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אַרבעט נומער 3

Jewish-Ukrainian Folk-Culture Interrelationships  
in the Works of Karl Emil Franzos

(די צווייטע צונוגען אין יִדיש-אוקראַיִנישער פֿאָלקס־קולטור אין די ווערק פֿון  
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JEWISH-UKRAINIAN FOLK-CULTURE INTERRELATIONSHIPS

IN THE WORKS OF KARL EMIL FRANZOS

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## JEWISH-UKRAINIAN FOLK-CULTURE INTERRELATIONSHIPS

### IN THE WORKS OF KARL EMIL FRANZOS<sup>1</sup>

Karl Emil Franzos (1848-1904) enjoyed in his lifetime a spectacular literary career, not only within the sphere of the German language countries, but also, through numerous translations, in the whole of Europe and the United States. Prior to the 1930's, when the ascent of Hitler to power brought a forced exclusion of his writings from the field of print (with the exception of one edition published in 1937 for circulation in Jewish libraries only [5]), his works appeared in 146 editions in Germany and Austria, and in 6 editions in the United States. The post-World War II years brought a revival of interest in Franzos' writings: since 1945, 22 editions of his works have appeared in East Germany and Austria.

Among the numerous East European nationalities portrayed by Franzos in the course of his most prolific literary and scholarly activity (over 550 titles!), the dominant place was devoted to the portrayal of and publications on the Jews and the Ukrainians, both in terms of the number of works dealing with these peoples and in terms of the artistic merit

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and literary renown of these writings. At present, there exist several studies devoted to individual nationalities as they are portrayed in Franzos' writings--in particular, his treatment of the Jews [53], of the Ukrainians [52], and of the Poles [62].

Franzos was a descendant of a Sephardic family which, around 1770, settled in East Galicia, i.e., the part of the Ukraine which was then held by Poland and soon afterwards was annexed to the Danubian Empire (biographical data on Franzos and his family are based on [24] and [40]; additional sources are indicated). Already Franzos' grandfather, Chaim Eli Franzos, embraced the ideas of the German Enlightenment, combining with this the adoption of and assimilation to the German culture [46], and this attitude was typical both for Karl Emil's father, the district physician Dr. Heinrich Franzos, and for our writer himself. This attitude determined that throughout the formative years of his childhood and adolescence, Karl Emil Franzos felt himself to be different from the peoples surrounding him--not only from the Ukrainians, but also from the Jews with whom he shared a common religious heritage.

In what way did Franzos learn to know this surrounding world, and to what degree and depth did he become familiar with it? The answers to these questions are a necessary prerequisite for the more specific aspect, that of his image of the Jewish-Ukrainian folk-culture interrelationships, which constitutes the topic of this paper.

During his childhood years in Chortkiv, i.e., until the spring of 1859, the future writer was growing up in almost total isolation from the local Jewish community. The Franzoses were considered by the latter as those fallen away from the faith of the forefathers and consequently ostracized by Chortkiv's rigidly orthodox-oriented Jewish population. And from their point of view, the local Jews were correct. The Franzoses observed no Jewish dietary laws, or any other religious practices, either in public, or in the privacy of their home. Indeed, until he was six years old Karl Emil did not even know that he was Jewish. He was not allowed to and did not play with any Jewish children of Chortkiv. Contact with them, when at times he had to pass through the streets of the ghetto, meant only verbal or bodily abuse which he had to suffer from these children. Only on very rare occasions did he enter a Jewish house in his hometown. His only permanent contact with a representative of the local Jewish community was with his private Hebrew tutor, whom his father hired to counteract the impression of the pomp of the Roman Catholic religious sphere with which the boy came in contact while attending the local monastery school. And as Karl Emil found this instruction tedious [8:297], his awareness of being Jewish grew mainly from the stories about the greatness of the Jewish past related to him by his father, and thus was basically historical in nature. Furthermore, his father impressed upon him that he was to remain a Jew out of a feeling of duty to his background, and

that in spite of all the differences, this common link implied that he was to love the Jews, and to help them to better their lot. This peculiar socio-cultural situation of his childhood determined, therefore, that in this period of his life Franzos neither learned, nor indeed was inclined to make any attempts at learning, Yiddish, the spoken language of East European Jewry. And, following the death of his father, his first contacts with Jewish religious ceremonies, such as the funeral, attending the synagogue for the first time, and his impressions of the manner in which the prayers were conducted there (experienced as they were in the state of shock over this fateful event), repulsed rather than attracted him to this facet of Jewish life as it existed in his native area. It can therefore be stated that until he was eleven years old, Franzos, while fully aware of being Jewish, had virtually no knowledge of the life of East European Jewry.

In contrast to this, Franzos' association with the Ukrainians began from the cradle. As a weak child, he was entrusted to the care of a Ukrainian peasant woman from the nearby village of Bila [9:245] who was at first his nurse, and subsequently his babysitter and his only play companion (his brother and sisters were much older, and contact with other children of the town was forbidden him by his parents). From this woman Franzos learned his first language, Ukrainian. She also introduced him to many elements of Ukrainian folklore: fairy tales, stories, and, most likely, folk songs. Other

Ukrainians with whom the boy came in contact in his Chortkiv years belonged, on the socio-cultural level, to the same sphere as his babysitter. They were Ukrainian house servants in his parents' house, and men employed by his father as carriage drivers, all from nearby Ukrainian villages. In addition, Karl Emil met with Ukrainian peasants while accompanying his father on his trips into the countryside, and with Ukrainian servants (Fedko Hayduck [30]), artisans, and children at the Polish monastery school [23:30] in Chortkiv. We can therefore assume that prior to the family's move to Chernivtsi, the boy's contacts with and knowledge of the Ukrainians remained on the folk-culture level, as experienced from the perspective of a child. Moreover, these contacts were taking place against the background of an atmosphere of sympathy prevailing in his home towards the existing plight of the Ukrainians. Dr. Franzos' untiring professional help to countless needy Ukrainians, given free of charge to them, as to all those in dire financial conditions, made him so popular among the Ukrainians that they wanted him to stand as their candidate in the 1848 elections to the Parliament in Vienna. This, in view of the then existing animosities and mistrust between East Galicia's nationalities and denominations, constituted a noteworthy case. This sympathy towards the Ukrainians, which he absorbed as a child at home, remained subsequently a constant feature of Franzos' outlook, and it was responsible for the fact that in his writings, Ukrainian topics occupied a place closely approaching that which the

Jewish themes held. In sum, we can say that during his Chortkiv years the intimacy and directness of Franzos' contacts with the Ukrainians, and consequently, his knowledge of them, stood in crass contrast to his contacts with and knowledge of the local Jewish population, in spite of the common denominator: his feeling of being different from both nationalities.

With the move of the family to Chernivt̑si, capital of the province of Bukovina, Jewish life disappeared nearly completely for some five years from Franzos' field of vision, and indeed from his own preoccupation with being Jewish. Reared in the isolated idealized pro-German atmosphere of his home, the lad now plunged with eagerness into the life of that sizable segment of the town's educated population which, although composed of virtually all nationalities inhabiting Bukovina, was reared in German, used German as the common lingua franca, and was to a considerable degree German culture-oriented. This orientation was especially intense at the Gymnasium which the youth attended, and whose German culture spirit he wholeheartedly approved. Thus, during this period he never visited the distant Jewish suburb of Chernivt̑si, and only on market days did he see the traditional East European Jewish types in town (this lack of contact is rather surprising: in this period the Jewish population of Chernivt̑si was considerable and rapidly increasing-- 17.7 per cent in 1857, 28.3 per cent in 1869 [54:76, 77]). This lack of connections with the Jews holds true also for



his yearly summer trips to Chortkiv to visit the graves of his father and brothers. However, from 1864 on, his contacts and interest in the Jewry of this area began gradually to develop and intensify. In the summer of this year, during his Chortkiv visit, he toured the local ghetto under the guidance of his former Hebrew teacher. Spurred by the latter's reproach at his showing more interest in local Ukrainian peasants than in the Jews, he now began to make trips to the Jewish suburb of Chernivt'si, and to the nearby town of Sadygura, a seat of a renowned rabbi and a town whose population was some 75 per cent Jewish. Sadygura furnished Franzos with most of his Jewish types portrayed later in his works, while Chortkiv provided him with the topographical background for his plots. In this period, lasting until the fall of 1867 (when he left to study law in Vienna), Franzos' attitude towards the Jews was rather mixed. On the one hand, he felt attracted by the poetic aspects of many Jewish religious customs and practices. On the other hand, satiated as he was with the conviction that West European social and religious customs and patterns were far superior, he felt estranged from and appalled by many Jewish features which to his "enlightened" frame of mind seemed to exemplify superstition and regress into barbarism. Thus, he then, and throughout the rest of his life, failed to notice, let alone appreciate, the metaphysical depth of Chassidic thinking, and rejected it and the Chassidic movement in many of his writings as a fanatic teaching at war with the forces of progress.

Furthermore, this onesidedness of his perception cannot be attributed to his inefficiency in Yiddish which at that time he could at best understand with difficulty, for later, when he made an effort to learn Yiddish [18:213], his attitude towards the Chassidic movement remained unchanged.

In the first few years following the family's move to Chernivt̂si, Franzos' contacts with the Ukrainian population at large paralleled those with the Jewish population of this town: they were virtually non-existent due to his eagerness to associate now with people of German culture, be they German by origin, or those who accepted German cultural patterns as exemplary and tone-setting. At the Gymnasium he did witness, though, an upsurge of Ukrainian-Romanian antagonism which, for the Ukrainian side, showed itself in a subsequently abandoned pan-Slavic and Russophile orientation of his classmates, an attitude the genesis of which he later aptly analyzed in one of his works [23]. Thus, at this time the Ukrainians disappeared from his field of vision to a lesser degree than the Jews, for his Jewish classmates would submerge in the group embracing the German culture as their own. His continued interest in the Ukrainians is also attested, for 1864, by the abovementioned reproach of his former Hebrew teacher in Chortkiv. From that time, we also have the earliest reference to his subsequently extensive literary-scholarly interest in Ukrainian folklore: in the summer of 1864, he learned from a Ukrainian peasant girl a folk legend which he recorded and used later as the basis of

his versified romantic saga of the castle ruin on the mountain Tsetsyna, in the vicinity of Chernivtsi [11:49]. For the remaining part of his Gymnasium years, the time of naissance and growth of his interest in Jewish life, his contact with or interest in the Ukrainians cannot be documented. In connection with his project to write an outline of Bukovina's creative literature, he did, to be sure, approach, in 1866, Bukovina's foremost Ukrainian poet Osyp Juriĭ Fed'kovych [52:56-60] ( and probably also other Ukrainians active in the literary field), but his project seemed to have been limited to the German-language literature only, and it did not materialize. It is also likely that in that period he still had not familiarized himself with the Cyrillic script, and, therefore, could not read Ukrainian. One can still assume that in spite of his expanding knowledge of the Jews, his familiarity with the Ukrainians remained, until the end of his Chernivtsi years, greater, for even in regard to the key to the given culture, the language, his familiarity with Ukrainian was much greater than that with Yiddish.

The next period in Franzos' life, the five years of law studies (1867-1872), first for a year in Vienna, and then in Graz, brought essential changes, both in his own attitude towards being Jewish, as well as towards the Jews in general, and in his knowledge of East European Jewry. In addition, the mode of voicing this new posture by means of his creative writings crystallized in him in this period. The changes were triggered by a series of blows that befell

him on account of his Jewish background. First, in 1867, he was not able to follow his chosen career, that of a university professor of classical philology, because his application for a well-deserved scholarship which would have enabled him to pursue these studies was dependent on his willingness to be baptized, a condition which he rejected without hesitation. A year later, a Christian girl, to whom he had become secretly engaged, broke the engagement, finding their agreement (each partner was to retain his/her faith) unacceptable. This event was responsible for the catharsis-like conception of his first Novelle about Jewish life. The sacrifice, brought in the name of the faith to which he had hitherto had, in fact, no relationship, galvanized in him his attachment to and concern with Jewishness. He now used his summer vacations, usually spent in Bukovina, to learn as much as possible about the life of the Jews there, and it is only then that he, as a young adult, acquired a knowledge of Yiddish, to the point that he could well understand the spoken level of the language, and was able to make himself understood on a rudimentary level, i.e., without mastering it fully, but only to the degree which, in his judgment, was sufficient for his literary aims: to portray East European Jewry [18:200, 213]. For he now gradually began to view the possibility of writing stories about Jewish life as a means to serve the German public by conveying to it this little known world, and the Jewish public by holding up to it a mirror of its faults and weaknesses with

mal  
audience

the intention of bettering this situation. And when ultimately, in 1872, Franzos resolved to become a free-lance writer, and to abandon, therefore, the profession for which his studies had prepared him, this too, was to some degree a sacrifice of the years spent studying, brought about by his being a Jew; for a judgeship, attractive to him as a career, was closed to Jews of the Danubian Empire at that time, and as a lawyer he would not have been able to serve the above two communities simultaneously. Literary aspirations went, therefore, hand in hand with the changes in his emotional attitude towards the Jews, and demanded that many gaps in his knowledge of the East European Jewish milieu, including the knowledge of Yiddish, be filled. Yiddish, however, never attained in his linguistic evaluation the status which he granted to many other languages learned also in his adulthood, and for the same purpose--to pursue his literary aims. His allegiance to German barred Franzos from seeing in Yiddish a vehicle capable of satisfying the cultural demands of its speakers at all levels [41:viii; 44:276-77].

A glimpse of the Russian-held Ukraine, his 1867 trip to Odessa, and close contacts with Bukovina, upheld during summer vacations in the course of his years as a university student, helped Franzos keep his knowledge of the Ukrainians alive and enlarge it. He now ventured into the field of their creative literature (a step he never took in the case of Yiddish literature), by producing, not later than in 1869 (for the almanac which he edited in the summer of this year)

an excellent German translation of one of Taras Shevchenko's outstanding poems [57]. The above almanac contained also German poems of three Bukovinian Ukrainians which also points to his connections with the Ukrainians. Moreover, Franzos introduced himself now, in 1869, as a translator and recorder of Ukrainian folk songs [3]. In this field he was to give us over thirty translations, publishing them separately, and/or using them in his creative and ethnographic writings. Thus, in that period, Franzos progressed in his knowledge of and preoccupation with both the Jewish and the Ukrainian world.

From 1872 to 1877, Franzos, following his newly chosen career of a free-lance writer, travelled extensively as a reporter throughout Europe, and even visited Turkey and Egypt. Eastern Europe now became the subject of his many journalistic writings. It also provided the setting for his creative works produced during these very difficult years, prior to 1876. It remained the background and the source of his best literary achievement after this year in which, with the publication of his book Aus Halb-Asien, his fame as a portrayer of the East European conditions became established literally overnight. During these years, he wrote the majority of his Novellen depicting Jewish life in Eastern Europe, which he also treated in a number of his journalistic socio-ethnographic reports and sketches. They all bear witness to his widening and deepening knowledge of Eastern European Jewry, and earned him fame as one of its best-known portrayers.

In this period of his life, Franzos was also very actively preoccupied with the Ukrainians: as a folklorist (continuing with his activity as a translator of Ukrainian folk songs [33], and preparing an article on Ukrainian folklore [33:166]), as a literary scholar (culminating his interest in Taras Shevchenko with a penetrating, independently researched, article on this poet [19]), and as a portrayer of the Ukrainians (in his Novellen, and journalistic socio-ethnographic reports and sketches, paralleling his Jewish interest writings of this kind). We see, therefore, that Franzos now put his progressively gathered acquaintance with the Jews and the Ukrainians to excellent use.

Jewish and Ukrainian themes were also to occupy the central place during the subsequent period of his life, away from his homeland areas, while he, as an editor and an established writer, resided in Vienna (1877-1887) and in Berlin (1887-1904). Rather frequent visits to Bukovina and East Galicia during the Vienna period helped him remain in touch with their life, but even later, during his Berlin period, when his trips back East became, of necessity, less frequent (although at times prolonged, as for instance his tour of 1891 in the capacity of Secretary of the German Central Committee to Aid the Russian Jews), Jewish and Ukrainian topics continued to play a prominent role in his writings, whereby the Novellen were now joined by lengthy narratives and novels. In these works, he continued to draw on the reminiscences of his childhood and youth, rather than to utilize fresh impres-

sions offered by these late visits. In the domain of Jewish interests, he concentrated now on various research projects (history and Jewish contributions to German literature). His interest in areas other than creative writing remained unabated: in the field of folklore, he finalized his article on Ukrainian folk songs [37] which proved to be an extensive and well-written study, and reprinted, in 1889, a number of his translations of Ukrainian folk songs published earlier (only the above article has been the object of Ukrainian folklore research [49; 58], while the study of his folk song translations and of the use of Ukrainian folklore motifs in his works still await their student); in literary criticism, Franzos published, in 1889, a survey of Ukrainian literature, the first one in German [20]. It can therefore be stated that in this last period of his creativity, both the Jews and the Ukrainians remained at the centre of his attention, in spite of his time-consuming occupation as an editor and his interest in German life and letters and in many other nationalities of Eastern Europe.

In this period, Franzos found in Ottilie Benedikt, whom he married in 1877, a kindred spirit. This was true both in her relation to being Jewish (during their wedding she attended the synagogue for the first time) and in her attachment to the German culture. In Franzos' attitude one can also observe in this period an, albeit natural, tendency to become more and more conservative. This trend is traceable, for instance, in the stronger intensity with which he



now rejected the notion of being converted to Christianity, voiced privately in his correspondence [36:3], or in his fascination with Leib Weihnachtskuchen's steadfastness in faith, regardless of the consequences [21]. However, the contradictory aspect of his personality did not reveal itself until after his death: his widow was shocked to find among his papers a manuscript in which he confessed to being tormented by doubts as to whether he acted right in not attending the synagogue and in not participating in any of the Jewish religious observances [43:511].

Jewish-Ukrainian folk-culture interrelationships were portrayed by Franzos in the field of folklore proper, mainly in his article "Juden als Kirchen-Pächter" (1890) [15], and in three Ukrainian folk songs, i.e., "Heut ist's heiliger Ostertag, . . ." (1877) [19:123; 15:377], "Schweinefleisch, willst Schweinefleisch? . . ." (1880) [26:82-83], and "In Czernowitz steht ein großes Haus - . . ." (unpublished) [13], all given in his own translations; in his journalistic socio-ethnographical reports and sketches, mainly in "Der Richter von Biala" (1875) [32], and "Markttag in Barnow" (1877) [22]; and in his creative writings, chiefly in the narratives Moschko von Parma (1880) [26], and Leib Weihnachtskuchen und sein Kind (1894-95) [21], and to a lesser degree in the novels Ein Kampf ums Recht (1882) [17] and Der Pojaz (1904; Russian translation in 1894) [30]. In addition, these relationships were treated by Franzos marginally in a number of other works to which reference will be made in the course of the following presentation.

The geographical background for Franzos' portrayal of Jewish-Ukrainian relations was usually East Galicia. In this Austrian-held part of the Ukraine, the Jews constituted, in 1900, 12.8 per cent of the total population, while the Ukrainians numbered 64.9 per cent [48:22]. (I lack reliable statistical data for earlier periods, for which no drastic differences in the ratio between these two nationalities of the Ukraine should be assumed, however.) The relative distribution of these two peoples in other areas of the Ukraine which occasionally provided the setting for Franzos' treatment of Jewish-Ukrainian relations differed essentially little from the situation in East Galicia: in the Ukrainian ethnographical territory of Bukovina, i.e., in its northeastern part, the Jewish population numbered 15.6 per cent, the Ukrainians 68.3 per cent (figures also for 1900) [48:22]; and in the eastern, Russian-held part of the Ukraine, the Ukrainians accounted for 72.6 per cent of the total population in 1897, as compared with 12.6 per cent of the Jewish population living in the Ukrainian part of the Pale of Settlement [48:14, 15]. Within all the above areas, the settlement pattern was essentially the same. The Jewish population was concentrated mostly in the towns, the Ukrainians inhabited mainly the rural areas. For sustenance, the Jews engaged primarily in commerce, trade, and financial operations; the Ukrainians mainly in agriculture and related trades. Commerce accounted for the main avenue of contacts between these two peoples.

Franzos' portrayal of these contacts, and the resulting complex of folk-culture interrelationships, showed basically five areas:

During market days, Ukrainian peasants sold or traded their agricultural products to Jewish merchants, and in turn, bought or traded from the latter whatever products they needed [22:68 (the Ukrainian folk song "Hoiaho! . . ."), 83, 87, 93-94, 102, 131-32];

Medine-geyers (Jewish peddlers) went out of the towns to sell or trade their wares which they carried with them to peasants at their dwellings [2:5-6; 6:220-21; 17:264; 26:37; 27:52-53; 34:9];

In towns and villages, Jews held the leases on local inns frequented by the peasants of the area [2:18; 10:12-14; 17:11, 398; 21:6; 22:72, 73; 26:102; 29:277; 34:2; 35:70]. This area of contact was of great concern to Franzos, for, in the course of it, the widespread drunkenness of Ukrainian peasants was nurtured with the resultant ruin of health and property. In contrast to the Jewish tradition, where nostalgic sentiments for the solitary inns lost in the wide spaces of the Ukraine are not uncommon [47:5; 56], Franzos viewed the inns from the perspective of the harm which their existence brought to the Ukrainians, and in his writings he time and again portrayed and campaigned against the evils of drunkenness to which the Ukrainians were driven by their hopeless economic situation, and which tended even to become socially required behaviour among the peasants [2:18; 9:294-95;

21:145-47, 218, 223, 296; 22:71-72, 82, 165-66, 168-69, 175; 30:116, 227-28, 411, 443, 446; 34:4; 35:116];

Shabes-goyim (gentile servants hired to perform domestic chores forbidden by the Jewish religion on the Sabbath), recruited in towns or from the nearby villages, came for the weekends into Jewish households [21:199-200; 30:130, 215];

Dire economic difficulties forced the peasants to borrow money, provided, among others, by Jewish money-lenders [21:66, 226; 22:182].

Moreover, the Jews were engaged as intermediaries in financial matters [21:41, 61]. Sporadically Franzos also mentioned Jewish musicians playing at peasant festivities [2:18; 17:28].

Chronologically, Franzos' treatment of our subject matter spans the time from the events of the late eighteenth century, which were referred to mostly in his folkloristic writings, to the times broadly around the middle of the nineteenth century, shown mainly in his creative works, until the period contemporary with the ascent of his literary career, i.e. the 1870's, reflected predominantly in his journalistic socio-cultural reports and sketches.

Jewish-Ukrainian contacts led to the rise of a partial or full bilingualism of various distribution among both peoples. On the whole, the Jews, constituting a minority in the population at large, and requiring the language of the host nationality in order to pursue their occupations, learned Ukrainian more widely and thoroughly than was the

case with the Ukrainians acquiring Yiddish. This situation resulted in a considerable influence of Ukrainian (within the strong impact of Slavic languages in general) upon the Yiddish of the Ukraine, not only in lexical borrowings [51], but also on various levels of morphology and syntax [1:passim], and even in the phonemic system [63:77-78].

Franzos' writings reflected the Jewish-Ukrainian linguistic ties mostly for East Galicia. For the period preceding the annexation of this part of the Ukraine to the Danubian Empire in 1772, he noted that among the Jews the knowledge of Ukrainian was then rare, and extended only to the sphere of trading [25:486]. From the 1830's on, covered in his other writings, both creative and journalistic, his Jewish characters communicated without a sign of any difficulty with his Ukrainian ones, and it is to be taken for granted, and was so by Franzos who did not even mention it, that they did so in Ukrainian. From the amazement of one of his Ukrainian characters over the accentless Ukrainian of Sender Glatteis, to the point that he suspected the latter of being a Christian child stolen by the Jews [30:41], one can deduce that the Ukrainian of other Jews usually showed the interference of Yiddish. This interference was minimal, or non-existent, among the Jewish inn-lessees in the villages, who usually were the only Jews there [17:265; 21:173].

Among the Ukrainians, a knowledge of Yiddish, or of individual creolized variants of it, was attained by the gentile Sabbath house servants [21:200, 241]. Otherwise, the

*opp. of  
Mendele*

Ukrainian population knew no Yiddish [9:240; 21:295; 42:133], and found it difficult, as did other Christians, even to retain Jewish names [30:77].

Other far-reaching differences in the cultural heritage and values formed the remaining part of the background against which the Jewish-Ukrainian interrelations evolved. Franzos himself commented on how considerable the difference in the Weltbild of the Jews in the Ukraine and the Ukrainians was [10:8-9], and through his Jewish and Ukrainian characters he portrayed many aspects of the existing differences, knowledge of or misconceptions about the other people's culture, reactions to and evaluation of the differing cultural features, the effects of this on their interrelations, and, finally, cases of cultural osmosis and their consequences.

The stress on cultural differences in general [17:396; 30:342] showed itself also in the feeling of surprise upon discovering a common ground, a moral maxim, in an area in which both peoples obviously differed, in their religion [26:65]. No other conceptions of the Jews with regard to the faith of the Ukrainians specifically or knowledge of the latter's religious practices was mentioned by Franzos. This is not surprising, since Franzos' knowledge of Ukrainian church matters was rather meager, as, for instance, his use of Latin instead of Church Slavonic in the absolution formula [26:99, 122] or the statement that the Landessprache, i.e., Ukrainian, was retained in the church as the liturgical language [31:376] indicate. On the other hand, he provided us

with several illustrations of the conceptions which the Ukrainians had of the Jewish religion or of Jewish religious practices. The latter were best known among the Sabbath house servants who observed them from immediate proximity [21:200, 202, 241]. This, however, would not prevent them from failing to understand the depth of the Jewish attitude toward God [21:298]. The remaining Ukrainian population knew that Jewish religious laws prohibited them from eating pork, and found it to be unreasonable [30:168]. By portraying an instance of teasing a Jew [26:74-75], or recording a folk song mocking the Jews on this account [26:82-83], Franzos revealed the disregard of the Ukrainians for the Jews. Known to the Ukrainians was, further, the fact of staging performances during Purim [30:322]. In addition, Franzos mentioned some misconceptions attributed by the Ukrainians to Jewish religious life, such as the practice of confession [26:52] or of sorcery [30:120].

In general, both the Jews and the Ukrainians looked down on one another as on those professing the false faith [21:60-62, 200]. Also, the fear of endangering the salvation of the soul by too close an association with members of the other faith was shown both for the Jews [26:45] and for the Ukrainians [26:57, 58, 215-17, 221-22]. No other attitude of the Jews towards the faith of the Ukrainians specifically was shown by Franzos, for Mosche Veilchenduft's looking away from the peasants' field crucifix showed his reaction towards a Christian symbol in general [26:63]. In

the case of the Ukrainians, the all-European age-old, and widely spread, accusation holding the Jews collectively responsible for the crucifixion of Christ was portrayed by Franzos as still being in force and accounting for anti-Jewish resentment [22:82; 26:25, 64, 90, 150]. Mockery suffered on account of the Jewish faith was reported by Franzos from the Hutsul area [17:396]. But he also showed the general reverence of the peasants towards the God of the Jews [21:219; 22:112; 30:121], and sporadically, signs of their being attracted to the Jewish conception of God as the lord of vengeance [26:52-53]. In matters involving religion as a factor of determining force, Franzos finally commented extensively on one of the darkest pages in the history of Jewish-Ukrainian relations: the Haïdamaky-uprising of 1768 [15] (which he had already discussed briefly in an earlier article [19:122-24]). Having reviewed the historical background of the question of leases of the Ukrainian churches by Polish noblemen to Jews, which resulted in locking the churches and opening them only upon payment of high fees, Franzos asserted that this type of leasing was actually practiced. He cited a Ukrainian folk song [15:377], and a portion of another [15:378], as well as a portion of a Yiddish folk song which he had heard in Sadygura [15:377]; they all reflected these past conditions and, in his opinion, accounted for the hatred of the insurgents venting itself with monstrous atrocity on thousands of Jews [15:375]. After the suppression of the uprising, equally monstrous executions of prisoners

*the  
debate*



in which the Jews also took part [15:376] filled the cup of bitterness marking this tragic chapter in the history of both peoples.

In the sphere of secular life, only the Jews living among the Ukrainians in villages (innkeepers and their families) exhibited a knowledge of Ukrainian folk culture. Franzos showed it in Leib Weihnachtskuchen's awareness of Janko Wygoda's intentions to propose to his daughter from the way Janko was dressed and from the solemn formulaic greetings he used [21:112-14], and through Miriam Weihnachtskuchen's singing of a Ukrainian folk song [21:32, 87-88, 267]. Miriam's singing stood in expressed contrast to Franzos' opinion of the Jews as a people who rarely sang secular songs and among whom few folk songs were in existence [12:4; 30:29]. In agreement with this view, Miriam's parents found her singing objectionable [21:32, 89, 285]. Also his Ukrainian characters asserted that the Jews never sang, and considered this feature strange, obviously in view of the wealth of folk songs and love for singing in their midst [22:113; 26:101; 30:41, 168]. Franzos mentioned no knowledge of any other form of Ukrainian folklore by the Jews or of Jewish folklore by the Ukrainians. It would seem that the interest in and the influence of Slavic, in particular Ukrainian, folklore among the Jews as well as of Jewish folklore among the Ukrainians, noted by recent research [60:381 (Footnote 35); 61:394-95], which presupposes some knowledge of the other people's folklore, escaped Franzos' attention, as did also the presence of the Jewish

motifs in the Ukrainian folk legends and of the Ukrainian ones in the Jewish folk legends [55].

The image which Franzos presented with respect to the opinion which the two peoples had of one another was rather dark. Among the Jews, to be called a peasant was considered an insult [28:209]. In Jewish merry tales, a part of Jewish folklore which Franzos incorporated extensively into his creative works by letting a jester (marshelik) or a beggar (shnorer) narrate them to their Jewish audience, the Ukrainian peasant appeared as a gullible, easily deceived person [26:105]. Further, Leib Weihnachtskuchen experienced a feeling of moral superiority over his Ukrainian friend [21:53, 56, 57]. The Ukrainians thought of the Jews as being clever heads [21:102 (a Ukrainian proverb), 148-49]. This quality was, in their opinion, used by the Jews to deceive them in commercial dealings with them. This conviction must have been exceedingly widespread: Franzos let it be uttered by many of his Ukrainian characters in regard to sales of alcohol in the inns where the two stock accusations were watering the alcohol and marking the sale with double chalk [21:8, 277; 22:146] (corroborated also by Franzos himself [2:18; 22:73; 29:276], who explained that the Jewish lessee was pushed to it by the economic pressure of the Polish lessor [22:73-74], and through his Jewish characters [30:57]); the peasants were deceived in dealing with Jewish country peddlers, also according to Franzos himself [27:53] or, as shown by him, through his Jewish characters [26:37]; deceptions occurred also in

other areas, as stated or portrayed by Franzos [22:80, 161; 30:283]. Expecting to be deceived was so common that an honest Jewish inn-lessee who would not deceive his Ukrainian customers was considered by them as dense [21:8, 227], although Franzos also portrayed a situation where honesty of a lessee is acknowledged and the latter is respected for it by the peasants [17:265]. Heavy debts to the Jews were also mentioned by Franzos as a hapless state weighing on Ukrainian peasants [22:82; probably also 30:411]. In this oppressive atmosphere, the Ukrainians did not show themselves grateful to the Jews where this was due [21:99; probably also 30:79]. On the other hand, Franzos showed individual cases of friendship between members of both nationalities who often overcame their own prejudices and defied the pressure of the prejudices of others (Leib Weihnachtskuchen and Janko Wygoda prior to his falling in love [21:passim], Mosche Veilchenduft and Hawrilo Dumkowicz [26:59, 60, 123, 176, 215, 217, 222], Mosche and Walerian Strymko [26:196-200, 213-14, 222], the attitude of Mosche's son Fedko to Mosche, in whom the latter did not suspect his father [26:207, 213-16], not to mention the friendship of two exceptional characters like Taras Barabola and Manasse Zweig [17:264, 424].

Another feature which the Ukrainians attributed commonly to the Jews was the lack of courage, showing itself in submissiveness and insidiousness [17:396; 26:56, 90, probably also 234]. Franzos, who, as a child steeped by his father in the

heroic past of the Jews, was himself disappointed on this account (following his encounters with the children from the ghetto [40:7]), explained that among people who were physically weak as a result of early marriages and endogamy within one's own ethnic population, and whose upbringing promoted this weakness, courage could not have become a common feature; it was, furthermore, incompatible with a long history of enduring persecutions [26:13]. Franzos' two courageous Jewish characters, Mosche Veilchenduft [26], whose boldness came naturally with his exceptional strength, and Manasse Zweig [17], who, in order to avenge the rape of his sister by a Polish nobleman and her death, joined the opryshky (Franzos used the name Hajdamaken, i.e., the robbers who gathered in social protest against oppression; from their hideouts in the East Carpathain mountains they, in actual history, raided the rich and on occasions shared their loot with the poor [45; 50; 59]), felt the sting of this general opinion of the Jews, ranging from amazement over their being different from their typical compatriots to mockery and scorn when they were put in a commanding role by virtue of their courage, be it by their own people or by the Ukrainians [17: 264, 268, 271; 26:5, 56, 90], and only Mosche had some luck in overcoming it [26:73].

Another prevalent opinion among the Ukrainians about the Jews was that they shunned work [26:27, 234], corroborated by Franzos as a tendency, brought about by their Jewish upbringing, to choose occupations which would not require

physical exertion [22:95, 96, 99-100; 26:5, 61].

These rather negative opinions that both peoples, in Franzos' view, had of one another, constituted one of the main factors in determining the treatment shown each other in contact. Some expressions of this treatment have already been mentioned in the above discussion. The hostility of the Jews towards the Ukrainians was, according to Franzos, a reaction against being mistreated or threatened by the Ukrainians [17:265; 21:34, 172]. The usual posture of the Jews in these situations was endurance and, indeed, taking the occurrence of abuses for granted, and not reacting to them [17:272; 21:7; 26:72, 83]. Franzos' presentation of the typical posture of the Ukrainians towards the Jews abounded in dark colours: Jews were looked down on [2:29; 21:124, 237; 26:42, 46, 176, 182, 199, 202, 207], subjected to unfairness [22:102-103] and disregard in the form of derogatory witticism or mockery [17:396; 21:218; 26:74-75; 27:53; 34:4, 9] and verbal abuse [17:264; 21:7, 149, 292; 26:72, 176, 199, 202; 30:329, 400, 411, 443; 42:123] even by friends, and met with hostility terminating in bodily abuse [2:5-6; 21:7; 27:53; 34:4, 9], reflected also in the folk song "In Czernowitz steht ein großes Haus - . . ." which Franzos translated into German [13].

Franzos' explanations for the causes of the East European anti-Semitism (and anti-Germanism) on which he elaborated in his other writings [12:18-20; 14:12] would not apply to the antagonism of the Ukrainians to the Jews, insofar as these

explanations centered on the Poles and the Russians, two nationalities with a long tradition of statehood and empire-building. The Ukrainian antagonism was, on the other hand, nurtured by the fact that the Jews, having in many respects to rely for sustenance on the mercy of the dominant nationality, were driven or chose to support this nationality in its oppression of Ukrainians, and we have seen that Franzos commented on the occurrence of such a situation and its tragic results [15].

One more area of Jewish-Ukrainian relations, as reflected in Franzos' writings, remains to be considered: that of love and marriage. It constituted, of course, part of the wider problem of emotional involvement and marital union between Jews and gentiles. Conflicts and obstacles facing those involved were known to Franzos from personal experience and he portrayed this theme in many of his works.

As one of the traits in the social pattern with respect to love and marriage which evolved among the East European Jews and which Franzos denounced so vehemently, he portrayed the conviction of the Jews that they did not fall in love. It was shared by many of his Jewish characters, including those involved in Jewish-Ukrainian contacts [21:36, 207, 216]. It is also the opinion that the Ukrainians had about the Jews [21:230; 26:101; 30:168]. Not only did Franzos, therefore, campaign against this notion by portraying Jewish lovers; he was also concerned about the suffering and destruction of happiness which love between Jews and gentiles

brought in those times as a rule in its wake, with the implied accusation of the role of the religion and of the mutual prejudices in this area of inter-human relations. In Jewish-Ukrainian relations involving love, both parties fought against the onrush of this emotion [26:85, 94], both experienced a sense of shame if their relationship was suspected or uncovered [17:397; 21:114; 26:93, 94, 111], aware of the disbelief, mockery, scorn, and rejection which their compatriots would show them [21:115-16, 236, 271; 26:78, 84, 93, 94, 113, 121] (and indeed, as products of their background, feeling the pangs of being in this situation themselves), both finally felt that God did not approve of their love [26:120]. Against the background of these conditions, marriage, fulfilling the aim of this love, was even less viable. As in the case of Jewish-gentile relations in general, both the Jews and the Ukrainians considered inter-marriage between them to be unnatural, against God's laws, and consequently, something which could only end in disaster [21:84; 26:88, 95, 113]. The conversion to the other person's faith was considered, if at all, only as a theoretical possibility, both sides being unwilling to pay that price [21:54-55, 164; 26:112, 113]. Thus, in keeping with the socio-cultural climate of this area, Franzos, in his creative works, let the love affair between Janko Wygoda and Miriam Weihnachtskuchen (whose love was barely awakened) end in disaster [21], that between Mosche Veilchenduft and Kasia Dumkowicz in renunciation [26] (somewhat in tune with what he

considered to be typical for the national characteristics of his male figures), and left the third one, the love of Manasse Zweig for Tatiana Bodenko, undeveloped, and therefore a blind motif [17]. An actual case of a happy love and marriage between a Jew and a Hutsul, in spite of the overwhelming antagonism shown to them by the peoples of their respective ethnic backgrounds on account of their union, was reported by Franzos from Bukovina in one of his socio-ethnographic writings [9:240-41].

Some observations should also be made concerning Franzos' notions of future developments in relation to the Jews, including the aspects which would relate to the Ukrainians.

Franzos' own ideas on the Jews (for whom he advocated the retention of their distinct religious identity) are not free of contradictions. On the one hand, he affirmed that in Eastern Europe the Jews constituted a nationality (eine Nation) [26:7], contrary to the condition in Western Europe where he considered the cultural assimilation of the Jews to the dominant nationalities as already occurring and irreversible [39:xix-xx]. He was convinced that this process was an inescapable fate of all Jews regardless of where they lived [7:64-67], and that, consequently, the Jews of Eastern Europe would also inevitably assimilate culturally to the peoples among whom they lived [39:xx]. On the other hand, he favoured the assimilation of the Jews in the eastern part of the Danubian Empire not to the culture of the nationalities



among which they lived, but to the German culture [39:xxi], and to the Russian culture in the Czarist Empire [7:65; 38:295]. He showed no sympathy with the beginning assimilation of Jews living in the Austrian-held part of Poland to Polish culture, mainly because he doubted the good will on the part of the Poles to accept the Jews as equal in rights with them [16:180-82], although similar doubts could be voiced with regard to the Russians. And finally, in spite of his sympathies with the Ukrainians and their cultural achievements, he never expressed himself on the subject of the assimilation of the Jews living in the Ukraine, be it in the Austrian- or Russian-held parts, to the Ukrainian culture, notwithstanding the fact that he was in favour of Jewish-Ukrainian cooperation against their common Polish oppressors in East Galicia, and in his journalistic writings noted with sympathy the signs of such cooperation on the political level [16:174, 176, 177, 180], or spoke of its desirability through one of his Ukrainian characters [32:46].

Nevertheless, some of his Jewish characters, portrayed as living among the Ukrainians, away from the compact Jewish environment of the town ghettos, showed, as discussed above, a considerable degree of assimilation to Ukrainian folk-culture (Manasse Zweig [17] and Miriam Weihnachtskuchen [21]), and in some measure Franzos himself was not free of the Ukrainian cultural pull, in spite of his wholehearted embrace of the German culture.

One has an impression, however, that beyond the

assimilatory pull of the given peoples among whom the Jews lived, the existing political entities also played, in his opinion, a very important role in the process of assimilation, for he did not advocate the assimilation of the Jews in the Czarist Empire to the German culture, but did so, as shown above, in the case of the Jews of the Danubian Empire, motivating it with the linguistic affinity of Yiddish with German [39:xxi], although the same Yiddish was also the spoken language of the Jews in the Czarist Empire, even if there were dialectal differences [10:13-14]. But the basic flaw in his thinking lies in his blind faith that the inevitable fate of all Jews is assimilation to the host nationalities, which led him to oppose the national Zionist movement [4:xxxviii]. This attitude was undoubtedly connected with his conviction that the Jews needed the cultures of the nationalities among which they lived in order to develop their own cultural capacities fully [39:xx], which pointed to a strange inferiority complex on his part, for it revealed his lack of faith in the ability of the Jewish people to develop their independent national culture. Furthermore, by denying, implicitly, the Jews alone the right to be a nationality, while at the same time leaving this right unchallenged in the case of all other nationalities, Franzos exhibited a peculiar notion of the Jews being the chosen people in reverse.

To conclude, Franzos' interest in and his literary and scholarly preoccupation with the Jews and the Ukrainians

lasted, with great intensity, throughout his literary career, although he acquired knowledge of both peoples concerned in differing ways. The folk-culture relationships between the Jews and the Ukrainians occupied an important place in his writings dealing with both peoples. The image of these relationships was indeed somber, but not devoid of rays of hope for betterment.

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## קיצור

נאָכן אַרבעט־פֿיר וועגן דעם ווי גרויס און טיף ס'האָט געגרייכט  
פֿראַנצאָזעס באַקאַנטשאַפֿט מיט דער יודישער און אוקראַנישער פֿאַלקס-  
קולטורן קומט אַן אַנאַליז פֿון דעם ווי אַזוי די צוויי שטאַטצ:ונגען פֿון  
בידע פֿאַלקסקולטורן שפּייגלען זיך אָפּ אויף דרײַ שטחים אין זינע  
שריפֿטן: אין זינע פּובליקאַציעס וואָס האָבן צו טאָן מיט פֿאַלקלאָר  
סמש; אין זינע זשורנאַליסטישע באַריכטן; און לסוף אין זינע  
בעלעטריסטישע ווערק.

עס ווערן אַרומגעווערט: די מיינונגען וואָס אין פֿאַלק האָט  
געוואָס וועגן צווייטן אויפֿן סך פֿון זייערע פֿאַלקסקולטורן; ווי אַזוי  
פֿראַנצאָז דערקלערט זייער אויפֿקום און געדויער, און די דעזולטאַטן  
פֿון די דאָזיקע פֿאַקטאָרן אויף די צוויי שטאַטצ:ונגען וואָס נעמען  
אַרום סאַציאַל-פּאַליטישע, ליטעראַרישע (פֿאַלקלאָר), דעליגייעזע, זינג-  
שאַפֿטלעכע, און עסאַציאַנעלע (ליבע) אַספּעקטן.