested by: ALEXANDER GEPPERT: *Fleeting Cities: Imperial Expositions in Fin-de-Siècle Europe*, Houndmills et al. 2010, p. 13, and recently developed by: FLORIAN GROSS: *From the New York Crystal Palace to the World of Tomorrow: World Fairs as a Transnational Series*, in: JOEP LEERSSEN, ERIC STORM (eds.): *World Fairs and the Global Moulding of National Identities: International Exhibitions as Cultural Platforms, 1851–1958*, Leiden 2022, pp. 84–106.

gins as Poles were taking the first steps in Polonizing Galicia and ends with an escalation of the national conflict. The two decades between 1873 and 1894 spanned significant political shifts in Cisleithania and in the Crownland of Galicia: in 1869, following the transformation of the Austrian empire into the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary, provinces were granted some autonomy through provincial assemblies, school boards, and a reversal of the Josephinian Germanizing language policies. Gradually, as novel political spaces and institutional venues gave rise to civil society,⁴ political parties emerged to represent nationalist, economic, and religious interests. These gains culminated in the introduction of general suffrage in 1907.

In the final decades of the nineteenth century, the Cisleithanian government counted on a political alliance with the conservative Galician Polish elites in exchange for a hands-off approach in provincial matters. Still, Vienna pressed for a truce between Polish elites and an expanding Ruthenian⁵ intelligentsia in Galicia, and so in 1890, the Polish majority and the Ruthenian national populists *narodovtsi* entered a parliamentary compromise touted as the New Era (*nova era*). The *rapprochement* allowed Galician Ruthenians to secure some significant cultural and educational gains. However, most *narodovtsi* deemed the progress insufficient and called it off in May of 1894, days before the festive inauguration of the *Landesausstellung*.

Primary sources on the 1873 *Weltausstellung* and the 1894 *Landesausstellung* are plentiful. Especially the Vienna World's Fair is traceable via several catalogs, the exposition's two newspapers, in-depth reviews in art history, ethnographic publications,⁶ as well as regular news reports. Visitors to the Lviv exhibition could refer to guidebooks and catalogs in the province's languages, Polish, German, and Ruthenian.⁷ Though a regional, less grand affair, the

4 GARY B. COHEN: Nationalist Politics and the Dynamics of State and Civil Society in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1867–1914, in: *Central European History* 40 (2007), 2, pp. 241–78, here p. 245.

5 “Ruthenian” was the official designation used by the Habsburg administration in reference to the monarchy's Ukrainian subjects.

6 Among the catalogs: General-Direction der Wiener Weltausstellung 1873: *Officieller Ausstellungs-Bericht*, Wien 1873–1877, and *Welt-Ausstellung 1873 in Wien: Officieller General-Catalog*, Wien 1873. The two newspapers devoted to the fair were *Wiener Weltausstellungs-Zeitung* and *Allgemeine Illustrierte Weltausstellungs-Zeitung*, the latter staffed by the city's academic elite, including the prominent art historian and curator Jakob von Falke, who also authored *Die Kunstindustrie auf der Wiener Weltausstellung 1873*. For a comprehensive list of primary sources, see: JUTTA PEMSEL: *Die Wiener Weltausstellung von 1873: Das gründerzeitliche Wien am Wendepunkt*, Wien 1989, pp. 115–121.

7 *Ilustrowany przewodnik po Lwowie i po Wystawie Krajowej* [Illustrated Guide through Lviv and the Provincial Exhibition], Lwów 1894; *Katalog powszechnej wystawy krajowej we Lwowie roku 1894* [Catalog of the General Provincial Exhibition in Lviv in 1894], Lwów 1894; VOLODYMYR SHUKHEVYCH: *Providnyk po Lvovi / Providnyk po vystavi Kraievii u Lvovi z osoblyvym ohliadom na viddil etnografichnyi i na pavilon ruskykh narodnykh tovarystv* [Guide through Lviv / Guide through the Provincial

Galician Provincial Exhibition of 1894 also garnered significant attention in print media, whether in its native crownland or in Vienna.

Since the late 1980s, the subject of world's fairs, including the *Weltausstellung*, has inspired studies by Paul Greenhalgh, Martin Wörner, and Alexander Geppert who systematized our understanding of international fairs as stages on which empires showcased economic advancement and cultural riches.⁸ Jutta Pemsel's monograph on the 1873 Vienna fair details the event's organization and discusses its economic and political fallout. Edited volumes by Eric Storm and Joep Leerssen, and by Marta Filipová examine the links between fairs and nationalism.⁹ Focusing on East Central Europe, *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* devoted an issue in 2009 to provincial exhibitions in the region; of particular interest to our topic is Anna Veronika Wendland's explication of how the General Provincial Exhibition in Lviv communicated the various layers of Galician identity.¹⁰ Lastly, Roksolana Holovata's dual-language digital project on the 1894 Lviv exhibition, underwritten by the Lviv Center for Urban History,¹¹ provides an excellent overview, with special attention paid to the undercurrent of Polish-Ukrainian tensions.¹²

Among the lines of inquiry pertinent to my project are city politics of public culture in Lviv, and the institutionalization of ethnography in the Habsburg empire's final decades. Heidi Hein-Kircher's and Markian Prokopovych's

Exhibition in Lviv with a Special Review of the Ethnographic Division and the Pavilion of Ruthenian National Associations], Lviv 1894; Powszechna wystawa krajowa we Lwowie w 1894 r. [The General Provincial Exhibition in Lviv in 1894], Kraków 1896; ALBERT ZIPPER: Führer durch die Allgemeine Landes-Ausstellung sowie durch die königl. Hauptstadt Lemberg, Lemberg 1894.

- 8 PAUL GREENHALGH: *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851–1939*, Manchester 2017; MARTIN WÖRNER: *Vergnügung und Belehrung: Volkskultur auf den Weltausstellungen 1851–1900*, Münster 1999; GEPPERT.
- 9 LEERSSEN/STORM; MARTA FILIPOVÁ: *Cultures of International Exhibitions 1840–1940: Great Exhibitions in the Margins*, Farnham et al. 2015.
- 10 ANNA VERONIKA WENDLAND: *Eindeutige Bilder, komplexe Identitäten: Imperiale, nationale, regionale Identitätskonzepte und ihre Visualisierung auf der galizischen Allgemeinen Landesaussstellung in Lemberg 1894*, in: *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* 58 (2009), 1–2, pp. 111–161.
- 11 The General Regional Exhibition of Galicia [divided in two sections “before” and “after”], in: <https://lia.lvivcenter.org/en/storymaps/exhibition-before/> and <https://lia.lvivcenter.org/en/storymaps/exhibition-after/> (2025-01-13).
- 12 Two monographs devoted to the Lviv event are also useful for the information they compile but prove limited by their strictly national research scopes: BORYS SULYM: *Fenomen Kraiovoi Vystavky v Halychyni 1894 roku* [The Phenomenon of the Provincial Exhibition in Galicia in 1894], Lviv 2007; WOJCIECH PUCHTA: *Powszechna Wystawa Krajowa we Lwowie w 1894 roku* [The General Provincial Exhibition in Lviv in 1894], Wrocław 2016. Sulym zeroes in on the Ukrainian contributions and the community's reactions to the Lviv fair, Puchta gathers his findings from Polish-only primary and secondary sources.

works¹³ demonstrate that from the mid-nineteenth century up to World War I, Lviv evolved into an axis of national tensions. The Galician capital underwent systematic Polonization at the initiative of municipal and provincial governments. Despite these pressures, Lviv, not unlike other rising regional metropolises, spawned the Ruthenian and Jewish national movements. In villages, peasants too were propelled to the center of nationalist agendas and became protagonists of the imperial project to memorialize the variety of Austria's material cultures.¹⁴ Throughout my analysis, the interplay of nationalism and ethnographic presentations forms a consistent thread.

My broader framework benefits from seminal works on Galician, Habsburg, Ukrainian, and East European history by Larry Wolff, Pieter Judson, Yaroslav Hrytsak, Andriy Zayarnyuk, Ostap Sereda, and John Connelly.¹⁵ As an US-based Germanist with East European roots, I seek to balance perspectives in the field by engaging with scholarship that spans a number of languages and reaches.¹⁶ My approach draws on regional, transnational, and urban history, as well as museum studies. I consult primary sources ranging from exhibition catalogs and guidebooks to contemporaneous press and journals, correspondence, and records of parliamentary deliberations in the Galician Diet.

Austria-Hungary's internal power structures are often perceived through a dichotomy between a center and its peripheries.¹⁷ Yet such polarization can neglect the importance of new provincial centers in the Habsburg crownlands and overlook local agendas and actors. My article views the 1873 Vienna (center) and the 1894 Lviv (periphery) expositions as arenas where demands for and resistance to the equal rights promised to Cisleithanians by the December

13 HEIDI HEIN-KIRCHER: Lemberg's "polnischen Charakter" sichern: Kommunalpolitik in einer multiethnischen Stadt der Habsburgermonarchie zwischen 1861/62 und 1914, Stuttgart 2020; MARKIAN PROKOPOVYCH: Habsburg Lemberg: Architecture, Public Space, and Politics in the Galician Capital, West Lafayette 2009.

14 MATTHEW RAMPLEY: Peasants in Vienna: Ethnographic Display and the 1873 World's Fair, in: *Austrian History Yearbook* 42 (2011), pp. 110–132.

15 JOHN CONNELLY: *From Peoples into Nations: A History of Eastern Europe*, Princeton 2020; PIETER M. JUDSON: *The Habsburg Empire: A New History*, Cambridge 2016; YAROSLAV HRYTSAK: *Ivan Franko and His Community*, Boston 2019; LARRY WOLFF: *The Idea of Galicia: History and Fantasy in Habsburg Political Culture*, Stanford 2012; ANDRIY ZAYARNYUK, OSTAP SEREDA: *The Intellectual Foundations of Modern Ukraine: The Nineteenth Century*, Abingdon—Oxon 2022.

16 Erika Szívós voices some of the contingencies that still limit collaborations between scholars in East Central Europe and those in the Western world: ERIKA SZÍVÓS et al.: Debate on Pieter M. Judson's *The Habsburg Empire: A New History*, in: *East Central Europe* 46 (2019), 2–3, pp. 343–384, here pp. 345–346. Insufficient digitization on one side and paywalls on the other hamper a vigorous exchange. Finally, major research platforms employ algorithms that favor common languages and Latin-alphabet entries.

17 Among many others, ANDREA KOMLOSY uses a center-periphery orientation to examine economic dynamics in the Empire, most recently in: *Innere Peripherien im räumlichen Mehrebenensystem: Das Habsburgische Beispiel im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert*, in: *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften* 31 (2020), 2, pp. 95–124.

1867 constitution were played out.¹⁸ It examines how those watershed events produced, enshrined, but also contested the concentric ethnocultural stratifications. I begin the first half of this inquiry with a discussion of spatial organization and print materials through which the Vienna World's Fair articulated the Habsburg ideology of Cisleithanian unity.¹⁹ I go on to reconstruct the factors that impeded a separate Galician exhibition at the 1873 *Weltausstellung*, and roused Poles to plan a future event to better showcase their province. Simultaneously, the fair invigorated Ruthenian national aspirations by elevating products of Ruthenian vernacular culture into fashionable home goods.

Two master narratives—Austria's cohesive state identity and the modernist assurance of progress—connect the *Landesausstellung* to the *Weltausstellung*. But the Provincial Exhibition also featured a contrasting plotline: it gave occasion for Poles and Ruthenians to capitalize on their respective political opportunities. In the second half of this article, guided by Judson's argument that as the empire modernized, its new structures reproduced national conflicts,²⁰ I demonstrate how the 1894 Galician General Provincial Exhibition in Lviv escalated ethnic discord between Poles and Ruthenians. This largest and most consequential Galician exposition took place in a city where the municipal government sowed national divisions to secure the dominance of Polish elites.²¹ A unifying event in declarations only, the *Landesausstellung* was in fact imbued with Polish patriotic symbols and became etched in Polish national memory as the "Kościuszkowka Exhibition."²²

18 Though Article 19 guaranteed Austrian legal equality, Habsburg subjects were not equal before the law when Vienna was not looking. The internal national hierarchies endemic to the Habsburg monarchy and its provinces persisted. This finding is often downplayed by Habsburg historians. JUDSON, p. 195, notes that with Josephinian reforms, all citizens enjoyed equal rights before the law, even if the enforcement in the provinces may have been lax. Comparing the British and Habsburg cases, BENNO GAMMERL: *Subjects, Citizens, and Others: Administering Ethnic Heterogeneity in the British and Habsburg Empires, 1867–1918*, New York—Oxford 2017, p. 97, concludes that Cisleithania avoided colonial-style inequalities.

19 Daniel Unowsky and Scott Moore show that the empire promoted unity by cultivating dynastic loyalty through state-sponsored commemorations (DANIEL L. UNOWSKY: *The Pomp and Politics of Patriotism: Imperial Celebrations in Habsburg Austria, 1848–1916*, West Lafayette 2005) and school curricula (SCOTT O. MOORE: *Teaching the Empire: Education and State Loyalty in Late Habsburg Austria*, West Lafayette 2020).

20 JUDSON.

21 HEIN-KIRCHER, Lembergs "polnischen Charakter" sichern, pp. 33, 335.

22 While the organizers downplayed the exhibition's association with the centenary of the 1794 Kościuszkowka Insurrection (see, for example, HANNA KOZINSKA-WITT: *Städtische Selbstpräsentation auf der Allgemeinen Landesausstellung in Lemberg 1894 am Beispiel der Stadt Krakau*, in: *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* 58 (2009), 1–2, pp. 162–196, here p. 165), reactions in the Ruthenian newspaper *Dilo* make it clear that the public understood it as a Polish commemorative event. A cursory search for "Wystawa Kościuszkowska" (Kościuszkowka Exhibition) yields a section on "Wystawa Krajowa (Kościuszkowska) w r. 1894" in: FRYDERYK PAPEÉ: *Historja miasta Lwowa w zarysie*

2 The Vienna World's Fair of 1873

In the eyes of the public, the vast scope of the 1873 *Weltausstellung*²³ reflected the monarchy's mission as a bridge between the West and the East.²⁴ The Austrian state eagerly focused on this cultural role after it suffered military defeat by Prussia at Königgrätz in 1866 and conceded to the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, which fractured the empire. The exposition's roster documented another, societal reconfiguration as well: The emergent *Bürgertum*, comprised of the educated and the industrialist middle class, enthusiastically contributed to the project, overshadowing the usual elites—Austrian nobles and aristocrats.²⁵

Like prior expositions in London (1862) and Paris (1855, 1867), the *Weltausstellung* was organized to stimulate commerce, flaunt industrial progress, and celebrate Habsburg national cultures. In the last third of the nineteenth century, world's fairs gradually expanded their focus beyond agricultural and industrial accomplishments and began showcasing cultural achievements. Special attention was paid to traditional communities, displays of which drew on the emergent discipline of ethnography. Previews of vernacular architecture along with demonstrations of artisanal skill and daily practices soon grew into entire ethnographic villages to immerse visitors within the material cultures on view.

The 1873 *Weltausstellung* played an important part in systematizing artisanal and ethnographic presentations. While the public had first gleaned artifacts of peasant life at the 1867 *Exposition Universelle*,²⁶ Jacob von Falke's curatorial efforts in Vienna effectively elevated the status of house industry. A German art historian and director of the Imperial and Royal Austrian Museum of Art and Industry in Vienna, he was among those knighted by Franz Joseph in 1873. As leader of the "Nationale Hausindustrie" division, Falke designed a

[Outline of the History of the City of Lviv], 2nd ed., Lwów 1924, p. 246; even recent mentions recycle the phrase as well.

23 BURTON BENEDICT: *The Anthropology of World's Fairs: San Francisco's Panama Pacific International Exposition of 1915*, Berkeley 1983, pp. 23, 31, compiles the following details about the Vienna 1873 *Weltausstellung*: circa 50 buildings, 2 exhibition halls, 42 acres, open for 6.2 months, attended by 7.3 million visitors, citing JOHN ALLWOOD: *The Great Exhibitions*, London 1977, as the source of some of these statistics.

24 Swiss economist August Oncken praised the exhibition for bringing together the Occident and the Orient: "Zum ersten Male werden die Völker nach einem Punkte geladen, welcher dem Osten, der Wiege des Menschengeschlechtes, näher liegt, in eine Monarchie, die vermöge der Kulturbeschaffenheit der ihr zugehörigen Länder mit einem Fuße im Morgenland mit dem anderen im Abendlande steht, und als deren eigenste Berufsaufgabe man die Vermittlung zwischen beiden Welten anzusehen sich gewöhnt hat." AUGUST ONCKEN: *Die Wiener Weltausstellung 1873*, Berlin 1873, p. 15.

25 Emperor Franz Joseph recognized more than 200 participating entrepreneurs, scientists, and artists with the Knight's Cross, and elevated many industrialists to the ranks of nobility. PEMSEL, p. 63.

26 WÖRNER, p. 211.

systematic arrangement of all its sections. His efforts helped introduce Austrians to the artisanal aesthetics of a relatively new frontier, Eastern Galicia, which the monarchy had gained in 1772 via the first Polish partition.

2.1 Ethnography and the Nation

In the years preceding the *Weltausstellung* the generous cultural rights Cisleithanian subjects enjoyed since the 1860s snowballed into ascending nationalisms. To reconcile such centrifugal tensions Vienna increasingly utilized public commemorations.²⁷ The Habsburg administration promoted scholarship, ethnography in particular, to document the state's diversity and acknowledge its peoples. Aiming to accentuate the unifying character of the 1873 Vienna World's Fair, a Habsburg directive permitted a separate representation at the fair to Hungary only. Galicia and other Cisleithanian crownlands were denied a dedicated display or categorization. Their vernacular architecture and house industries were blended without distinction in the presentation of the empire's culture.

Exhibitions, much like scholarship, ethnography included, largely reflected the nineteenth century civilizational order. Christian Marchetti and Bojan Baskar call attention to the hierarchies underpinning relations between dominant German and Hungarian and subordinate ethnicities in the Habsburg monarchy. The stratification was then mirrored on a local scale among national groups in the provinces.²⁸ Translated to exposition grounds, fairs allocated exhibit spaces according to nineteenth-century perception of advancement and status.²⁹ The Vienna exposition featured "Das bürgerliche Wohnhaus mit seiner inneren Einrichtung und Ausschmückung" (Group XIX) and "Das Bauernhaus mit seinen Einrichtungen und seinem Geräthe" (Group XX). The latter, located at the grounds' edge in Vienna's Prater, was conceived as an international village with nine farmhouses labeled according to country or region, but not prov-

27 Cf. UNOWSKY; MOORE.

28 CHRISTIAN MARCHETTI: Von hybriden Pflügen und kultureller Neugestaltung: Volkskunde und Kolonialismus im Habsburgerreich, in: Wiener Zeitschrift zur Geschichte der Neuzeit 9 (2009), 2, pp. 98–118, here pp. 102–103; BOJAN BASKAR: Small National Ethnologies and Supranational Empires: The Case of the Habsburg Monarchy, in: MAIREAD NIC CRAITH, ULRICH KOCKEL et al. (eds.): Everyday Culture in Europe: Approaches and Methodologies, Aldershot 2008, pp. 65–80, here p. 73.

29 REGINA MEGAN PALM: Women Muralists, Modern Woman and Feminine Spaces: Constructing Gender at the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition, in: Journal of Design History 23 (2010), 2, pp. 123–143.

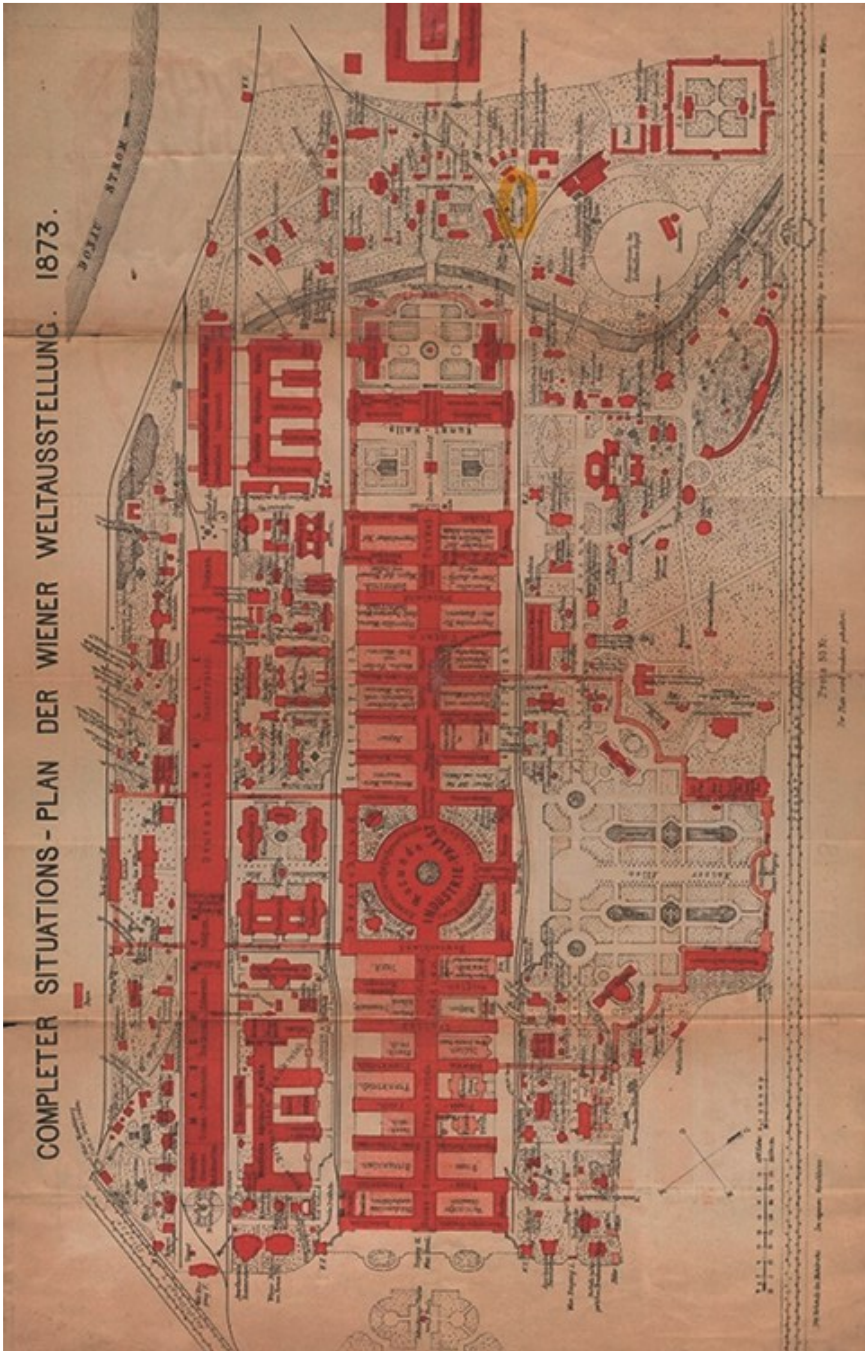


Fig. 1: EMMANUEL MALLY: Completer Situations-Plan der Wiener Weltausstellung 1873, <https://www.digital.wienbibliothek.at/id/1118965>, CC0 (2025-02-23) [location of Galician farmhouse marked by the author]

ince.³⁰ Such remote placements, often in proximity to stables or sanitation facilities, as Figures 1 and 2 illustrate, immediately signaled the relative prestige of various artifacts. As I will show in the second half of this article, in Lviv physical sidelines were even more purposely enlisted to suggest civilizational divides between local nationalities.

The spatial marginalization contrasted with an increasingly elevated value nations placed on peasantry: by the late nineteenth century “peasant” evolved into a signifier of ethnicity.³¹ Soon, ethnographic data would double as an instrument of national identification. World’s and provincial fairs were turning the abstract concept of “nation” into a palpable experience. In a report from the Vienna exhibition, Carl Thomas Richter, economics professor at the Karl-Ferdinand University in Prague and editor of the *Officieller Ausstellungs-Bericht*, invoked a rather Herderian sentiment: “Während der Adel und der Bürgerstand in ganz Europa kosmopolitisch wird [...], vertritt der Bauer allein noch das nationale Leben und nationales Wesen.”³² After World War I erased the Habsburg empire, “map men,”³³ expanding on ethnographic maps and linguistic data, would argue for carving up the crownlands accordingly.

Ironically, the notion of peasant culture as a nation’s time capsule went against the original intent of the Viennese curators von Falke and Michael Haberlandt. The latter was an ethnologist who went on to cofound the Verein für Volkskunde as well as the Österreichisches Museum für Volkskunde. Though they promoted ethnography to document a blended empire,³⁴ their collaborations with ethnographers from the peripheries, including Ruthenians Ivan Franko and Volodymyr Shukhevych, as well as Pole Oskar Kolberg, assisted the provincial scholars with asserting their nations’ distinctiveness.

30 Exhibit catalogs and maps, typically printed in advance of the World’s Fair, listed items that may have been announced, but were never displayed. Official reports and news stories are a more reliable source from which to reconstruct those details. Based on one such report, penned by the Vienna-based philologist and ethnographer Karl Julius Schröer, only two structures, the Galician and the Vorarlberg dwellings, represented Cisleithania. See: KARL JULIUS SCHRÖER: *Officieller Ausstellungs-Bericht: Das Bauernhaus mit seiner Einrichtung und seinem Geräthe*, Wien 1874, p. 3.

31 RAMPLEY, *Peasants*, p. 113.

32 CARL THOMAS RICHTER: *Officieller Ausstellungs-Bericht Gruppe 21*, Wien 1874, p. 10.

33 MARTIN ROHDE: *Nationale Wissenschaft zwischen zwei Imperien: Die Ševčenko-Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, 1892–1918*, Wien 2023; STEVEN SEEGEL: *Map Men: Transnational Lives and Deaths of Geographers in the Making of East Central Europe*, Chicago 2018.

34 DIANA REYNOLDS: *Zentrum und Peripherie: Hegemonialer Diskurs oder kreativer Dialog*, in: ANITA AIGNER (ed.): *Vernakulare Moderne: Grenzüberschreitungen in der Architektur um 1900: Das Bauernhaus und seine Aneignung*, Bielefeld 2010, pp. 85–116, here p. 96.

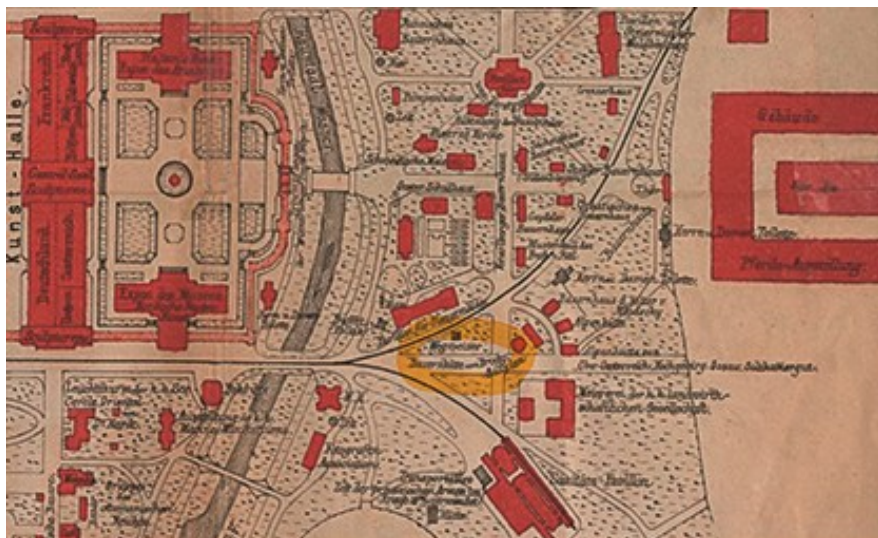


Fig. 2: Closeup of the Ethnographic Village. MALLY, Situations-Plan (as in Figure 1) [not all farmhouses featured on this map were actually exhibited; location of Galician farmhouse marked by the author]

But in 1873, the Viennese public marveled at diverse Cisleithanian farmhouses merely as material evidence of their empire's reach.³⁵ The dwellings on display in the Prater were built, furnished, and staffed by members of the ethnic communities who performed traditional activities dressed in folk costumes. Seven of the nine farmhouses in Group XX represented various Austro-Hungarian ethnicities, providing fair visitors "with an insight into the complex nature of the monarchy."³⁶

2.2 "Strange Objects, Peculiar in Form"

According to Schröer's official report, those simple farmhouses exerted an extraordinary pull on the visitors, outshining all other objects of art or industry.³⁷ The public was implicitly invited to compare the German large, multi-story structures against rough peasant huts from Romania, Galicia, and Croatia. Experts voiced cultural rankings, too: Schröer commented on a German dwelling from Deutschproben (Nitrianske Pravno): "When we take stock of it all, it seems as if man could hardly live more simply."³⁸ In his eyes, Slavic backward

35 REINHARD JOHLER: The Invention of the Multicultural Museum in the Late Nineteenth Century: Ethnography and the Presentation of Cultural Diversity in Central Europe, in: *Austrian History Yearbook* 46 (2015), pp. 51–67, here p. 63.

36 RAMPLEY, *Peasants*, p. 120.

37 SCHRÖER, pp. 2–3.

38 *Ibid.*, p. 24.

ways eroded the innate capabilities of German settlers and Romanian locals in Cisleithania.³⁹

Schröer and his German-speaking contemporaries may have bristled at the unsightly Slavic structures; still, the empire embraced cultural plurality and was better for it. Moritz Csáky shows convincingly that non-German sensibilities enriched Austria and Vienna. Beyond Italian influences, “foreign” elements were brought in from within the monarchy’s far edges and from the Ottoman empire.⁴⁰ Administrative systems, aesthetics, the arts, all were marked by both the internal (intra-Habsburg) and the external orient.⁴¹ At the Vienna World’s Fair, the “exotic” or even “oriental” aesthetic of East Galician artifacts captivated the attention of Viennese critics and the public. Two factors coincided here: the *Weltausstellung* kindled European interest in Orientalism, and the Austrian public and critics alike were growing fond of Ruthenian, and above all their Hutsul tribe’s craftsmanship and sense of beauty. But the awe was tinged with a sense of civilizational superiority. Marchetti identifies a consistent hierarchy of descriptors in the Vienna fair’s catalog, from *modern* to *urtümlich* to *orientalisch*, in reference to material culture.⁴² The scale aligned with nineteenth-century developmental theories advanced by John Stuart Mill. These labels dominated Aglaia von Enderes’s chapter “Die Frauenarbeit” in the catalog *Kunst und Kunstgewerbe auf der Wiener Weltausstellung*. Enderes, secretary of the *Wiener Frauenerwerbsverein*, exoticized the decorative patterns from Eastern Galicia and Bukovina, whence “a number of strange objects, peculiar in form, color and material [...] found their way to the Exhibition. These lands [...] hide a rich treasure of ancient customs, ancient costumes.” Still, she noted, the plain garments made of coarse fabrics could now and then astonish with splendid color and an immaculate pattern.⁴³

From 1873 on, ethnographic samples from the monarchy’s alien frontiers would propel Galicia’s and Bukovina’s vernacular art into unexpected popularity, inspiring the imperial capital to stage further exhibits of these regions’ material culture.⁴⁴ As international interest in the Galician house industry grew, so did the ability to correctly attribute the products to the various national

39 Ibid., p. 31.

40 MORITZ CSÁKY: Die Vielfalt der Habsburgermonarchie und die nationale Frage, in: URS ALTERMATT (ed.): Nation, Ethnizität und Staat in Mitteleuropa, Wien et al. 1996, pp. 44–64, here p. 50.

41 Ibid., pp. 50–52.

42 MARCHETTI, p. 105.

43 AGLAIA VON ENDERES: Die Frauenarbeit, in: CARL VON LÜTZOW (ed.): Kunst und Kunstgewerbe auf der Wiener Weltausstellung 1873, Leipzig 1875, pp. 181–261, here pp. 230–231.

44 Among the largest of those events, the 1890 Land- und Forstwirtschaftliche Ausstellung included a house industry exhibit with a sizeable Galician section, and the 1905 Ausstellung der österreichischen kunstgewerblichen Hausindustrie und Volkskunst at the Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie displayed a number of artifacts from Galicia and Bukovina.

groups. But in 1873, Vienna still preferred the operative term “Galician,” to paper over the deepening national divisions in the region. The curators and critics obliged.

2.3 The Galician Farmhouse

It was Count Włodzimierz Dzieduszycki, a prominent Polish collector and exhibitor of folk culture, and Heinrich Gintl, an Austrian rail engineer-turned-collector, who together ensured that the *Weltausstellung* would feature Galicia in some manner. In recognition of his role in the 1873 *Weltausstellung*, the emperor would ask Dzieduszycki to oversee the entire imperial section at the Paris 1878 exposition.⁴⁵ Dzieduszycki, founder of the Dzieduszycki Family Museum in Lviv in 1855, was a key figure in popularizing Galicia’s house industry in the Western world. In 1873, he brought to Vienna a full-size farmhouse (Figure 3), sponsored by the Brody Committee,⁴⁶ and arranged for displays with Easter eggs, wood carvings, pottery, textiles, and folk costumes. Most of the artifacts originated from his museum.⁴⁷ Gintl supplied folk costumes from the East Carpathian Mountains, wood and straw products from the town of Iavoriv, and sent in ethnographic sketches about the Hutsuls to the *Allgemeine Illustrirte Weltausstellungs-Zeitung*.⁴⁸

For all those efforts, the farmhouse betrayed the dire economic conditions in Galicia. We learn from letters of Polish historian and journalist Agaton Giller that Galicians were mortified to see their crownland represented with a modest hut. They felt this simple dwelling, covered with straw and secured but with a latch lock, should have been spruced up or not exhibited at all. Giller disagreed. Now that the international public had taken note of the primitive conditions in which the crownland’s peasants subsisted, he hoped the Galician Diet would address the dismal quality of rural housing.⁴⁹ The *Allgemeine Illustrirte Weltausstellungs-Zeitung* published a piece on the Galician house along with a full-page picture (Figure 3). The author blamed the abject poverty on Polish

45 KAZIMIERZ KAROLCZAK: Maecenas, Philanthropist and Collector, in: *Naukovi zapysky Derzhavnoho pryrodoznavchoho muzeiu* 31 (2015), pp. 165–178, here p. 174.

46 STEFAN KOSSUTH: Przegląd Wystawy Powszechnej w Wiedniu 1873 r. [Overview of the World’s Fair in Vienna 1873], Warszawa 1875, p. 721.

47 AGATON GILLER: Polska na Wystawie Powszechnej w Wiedniu 1873. r.: Listy Agatona Gillera [Poland at the World’s Fair in Vienna 1873: Letters of Agaton Giller], Lwów 1873, pp. 176–184.

48 HEINRICH EDUARD GINTL, KAROL JAN NEPOMUCEN IGNACY LANGIE: Wykaz udziału Galicyi i Wielkiego Księztwa Krakowskiego na Powszechnej Wystawie 1873 w Wiedniu [Participation Register of Galicia and the Grand Duchy of Cracow in the Vienna World’s Fair of 1873], Wien 1873, p. 64; HEINRICH E. GINTL: Die Huzulen (Huculy). Bergbewohner der Karpathen in Galizien, ihre Trachten und Gebräuche, in: *Allgemeine Illustrirte Weltausstellungs-Zeitung* 2 (1873), 14, pp. 161–164.

49 GILLER, p. 131.



Fig. 3: Das ostgalizische Bauernhaus, in: *Allgemeine Illustrirte Weltausstellungs-Zeitung* 5 (1873), 9–10, p. 109

nobles who mercilessly exploited their peasants, and on “religious fanaticism in the region.” He placed his trust in the monarchy to alleviate the crownland’s desperate misery through continued educational and economic initiatives.⁵⁰

Giller’s correspondence sheds light on what doomed Galicia’s performance at the *Weltausstellung*: Leading up to 1873, the Habsburg administration insisted on splitting Galicians into three separate fair committees—in Cracow, Lviv, and Brody.⁵¹ At the World’s Fair, instead of a dedicated area, the region’s objects were scattered throughout and not attributed properly. It did not help matters that the imperial commission thought Galicians “barbarians and paupers.”⁵² Another article in the *Allgemeine Illustrirte Weltausstellungs-Zeitung* completes the picture: Alongside the lack of funds, the square footage planned for Galicia was reduced, forcing some exhibitors to withdraw. In the end, the commission announced that only Hungary could exhibit under a separate label,

50 Das ostgalizische Bauernhaus, in: *Allgemeine Illustrirte Weltausstellungs-Zeitung* 5 (1873), pp. 109–110.

51 GILLER, pp. 97–99. According to PEMSEL, pp. 24–25, the proliferation of local committees simply mirrored the various local chambers of commerce (*Handels- und Gewerbekammern*). Still, one can speculate that by dividing authority among 427 local committees, the organizers prevented the monarchy’s many nations from asserting their distinct identities.

52 Ibid.

while the Cisleithanian crownlands would be grouped together.⁵³ To see the Galician farmhouse included, Dzieduszycki circumvented the rules and placed the dwelling within the forestry exhibition, but the arrangement meant the structure could not be set up to resemble a functional household.⁵⁴

The Crownland of Galicia and Lodomeria was an artificial administrative unit,⁵⁵ its name invented by Vienna in 1772 to invoke the medieval principalities of Halych and Volodymyr. In the late nineteenth century, after its borders were expanded west some fifty years earlier, Galicia was inhabited by relatively equal numbers of Poles and Ruthenians, with the Jewish population estimated at slightly below twelve percent.⁵⁶ To keep Galicia abstracted from national identification, the “Galician” farmhouse on display in Vienna, though clearly Ruthenian, was not labeled as such, nor did the *Amtlicher Catalog* reference the village and region of its origin.⁵⁷ To a Viennese eye, the dwelling, as well as its geography, seemed so indistinct that Bruno Bucher, art historian and future director of the Museum für Kunst und Industrie in Vienna, generalized it in the catalog *Kunst und Kunstgewerbe auf der Wiener Weltausstellung* as a “Slavonic” farmhouse.⁵⁸ The (non-)attribution indicates that even highly

53 The author stated that the exhibitors had to send in items at their expense, a significant impediment to Galicians’ participation in the *Weltausstellung*. The 5,000 florins received from the *Landes-Ausschuss* as well as donations from districts and private persons proved insufficient to support a wider effort. See: Galizien, in: *Allgemeine Illustrirte Weltausstellungs-Zeitung* 2 (1873), 4, p. 47.

54 SCHRÖER, p. 718.

55 WOLFF, pp. 13–62, expounds on Galicia’s artifice.

56 According to the 1880 census, 45.56 % of Galicia’s population were Roman Catholic, a likely indicator of Polish ethnicity, 42.13 % were Greek-Catholic, generally assumed to be Ruthenian, and 11.52 % of Jewish faith. Cf.: *Österreichische Statistik*. Vol. 1: *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung und der mit derselben verbundenen Zählung der häuslichen Nutzthiere vom 31. December 1880 in den im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern*. 2. Heft: *Die Bevölkerung der im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreiche und Länder nach Religion, Bildungsgrad, Umgangssprache und nach ihren Gebrechen*, Wien 1882, p. 100. The 1890 numbers were similar, respectively 45.39 %, 42.23 %, and 11.66 %. Cf.: *Österreichische Statistik*. Vol. 32: *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1890 in den im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern*. 1. Heft: *Die summarischen Ergebnisse der Volkszählung*, Wien 1892, p. 58. In Galicia, language use was considered less reliable than creed. Additionally, the census did not include Yiddish as a language respondents could declare. – Recently, Tamara Scheer proposed that by forcing the empire’s population into national categories, the census’s linguistic “boxes” conjured arbitrary divisions. TAMARA SCHEER: *Ethnic Boxes: The Unintended Consequences of Habsburg Bureaucratic Classification*, in: *Nationalities Papers* 46 (2018), 4, pp. 575–591, here p. 581. As well-substantiated as the argument is, Scheer overlooks how strongly economic divides reinforced national segregation in crownlands like Galicia or Bohemia.

57 The catalog also erroneously attributed the structure to the Executiv-Comité Krakau, Galizien. The reference to a “Gebirgsbauernhütte mit aller Einrichtung” is inaccurate as well, given SCHRÖER, p. 3. Cf. *Amtlicher Catalog der Ausstellung der im Reichsrathe vertretenen Koenigreiche und Laender Oesterreichs*, Wien 1873, p. 442.

58 BR. BUCHER: *Der Ausstellungsplatz*, in: VON LÜTZOW, pp. 4–14, here p. 11.

educated Austrians had little concept of the relatively new Habsburg lands. As well, it falls in lockstep with the imperial policy to impose cohesion on the new provinces. Tellingly, where Galicia's pre-Habsburg yore was most readily apparent at the *Weltausstellung*—in Jan Matejko's monumental paintings of Poland's heroic past—the Viennese art critic Carl von Lützow dismissed them on artistic grounds and shrugged off their impenetrable historical context.⁵⁹

Galicia's invented genesis did not stop Polish elites from representing the crownland as a fundamentally Polish part of the former Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth, lost in 1772 to the partitions but bound to reemerge within the same borders. They saw in Ruthenian vernacular culture a mere ingredient of the Polish amalgam. In his correspondence, Giller alternately referred to the exhibited farmhouse as "Polish" or "Ruthenian"; to him those terms were interchangeable.⁶⁰ Dzieduszycki too, for all his life-long dedication to collecting Ruthenian material culture, made not a single reference to Ruthenians as he wrote about their house industry and traditions for the catalog *Die Hausindustrie Österreichs*.⁶¹ These omissions echoed Polish historic claims to the land and communicated a paternalistic attitude towards Ruthenians.

Since before the partitions of Poland, in Galicia's east, national divides overlapped with economic fault lines, ensuring that access to political ascendancy remained lopsided. Redolent of colonialism, the power distribution in Galicia arose from the enduring feudal structures that branded the province Austria-Hungary's poorhouse. The end of serfdom in Galicia in 1848 hardly affected relations between the manor and the village. Ruthless economic exploitation of Ruthenian (and Polish) peasants by Polish noble landowners remained the norm,⁶² providing a ripe basis for Ruthenian nationalism.⁶³ It only made matters more incendiary that Vienna relied on the Polish faction in the *Reichsrat* to support its conservative policies and in exchange, ceded provincial administration in Galicia to Poles after 1867.⁶⁴ Responding to a rapid campaign of

59 VON LÜTZOW, p. 371.

60 GILLER, pp. 130–131.

61 WLADIMIR GRAF DZIEDUSZYCKI: Galizien, in: WILHELM FRANZ EXNER (ed.): *Die Hausindustrie Oesterreichs*, Wien 1890, pp. 106–157. The volume accompanied the 1890 Agricultural and Forestry Exhibition in Vienna.

62 DANUTA SOSNOWSKA: Inna Galicja [A Different Galicia], Warszawa 2008, discusses the vestiges of feudal policies in Galicia in the late nineteenth century.

63 For fuller context behind the national awakening of East-Galician peasants, see most recently: ANDRIY ZAYARNYUK: *Framing the Ukrainian Peasantry in Habsburg Galicia, 1846–1914*, Edmonton 2013.

64 This interpretation is generally accepted among scholars of the region and was most recently reaffirmed by: BÖRRIES KUZMANY: Nationale Aushandlungsprozesse in der späten Habsburgermonarchie am Beispiel des Galizischen Ausgleichs von 1914, in: *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* 71 (2022), 1, pp. 39–80, here p. 46. PHILIPP DECKER: Nationalities without Nationalism? The Cultural Consequences of Metternich's Nationality Policy, in: *Nationalities Papers* 51 (2023), 6, pp. 1357–1374, suggests that the imbalance in political power resulted from Metternich's policies, which encouraged culturalist nationhood and assumed that one nationality would peacefully

Polonization that ensued in the 1870s,⁶⁵ Ruthenians strategically embraced the German language and briefly closed ranks with the German liberal majority.⁶⁶ Such direct dialogue with the monarchy's real powerbrokers upset the ethnic pyramid.⁶⁷ Now both sides sought sway with the Austrian arbiter to advance their respective agendas.

3 The 1894 Galician General Provincial Exhibition in Lviv

One hundred years after the acquisition of Galician territories, the province's internal cohesion remained questionable. By 1894, two decades of intense Ruthenian organizing managed to unsettle the entrenched Polish dominance. Cultural organizations such as Prosvita and the Shevchenko Scientific Society, village reading rooms, and economic cooperatives brought political gains and widened the reach of nationalist agitation. Since Maria Theresia's reign, Austrian policies had helped to expand the ranks of Ruthenian intelligentsia⁶⁸ by opening paths to education and civil service for Uniate clergy.⁶⁹ Their descendants—clerics, teachers, and community leaders—saw themselves as a separate nation perennially under siege by Poles and Russians. In 1894, the Provincial Exhibition became an opportunity to broadcast that story beyond the crownland. The narrative, expounded by the chair of Ukrainian history and nation-

dominate each region. Conversely, HARALD BINDER: "Galizische Autonomie": Ein streitbarer Begriff und seine Karriere, in: LUKÁŠ FASORA, JIRÍ HANUS et al. (eds.): *Moravské vyrovnání z roku 1905: Možnosti a limity národnostního smíru ve střední Evropě / Der Mährische Ausgleich von 1905: Möglichkeiten und Grenzen für einen nationalen Ausgleich in Mitteleuropa*, Brno 2006, pp. 239–265, argues that compared to other crownlands, the Galician (Polish) elites were not granted any extra powers. Rather, the Habsburg administration never made headway in diluting the deep-rooted supremacy of Polish magnates.

65 WOLFF, p. 255.

66 HARALD BINDER: *Galizien in Wien: Parteien, Wahlen, Fraktionen und Abgeordnete im Übergang zur Massenpolitik*, Wien 2005, p. 344.

67 Ruthenians certainly benefitted from the proliferation of print media and seven of the 353 seats in the 1891–1897 Viennese *Reichsrat* (against 52 seats for Poles) (Ibid., p. 321), the infamous election swindles in Galicia notwithstanding. HOLLY CASE: *The Age of Questions or, A First Attempt at an Aggregate History of the Eastern, Social, Woman, American, Jewish, Polish, Bullion, Tuberculosis, and Many Other Questions over the Nineteenth Century, and Beyond*, Princeton 2018, p. 68, argues that in the nineteenth century, "a question could create a reality by virtue of its mere formulation." One can see how Ruthenians seized on their power to query the nominal promise behind the Cisleithanian principle of "statist neutrality," analyzed by GAMMERL, which required that all citizens be treated equally regardless of ethnic and religious identity.

68 DECKER, p. 1370.

69 TOMASZ HEN-KONARSKI: *Enlightened and Counter-Revolutionary: Revisiting the Origins of Galician Ruthenian Nation-Building*, in: *Austrian History Yearbook* 55 (2024), pp. 60–86, here pp. 74–75.

builder Mykhailo Hrushevsky, demonstrated the continuity of the national project despite Ukraine's prolonged statelessness.⁷⁰

3.1 A Nexus of Clashing National Aspirations

Historians often note that in East Central Europe, regional exhibitions were bound by two sets of disparate agendas. As Andreas R. Hofmann and Filipová suggest, the displays and categorizations conformed to the modus of world's fairs but they stealthily challenged imperial dominance in the region. Additionally, each national group in a province sought to claim exhibitions for their rival purposes.⁷¹ At the 1873 Vienna World's Fair, the central power staged non-German Habsburg provinces in accordance with their peripheral status. In Lviv, Poles triumphed through displays of progress and the arts, housed in historicized neo-Gothic and neo-Renaissance spaces. In contrast, Ruthenians were invited to present their achievement of material culture and objects of daily use, cloistered in a space that sociologist and cultural historian Tony Bennett classifies as a "twilight zone between nature and culture."⁷²

As preparations for the *Landesausstellung* began, Ruthenians contested their unequal representation. In 1893, Ruthenian member of the Galician Diet Dionisiy Kulachkovskyi objected to the event's overwhelmingly Polish profile: "You have dared to turn the Ruthenian nation into but exhibit material to advertise the name of Poland."⁷³ As well, Ruthenians sought to challenge the spatial coding that signaled their nation's subordinate status, but to no avail. The exhibition's organizing committee allocated a prime spot directly adjacent to the Palace of Polish Art to Polish emigrants—"Poles from America" (Figure 4), but banished the Ruthenian Pavilion to a remote location, alongside the Pavilion of Women's Work. The exhibition would be a show of Polish pride; Ruthenians, though they constituted an equal Galician nation, were sidelined.

70 For a complete analysis of Hrushevsky's role in Ukrainians' national identification, see: SERHII PLOKH: *Unmaking Imperial Russia: Mykhailo Hrushevsky and the Writing of Ukrainian History*, Toronto 2005.

71 FILIPOVÁ, *Cultures*, pp. 7–8, 16; ANDREAS R. HOFMANN: *Utopien der Nation: Landes- und Nationalausstellungen in Ostmitteleuropa vor und nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg*, in: *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* 58 (2009), 1–2, pp. 5–32, here pp. 6–8.

72 TONY BENNETT: *The Exhibitionary Complex*, in: *New Formations* (1988), 4 (Spring), pp. 73–102, here p. 90.

73 *Stenograficzne sprawozdania z czwartej sesji szóstego periodu Sejmu Krajowego Królestwa Galicji i Lodomerii wraz z Wielkim Księstwem Krakowskim w roku 1893* [Stenographic Reports from the Fourth Session of the Sixth Period of the Provincial Legislature of the Crownland of Galicia and Lodomeria together with the Grand Duchy of Cracow in 1893], Lwów 1893, p. 731.

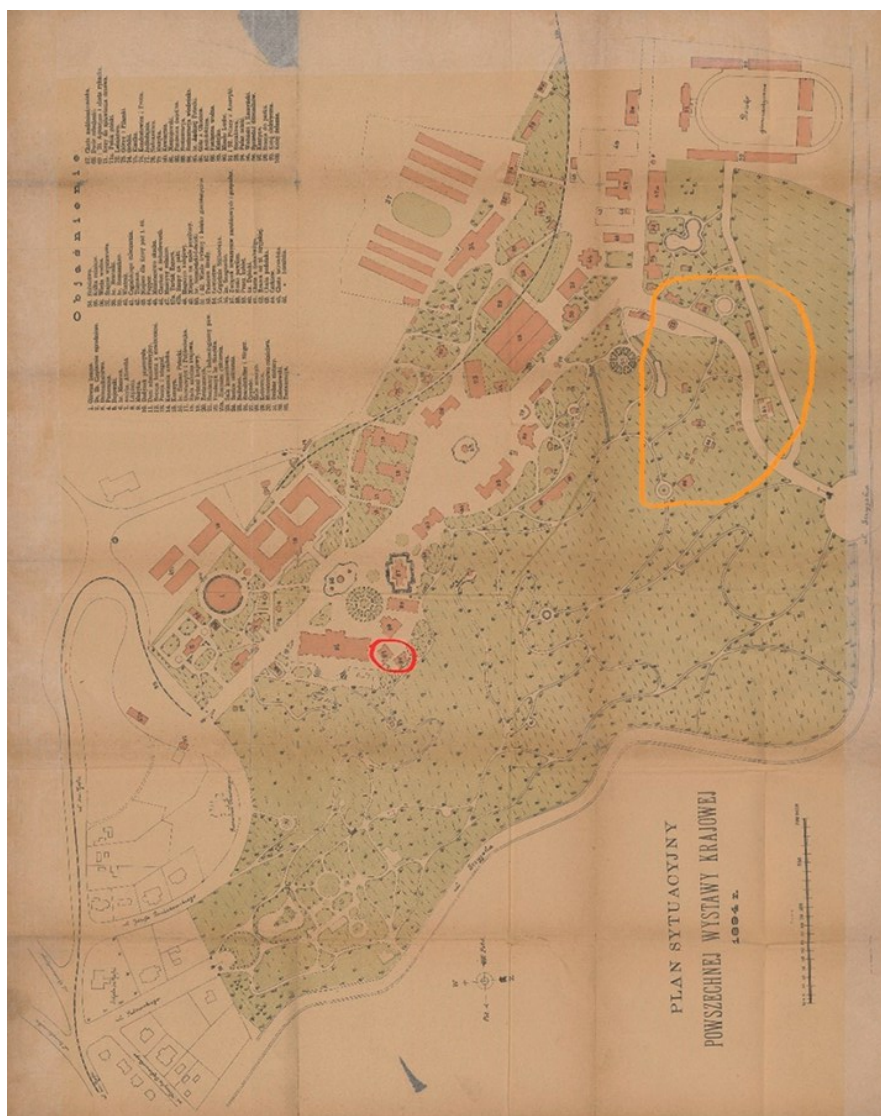


Fig. 4: Plan sytuacyjny Powszechnej Wystawy Krajowej [Map of the Provincial General Exhibition exhibit grounds], in: *Ilustrowany przewodnik po Lwowie i Powszechnej Wystawie Krajowej*, Lviv 1894. Smaller area circled shows two buildings devoted to “Poles from America,” the larger area marked indicates the ethnographic village

Of all Galician fairs,⁷⁴ the 1894 *Landesausstellung* in Lviv carried a milestone status. Archduke Karl Ludwig attended the opening on 5 June, and the emperor paid a visit from 7 to 11 June. The Vienna administration expected all provincial exhibitions, including the 1894 *Landesausstellung* in Lviv, to communicate national unity and dynastic loyalty. To that effect, Franz Joseph became the event's Protector, and there is some evidence that the fair, partly financed by the Galician Diet, received funds from Vienna as well.⁷⁵ The fair lasted four and a half months and attracted more than a million visitors. A wondrous panoramic painting of the 1794 Battle of Raclawice dazed the attendees. Technological bells and whistles (electric tram line, illuminated fountain, and gondola lift) conveyed Galicia's industrial progress.

With full awareness of this grand opportunity to showcase Galicia, the exclusively Polish organizing committee worked to stage a national, rather than a Habsburg, celebration. Since 1867, the town's public spaces had been gradually encoded in Polish symbols;⁷⁶ the *Landesausstellung* was to cement Lviv's aspiration as a surrogate Polish capital.⁷⁷ The celebrated ballistic panorama linked the exhibition to the centennial of the Kościuszko insurrection. Interpretations of watershed moments in Polish history by Jan Matejko were featured in his Mausoleum. With these optical signposts, the organizers hoped to kindle national identification among peasantry while strengthening Polish patriotism among the broader public.

In separating industry, high art, and peasant material cultures, the exhibition grounds were laid out according to the custom of international and regional fairs. This arrangement allowed Poles, the brokers of economic and social power in Galicia, to claim prime locations in the heart of Stryi Park to better broadcast economic and cultural successes. Visitors saw 364 Polish artworks on display in three pavilions: the Panorama Pavilion, the Matejko Mausoleum, and the Palace of Polish Art (Figure 5). The architecture of the latter, designed in neo-Renaissance style, linked Polish heritage with Western civilization and alluded to Poland's Golden Age. In stark contrast, Ruthenian collections were housed in vernacular-style structures and ousted to the ethnographic sector.

74 Among Galician exhibitions that preceded the *Landesausstellung*, the largest were two expositions of industry and agriculture, the first in Lviv in 1877, the second in Cracow in 1887. The latter, *Wystawa rolniczo-przemysłowa w Krakowie*, included an exhibition of Polish art.

75 PUCHTA, p. 47, states that a delegation led by the head of the exhibition's executive committee, Prince Adam Sapieha negotiated a subsidy of over 40,000 crowns.

76 CHRISTOPH MICK: Die "Ukrainermacher" und ihre Konkurrenten, in: *Comparativ* 15 (2005), 2, pp. 60–76, here p. 71; HARALD BINDER: Making and Defending a Polish Town: "Lwów" (Lemberg), 1848–1914, in: *Austrian History Yearbook* 34 (2003), pp. 57–81, here pp. 77–81; HEIN-KIRCHER, Lembergs "polnischen Charakter" sichern, pp. 268–294. Between 1895 and 1913, Ruthenians sought to also erect representative buildings in Lviv, but their civic organizations could only do so much to counterbalance the Polish city council.

77 HEIN-KIRCHER, Lembergs "polnischen Charakter" sichern, p. 295.

Bennett explicated the power of museum layouts to perform Western understandings of evolutionary development.⁷⁸ Similarly, a walk through the Lviv exhibit grounds recalled the region's ethnically charged "caste" system. Ruthenians and Poles had each been seeking to position their past, present and future in the West European realm, to the exclusion of the other.⁷⁹ The visual ciphers at the *Landesausstellung* underscored that Poles were the local-scale civilization bearers, the *antemurale christianitatis* of East Europe. A decade earlier the monarchy commemorated the battle at Kahlenberg Mountain. Those celebrations invited Poles to view themselves as the true guarantors of Austria's historic mission, but frustrated Ruthenians who wanted it remembered that Cossack formations had contributed to Sobieski's legendary triumph against the Ottoman army in 1683.⁸⁰

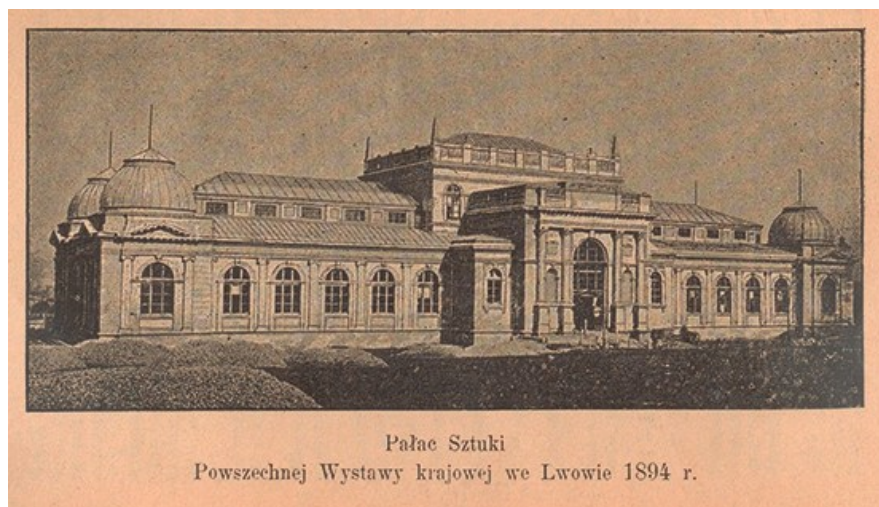


Fig. 5: EDWARD TRZEMESKI: Pałac Sztuki Powszechnej Wystawy Krajowej we Lwowie 1894 r. [Palace of Art at the General Provincial Exhibition in Lviv 1894], in: EDWARD TRZEMESKI: Powszechna Wystawa Krajowa we Lwowie, Lviv 1894

78 TONY BENNETT: *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*, London—New York 1995, p. 43.

79 BURKHARD WÖLLER: "Europa" als historisches Argument: Nationsbildungsstrategien polnischer und ukrainischer Historiker im Habsburgischen Galizien, Bochum 2014, traces the claims to "Europeanness" in Polish and Ukrainian nation-building counter-narratives.

80 SIMON HADLER: Europe's Other? The Turks and Shifting Borders of Memory, in: *European Review of History* 24 (2017), 4, pp. 507–526.

3.2 “Polish Shams”

Galicians were anxious to improve their crownland’s reputation and annul the disastrous presentation at the 1873 World’s Fair, so it was convenient that visitors from Vienna eagerly embraced evidence of industrial, technological, and educational advancement, while delighting in harmonious stagings of folk life. The enthused German-language press influenced Larry Wolff, who in *The Idea of Galicia* salutes the exhibition as a rare show of Galician unity, “a promiscuously Galician collaboration among Polish and Ruthenian architects working across the supposed barrier of nationality.”⁸¹ Indeed, in the 1890s, a decade of heightened tensions, Lviv’s professional caste comprised of Poles, Ruthenians, and Jews collaborated on sweeping modernization projects, timed to coincide with the *Landesausstellung*. Yet those city planning initiatives largely served to legitimize Polish rule,⁸² a mirroring of the Austrian civilizational mandate. Professional partnerships aside, Polish and Ruthenian sources reveal a deep animus that marred civic life in the region before, during, and after the Provincial Exhibition. A review of catalogs, reports, and maps, demonstrates how the Exhibition Committee, recruited from among the local and greater Galician Polish elites,⁸³ merely paid lip service to the Habsburg message of unity as it systematically fashioned the fair into a Polish national project. The committee

81 WOLFF, p. 291, cites Prokopovych’s findings that Pole Julian Zachariewicz and Ukrainian Ivan Levynskyi together designed the Ruthenian Pavilion, and Levynskyi built the (Polish) Matejko Mausoleum.

82 HEIDI HEIN-KIRCHER: Best Practices from a Polish Perspective: Improving Health Conditions in Lviv around 1900, in: ESZTER GANTNER, HEIDI HEIN-KIRCHER et al. (eds.): Interurban Knowledge Exchange in Southern and Eastern Europe, 1870–1950, New York 2020, pp. 134–152.

83 The Exhibition Committee was headed by Prince Adam Sapieha, and included the viceroy of Galicia, count Stanisław Badeni and the industrialist and politician August Gorayski, who served as vice-presidents, mayors of Lviv and Kraków—Edmund Moch-nacki and Józef Friedlein, the outgoing Cracow mayor Feliks Szlachetowski, as well as the Exhibition’s director, the Galician financier Zdzisław Marchwicki. — KOZIŃSKA-WITT, p. 170, notes that in contrast with societal transformations in German-speaking parts of Austria, which allowed the liberal bourgeoisie to embrace a key role in the 1873 Vienna *Weltausstellung*, in Galicia, ever-impervious to social change, the landed elites dominated among committee members and exhibitors.

sought to limit exhibit materials to Polish,⁸⁴ constrained Ukrainian speeches at official ceremonies, and dressed event staff in Polish national costumes.⁸⁵

Despite all obstacles, Ruthenians persisted. At the opening ceremony on 5 June 1894, judge Demian Savchak, Ruthenian member of the Galician Diet and the Provincial Board, echoed the historian Hrushevsky. His pointed reclamation of Lviv as a medieval Ruthenian settlement⁸⁶ undercut the Polish patriotic theme that defined the event from its inception. During the September 1894 imperial visit, Savchak greeted Franz Joseph on behalf of his nation.⁸⁷ Similar tugs of war between Galician national groups around visual and symbolic participation surrounded most visits from Vienna.⁸⁸

Though Russophile Ruthenians eschewed the exposition, linking it with the *nova era* compromise which they opposed,⁸⁹ at the urging of Franko, the Ruthenian scholar and activist, much of the community rallied behind the event. Volodymyr Shukhevych oversaw the ethnographic division at the

84 In the end, programs and proclamations were printed in both languages, see: ANDRIANA NADOPTA: Ahrarno-promyslovi ta etnografichni vystavky v Halychyni v kintsii XIX – na pochatku XX st. iak vazhlyvyi chynnyk do zarodzhennia ukrains'koho etnografichnoho muzeinytstva [Agricultural-Industrial and Ethnographic Exhibitions in Galicia at the End of the Nineteenth and the Beginning of the Twentieth Centuries as an Important Factor in the Birth of Ukrainian Ethnographic Museums], in: Naukovi zoshyty istorichnoho fakultetu Lvivs'koho universytetu 11 (2010), pp. 281–292. But Poles only conceded after, in 1893, the Russophile branch of Ruthenians threatened to sit out the exhibit, see: Dr. Mykola Antonevych [statement during the session on 1893-05-15], in: Stenograficzne sprawozdania, p. 733–734, here p. 734. Still, the guide to the agricultural section referred to “Polish and foreign languages,” in essence classifying Ruthenian as not a Galician language. See: The General Regional Exhibition of Galicia.

85 SULYM, p. 111. As WÖRNER, p. 172, notes, in late nineteenth century Cisleithania, traditional costumes communicated a variety of political meanings. In this context, the attire flaunted Polish independence from Vienna, simultaneously asserting Poles as the exhibition's sole hosts—a gesture of both resistance and oppression.

86 TADEUSZ DWERNICKI: Powszechna Wystawa Krajowa 1894 r. i siły produkcyjne kraju [The General Provincial Exhibition and the Country's Production Strengths], vol. 1, Lwów 1897, p. 181.

87 KOST LEVYTSKYI: Ukrainiis'ki polityky: Sylvety nashykh davnykh posliv i politychnykh diiachiv [Ukrainian Politicians: Profiles of Our Past Representatives and Political Activists], in: Dilo from 1936-09-30.

88 NAZAR KIS': “Loialnist' virnykh narodiv.” Manifestatsiia Natsional'noho patriotyzmu pid chas vizytyw tsisarii Frantsa Iosyfa do L'vova [“Loyalty of Faithful Peoples.” Manifestations of National Patriotism during Emperor Franz Joseph's Visits to Lviv], in: Naukovi zapysky VDPV imeni Mykhaila Kotsiubyn's'koho 35 (2021), pp. 20–30, here p. 25.

89 On the topic of *nova era*, which aimed to tip the scales away from Ruthenian Russophile groups and favor the national democratic *narodovtsi*, see: IHOR CHORNOVOL: Polsko-ukrainiis'ka uhoda 1890–1894 rr [The Polish-Ukrainian Compromise of 1890–1894], Lviv 2000; DARIUSZ MACIAK: Próba porozumienia polsko-ukraińskiego w Galicji 1888–1895 [The Attempt at a Polish-Ukrainian Accord in Galicia 1888–1895], Warszawa 2006.

Landesausstellung and prepared a corresponding catalog.⁹⁰ Funds for the construction of the Ruthenian Pavilion came from nearly a dozen Ruthenian civic organizations as well as the Ruthenian aristocrat, collector, and exhibitor Volodyslav Fedorovych from Vikno (then Okno),⁹¹ who also lent items from his house industry collection. The Ruthenian Women's Club sold display items from the Women's Work section, in hopes of financing a monument in Lviv to the Ukrainian Romantic poet Taras Shevchenko,⁹² which the hostile city administration had refused to fund.

Many Habsburg subjects were still disenfranchised in the last third of the nineteenth century. Print media became their political stage. Until 1907, the *Kurien*-system of largely class-based voting ensured that political representation remained far out of reach for most. The system favored elite nationalities in each crownland, and in Galicia, it continued to disproportionately exclude non-Poles even after the 1907 reform.⁹³ In 1894, the *Landesausstellung* brought the long-held national tensions to the surface. A heated press polemic between the Ruthenian national-democratic daily *Dilo* and Galician Polish papers shows that newspapers doubled as bullhorns. Between 1892 and 1894, the conservative Polish Cracow newspaper *Czas* ran an anti-Ruthenian series "Z obozu ruskiego" (From the Ruthene camp) by Adam Krechowiecki,⁹⁴ writer and editor at *Gazeta Lwowska*. In a September 1894 installment, Krechowiecki denounced the Ruthenian press for "denigrating" the exhibition. He chastised them for alleging that they were marginalized, and for complaining that their language was disallowed at the fair.⁹⁵ *Dilo* offered a rebuke: it was incumbent on the Ruthenian community to publicly expose the endless political manipulation surrounding the *Landesausstellung*, including attempts to "circus-train" Ruthenian peasants in Polish patriotism.⁹⁶

90 For more details on Shukhevych's key role in the *Landesausstellung*, see: ANDRII KARPENKO: Volodymyr Shukhevych—spivorhanizator kraievoii vystavky u L'vovi 1894 roku [Volodymyr Shukhevych—Co-Organizer of the 1894 Provincial Exhibition in Lviv], in: *Narodoznavchi zoshyty* 4 (2016), pp. 785–791.

91 Volodyslav Fedorovych, 1873–1877 president of Prosvita, had contributed much of his collection to the 1890 *Land- und Forstwirtschafts-, Industrie-und Kunst-Ausstellung* in Vienna as well. He kept in close contact with Alois Riegl, Wilhelm Exner, and Włodzimierz Dzieduszycki. For more information about Fedorovych's crucial role as a patron of Ruthenian house industry, see: ROSTYSLAV SHMAHALO: Volodyslav Fedorovych i kulturnyi rozvytok Halychyny v kintsi XIX – na pochatku XX stolittia [Volodyslav Fedorovych and Cultural Advancement in Galicia at the End of the 19th and beginning of the 20th Centuries], in: *Demiurh* (2018), 2, pp. 102–114.

92 Pavilon l'vivskykh rusko-narodnykh tovarystv [The Pavilion of Lviv's Ruthenian National Associations], in: *Dilo* from 1894-07-27.

93 BINDER, *Galizien* in Wien, pp. 189–190.

94 In 1889, Krechowiecki penned an eponymous pamphlet intended for the Galician Diet.

95 ADAM KRECHOWIECKI: *Z obozu ruskiego* [From the Ruthene Camp], in: *Czas* from 1894-09-23.

96 *Dilo* from 1894-09-25.

Indeed, the Provincial Exhibition became a backdrop for “kidnapping souls,” a strategy of coaxing indifferent populations into national identification.⁹⁷ Poles would fund excursions to the *Landesausstellung* for Ruthenian villagers and school children. To instill Polish patriotic sentiment, sponsored visitors were immediately ushered to admire the Panorama painting. Ievhen Olesnytskyi, a Ruthenian deputy to the Galician and the Austrian diets, mocked the “Polish Kościuszko exhibition”: At Dzieduszycki’s direction, local Polish elites “ordered an entire train and stuffed it full of some [Ruthenian] village mayors, scribes, railroad workers, constables, and various hoi polloi and took them to Lviv as proof of Ruthenian folk’s trust [in Polish administration].” The incident triggered a protest on 28 September against filching the inhabitants of Stryi for “Polish shams.”⁹⁸ Both Puchta and Wendland believe Ruthenian-speaking peasants and school children were thus corralled simply because they lived closer to Lviv.⁹⁹ But there was much to be gained: Lviv was a Polish island in a mostly Ruthenian Eastern Galicia.

3.3 “Stancyks and Hutsuls Join Hands as Brothers”

As in Vienna in 1873, journalists and visitors flocked to exhibits of house industry and rural architecture. Their remote locations did not deter. The ethnographic village encompassed two Polish cottages and four Ruthenian ones, largely relegating Ruthenian achievements to material culture.¹⁰⁰ A tucked-away Hutsul church (Figure 6) constructed by village artisans¹⁰¹ proved the

97 The theme of national indifference among ordinary subjects forms a distinct strand in the historiography of East Central Europe, from Rogers Brubaker’s *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe* to Pieter Judson’s *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria* to Tara Zahra’s *Imagined Noncommunities: National Indifference as a Category of Analysis*.

98 IEVHEN OLESNYTSKYI: Storinky z moho zhyttia [Pages from my life], in: Dilo from 1935-02-19.

99 PUCHTA, p. 161; WENDLAND, p. 137.

100 MARTA FILIPOVÁ: “Highly Civilized, yet Very Simple”: Images of the Czechoslovak State and Nation at Interwar World’s Fairs, in: *Nationalities Papers* 50 (2022), 1, pp. 145–165, highlights similar PR strategies in her overview of Czechoslovakia’s self-styling at interwar world’s fairs. The new state juxtaposed Czech innovation with Slovak vernacular culture.

101 PROKOPOVYCH, p. 252, and, citing him, WOLFF, p. 291, attribute the plans for the Hutsul church to Zachariewicz. In fact, Hutsul carpenters would astound city folk with their masterful construction skills when they erected traditional buildings for exhibitions in Vienna. Several contemporaneous sources state that this church too was built by carpenters, and without plans or technical support. Cf.: SHUKHEVYCH, *Providnyk po Lvovi*, p. 154; *Ilustrowany przewodnik po Lwowie i Powszechnej Wystawie Krajowej*, p. 166; DWERNICKI, p. 172; ADELE PFLEGER: *Die ethnographische Abtheilung auf der Landes-Ausstellung zu Lemberg im Jahre 1894*, in: *Zeitschrift für österreichische Volkskunde* (1895), pp. 15–17, here p. 15. From those original as well as current references, the following details emerge about the construction of the Hutsul church: Les’

most talked-about folk attraction at the exhibition. Across the path, a greybeard lyre player treated visitors to church songs.

Hutsul culture was first introduced to Western Europeans at the 1878 Paris Universal Exposition, but even before, in the 1870s, German-language writers from Galicia and Bukovina, Iurii Fedkovych, Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, and Karl Emil Franzos, acquainted Austrian readers with the horse-breeding, mountain-dwelling tribe. The Chernivtsi (Czernowitz, Cernăuți)-based professor, Raimund Kaindl and Ukrainian ethnographers, Volodymyr Hnatiuk and Shukhevych, collected Hutsul artifacts and wrote studies of the region's folklore and artisanal production.¹⁰² Their publications, alongside presentations at international and regional fairs¹⁰³ and themed exhibitions in Vienna nourished Western Europe's fascination with Ruthenian customs¹⁰⁴ and products.

Kobchuk, a carpenter from Iavoriv, built the church with six Hutsul helpers. After the Provincial Exhibition in Lviv, Stepan Shukhevych, a priest from Krasiv and brother of the ethnographer Volodymyr Shukhevych, purchased the structure and moved it to his parish. Many thanks to Oksana Boiko of the Lviv Center for Urban History for providing the following links: <https://uma.lvivcenter.org/uk/photos/379?fbclid=IwAR1PXmnI8lugAq4hvWxCBy3Bt-CfJKhoMHmiE42F2fMNllk2fgQwCKqaiqQ> and https://photo-lviv.in.ua/hutsulska-tserkva-v-krasovi/?fbclid=IwAR1xulrMH_fektiAvPeZ2LTfbfj9q7Nc-lfs8_Gnt1RZ4qKGf0Ao4na_zkg (2025-01-15).

102 In 1894, Kaindl published a monograph *Die Huzulen*; Shukhevych was the author of a five-volume study of the Hutsul land, *Hutsulshchyna* (1899–1908). Before Kaindl and Shukhevych, Oskar Kolberg penned a manuscript of his monumental *Lud: Jego zwyczaje, sposób życia, mowa, podania, przysłowia, obrzędy, gusła, zabawy, pieśni, muzyka i tańce* [The Peoples: Their Customs, Way of Life, Speech, Legends, Proverbs, Rituals, Witchcraft, Games, Songs, Music, and Dances]. His study *Ruś Karpacka* [Carpathian Ruthenia], originally part of *Lud*, comprises volumes 54 and 55 of the posthumously published *Dziela wszystkie* [Collected Works], Wrocław—Poznań 1970–1971. Kolberg headed the ethnographic committee at the Provincial Exhibition in Kraków in 1887 and was involved with the Vienna 1873, Paris 1878, and Kolomyia 1880 fairs. He died four years before the General Provincial Exhibition in Lviv.

103 GINTL, p. 164, reports that Hutsul costumes, exhibited by Dzieduszycki, were met with high interest at the Paris 1867 exposition. PATRICE DABROWSKI: “Discovering” the Galician Borderlands: The Case of the Eastern Carpathians, in: *Slavic Review* 64 (2005), 2, pp. 380–402, here p. 398, suggests that the emperor's visit at the two competing exhibitions in Kolomeia in 1880 helped thrust Hutsul house industry into the limelight.

104 An essential instrument of ethnographic documentation, photography often immortalized scenes from Hutsul life, with weddings as the favorite motif. An album gifted to Crown Prince Rudolf on the occasion of his marriage included a photo of a Hutsul wedding party walking past Emperor Franz Joseph. IRENE KOHL: Entstehungsgeschichte und Konzeption des KPWs, in: IRENE KOHL, EMIL BRIX (eds.): *Galizien in Bildern: Die Originalillustrationen für das “Kronprinzenwerk” aus den Beständen der Fideikommißbibliothek der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Wien 1997, pp. 11–18, here p. 18.

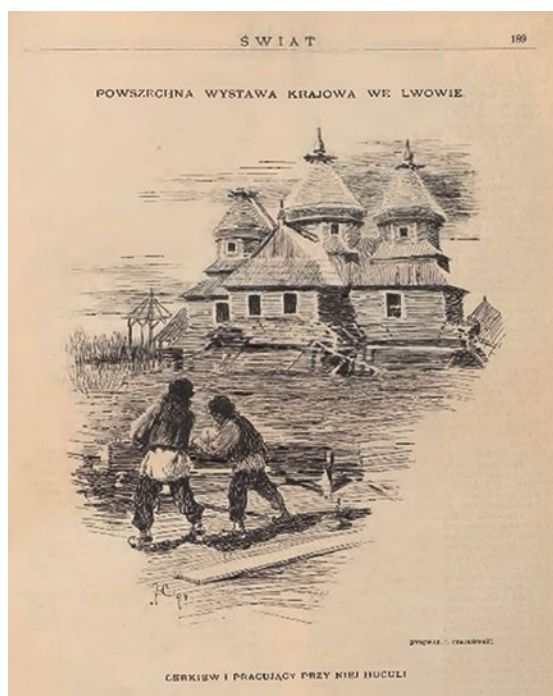


Fig. 6: Cerkiew i pracujący przy niej Huculi [Hutsuls Constructing Their Church], in: *Świat* from 1884-04-01

In keeping with a romanticized view of the Hutsuls, an installment from *Gazeta Lwowska*'s series *Szkice z Wystawy* painted the church, the fair's popular attraction, as "a refuge filled with poetry and charm."¹⁰⁵ Another story, on the Ruthenian Pavilion, marveled at Ruthenian folklore, praising the exhibited kilims and other decorative objects of daily use for their richness. Written with interest and appreciation, the author also reviewed the educational and community initiatives of Ruthenian civic associations and cooperatives.¹⁰⁶ In the Cracow-based literary magazine *Świat*, the Galician ethnographer Karol Mątyàs predicted that Poles might shed their national bias after visiting the church: "Many arrive here with strong prejudice, and return favorably disposed to this folk, having been enlightened."¹⁰⁷

Most, but not all German speakers were equally enthused about the Provincial Exhibition. In a report for the *Mittheilungen des k. k. Österreichischen Museums für Kunst und Industrie*, Hermann Herdtle, an architect and professor

105 *Szkice z Wystawy* [Sketches from the Exhibition], in: *Gazeta Lwowska* from 1894-06-24.

106 *Gazeta Lwowska* from 1894-09-05.

107 KAROL MĄTYÀS: Jeszcze o dziale etnograficznym [Again about the Ethnographic Section], in: *Świat* from 1894-10-01.

at the *Kunstgewerbeschule* in the imperial capital, cringed at the exhibition's architecture. The Badeni and Potocki pavilions were "unpleasant," the Pavilion of Industry looked more Persian than Galician. Still, he found the ethnographic section of high interest. Herdtle declared that the colorful East Galician folk costumes¹⁰⁸ might just as well have originated in Damascus or Tanger, given their completely oriental character.¹⁰⁹ The furnishings, household items, and especially the Hutsul tile furnaces, evinced true artistry. Herdtle extolled the newly founded *Fachschulen* for supporting the province's artisanal production and claimed credit for economic development in Galicia squarely for the monarchy.¹¹⁰ As did his predecessors when writing about the *Weltausstellung* 20 years before, this Austrian disregarded ethnic designations, accepting "East" and "West" as sufficient reference points. Habsburg civil servants knew to sidestep incendiary identifications.

The *Wiener Zeitung* published three installments on the Lviv exhibition, penned by Wilhelm Exner, honorary president of the *Niederösterreichische Gewerbeverein*. In contrast with Herdtle's mixed review, Exner felt the event's design and organization exceeded all other regional exhibits held in Austria. Having previously traveled to the province to oversee the craft school system, he also discussed a segment of the exhibition devoted to education in Galicia.¹¹¹ Exner's pieces reveal how thoroughly he had absorbed the cultural hierarchy that dominated Galician relations. Staying on the Habsburg message of *viribus unitis*, he turned a blind eye to battles over schools and language use, two hot buttons that fueled the region's national conflicts. He saw, or rather imagined, all ethnic groups toiling together like brothers: "Goralen und Mazuren,

108 ZIPPER, pp. 92–93, reports that twenty-four mannequins clad in folk costumes were grouped to emulate the return of a newlywed couple from church, with village musicians playing the Ruthenian *kolomyika* dance for the wedding party.

109 Rampley separates orientalism as the Austrian notion of the Orient from the Western hegemonic discourse of colonial domination defined by Edward Said. In Austria-Hungary, the Orient, or the "East," meant both the Islamic Middle East as well as the Orthodox eastern fringes of the Empire. MATTHEW RAMPLEY: *The Vienna School of Art History: Empire and the Politics of Scholarship, 1847–1918*, University Park 2013, p. 167.

110 HERMANN HERDTLE: Die galizische Landes-Ausstellung in Lemberg 1894, in: *Mitteilungen des k. k. Österreichischen Museums für Kunst und Industrie* (1894), pp. 185–189, 205–209. The effects of the top-down reform of artisanal education in Cisleithania through a network of *Fachschulen* were viewed differently in Vienna than in the provinces. In contrast to Herdtle, non-Germans considered the uniform network of *Fachschulen* a threat to their cultures and pressed to replace teachers sent down by the *Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht* with local ones. See: MATTHEW RAMPLEY, MARKIAN PROKOPOVYCH, NÓRA VESZPRÉMI: *Liberalism, Nationalism and Design Reform in the Habsburg Empire: Museums of Design, Industry and the Applied Arts*, New York—London 2020, p. 253; REYNOLDS. As well today, historians in the successor states tend to overlook the debt local artisanal and general education owed to the Austrian school reform.

111 WILHELM EXNER: Allgemeine Landes-Ausstellung Lemberg 1894 (II), in: *Wiener Zeitung* from 1894-09-02.

Stanczyken¹¹² und Huzulen reichen sich brüderlich die Hände und vereinigen sich in der gemeinsamen Freude über das gelungene Werk.” Smitten with Galician aristocracy,¹¹³ Exner declared the Provincial Exhibition a stunning Polish achievement.¹¹⁴

To build a knowledge base about the vast empire, Austro-Hungarian institutions relied on contributions by citizen-scientists, often recruited from among provincial schoolteachers. Adele Pflieger, who taught in the West Galician town of Trzebinia, reported about the exhibition for the brand-new Viennese ethnographic journal *Zeitschrift für österreichische Volkskunde*. Pflieger praised the Ethnographic Pavilion as the event’s greatest attraction. She astutely identified the Byzantine influences among religious artifacts shown at the Hutsul church. Her eye was especially drawn to the tribe’s tools and clothing.¹¹⁵ Similarly, Zipper’s¹¹⁶ *Guidebook* marveled at the Hutsul tile stoves, an enchanting work of primordial peasant pottery, with its extraordinary (*merkwürdige*) ornamentation and naïve depictions of village life.¹¹⁷

From the early 1890s, ornamentation based on Hutsul motifs informed a unique Ukrainian architectural style, the Hutsul Secession. The *Landesausstellung* followed a Polish-driven concept that clustered Ruthenian vernacular art in ethnographic corners. Yet the Pavilion of Industry, a prominent structure designed by Pole Franciszek Skowron, was adorned with Hutsul elements.¹¹⁸ While affirming Ruthenian folk aesthetics, such borrowings appropriated those increasingly fashionable patterns. Skowron’s artistic vision articulated a nationalist perspective persistent among Poles in 1894: since Ruthenians, Hutsuls among them, belonged to the bygone Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth,¹¹⁹

112 The Gorals and the Mazurs/Mazurians were ethnic groups viewed as potential Poles; the Stanczyks were Polish Cracow-based conservatives, loyal to Vienna.

113 Poles occupied some of the top posts in the imperial administration and delivered the votes needed to form governments and coalitions. IRYNA VUSHKO: *The Politics of Cultural Retreat: Imperial Bureaucracy in Austrian Galicia, 1772–1867*, New Haven—London 2015, discusses social connections between Polish nobility and Austrian civil servants posted in Galicia prior to 1867. Often, (Polish) aristocracy dazzled the far less wealthy arrivals from Vienna with lavish lifestyle and access to power. When Exner so unquestioningly signed on to the idea of Polish leadership in Galicia, he was influenced by the visibility of Polish conservatives in imperial politics, but he echoed the class sentiments, too.

114 WILHELM EXNER: *Allgemeine Landes-Ausstellung Lemberg 1894 (I)*, in: *Wiener Zeitung* from 1894-09-01.

115 PFLEGER, pp. 15–16.

116 Albert Zipper (1855–1936), Germanist and philologist, was born in Lviv, the son of an Austrian military official.

117 ZIPPER, p. 91.

118 SULYM, p. 98.

119 Poles’ mental maps continued to reference pre-partition borders, legitimizing the Polish claim to enclose various nationalities (Polish, Lithuanian, Ukrainian) under Polish leadership. OLIA HNATYUK: *Skhidna Halychyna: Odyn krai—dva Piemonty* [Eastern Galicia: One Country—Two Piedmonts], in: *Problemy vvyvchennia istorii ukrains’koi re-*

their distinct culture was simply a tributary of Poland's broader legacy.¹²⁰ The same Pavilion of Industry featured stained glass windows with figures representing strictly Polish history. Such mixing of visual symbols was emblematic of the roles the two nationalities fulfilled: Polish was the "historic" culture-bearer; Ruthenians could at best contribute their exotic, primordial creativity to garnish Polish national insignia.

Wendland argues that Ruthenians cooperated in this stratification, acting out of internalized colonization.¹²¹ I would contend that the newly minted Ruthenian educated class intentionally placed peasants at the center of their nation-building project.¹²² This sentiment, common in the nineteenth century, was particularly logical for a nation that lacked traditional noble elites and gentry.¹²³ The ethnographic presentations quite successfully communicated that Ruthenians were a distinct national group. Ultimately, the *Landesausstellung* marked a turning point in Ruthenian national revival. Referring to the emperor's 1880 visit in Lemberg, Unowsky commented that Ruthenians, dressed up in folk garb, greeted the monarch as a separate national group, yet they did so "within a framework largely created by the Polish elites."¹²⁴ The 1894 exposition marked the last act of Ruthenian cooperation, and not so obliging at that.

4 Conclusion

In reference to another World's Fair, the 1900 *Exposition Universelle*, Bart Pushaw posits that exhibitions of the era conjured cohesion, a "fictitious spectacle of national solidarity," largely in order to thwart emancipatory aims.¹²⁵ In this respect, the *Landesausstellung* was an emphatic success of Polish propaganda, widely heralded in Viennese papers. Marcin Siadkowski argues that,

voliutsii 1917–1921 (2021), 16, pp. 4–47. In contrast, Ruthenians invoked modern arguments of census statistics to substantiate their claims to equality in Galicia.

120 Such appropriation was partly rooted in Polish ethnographic practice. In the early and mid-nineteenth century, Polish ethnographers, Kolberg included, conceived of Ukrainian and other Commonwealth territories as Polish frontiers. IWANNA CERKOWNIAK: *Twórczość Oskara Kolberga w kontekście ukraińsko-polskich stosunków kulturalnych* [The Oeuvre of Oskar Kolberg in the Context of Polish-Ukrainian Cultural Relations], in: *Irydion. Literatura—Teatr—Kultura* 2 (2016), 1, pp. 195–206, here p. 198.

121 WENDLAND, p. 125.

122 KAI STRUVE: *Peasants and Patriotic Celebrations in Habsburg Galicia*, in: CHRIS HANN, PAUL ROBERT MAGOCSI (eds.): *Galicia: A Multicultural Land*, Toronto 2005, pp. 103–137, here p. 110.

123 Ukrainian nobles became Polonized in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. On the topic of forging a Ukrainian identity to promote a "vertically integrated society," see: ZAYARNYUK/SEREDA, pp. 66–140.

124 UNOWSKY, p. 76.

125 BART PUSHAW: "Our Country Has Never Been as Popular as It Is Now!" Finland at the 1900 *Exposition Universelle*, in: DAVID RAIZMAN, ETHAN ROBEY (eds.): *Expanding Nationalisms at World's Fairs*, London 2017, pp. 130–146, here p. 143.

alarmed by an escalating rancor between Czechs and Germans, the German liberal bourgeoisie pined for a peaceful compromise in Galicia. As well, they were eager to celebrate the success of Vienna's civilizing mission,¹²⁶ a self-congratulatory attitude we glean from Herdtle's and Exner's reports. The seal of approval proffered an ultimate prize—the post of Austria's prime minister—for the Galician viceroy Kazimierz Badeni.

But under the guise of unity, groups seeking the status of nations could pitch their cultures to a broader public. Neuburger suggests that these acts alone may have more successfully promoted separate national identities among non-elites than political agitation could have.¹²⁷ Indeed, in the 1890s, Habsburg fairs, including the Czechoslovak Exhibition of 1895, and the 1896 Millennium Exhibition in Hungary, served as crystallization points in nation-building. Those were relatively inclusive spaces: Sponsors often covered or reduced entry fees for peasants, and the visual presentations eliminated a need for language proficiency or literacy. The *Landesausstellung* allowed Ruthenians for the first time to curate their culture for an international audience, buttressing a separate identity in the process. One would argue that the 1894 exposition simultaneously projected, reinforced, yet also disrupted the asymmetries inscribed into the region's politics.

In the 21 years separating the two expositions examined here, non-German Habsburg subjects, including Galician populations, acquired startling agency. The 1873 Vienna World Fair communicated a haphazard image of Galicia's economy and culture, reinforcing customary ethnic identifications of Habsburg hinterlands. By 1894, the year of the *Landesausstellung*, those same nations developed the means to argue for themselves. In Eastern Galicia, the study of Ruthenian ethnography and a unique “mix of agrarian socialism and [Ruthenian] nationalism”¹²⁸ were adding substantial fuel to Ruthenian national awakening.

In *The Habsburg Empire*, Judson argues that the Danube monarchy created legal, structural, and institutional realms with unintended consequences of reproducing nationalist conflicts.¹²⁹ Vienna consistently supported nonpolitical cultural activity, a policy which Philipp Decker attributes to Metternich's legacy.¹³⁰ But after the Austro-Hungarian compromise, the notion of “cultures” acquired an increasingly separatist tinge. In 1873, the Austrian press universally referred to the Vienna World's Fair as “a grand festival of peace” or “a peaceful competition” of all civilized nations. In contrast, the provincial expositions that followed evolved into symbolic battlefields on which national

126 MARCIN SIADKOWSKI: The Land Exhibition in Lemberg (Lwów, Lviv) in 1894, Galicia and *Schlachzizen* in the German Political Discourse in Vienna, in: *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* 58 (2009), 1–2, pp. 197–222, here p. 199.

127 MARY NEUBURGER: Introduction: Exhibiting Eastern Europe, in: *Slavic Review* 69 (2010), 3, pp. 539–546, here p. 543.

128 HRYTSAK, p. 393.

129 Ibid., p. 174.

130 DECKER, p. 1357.

groups asserted and defended themselves. The Galician Provincial Exhibition became a stage of such clashes. It marked a pivotal juncture in the nationalist contest for public space in the autonomous province as Ruthenians abrogated the *nova era*, a Vienna-brokered temporary parliamentary truce with Poles.

The national tensions bubbling up at the *Landesausstellung* unsettled Polish claims to hegemony in the province. Since 1867, both the Polish and the Ukrainian nations had been enacting their own Piedmonts in the Galician capital, attempting to transform the Habsburg status quo to their respective advantage. Ruthenians would focus their demands on two key issues: a Ukrainian university in Lviv and an election reform. Thwarted by Polish command of the entire province, Ruthenians, relying in part on ethnographic maps, advocated to divide the crownland and place Eastern Galicia in their control.¹³¹ Those political demands remained unrealized despite Austria's secret promises.¹³² Polish refusal to bend incited violence, leading to the 1908 assassination of Galicia's viceroy Andrzej Potocki.¹³³ In 1914, the Galician Compromise yielded promises to Ruthenians; the outbreak of World War I rendered it moot.¹³⁴ After the empire's collapse and Ukrainian defeat in the Polish-Ukrainian War of 1918/19, the Paris Treaty awarded former Eastern Galicia to Poland. Ominously, another Lviv exhibition, the 1921 *Targi Wschodnie* (Eastern Trade Fair), would become the site of an assassination attempt by a Ukrainian student on the Polish Chief of State, Marshal Józef Piłsudski, and the Governor of the Lviv Province, Kazimierz Grabowski.

As we reassemble the public's perceptions from journalistic coverage, correspondence, and personal reminiscences, evidence of oppositional forces and contested spaces, which official literature erased, reemerges. The Vienna World's Fair speaks to the monarchy's distantly paternalistic relationship with a far-flung destitute province. The General Provincial Exhibition in Lviv figures as a Galician microcosm of late-nineteenth-century national ambitions. As milestones in nation-building and nationalist discord, the two expositions illustrate that world and regional fairs played a role in reformulating political ascendancy as the long century's political systems came undone.

131 OLENA ARKUSHA: Polsko-ukrains'ki dyskusii pro natsionalnyi kharakter skhidnoi Halychyny na pochatku XX st. [Polish-Ukrainian Debates about the National Identity of Eastern Galicia at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century], in: *Ukraina: Kulturna spadshchyna, natsionalna svidomist, derzhavnist. Zbirnyk naukovykh prats'* 15 (2006), pp. 586–606, here p. 586.

132 CHRISTOPH MICK: Legality, Ethnicity and Violence in Austrian Galicia, 1890–1920, in: *European Review of History* 26 (2019), 5, pp. 757–782, here p. 770.

133 OLENA ARKUSHA: Andzhei Pototski: Biografiia polityka na tli ukrains'ko-pols'kykh vidnosyn. Chastyna II: Halyts'kyi namisnyk [Andrzej Potocki: Biography of a Politician against the Backdrop of Ukrainian-Polish Relations. Part II: The Viceroy of Galicia], in: *Visnyk L'vivs'koho universytetu: Seriya istorychna* 45 (2009), pp. 169–282.

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