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The Making of Soviet Chernivtsi: National “Re-unification,” World War II, and the Fate of Jewish Czernowitz in Postwar Ukraine.

Dissertation abstract

This dissertation is a study of the incorporation of Chernivtsi into the Ukrainian Republic of the Soviet Union. One of the several developed cities acquired by the USSR in the course of World War II, Chernivtsi (aka Czernowitz and Cernăuți) was a onetime Hapsburg provincial capital (1774-1918) and a part of the Romanian state in the interwar period (1918-1940). Dominated by its German “lingua franca,” this urban space was also equally used to the sounds of Yiddish, East Slavic, Romanian, and Polish languages up until World War II. Yet Chernivtsi emerged from World War II, the Holocaust, and Soviet reconstruction as an almost homogeneous Ukrainian city that allegedly had always longed for re-unification with its Slavic brethren. Focusing on the late Stalinist period (1940-53) but covering earlier (1774-1940) and later (1953-present) periods, this study explores the relationship between the ideas behind the incorporation; the lived experience of the incorporation; and the historical memory of the city’s distant and recent past. Central to this dissertation is the fate of the Jewish residents of Czernowitz-Chernivtsi. This community was transformed from an influential plurality to about one per cent of the city’s population whose past was marginalized in local historical memory.

This study demonstrates a multifaceted local experience of the war which was all but silenced by the dominant Soviet Ukrainian myth of the Great Patriotic war and the “re-unification of all Ukrainian lands.” When the authors of the official Soviet historical and cultural narratives represented Stalin’s annexation as the “re-unification” of Ukraine, they in fact

constructed and popularized, in the form of state legislation, ethnographic and historical scholarship, and cultural productions, a new concept of “historical Ukrainian lands” that was never fully elaborated by radical Ukrainian nationalists. This concept—a blueprint for the Soviet colonization of the western borderlands in the name of the Ukrainian nation—tied ethnically defined Ukrainian culture to a strictly delineated national territory. Applied to the new borderlands and particularly to their urban centers characterized by cultural diversity, this policy served to legitimize the marginalization and, in several cases, the violent displacement of ethnic minorities.

Based largely on archival documents and other original materials, this dissertation is the first study of the Soviet Ukrainian transformation of borderland Chernivtsi. It investigates the process of the destruction of a multicultural society, recognized as one of the most successful examples of ethnic coexistence in 19th-century Europe. The forces of ethnic nationalism unleashed by the violent ethos of World War II and the Holocaust demonstrated the ultimate fragility of multicultural societies in the face of exclusive modern nationalism. In the post-war period, the Soviet variety of Ukrainian nationalism became the vehicle for absorbing this urban space—a legacy of the late Habsburgs’ empire of territories that allowed for diversity in exchange for loyalty—into a Soviet “empire of nations” that strove for ethnic homogeneity.

Table of Contents

Introduction

Chapter One, “Provincial Modernity on the Border: People, Books, and Buildings of Czernowitz-Cernăuți, 1774-1940”

Chapter Two, “Exhibiting Nation Space, 1940-1941: Cultural Representations of the Re-Unification”

Chapter Three, “Locating Ukrainian Nation: “Re-Unification” as Cultural Revolution, 1940-1941”

Chapter Four, “Purging Local Books and People, 1940-1946”

Chapter Five, “The Postwar Fate of Jewish Czernowitz: Unification as a Memory Project”

Epilogue

Chapter One. Provincial Modernity on the Border: People, Books, and Buildings of Czernowitz-Cernăuți, 1774-1940

[Chernivtsi] experienced [its] metropolitan career[] in the past, [a] career[] which today [is] a closed chapter with hidden potential.¹

Paul Celan, and whose poetry is one of the most important emblems of western memory of the Holocaust, once called his birthplace, Czernowitz, the place “where human beings and books used to live.”² A phrase that could refer to any other city, this statement acquires a special significance if made by a poet who probably died because he could never reconcile his identity as a German poet and a Jew. Celan spoke of *the* human beings and *the* books that formed him as a person he could never stop to be. How did Romanian Cernăuți, in the era of growing radical nationalism and antisemitism, engender Celan with his love of German language? What was this city like?

This chapter traces the development of Czernowitz from a destination on the south-eastern border of Austrian empire to an urban phenomenon. Recognizing that “it is not easy ... to recreate the images and mindsets of a hundred years ago,” I find my widow to the urban past of Czernowitz by focusing on the relationship between urban culture and architecture and the reflection of this relationship in the images, or myths, of the city created by its residents and visitors of different professional, social, religious, and ethnic backgrounds.³ This chapter shows

* I borrow the term “Provincial modernity” from Jennifer Jenkins (see her *Provincial Modernity: Local Culture & Liberal Politics in Fin-De-Siècle Hamburg*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2003)

¹ Jacek Purchla, *Introduction* to Jacek Purchla, ed. *The Historical Metropolis. A Hidden Potential* (Cracow, 1996), p.8.)

² Paul Celan, trans. John Felstiner, quoted in Hirsch and Spitzer, 2010, xiv.

³Quotation is from Fred Stambrook, "National and Other Identities in Bukovina in Late Austrian Times." *Austrian History Yearbook* 35, (2004): 192.

that the dominant urban identity among the city's residents in the late Austrian period was based on liberal German-language culture and local, regional, and Austrian (or European) loyalties and affiliations, while national identifications that became more widespread towards the end of the Austrian rule represented only one layer of their self-perception for most of Czernowitzers.

By 1918, when the city became one of the largest urban centers of Romanian Kingdom, Chernivtsi had an unusually coherent urban structure, devoid of multiple historical layers typical for many European cities, and a distinct dominant urban myth. The notion of myth and urban myth in particular, is often associated with fictional account(s) that distort reality of "historical truth." I argue that, on the contrary, the concept of myth is useful for reconstructing the past since it helps recognize the limitations of any historical reconstruction. In the context of this study, I understand the concept of urban myth as multiplicity of perceptions, opinions, and stories about the city that may or may not be based on real-life and documented events. This concept is strongly related to collective identity of urban residents who associate themselves with urban myth rather than its physical space. (If the association is merely with a physical location or residence, hardly any urban identity has developed). Although no myth is a coherent narrative, I maintain that one can usefully operate with the notion of dominant myth if certain features of the city, real or perceived, are revealed in the majority of narratives (personal or public, oral or written, official or underground) that construct and reflect the myth at the same time. By the same token, if a substantial number of narratives emerges or exists that are united by a different set of beliefs about the city, the concept of an alternative urban myth becomes a useful analytical category. This chapter explains why the myth of Habsburg-era Czernowitz was based on German language and culture and maintained primarily by German-speaking Jews. If further

demonstrates that urban landscape of Chernivtsi was changed very insignificantly during the twenty two years of Romanian rule and that, to a large degree, the city retained its overriding German-Austrian identity, or myth, throughout the interwar Romanian rule in spite of the aggressive policies of Romanianization orchestrated by Bucharest and fiercely implemented by local Romanian authorities.

From Clay Huts to Habsburg Provincial Capital (1774–1849)

Chernivtsi is located on the foothills of Carpathian Mountains, on the high green hills over the Prut River. The area around it had for centuries been a “perfect borderland.”⁴ It made up the margins of the medieval Slavic states and the early-modern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth until the mid-fourteenth century; it then gradually became a part of the Moldavian Principality. For four centuries preceding the annexation by Austria, the region remained part of the Principality which, in its turn, had been a vassal of the Ottoman Empire for more than 200 years by the end of the Russo-Turkish war. Having obtained the neighboring territory of Galicia (as a part of Poland) in 1772, the Austrian Empire considered Bukovina, which was rich in forests and rivers and had a predominantly cattle-breeding local population, to be a highly desirable territorial acquisition. According to the Austrian royal military and contemporary political advisors, obtaining this corner of Eastern Europe was important for several different reasons: it connected the provinces of Galicia and Transylvania, created a more

⁴ The area later known as Bukovina is adjacent to the slopes of outer eastern Carpathians and is roughly delineated by Dniester in the North, Bistrița in the South, and Siret on the South East, with rivers Prut and Secceava flowing through it eastward. The name Bukovina, coming from “buk” meaning “beech tree” in eastern Slavic languages. Different variations of this toponym were rather common in eastern and central Europe. “Bukovina” was used locally but did not denote any political or administrative until the late 18th century when it was chosen by Austrian officials over other possible names for their new territorial acquisition. Ion Nistor, *Un capitol din Vieața Culturală a Românilor din Bucovina (1774-1857)* (Bucharest: Soccec, Sfetea, Suru, 1916), 7.

convenient eastern border and provided its better protection, and it restricted emigration from Galicia and other eastern provinces of the empire, preventing the spread of epidemics from the Ottoman territories. The diplomatic settlement between Austria and the Ottoman Empire which determined Bukovina's inclusion into the former began in 1774. Delineating the borders took two years and involved many actors, both central and local, from the Austrian, Russian, Ottoman, and Moldavian sides. The inclusion was completed in October 1776, and in 1777 all the local nobles and high-ranking clergy of Bukovina swore fealty to the Austrian Empire in Chernivtsi.⁵ Festivities with fireworks, receptions for those recognized as local nobility, and plenty of wine, food, and petty cash for the “folk” organized by Austrian administration on the occasion were never seen in this town before.⁶

The late-medieval town whose few remnants survived until present in the oldest part of Chernivtsi “old city center” began to develop on the right, hilly bank of the river Prut, between its two small tributaries. The first record about the settlement is dated by 1408 and is attributed to the Moldavian Prince Alexander the Good. The origins of the name Chernivtsi and its other existing forms are not clear; probably, it derived from the old-Slavic *chernyi/chornyi* (black),

⁵ For a recent account of the incorporation, see Vasyl' Botushans'kyi, Serhy Hackman, Yuriy Makar, Olexandr Masan, Ihor Piddubnyi, Hanna Skoreiko, *Bukovyna v konteksti ievropeis'kykh mizhnarodnykh vidnosyn (z davnykh chasiv do seredyny XX st)* (Chernivtsi: Ruta, 2005), 169-244. The first extended descriptions of Bukovina by an Austrian official belongs to General von Spleny (Johann Polek, ed. *General Splenys Beschreibung der Bukowina* (Chernivtsi, 1893). For more on the annexation, see Johann Polek, *Die Erwerbung der Bukowina durch Österreich* [The acquisition of Bukovina by Austria] (Chernivtsi, 1889); Johann Polek, *Die Bukowina zu Anfang des Jahres 1801* [Bukovina by the beginning of the year 1801] (Chernivtsi, 1908).

⁶ The classic and the most detailed history of the city of the pre-Austrian and Austrian periods is Raimund Friedrich Kaindl's *Geschichte von Czernowitz von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart* (Chernivtsi: Pardini, 1908); see also Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Zur Geschichte der Stadt Czernowitz und ihrer Umgegend* (Chernivtsi: Czopp, 1888). A reprint of his 1908 work in Ukrainian and German: Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Geschichte von Czernowitz von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart / Istorii Chernivtsiv vid naidavnishykh chasiv do siohodennia* (Chernivtsi: Zelena Bukovyna, 2005). On the celebrations, see Kaindl, 2005, 69-71.

referring to the color of surrounding fortification walls.⁷ If any medieval fortification existed on the territory of modern city, they had been ruined long before the Austrian annexation.⁸ By 1774, the town did not differ from the surrounding villages and acquired its higher status only due to its location on the border between Moldavian and Polish- Lithuanian domains: it was used for customs check and duty collection.

As an non-important remote settlement significant only as a border check point, the town was relieved from heavy taxation by Moldavian princes but also deprived of any meaningful protection, suffering continuously from epidemics, robberies, fires, and devastating raids during frequent military conflicts as well as in the periods of relative peace.⁹ Local residents, largely illiterate (including those of noble and semi-noble status), left no clues about their views of their surroundings and themselves. To occasional travelers who left written accounts, and to the first

⁷ (see Yu.O. Karpenko, *Toponimiia tsentral'nykh raioniv Chernivets'koï oblasti* [Toponyms of central districts of Chernivtsi province] (Chernivtsi, 1965.)) Until the city name was first standardized under Austrian rule, various spellings and variants of its names were used. For example, an urban stamp still in use in the early Austrian times used the spelling “Czernuci.” Kaindl, 47.

⁸ Austrian researches of local history and lore studies folk legends about medieval, allegedly Slavic fortifications but did not find any archeological proves of their existence. Romanian historians of Bukovina who denied any significant Slavic settlements in the region at any time were not interested in further investigation in this direction. Only in the late 1950s, the Soviet pioneer of local archaeology Borys Tymoshchuk excavated archeological artifacts which he interpreted as remnants of old Slavic fortifications. According to Tymoshchuk, residents of an earlier settlement on the left bank of Prut that was ruined in the 13th century founded a new settlement on the right bank of the river. Remnants of this settlement that date from the 14th and 15th centuries are believed to be found on the territory of the old city core in the late Soviet and post-Soviet periods. Local archaeologists and historians associate this settlement, of which very little is known, with the first written reference to Chernivtsi dated from 1408. See Borys Tymoshchuk, *Zustrich z lehendoiu* (Uzhhorod: Karpaty, 1974), 100. Soviet archaeological study of Chernivtsi and its interpretations are discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

⁹ Chernivtsi was located on the crossroads of several trade ways of local and long-distance significance. Roads to the neighboring settlements of Kalichanka and Rosha, as well as ways to the Halych in Galicia, Iași in Moldavia, and Suceava (the capital of Moldavian principality and the closest significant urban center) met in Chernivtsi. The town had plenty of semi-spontaneous small marketplaces, but it lacked a single large area suitable for trading cattle, the most important commodity at the time that usually triggered intensive development of trade in Eastern Europe of the time. Development of meaningful trade began in the city only after the incorporation. For more on the roads and transportation, Ihor Zhaloba, Tadei Iatseniuk, “Shliakhy spoluchennia Bukovyny (Kinets XVIII – persha polovyna XIX st.)” (in Ukrainian, Romanian, and German), *Analele Bucovinei* 4 no. 3 (1997): 727-46; on trade and markets, Victoria Hriaban and Mykhailo Chuchko, *Rynky ta iarmarky Bukovyns'koï stolytsi* (Chernivtsi: Polihraf-servis, 2009).

Austrian officials who arrived to their new domain, the late 18th-century Chernivtsi was no more than a destination characterized by backwardness and semi-emptiness—a “nothingness” or a place yet to be, at best. The town had a population of about one thousand, most of them Greek Orthodox (Eastern Rite) Christians occupied in agriculture and characterized largely by pre-modern, religious and local, identities. The town also had “many Jews” along with very few German families and occasional Turks, Greeks, and Armenians, who were involved in petty border trade. They were the most “urban” residents of this neglected town. After just one year of Austrian administration, urban population grew by some 400 people.¹⁰

The town was sparsely populated and had a large territory that consisted of a small town center with clay houses and a number of “pretty wild” villages that nominally belonged to the urban territory, although they were separated from the center by large strips of empty land.¹¹ The major urban land marker and the only religious building located within the city core was the “Large” synagogue located on the highest point of the area, indicating the prevalence of Jewish

¹⁰ The earliest information about town population comes from Joseph Boscowich, a Jesuit traveler who briefly stayed in the city in 1762 (Kindl, 2005, 55, 63). In 1775, Splény reported that the town with its closest outskirts had 290 families, or about 1400 residents. 112 of these families were Jewish, 48 “peasant,” 10 of Orthodox priests, and the rest were of local nobles, state servants, and others. (Kaindl, 2005, 261). Splény noted that Jews were “as numerous in this little town as nowhere in the region.” (Ibid, 263). He characterized the majority of Bukovinian rural residents as Orthodox and Moldavian. He was likely simply referring to the region’s political affiliation with the Moldavian principality. (Raimund F.Kaindl wrote in his *Geschichte von Czernowitz*: “unter ...den “Moldauern” ... wir Rumänen und Ruthenen verstehen müssen...” (Kaindl 2005, 263). The Austrian statistical records classified populations according to their language of communication (*Umgangssprache*) and religion, leaving space for multiple interpretations by the interested national groups in later times. The numbers of “Ukrainians” and “Romanians” in pre-Austrian Bukovina have been debated for a long time by Ukrainian and Romanian historians. For more on the polemics in historiography of Bukovina, see Svetlana Frunchak, *Studying the Land, Contesting the Land: A Historiographic Guide to Modern Bukovina. The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies*, forthcoming 2010. Historians have recently discussed difficulties of national classification in borderlands, noting that even the categories of language and religion, not to mention nationality, were not fixed enough when it came to censuses. For example, see Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries. The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press, 1989) and Kate Brown, *A Biography of No Place: From Ethnic Borderland to Soviet Heartland* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004.).

¹¹ Kaindl, 2005, 54.

population in the center of pre-1774 Chernivtsi.¹² The best houses also belonged to Jews, according to General Splény, the chief of the military administration of the province until 1778.¹³ At least four wooden Orthodox churches, as well as smaller synagogues, were located in the outskirts of the town serving its largely Orthodox rural population. The only stone church that existed at that time—a typical fortified monastery church of late medieval Moldavian principality—was located outside of the town.¹⁴ Austrian administrators chose Chernivtsi as their military base thanks to its border location convenient for its new role of empire's easternmost outpost.¹⁵

This new function defined the development of Bukovina and its newly determined capital during the first part of Austrian rule, which lasted until 1848. The area saw not only a new political order and faster economic development but also significant demographic changes. Previously largely populated by Orthodox Slavic and Moldavian cattlemen and peasants and an insignificant number of Jews, and lacking any significant strata of landowning nobility, the province now attracted mass in-migration and immigration of numerous German-speaking Protestant and Catholic colonizers, new Orthodox settlers from nearby regions, and, most of all,

¹² For the argument about the cultural dominance of Jews and its reflection in the architecture of the pre-Austrian town, see Bohdan Kolosok, "Mistobudivna spadshchyna Chenrivtsiv" in *Architekturna spadshchyna Chernivtsiv Avstriis'koi doby (Materialy konferentsii 1-4 zhovtnia 2001 r.)*, ed. Petro Rykhlo (Chernivtsi: Zoloti lytavry, 2003), 20; Roman Mohytych, "Mistobudivel'nyi rozvytok Chernivtsiv u XIV-XIX st. Shliakhy okhorony urbanistychnoho seredovyscha mista," *Visnyk instytutu "Ukrzakhidproektrestavratsiia"* 12 (Lviv, 2002): 68-75.

¹³ Splény quoted in Kaindl, 2005, 263.

¹⁴ Another important point of the town was the residence of the town's senior (*starosta*), fortified in the past and used as the early residence of Bukovinian Orthodox metropolitans after, in 1782, they were transferred to Chernivtsi from similar small town of Rădăuți. Mohytych 2003, 28-29; Hugo Weczerka, "Die städtebauliche Entwicklung von Czernowitz 1775-1900," *Analele Bucovinei* 4, no.3 (1997): 657.

¹⁵ Splény, in fact, argued for the division of the new territory (usually referred to as Crownland although it had a special military status) along the river Siret, a tributary of Dniester, with two centers in Suceava and Sadagora (another small town nearby Chernivtsi). However, his recommendations were not implemented immediately and with time various administrative and judicial organs developed in Chernivtsi around the military administration. Austrian government eventually settled on keeping the region's administrative center in Chernivtsi. See Kaindl, 2005, 127.

Jewish communities of different backgrounds. Many of the latter arrived from Galicia that had a large Jewish population.¹⁶ Bukovina also became a desirable destination for less numerous communities of Russian Old Believers fleeing persecution; Hungarian-speakers from Romania known as Szeklers; Slovaks; Czechs; and other migrants. The movements were encouraged by the Austrian administration in order to enhance the region's economic development. After Bukovina lost its initial semi-autonomous military-ruled status in 1786 and became part of the neighboring Galician administrative district (*Kreis*), its demographic and religious profile was further changed by Polish migrants and the consequent stronger presence of the Roman Catholic Church.¹⁷

The most spectacular change occurred in the city whose name was standardized as Czernowitz. Official censuses showed urban population of 9,863 in 1843 and 21,588 in 1857.¹⁸ Initially German military, administrators, priests, and teachers were the most numerous in-migrants. They became the active transmitters of *Kulturdeutschum*, the official culture

¹⁶ The large Jewish population acquired by the Habsburgs in Galicia was perceived by the empress Maria Theresa (reigned 1740-1780) "with horror and disgusts," which demonstrated well the attitudes to Jews in the upper circles. Quoted in David Rechter, "Geography Is Destiny: Region, Nation and Empire in Habsburg Jewish Bukovina." *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* (2008): 326.

¹⁷ For a general history, see Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Geschichte der Bukowina von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kulturverhältnisse* (Chernivtsi: Pardini, 1904); on German colonization, see for example Sophie Welisch, "The Bukovina-Germans during the Habsburg period: settlement, ethnic interaction, contributions," *Immigrants and Minorities* 5 (1986): 73-106; on Jewish colonization: the chapter on the Austrian period in Hugo Gold, ed. *Geschichte der Juden in der Bukowina. Ein Sammelwerk*. 2 vols. (Tel-Aviv: Almenu, 1962); Martin Broszat, "Von der Kulturnation zur Volksgruppe. Die nationale Stellung der Juden in der Bukowina im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," *Historische Zeitschrift* 200/3 (1965): 572-605; Henry Delfiner, "Jewish Farmers in the Bucovina: 1780's to 1848," *East European Quarterly*, 24(4) (Boulder, 1990): 529-37; on Polish colonization, Poczet Szlachty Galicyjskiej i Bukowinskiej (L'viv: Drukarnia Instytutu Stauropigia'nskiego, 1857; Ievhen Strutyn'skyi, Todei Iatseniuk, "Poliaky na Bukovyni u XIX – pochatku XX st.," *Z istorychnoho mynuloho Bukovyny* (Chernivtsi, 1996), 62-73. The questions on Romanian and east Slavic ("Ukrainian") population movements in Early Austrian period are fiercely debated by Romanian and Ukrainian historians who tend to blame Austrian government for encouraging east Slavic or Romanian colonization of the region, respectively. For more on this, see Frunchak, *Studying the Land*.

¹⁸ In Chernivtsi only, without outskirts. Kaindl, 2005, 262, 266.

hegemonically promoted by the empire. Local peasants made up another source of urban population growth. Only the Jewish population declined temporarily after the eviction of “Jewish beggars” from the town in 1782 and the following restriction of Jewish settlement in the town. The old Moldavian administrators, deemed semi-illiterate, uneducated, and generally inappropriate for the new administration, were gradually replaced by Austrian bureaucrats.¹⁹ The town’s infrastructure developed first and foremost to accommodate the needs of the new military and civilian administrators. Chernivtsi also had to accommodate the demands of royals who visited their new eastern outpost on many occasions and not infrequently personally ordered important steps in its urban development, such as construction of churches and roads. In 1823, Czernowitz even hosted a meeting between Franz I of Austria and Alexander I of Russia on the question of Greek revolts against Ottomans.²⁰ As a border city, Chernivtsi not only enjoyed the benefits of personal royal attention, but also continued to suffer the usual vices of frontier regions: turmoil’s during wars, popular upheaval, and frequent epidemics. Yet, none of them slowed down the city’s growth for a long time.

On the contrary, a common problem of urban fires was one of the reasons that pushed Splény’s successor, Enzenberg, to develop the first urban statute of 1885. The statute encouraged construction from stone instead of wood to prevent fires, regulated land ownership and urban construction, and, most importantly, established the magistrate to which all urban

¹⁹ Kurt Scharr, “Die innere Verwaltungsentwicklung der Bukowina 1775-1918. Beharrlichkeit alter und Heranwachsen neuer politische Strukturen” *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, vol. 55 (2007): 178-209.

²⁰ Kaiser Joseph II (1765–1790) visited Chernivtsi in 1783 and 1787; Franz I (1804–1835) visited in 1817 and in 1823 for the meeting with Alexander I (1801-1825). Emperor Franz Joseph (1848–1916) visited Czernowitz several times and revealed many sighs of affection to this city and its “good people.” (Kaindl, 2005, 103) Apart from emperors, princes and other members of royal families were not infrequent visitors in the city.

residents could be elected, with the exception of Jews who could not occupy high positions in the city government. At the same time, the engineer Pitzelli developed the first city land use plan.²¹ Between these early regulations and the construction of the General's house and first permanent barracks in the 1770s-80s and the middle of the 19th century, the configuration of the Chernivtsi urban landscape was profoundly changed, accommodating the town aesthetically to its new role.

The creation of a new, large market square outside of the old city center and cutting of new streets to connect this new center with the major roads resulted in a new, classicist city structure. The new public architecture itself also had the features of Viennese "bureaucratic classicism." The core of the new city center was completed in 1943, with the commencement of Chernivtsi city hall, the most important public building of the time and the first of the city's existing major administrative buildings. Several new and old streets connected the new central square (*Ringplatz*) with city's major religious buildings, the Greek-Catholic church of Peter and Paul (1821), the Roman Catholic church of Holy Cross (1814), personally ordered by the emperor, and later a Lutheran church. This structure stressed the new, Western European urban ethos of the city.²² At the same time, another large square (later named *Austria Platz*) suitable for cattle and wood trade was created on the periphery, on the highest hill of the area. The regional

²¹ Urban territory, indicated on the plan, makes up about a half of the city's current territory. Kolosok, "Mistobudivna spadshchyna Chenrivtsiv," 23; Iryna Korotun, "Renesansna shkola arkhitektury Chernivtsiv," in *Materialy IV Bukovyns'koï Mizhnarodnoï istoriko-kraieznavchoï konferentsii, prysviachenoï 125-richchiu zasnuvannia natsional'noho universytetu imeni Iuriiia Fed'kovycha. 5 zhovtnia 2000 r.* (Chernivtsi: Zoloti lytavry, 2005), 375-9.

²² City development of the first part of the 19th century was led by the regional construction engineer Marin and a building master Andreas (Andrii) von Mykulych, a native of Galicia educated in Chernivtsi. These two persons supervised the construction of the city hall and several other administrative buildings, new streets, and a hunting house and a recreational pavilion in the new city park. For more on the construction and history of the city hall, see Dagmar Redl, "Pomizh Vidnem i Chernivtsiamy: do stanovlennia i vplyvu istorichnoi arkhitektury tsisars'ko-korolivs'koi monarkhii," in *Architekturna spadshchyna Chernivtsiv*, ed. Rykhlo, 45-60; Olexandr Masan and Ihor Chekhovs'kyi, *Chernivtsi: 1408-1998. Narysy z Istorii Mista* (Chernivtsi: Misto, 1998), 71-88; Mohytych, 2003, 29-30.

prison was also constructed there, becoming very inappropriate just half-a-century later when the square became a part of the center of the rapidly growing city. The new *Large* synagogue that replaced the initial one in 1850 continued to dominate the old, lower town.

Numerous residential, public, and religious buildings erected during this period share moderation in decorations and symmetry characteristic of classicism.²³ Czernowitz of the first part of the 19th had plenty of green spaces, including a large public park (*Volkspark*) with public bathes constructed in 1830. By the late 1840s, all these developments turned the former neglected settlement into a small but rapidly growing Austrian provincial town and military outpost. During the revolution of 1848-49 the city survived another turbulent period marked by political and social tensions, closure of the first newspaper opened shortly before, epidemics, food shortages, and anxieties about popular revolts raging in the countryside.²⁴ As a result of the revolution, in addition to the abolition of servitude and the election of deputies to the imperial *Reichstag* (a gymnasium prefect, Anton Král, was elected from Czernowitz), Bukovina nominally received a status of a Duchy independent from Galicia. By 1854, new administrative organs were created and the first president of the Bukovina, Franz Schmück, arrived into his new office. Czernowitz became, *de facto*, a provincial capital. In 1951, when Franz Joseph visited the

²³ Unlike the older cities with larger medieval parts, the new classicist city plan of Chernivtsi was realized with a minimal disruption of the established urban structure. Thanks to the spacious empty areas of the town, the new center was added to the existing one, preserving the latter while simultaneously creating a new, modern look of the city. Mohytych, 2003, 30; Redl, 2003, 46; Larysa Vanduiuk, “Videns’ki vplyvy na arkhitekturu Chernivtsiv (1775-1918),” *Arkhitekturna spadshchyna Chernivtsiv*, ed. Rykhlo, 81.

²⁴ In 1849, Lukian Kobylitsia—one of 8 peasant deputies to Reichstag from Bukovina elected for the first time in 1848—led a popular social revolt mainly of Hutsuls, mountaineers of Carpathian region. Only several years earlier, in 1843, groups of Hutsuls were invited to perform a dance for an Erzherzog visiting Chernivtsi; in 1849, their images horrified urbanites. In 1849, Czernowitzers also had an encounter with Russian army that was passing through the city on their way to help suppress revolts in Hungary. The most popular perception of Russian officers among locals was that of generally nice folk who did not do a good job with personal hygiene and were prone to petty stealing. Kaindl, 2005, 89, 91-98.

city, Czernowitz proudly exhibited the loyalty and diversity of its residents. As he moved into the city, the emperor was greeted with flowers and traditional bread and salt by communities of Orthodox Christians, Greek (Eastern) Catholics, Roman Catholics with their pastors, Jewish elders and “simple Jews” lead by the main Rabbi, groups of German colonists, imperial army detachments, students of several schools, and servants from a dozen of administrative offices and associations, leaving his majesty delighted with “patriotic feelings” of his easternmost urban subjects.²⁵ A census in 1857 translated the motley picture that the emperor saw in Czernowitz into bureaucratic statistical language: 810 (4%) urban residents spoke Polish, 3,500 (16%) spoke Ruthenian (Rusyn), 4,800 (22%) spoke Romanian, and 12,290 (57%) spoke German. 4, 678 (22%) of Czernowitzers were Jewish.²⁶ From a “no place” of just half-a-century before, Czernowitz was transformed into an east European imperial urban space dominated by German language, offering opportunities not only for its western colonizers in forms of land and career growth but also for diverse locals who managed to escape the “backwardness” of the surrounding countryside in this emerging island of western-style modernity.

“The End of Europe:” Late Austrian Czernowitz (1849-1918)

After another administrative and political experiment in 1860, when Bukovina was subordinated to Galicia for a short time, followed by a petition to Vienna from “all classes, nations, estates, and confessions” for the “emancipation of Bukovina,” it was finally made a fully-fledged separate province (*Land*) with a provincial parliament (*Landtag*) and a provincial

²⁵ When Franz Joseph visited the city again in 1855, he displayed similar favor and delight. Kaindl, 103-6.

²⁶ Census data quoted by Kaindl, 266. Censuses of the time categorized population by spoken language and religion. Yiddish was not in the list of spoken languages and was substituted by German; therefore, it is impossible to determine how many Jews at that time actually claimed German as their spoken language.

committee (*Landesausschuß*) in 1861. After the *Ausgleich* of 1867 that established Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary, Bukovina became a part of the Austrians part of the empire, *Cisleithania*, which made Czernowitz an island of German-language culture in the most remote corner of Habsburg's domain, marking the "end of Europe" to its western-minded residents and travelers. Yet, two other political changes of the 1860s determined the character of the city for the next hundred years: in 1860, Jews were legally permitted to own land and in 1867, they were granted full citizenship.²⁷

Traditionally attracted to this borderland town, when granted the civil rights, Jews were able to benefit from economic opportunities of this quickly developing province.²⁸ Along with the late advent and limited nature of modernization in Bukovina and continuously hegemonic powers of German-Austrian domination in the areas of education and administration, Bukovina was characterized by the absence of traditionally established non-German speaking local elite. Jews filled the niche: soon after the emancipation, a considerable segment of the Jewish population of Bukovina belonged to the social and landowning elite.²⁹ Officially, after the *Ausgleich* German was no longer a dominant language in the Austrian part of the empire; the dominant languages of individual provinces assumed primacy in political and administrative dealings. Whereas in Galicia this development resulted in Polonization, German retained its

²⁷ On Jewish life in Habsburg Bukovina, see David Sha'ari, "The Jewish Community of Czernowitz under Habsburg and Romanian rule. Part one: Habsburg rule" *Shvut* 6 (Tel-Aviv, 1997): 150-83; Fred Stambrook, *The Golden Age of the Jews of Bukovina, 1880-1914. Working Papers in Austrian Studies* (Minneapolis, MN: The Center for Austrian Studies, 2003); Albert Lichtblau and Michael John. "Jewries in Galicia and Bukovina, in Lemberg and Czernowitz: Two Divergent Examples of Jewish Communities in the Far East of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy" in *Jewries at the Frontier: Accommodation, Identity, Conflict*, ed. Sander L. Gilman, 29-66 (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999).

²⁸ Until 1880s, the province's industry enjoyed modest prosperity, followed by a period of moderate decline before the fully-fledged crisis brought by World War I.

²⁹ Lichtblau and John, 50.

hegemonic predominance in Bukovina. From 1867, almost all the Jewish children of Czernowitz attended German state schools, growing up strongly committed to German culture. Hence, by the end of Austrian rule, out-of-the-way Czernowitz presented a much more “western” image than Galicia’s capital Lemberg which actually lies 300 km further to the northwest. Although the highest military, administrative, and teaching positions were still occupied by other speakers of German—officials from western Austria—it was acculturated, upwardly-mobile, entrepreneurial Jews who “made” the western image of late Austrian Czernowitz and became the most numerous bearers of its German-language culture. “The most fortunate Jews in eastern and east central Europe,” Jews of Czernowitz created a strong urban Central European middle class and created a number of impressive cultural and welfare organizations.³⁰ Czernowitz Jews certainly appreciated the civic rights, protection, and opportunities brought by the Austrians, and paid back by highest degree of loyalty to Francis Joseph and Austrian patriotism which was certainly felt by the emperor during his third and last visit to the city in 1880 when he, among many other institutions, attended the major synagogue on the Day of Atonement.³¹

The emperor, it seems, developed sincere affection for his youngest provincial capital, as did many of his contemporaries. Very much like German language was clearly the dominant language of its public sphere, wholesome European style of a typical provincial capital of the

³⁰ Sha’ari, 182-3; Lichtblau and John, 39,43. Quotation is from Stambrook, 2003, 14; 1, 2. (He also referred to Bukovinian Jewish population as “the most accepted and least persecuted [one].”)

³¹ On loyalty and civic patriotism, Stambrook, 2003, 13; Lichtblau and John, 55; Rechter, 330. Franz Joseph’s last visit to Czernowitz was the most informal and emotional one. He visited many institutions, and even accepted personal requests from citizens just as he walked the streets. Impressed by the warm reception and extraordinary revelations of popular patriotism, the emperor allegedly said to the mayor: “I thank you. The city did too much for me.” Kaindl, 2005, 117.

Habsburg monarchy became the dominant architectural language of late-Austrian Chernivtsi.³²

Urban development influences from the imperial center gradually changed from bureaucratic and regulatory to conceptual and aesthetic. As the 19th century progressed, Vienna was making major contributions to European modernism and becoming the center of a specific Viennese bourgeois culture.³³ New ideas of art styles and urban planning that boomed in Vienna in the second half of the 19th century travelled to smaller imperial cities with the royal administrators who promoted imperial urban development standards as well as through technical and artistic educational institutions throughout the empire. Viennese-style manners of uptown residents, impressive German-language press, pretentious coffee houses filled with German conversations, and western architectural styles made the streets of Czernowitz familiar and comfortable to newcomers and visitors from western parts of the empire.³⁴

During the second half of the 19th century, architectural composition and general urban configuration of contemporary Chernivtsi was completed.³⁵ According to its new political and administrative role, aesthetically Chernivtsi also was turned into a fully-fledged provincial capital. Unlike Vienna, where architectural styles were more period-specific and tended to replace each other, in Czernowitz fashions changed more slowly and often coexisted. In the

³² Viktor Vechers'kyi, *Spadshchyna mistorbuduvannia Ukraïny* (Kiev: NDITIAM-Holovarkhitektura, 2003), 157; Redl, 2003, 45-60; Vandiuk 2003, 81-8. The most recent and detailed account of the architectural development of Czernowitz of the second half of the 19th and the 20th century belongs to Svitlana Belenkova, *Arkhitektura Chernivtsiv XIX–pershoï polovyny XX st.* (Chernivtsi: Bukrek, 2009). The policy of central diktat in urban planning, characterized by automatic transfer of projects and styles from the capital and provincial centers, ended with the liquidation of the central “Department of construction” in Vienna.

³³ Anthony Alofsin, *When Buildings Speak : Architecture as Language in the Habsburg Empire and Its Aftermath, 1867-1933* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), 4.

³⁴ Between the commencement of *Czernowitzer Zeitung* in 1868 and the end of the Austrian rule, Bukovina developed the most sophisticated journalistic tradition in southeast Europe in which the German press predominated. See Erich Prokopowitsch, *Die Entwicklung des Pressewesens in der Bukovina* (Vienna, 1962).

³⁵ Iryna Korotun, “Etapy formuvannia ta zabudovy mista Chernivtsi. Formuvannia istoryko-kulturnoi zapovidnoi teritorii” in *Architekurna spadshchyna Chernivtsiv*, ed. Rykhlo, 13.

second half of the 19th century, one of the local newspapers remarked that public, religious, and residential buildings grew in Chernivtsi “like mushrooms after rain.”³⁶ New additions included many educational institutions, several churches, including the Orthodox Cathedral of Holy Spirit—the largest Orthodox cathedral in the empire that was inspired by the famous St. Isaac Cathedral in St. Petersburg—whose frescos were painted in the “Viennese” manner.³⁷ Others included pseudo-gothic Jesuit church, a number of military quarters, at least five hospitals, six hotels, the National theatre, the Palace of Justice, and the building of provincial government. Of special importance and imperial significance was the Czernowitz *Universität*, the easternmost German-language University in Europe that was named after Francis-Joseph in demonstration of the mutual affection between the emperor and the city.³⁸ A new railway station, built in 1907-9, replaced the original one constructed in the 1860s.³⁹ Similarly to the university, it acquired

³⁶ Quoted in Kainld 2005, 257.

³⁷ Iryna Mishchenko, “Monumental’ni rozpysy ta ikonostas roboty avstriis’kykh maistriv u Kafedral’nomu sobori v Chernivtsiakh,” *Architekturna spadshchyna Chernivtsiv*, ed. Rykhlo, 129-34; Albert I. Bykov, *Glavnyi khram Bukovyny* (Chernivtsy: Ratusha, 1999). The cathedral was build after a rejected project developed for the St. Isaac’s cathedral in St. Petersburg. This project was presented to Eugene Hacman, the bishop and later the first metropolitan of Bukovina, by the metropolitan of St. Petersburg, Serafim. The project was partially re-designed by the Viennese architect Ferdinand Roell and the engineer Marin. The construction lasted between 1844 and 1864. Later, in 1869, Joseph Hlávka de-build the front and the bell towers of the cathedral to make it more monumental.

³⁸ The University of Czernowitz became an important center of German-dominated multiculturalism of the city and was later interpreted as the “university of nationalities” and an exemplary institution promoting tolerance by numerous German-Austrian students of Bukovina. For example, Erich Prokopowitsch, *Gründung, Entwicklung und Ende der Franz-Joseph-Universität in Czernowitz (Bukowina-Buchenland)* (Clausthal-Zellerfeld: Piepersche Buchdruckerei und Verlagsanstalt, 1955); Emanuel Turczynski, „Der Kulturelle Wirkungsbereich der Franz-Josephs-Universität in Czernowitz“ *Südostdeutsche Heimatblätter* 6 (Munich, 1957): 172-80. For more references, see Frunchak, *Studying the Land*.

³⁹ For more on the infrastructural development in late-Austrian Czernowitz and Bukovina, see Ihor Zhaloba, *Infrastrukturna Polityka Avstriis’koho uriadu na Pivnichnomu skhodi monarkhii v ostannii chverti XVIII-60-kh rokakh XIX st.: na prykladi shliakhiv spoluchennia*. (Chernivt’si: Knyhy--XXI, 2004); on the construction of the station Ihor Zhaloba, *Budivnytstvo Chernivets’koho kolinoho dvirtsia v seredyni 60kh rr. XIX st. ta Bukovyns’ka hromads’kist’* [The construction of Chernivtsi railway station in the middle of the 1860s and Bukovinian public], *Bukovyns’kyi zhurnal* 1-2 (2000): 85-96; Ihor Zhaloba, “Das erste Schienenbahnprojekt für die Bukowina (1843)” [The first plan for a railroad in Bukovina, 1843], *Südostdeutsches Archiv* 42-43 (1999-2000): 41-6.

importance as the easternmost “Viennese” *Stadtbahn*. The station was inspired by the older Austrian stations as well as “Vienna secession” and particularly the work of Otto Wagner, including his famous railway station in Vienna.⁴⁰ Many of the newly created large, impressive constructions violated the once classicist city structure as their architects often ignored the subordination of the size and significance of new buildings to the central object of architectural composition. The frequency of such occasions suggests that it was a rule rather than exception in Chernivtsi. The young city devoid of historical baggage was treated as an experiment in imperial modernist urban development, reflecting the radical tendencies in the art and philosophy of the time.⁴¹

This experimentalism had reasons other than the young age of the city. If dominance of German language and Viennese styles in material and public culture was one defining feature of the late Austrian Czernowitz, its other important characteristic was the undeniable diversity of its population. The predominance of *Kulturdeutschum* never fully subjugated or assimilated—and hardly aimed to do so—a variety of cultures and languages that moved to rapidly growing Czernowitz together with its new residents. In 1880, the city had a population of 44,600; in 1900—65,767; by 1910—85,458. The following table demonstrates how Czernowitzers identified themselves by spoken language during official censuses.

⁴⁰ None of the railway stations contemporary to Chernivtsi station were preserved in Vienna. For more on this and influences of Otto Wagner’s work on Chernivtsi urban outlook, see Margareta Vioral-Chapka, “Vplyv shkoly Otto Wagnera na architekturu Chernivtsiv,” *Architekturna spadshchyna Chernivtsiv*, ed. Rykhlo, 99-111. The famous Viennese proponent of *Art Nouveau* Otto Wagner influenced the architecture of Chernivtsi not only thanks to the general impact of his school (*German House*) but also through the work of his pupil Gubert Gesner who supervised the construction of the Chernivtsi Saving bank—one of the most spectacular examples of *Art Nouveau* in the city—in 1899-1999.

⁴¹ I am grateful to Dr. Bohdan Cherkes, the professor of architecture at Lviv National Polytechnic University, who first pointed out to this fact in our illuminating conversation in 2008.

Spoken language	1880	1900	1910
German	22,720	34,441	41,360
Polish	6,707	8,601	14,893
Romanian	6,431	9,400	13,440
Ruthenian	8,232	13,030	15,254
Others	510	295	510

By religion, in 1910, the urbanites identified themselves as following: 32,8% were Jewish, 27% Roman Catholic, 23,7% Greek Orthodox, 11% Greek Catholic, 4,9% were Lutherans of Augsburg confession, 0.1% Lippowans (local name of Russian Old Believers), 0.4% Armenian Catholic, and 0,1% of Helvetian Confession. The “others” included Armenian Orthodox, Old Catholic, Muslim, Anglican, Mennonite, and individuals with no religious affiliation.⁴²

These numbers, though, only begin to describe the cultural and linguistic environment of late Habsburg Czernowitz. Even generous Austrian lists of census categories limited choices of respondents, compartmentalizing and fixing their affiliations that were fluid and multiple, “located” at the same time in places as small as villages of their ancestors, as large as Europe, as real and concrete as emperor Franz Joseph, and as imagined and vague as Ukrainian national idea at the time.⁴³ Even German colonists who occupied several of the city’s suburbs preserved

⁴² Based on Lichtblau and John, 43, 46; Kaindl, 2005, 266.

⁴³ On popular identities in Eastern and Central Europe of the time, see David Blackbourn and James N. Retallack, *Localism, Landscape, and the Ambiguities of Place: German-Speaking Central Europe, 1860-1930*, German and European Studies. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007; Pieter M Judson and Marsha L. Rozenblit. *Constructing Nationalities in East Central Europe*, Austrian History, Culture, and Society (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005). These and similar studies of local experience of culture reveal new facets of identities that were neither fixed nor stable. On “the location of culture” see Homi Bhabha, “DissemiNation: Time, Narrative, and the

their distinct dialects, often hardly comprehensible to German speakers who studied in gymnasiums and Franz-Joseph's University, until their re-settlement from Bukovina in 1940.⁴⁴ Maintained vigorously by numerous Jews and less numerous Germans, German language also represented an obvious benefit to all population groups in the city, even when/if they embraced political nationalism, as did many Romanians and some Rusyns/Ukrainians in the late 19th and early 20th century. Linguistic hybridity, both in forms of multilingualism and mutual influences between spoken languages, was the norm in late Austrian Bukovina and especially in its capital.⁴⁵

It was a multi-confessional character of Czernowitz, though, that dictated a great degree of its aesthetic diversity. In fact, it was the eclecticism of the urban architecture that made it quintessentially Habsburg. This "strange architecture" traditionally did not fit into the modernist history of European architecture almost obsessed with the purity of styles.⁴⁶ In spite of the often pejorative connotation of the term "eclecticism," Habsburg architects, as the agents of the particular cultural networks, created a "different kind of eclecticism:" a hybridity that reflected

Margins of the Modern Nation," in Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 139-70. Bhabha suggest to seek this "location" by studying how people have scattered and gathered in times and places that figure in larger stories of how nation states come about.

⁴⁴ Sophie Welisch, "The Bukovina-Germans during the Habsburg period: settlement, ethnic interaction, contributions," *Immigrants and Minorities* 5 (1986): 73-106; Sophie Welisch, *Bukovina Villages/Towns/Cities and Their Germans* (Ellis, KS: Bukovina Society of the Americas, 1990).

⁴⁵ Multilingualism of Czernowitzers was proverbial, as were linguistic localisms that most often were the results of mutual borrowings. They are described in many memoirs from late Austrian and interwar period. Leo Spitzer and Marianne Hirsch. *Ghosts of Home: The Afterlife of Czernowitz in Jewish Memory* (University of California Press, 2010), 89-91. Georg Drozdovsky writes extensively on this: Georg Drozdowski, *Damals in Czernowitz und Rundum. Erinnerung eines Altösterreichers* (Klagenfurt: Georg-Drozdowski-Gesellschaft, 2003); also in Ukrainian with an introduction by Petro Rykhlo: Georg Drozdovs'kyi, *Todi v Chernivtsiakh i dovkola. Spohady staroho Avstriitsia* (Chernivtsi: Molodyi Bukovynets', 2001); Gregor von Rezzori, *The Snows of Yesteryear: Portraits for an Autobiography*. 1st American ed. New York: Knopf: Distributed by Random House, 1989. "Czernowitz German" still survives among the few elderly (former) residents of the city. See Localisms are less widespread in today's Chernivtsi after decades of official education and culture in standardized Ukrainian and Russian. They still are rather common in rural Northern Bukovina.

⁴⁶ Alofsin, 15.

coherent motivations to graft “differing elements to create a new, vigorous organism” rather than insipidly collaging elements of various styles.⁴⁷ Most of the architects of the Austrian part of the empire received their training in three major schools: the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna, the Royal Polytechnic Institute in Vienna, and the Polytechnic Academy in Lemberg. Thus, they shared the basic approaches and methods in their work. At the same time, coming from various corners of the empire, many of these professionals had knowledge of and strong interest in the local features of architecture and art and eagerly utilized them in their projects. In the general atmosphere of romanticism and the popularity of historicism in the second part of the 19th century, these institutions, thus, provided environment for the creation of localized, particular architectural styles and philosophies in the framework of the single imperial architectural school.⁴⁸

One graduate of Habsburg architectural academies who influenced the silhouette and the ethos of Czernowitz was Prague’s native Josef Hlávka, a graduate of the Vienna Fine Arts Academy. He distinguished himself, along with his philanthropy, by “local historicism” in his architectural work. For years, he worked actively in research and preservation of the monuments of art and architecture of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Bukovina, experimenting with his findings and preservationist inspiration in his own architectural work. Between 1864 and 1882, Hlávka authored and supervised the construction of the new residence of the Orthodox

⁴⁷ Alofsin insists, though, that this architecture is important precisely because it reflected the complex layers of culture, identity, and historical development of the empire. *Ibid.*, 15, 177.

⁴⁸ Karl Schlögel, “The Historical metropolis of Central Europe,” in *The Historical Metropolis. A Hidden Potential* ed. Jacek Purchla (Cracow, 1996), 17.

metropolitans of Bukovina and Dalmatia in Czernowitz.⁴⁹ The residence became one of the architect's masterpieces along with Opera House in Vienna and Regional maternal hospital in Prague. The complex consisted of metropolitan's palace, the theological faculty, a seminary, a church, and a park. Hlávka borrowed the general plan from his earlier work of the Arms museum in Vienna. Plentiful elements of folk motives in interior and exterior decorations, use of local material in its construction, and the overall "eastern" tint coexist in this work with the typical western-European, Versailles-style layout. If contemporaries could not agree on the style of the palace complex, everyone who saw the residence agreed on one fact: no money was spared on its construction. A quintessential example of Habsburg architectural hybridity and the impressive symbol of the affluence of the Church in Bukovina, the residence was perceived as the architectural dominant of the city's landscape and germ of local urbanism by many Czernowitzers and city's visitors. Others, though, found it tastelessly eclectic, inappropriate, and ridiculous for a city that was too small and provincial in their opinion. Along with personal tastes and degrees of local patriotism, urbanites' opinions about the Residence were influenced by its political meaning. The residence reinforced the role of Bukovina as the center of Orthodox Christianity in the empire, a fact that was greeted with enthusiasm by local activists who belonged to this rite.⁵⁰ The position of the palace complex in the outskirts of the city, though, was

⁴⁹ Iryna Korotun, "Arkitektura goroda Chernovtsy (Problemy sokhraneniia i revitalizatsii)," in *Perspektyvni napriamky proektuvannia zhytlovykh ta hromads'kykh budivel'*. *Zbirnyk naukovykh prats'* (Kiev, 2003), 260; Viktor Vechers'ky, *Spadshchyna Mistobuduvannia Ukrainy: teoriia i praktyka istoryko-mistobudivnykh pam'iatkookhoronnykh doslidzhen' naselenykh mist'* (Kiev: NDITIAM - Holovkyivarkhitektura, 2003), 158.

⁵⁰ Jan Badeni, a Jesuit who visited Czernowitz in late 19th century, summarized the common perception of the residence as a place of cultural pilgrimage and an object of urban pride of many urbanites, noting also the size and splendor disproportional for the small city. Jan Badeni W Czerniowcach. *Wrazenia z kilkudniowej wycieczki* (in Polish and Ukrainian) (Chernivtsi: Zoloti lytavry, 2006), 33-45. More negative perceptions were noted by a German from Czernowitz Peter Demant who remembered the "constant discontent of the intelligentsia [such as] my parents with the bombastic architecture of the palace complex of metropolitan..." Vernon Kres, 210, also 188. The high cost of the splendid palace was the issue that was most likely to cause disagreement: what for the Orthodox elites and enthusiasts was the righteous demonstration of the might of their Church could be a demonstration of

very appropriate: although nobody doubted the predominance of Orthodox Christianity in Bukovina at large, it was also a common understanding that the city itself was dominated by acculturated, reformed Jews, who, together with their more traditional co-religionists, comprised a third of the urban population by the early 20th century.

This acceptance of the dominant position of Jewish community was combined with the unique symbiosis of cosmopolitanism and cultural particularism in Czernowitz, producing situations that were hardly conceivable to a contemporary outsider. In 1873, when the construction of the reformist Jewish Temple was begun, the first stone was laid by the Chief Rabbi Lazar Igel and the second one by Greek Orthodox Archbishop Eugene Hacman.⁵¹ As if translating their cultural predominance into the language of urban architecture, the civic leaders of the Progressive Jews invited a Lemberg-based architect Julian Oktawian Zachariewicz to create their Temple, leaving the existing major synagogue in the lower town to their rivals of traditional orientation. Zachariewicz was a graduate of the Vienna Royal Polytechnic institute and a founder of Lemberg architectural school that had an empire-wide significance.⁵² He was a representative bearer of the cosmopolitan, liberal culture of the late Austrian-Hungarian Empire. An Armenian by birth, he was an Evangelist by confession and was married to a Dane. His personal religious transitions were probably marks of his general interest in and wide knowledge

worldly values and political power of this religious institution in the eyes of puritan-minded Protestants or modern atheists. On the political and cultural role of Orthodox church in Bukovina, see Hanna Skoreiko, "Pravoslav'ia na Bukovyni: faktor iednosti chy rozbratu? (dr.pol.XIX – poch.XX st.)" *Naukovyi visnyk Chernivets'koho Universytetu. Istoriiia* 6-7 (Chernivtsi: ChDU, 1996), 81-95; Emanuel Turczynski, „Die Bedeutung von Czernowitz für die Orthodoxe Theologie in Südosteuropa,“ [The meaning of Chernivtsi for the Orthodox theology in Southern-Eastern Europe] *Geschichte der Ost- und Westkirche in ihren Wechselseitigen Beziehung* (Wiesbaden, 1967), 166-95.

⁵¹ Stambrook, 2003, 1.

⁵² Zachariewicz co-authored of the building of the Lemberg Polytechnic Academy, one of the important architectural monuments of the city. See Ihor Siomochkin, "Chernivets'kyi period tvorchosti Iuliana Zakharevycha" in *Architekturna spadshchyna Chernivtsiv*, ed. Rykhlo, 163-8.

of theology that he used when planning religious buildings. The Temple of Czernowitz was completed in 1877 on a hill in the new center of the city, steps from the *Ringplatz* with the city hall. A proponent of the then popular historicism, Zachariewicz insisted on the Moresque style and a large, impressive dome to stress the eastern origin of the Mosaic faith and to differentiate it from the surrounding Christian churches. At the same time, he took advantage of the liberties allowed by the reformist Judaism and created a building that was more akin to Christian sacral architecture than a traditional synagogue in its general plan, reflecting the modern, assimilated character of the religious community.⁵³

A part of the diverse urban society, Jewish community of Czernowitz itself was multicultural and divided along religious lines. In-between the Orthodox residents of the poverty-ridden lower “Jewish” town and modest, rural-looking urban outskirts and the highly successful occupants of the most fashionable dwellings of the fast-growing upper town, there were many Jews who were abandoning the culture of their Yiddish-speaking parents faster than they were moving “up” along the steep streets of the hilly Czernowitz.⁵⁴ Another important factor of Jewish life in greater Czernowitz was a Hassidic court of the *Zaddik* (“holy one,” *Wunderrabbi* in German) in Sadagora located just across the Prut River. Sadagora Zaddiks, who belonged to the well-known Friedman dynasty, led aristocratic lives and built an impressive

⁵³ For more on the construction of the Temple, Hermann Sternberg, “Zur Geschichte der Juden in Czernowitz” in *Geschichte der Juden in der Bukowina. Ein Semmelwerk*, ed. Hugo Gold, vol. II (Tel-Aviv: Alamenau, 1962).

⁵⁴ High degree of linguistic assimilation and the preference of many Jews of Czernowitz for German language is discussed in the works of Stambrook, Lichtblau and John, Sha’ari, and Rechter quoted in this chapter. Aron Appelfeld discusses extensively the phenomenon of acculturation among Czernowitz Jews in his semi-biographical fiction. See for example Aron Appelfeld and Aloma Halter, *The Story of a Life*. 1st American ed. (New York: Schocken Books, 2004.). A graphic description of topographical differences between lower and upper Czernowitz can be found in Martha Blum, *The Walnut Tree* (Regina: Coteau Books, 1999), 38. More examples of personal accounts dealing with this issue are discussed further in this chapter.

palace that attracted crowds of pilgrims.⁵⁵ Until the turn of the centuries, though, reformed patrician businessmen controlled, financially and politically, the Jews of Czernowitz. Under this dominance, the Jewish community of late Austrian Chernivtsi attained a high degree of cooperation and impressive financial resources, and made an outstanding contribution to the city's architecture and urban structure. The community's real estate, funded by generous donations of the oligarchs, consisted of several tens of synagogues and prayer houses, guild and corporation buildings, clubs, sports and youth organizations, a large orphanage, a nursing home for the elderly, a hospital for the elderly handicapped people, two shelters for the poor grown-ups and children, and a Zionist cultural center.⁵⁶

The dominance of assimilated Jewish elite was replaced by fragile unity in the early 1890s, under the charismatic local leader Benno Straucher who managed to unite the rivals—progressives and traditionalists—at least nominally, for the sake of the “common good” of the community.⁵⁷ The most important political representative of Bukovinian Jews, Straucher was a parliamentary representative and, from 1903, the President of the Jewish community of

⁵⁵ The author of the palace, which is in an extremely deteriorated condition today, is not known. Its architectural style is quite similar to Hlávka's residence, although it is unlikely that the famous architect participated in its creation. For more on this, see Natalia Shevchenko, *Chernovitskaia Atlantida* (Chernivtsi: Zoloti lytavry, 2004).

For more on the Hassidic court of Sadagora and the community around it, Mykola Kushnir, “Mizh ‘Svitlom’ ta ‘Morokom’: do pytannia pro vynyknennia ‘Sadahurs’koi’ dynastii rabyniv ta pro deiaki aspekty khasyds’koho rukhu na Bukovyni v 40-kh – 50-kh rokakh XIX stolittia, *Bukovyns'kyi zhurnal* 1-2 (2001): 226 -35; David Assaf, *The Regal Way. The Life and Times of Rabbi Israel of Ruzhin* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002); Ben-Saar (Rubinstein), *Der Jüdische Vatikan in Sadagora 1850-1950* (Tel-Aviv: Olamenu, 1958).

⁵⁶ In addition to the quoted works on the history of Czernowitz and Bukovina Jewish community, see L.Fuks, N.Shevchenko, V.Zatulovskii, *Chernovtsi ievreiskie* (Chernivtsi: Khesed-Shushana, 2001). Note that in spite of the widespread linguistic assimilation, assimilations movement did not become a serious political phenomenon in Czernowitz. On the contrary, local Jews were ardent supporters of the Zionist movement, ever since its emergence in the 1890s. (Sha'ari, 183.) On the phenomenon of combining love of German culture and language with Zionist values, see [Hirsh and Spitzer...]

⁵⁷ David Rechter explained the unity of late Austrian Bukovinian Jews in terms of the blend of a modernizing East European Jewry with highly acculturated Western European Jewry, in a multinational context with no dominant nationality. It was a particular instance of a broader phenomenon of Austrian Jewry. Rechter, 330.

Czernowitz. A native of a village near the Hassidic Sadagora, Straucher united in his political and cultural views the ideas of German liberalism and Jewish nationalism.⁵⁸ Under Straucher's leadership the Jewish community of Bukovina achieved an unprecedented success in political integration. Bucovina had the only regional parliament with a Jewish bloc (lead by Straucher and called "Jewish club"); Czernowitz was the only provincial capital with two Jewish mayors, one of them a nationalist Jew; finally, Bukovina became the only province where Jews received de-facto recognition as a nationality and not just a religious group as a result of the so-called Bukovina *Ausgleich* of 1910-11.⁵⁹ Notoriously for the German-speaking Czernowitz, in 1908, an important international Jewish conference held in the city voted to accept Yiddish as a national language of European Jews.

Benno Straucher was a typical Czernowitzer of his time who navigated between the spirits of "national ideas" and the local cosmopolitanism of the city. He befriended Catholic and Orthodox priests and fellow politicians, many of whom were in the midst of their own inner struggles between local, regional, imperial, and national loyalties.⁶⁰ The comfort of this local

⁵⁸ Lichtblau and John, 51.

⁵⁹ Legislative districting was initially to be revamped to take national criteria into account. This proved to be extremely challenging, and a compromise agreement was reached when a few separate Jewish electoral districts were created. Rechter, 330; Stambrook, 2003, 10; Lichtblau and John, 54.

⁶⁰ One of Straucher's "personal and political friends" was Nikolai/Mykola (Ritter von) Wassilko/Vasylo, a parliament member and a Rusyn/Ukrainian political leader who came from the family of local landlords. (Stambrook, 2003, 12) Wassilko was an open-minded liberal typical for Czernowitz political establishment. A younger Ukrainian leader, Omelian Popovych, noted in his memoirs (written and first published in the 1930s) that Wassilko first assumed "old-Ruthenian" identity (that is, had a Russophile orientation) but later joined "Ukrainophile movement" although he never spoke Ukrainian well enough to use it in public setting. Omelian Popovych, "Vidrodzhennia Bukovyny. Part 2," *Bukovyns'kyi zhurnal* no 2-3 (1992): 180-1.

Representatives of the highest Orthodox elite also had multiple political, religious, and cultural loyalties. For example, two Bukovinian metropolitans, Eugene Hacman (1835-73) and Vladimir Repta (1902-24) navigated between the two national movements without displaying strong personal national identities or "fluctuating" between the two. Generally, by the end of the 19th century, Romanian nationalist propaganda intensified and became more successful than much weaker at the time Ukrainian nationalist agitation. As a result, the Orthodox church in

cosmopolitanism, made functional by shared German language and not challenged seriously by any nationalist idea and movement able to dominate in the region, prevented from growth any serious degree of antisemitism otherwise rather common in the empire. It also moderated the intensity of nationalism that was undoubtedly present, although in modified regional forms, among every ethnic community in Czernowitz.⁶¹ The Jews of Czernowitz synthesized national and imperial loyalties in the regional framework, rather than seeing these loyalties as competing and conflicting. Because they predominated in this provincial capital, this “synthetic” approach to identification became common in Bukovina, providing other elites and wider communities with a temporary escape from the ultimately inescapable modern choices *of* a national identity and *between* a national and imperial one. Local elites were promoting tolerance rather than national exclusivity by joined Christian and Jewish celebratory religious services, everyday business operations between, for example, the Trust Fund of the Orthodox Church and enterprising Jews (even if because there were no non-Jewish enterprises available), and publicly known personal inter-confessional friendships. The example, indeed, was followed by the wider population. While preserving the particularities of their communities and not devoid of common-spread prejudice, Czernowitzers not only embraced diversity of their environment as a norm and

Bukovina acquired a noticeable Romanian orientation and became a vehicle for Romanianization, at least in the minds of conscious Rusyns/Ukrainians. For the most part, though, the church continued to spur a religious and regional affiliation more than that with Romanian Nationality. (Stambrook, 2004, 189-201). On Hacman, see Badeni, 2006, 21-2; 26-31; on Repta, see Popovych, 171. Other Czernowitzers easily fluctuated between German and Polish identities when choices were necessary. (Badeni, 47).

⁶¹ The mediating role of Jewish-German politicians and the moderating affect that their numerical dominance had on the local politics and everyday life was noted by contemporaries. For example, a Polish priest Jan Badeni wrote on this issue. See *W czerniowcach. Wrazenia z kilkudniowej wycieczki* (Krakow, 1892); also reprinted in Polish and Ukrainian (Chernivtsi: Zoloti lytavry, 2006). For example, Badeni described the heated atmosphere during an election to the regional parliament which revealed the hidden potential of nationalism, placated by the victory of Kochanowski, the candidate from the united bloc of Germans, Jews, Poles, and Rusyns against nationalist Romanian candidates. Kochanowski would later serve as a city mayor and would gain strong popularity.

a matter of fact, but in fact often went beyond cold tolerance in their inter-cultural relations.⁶²

Well-known, for example, was the habit of Czernowitzers to observe, by voluntary abstaining from hard and “dirty” work, major holidays of all religions of the city.⁶³

The most visual representation of Straucher’s success in unifying Jewish community was a large, four-storied, late-baroque building of Jewish People’s House, funded by the contributions of many Jewish communities of Bukovina. The biggest among the “people’s houses” (national clubs) of the city, it was funded by many Jewish communities of Bukovina. From the general idea to smallest details, the architecture of the House is full of aesthetic symbols referring to Jewish religion, various eastern cultural traditions, and complex Jewish politics of the time.⁶⁴ Constructed in 1907-8, it became an important part of the architectural composition of the newest square of the city, *Fischplatz*. Just several years earlier, in 1904-5, two successful Viennese architects Felner and Gelmer erected a city theatre on the same square. Chernivtsi theatre was almost an exact replica of the city opera theatre in Graz (Austria), the most representative theater of Felner’s and Gelmer’s *atelier* replicated by them, with variations, throughout the empire. This typical “monarchical” theater was a symbolic space that added to the

⁶² The argument about “synthesis” in the identity of Austrian and Bukovinian Jews belongs to David Rechter who describes the dominant Jewish identity in the province as “a regional nationalism rooted in an imperial framework.” (Rechter, 331). Jewish and German politicians were actually regarded as mediators between Romanians and Rusyns (later Ukrainians) who were gradually developing national affiliations and identities. (Stambook, 2003, 12).

⁶³ On everyday coexistence, see for example Petro Rykhlo, ed. and transl., “*Kolys’ Chernivtsi buly hebreis’kym mistom...*” *Svidchennia ochevydstiv / "Czenowitz Is Gewen an Alte, Jidische Schtat..." Ueberlebende Berichten* (In German and Ukrainian) (Chernivtsi: Molodyi Bukovynets, 1998); Rechter.

Fred Stambook demonstrated that cultural and political loyalties in late Habsburg Bukovina tended to be multiple and competing; national identities—when and if they developed—were linguistically determined, while integral nationalism was very rare. See Stambook, Fred. "National and Other Identities in Bukovina in Late Austrian Times," *Austrian History Yearbook* 35, (2004): 185-203. For more on Bukovinian regionalism, see Ortfried Kotzian, “Zwischen Föderalismus und Zentralismus. Die Entwicklung und Bedeutung des Regionalbewusstseins in der Bukowina,” *Analele Bucovinei* 4, no.3 (1997): 633-43.

⁶⁴ Shevchenko, *Chernovitskaia Atlantida*, 43-6.

Austrian and European outlook of the city, completing the image of a fully-fledged Crownland capital. It became an important site that materialized the connection of the urban elite of Czernowitz to the “gigantic” and “prodigious” German culture of which they were, as Benno Straucher remarked, “followers” and “admirers.”⁶⁵

In addition to the dominant styles of Habsburg historicism, towards the end of the 19th century the *Art Nouveau* style became more spread in Vienna and throughout the empire. It also became one of the most popular styles in Chernivtsi in the first quarter of the 20th century. Rapid growth of the city’s population was reflected not only in the mushrooming new construction but also in active renovation and revitalization activities.⁶⁶ Many of the older buildings were redone according to the new fashion and the new, more ambitious outlook of the city center. Many of them received more stories. By the end of the century, most of the rental apartment buildings of the city center had three or four stories. Following the imperial capital, the *Art Nouveau* type of residential complexes had larger, more convenient and modern apartments. City core became a dense and busy business center. At the same time, new districts of the spacious luxury villas of the rich businessmen emerged on the outskirts, replacing settlements of local peasants. The city’s outlook was also determined by its major financial incomes: international commerce and banking as well as light and food industry that promoted the construction of plentiful hotels, restaurants,

⁶⁵ Straucher cited in Lichtblau and John, 41 and 52.

The atelier of Ferdinand Felner and Herman Gottlieb Gelmer was founded in Vienna in 1843 and existed for more than 40 years. Among over 200 buildings constructed by the atelier, fifty were small and medium-sized theaters. The first decade of Felner’s and Gelmer’s work coincided with by the major innovations in the design of theaters in Europe, which was reflected in their projects. For more on their work, see Fridrikh Buv’ie, “Mis’kyi teatr u Chernivtsiakh u konteksti arkhitektury Felnera ta Gelmera na koronnykh zemliakh Avstro-Uhors’koï monarkhiï,” *Architekturna spadshchyna Chernivtsiv*, ed. Rykhlo, 135-146. For more on the history of Czernowitz theatre, Horst Fassel, “Das Czernowitzer Deutsche Theater: Stationen einer Entwicklung,” *Südostdeutsches Archiv*, 36-37, (1993-1994): 121-62; Horst Fassel, „Das deutsche Theater von Czernowitz im vielsprachigen Umfeld. Mit und Gegeneinander von Kultureinrichtungen,“ *Analele Bucovinei*, IV, 3 (1997): 683-95.

⁶⁶ If in 1787 Czernowitz (without outskirts) had 414 houses, in 1836, it had 956, and in 1900, 2869 (Kaindl, 2005, 242.)

and entertainment businesses. Two large hotels designed in the style of late *Art Nouveau*, “Bristol” and “Under the Golden Lion,” were built in the 1910s. These hotels represented the cutting edge of the Austrian hotel building and became the new landmarks of the rapidly modernizing city.⁶⁷ The late coming of the easternmost provincial capital became its advantage as Czernowitz benefited from the latest developments in arts and urban engineering. At the same time, the city’s numerous decorative balconies, domes, turrets, window décor, pillars, and artistic roofs revealed the “Eastern spirit” of this city with western configuration. Most of these “eastern” marks were specifically Judaic religious symbols; others had local folk elements or generically “eastern” features. Other small forms were western European, rooted, for example, in Greek and Roman mythology. The array and diversity of these forms created multiple distinctive architectural ensembles by accenting street corners, crossroads, and roofs.⁶⁸

Together with the urban space, another part of the urban phenomenon—the myth of Czernowitz—was under construction in the late Austrian period. The dominant, widely known, and actively popularized, part of this myth belonged to the German-language public sphere and printed world. An important source of myth-making was scholarly study of the region and the city, pioneered by Austrian historians in the 1870s.⁶⁹ The next generation of local historians

⁶⁷ Korotun 2003, 13; Vandiuk, 87.

⁶⁸ Shevchenko 2004; Vecherskyi, 2003, 159; Bilenkova, 2009, 42-82; Suzanna Agne, “Chernivetski dakhy, abo tradystii u panorami mista” *Architekturna spadshchyna Chernivtsiv*, ed. Rykhlo, 61-70. Another place that had a generally European outlook but revealed the “flavor” of the multicultural colonial city was the urban cemetery divided into a Christian and a Jewish part. V.Shupania, Iu. Prestupenko, I.Siomochkin, *Chernivets'ki nekropoli* (Chernivtsi: Misto, 2000).

⁶⁹ The early Austrian historians of Bukovina focused on the civilizing role of their own ethnic group and their empire-state, while praising the peaceful development of all the other ethnic groups of the region. For more on the development of historiography of modern Bukovina, see Fruchak, *Studying the Land*.

grew up in Czernowitz and Bukovina and instilled the myth of the city that they later created with their personal experiences and attitudes. The most famous student of the region's local lore and history and the pioneer of Czernowitz urban history was Raimund Friedrich Kaindl. Born in Czernowitz in 1866 to a family of Bukovina-born German-Austrian colonists, Kaindl grew up fascinated by the city and the surrounding countryside that was an important part of urban life: beyond frequent outings to the countryside, local peasants were present in lives of people like Raimund Kaindl as the market sellers, milk deliverers, and nannies who brought to the city their bright outfits, local languages, and the worlds of oral traditions so fascinating to the young minds.⁷⁰ Later in life Kaindl recorder his childhood impressions that were very similar to those of his many German-speaking urban contemporaries in Bukovina:

One only had to look out of our window to see the interesting life of the motley locals... Down the street... stood peasant men and women in bright cloths with yoked oxen and horses... another time one hears roar and cries: hundreds of oxen run down the street, so that everybody has to escape, as in Coopers's stories...⁷¹

Upon completion of a degree in German linguistics, Austrian history, and geography at Czernowitz University, Kaindl defended his second doctoral dissertation (*Habilitationsarbeit*) in Vienna on the Austrian annexation of Bukovina, returned to Czernowitz, and dedicated his professional life to the study of his city and province.⁷² Kaindl's history of Czernowitz became the most cited source for the authors of popular guides and other narratives that popularized the

⁷⁰ Like Kaindl, Rezzori and Appelfeld (cited earlier in this chapter) were deeply influenced by their Hutsul maids and nannies.

⁷¹ Kaindl continued: "And these villages of Romanians and Ruthenians, Hungarians and Old Believers, Poles and Slovaks, Armenians and Gypsies, and the mysterious small people of horsemen-Hutsuls in mountains covered by the primordial forest..." Raimund Friedrich Kaindl // *Die Geschichtswissenschaft der Gegenwart in Selbstdarstellungen* / Hrsg. von S.Steinberg. - Leipzig: Meiner, 1925. - Bd.1. - S.172.

⁷² A. Nibio "Zum Tode R.F.Kaindls," *Archiv des Deutschen Kulturvereines in the Bukowina* 1 (Chernivtsi, 1931): 2-8.

dominant myth of diverse, backward-but-fascinating, and opportunity-providing modern provincial capital. For Kaindl, who opened the monograph with a long poem dedicated to his beloved Czernowitz, the city's success was inseparable from its Austrian loyalty:

...Wo Tod und Not einst hauste / Ist froher Arbeit Sitz
Denn unter Österreichs Wappen / Stehst Du, mein Czernowitz.⁷³

Another famous chronicler of life in the city, novelist Karl Emil Franzos pictured an imperfect space that could seem almost monstrous but was always endlessly fascinating in its hybridity:

... Do you want to see a small Russian town in a provincial German city? Here we have small white houses, large orchards, Russian bathhouse, Byzantine Churches... Do you want to see a bit of Byzantium? Here a metropolitan's residence rises in its full splendor. And close to it, a proud domed building of the synagogue. ... the ancient small wooden church and the surrounding low houses create a picture of magnificence and poverty at the same time, and there is a part of the Middle East in this spirit... But not far from here there is a part of America... the *Austria Platz* in the outskirt looks like a prairie [settlement]. Right next to the houses on the square, an virgin desert begins and spreads for many more miles....There is a monument in the middle of the square. You probably cannot find anything like this in Europe.⁷⁴

⁷³ Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Geschichte von Czernowitz von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart* (Chernivtsi: Pardini, 1908). In addition to two detailed general historical accounts of Bukovina from the earliest times to the end of nineteenth century, Kaindl published a number of more specific works. For example, Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Geschichte der Bukowina*. 3 vols. (Chernivtsi: Czopp, 1888-1898); Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Geschichte der Bukowina von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kulturverhältnisse* (Chernivtsi: Pardini, 1904); Raimund Friedrich Kaindl and A. Monastyr's'kyi, *Die Ruthenen in der Bukowina*. 2 vols. (Chernivtsi: Czopp, 1889-1890); see also Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Zur Geschichte der Stadt Czernowitz und ihrer Umgegend* (Chernivtsi: Czopp, 1888). For reference to more specific works of Kaindl, see Frunchak, *Studying the land*.

⁷⁴ Karl Emil Franzos, *From Half-Asia* 1878 cited in Petro Rykhlo, ed., *Architekturna spadshchyna Chernivtsiv Avstrii 'koi doby* (*Materialy konferentsii 1-4 zhovtnia 2001 r.*) (Chernivtsi: Zoloti lytavry, 2003), 1. [will find original]. Translation is mine.

A contemporary of Kaindl's, Franzos was born in 1948 and grew up in eastern Galicia and later attended gymnasium in Czernowitz. He was taught by his father to be German "by choice" but was also reminded that he was a Jew "by obligation." Only when he moved to Czernowitz in 1859 he "no longer was as outsider, but rather a German among Germans"⁷⁵—a circumstance that helped him and so many of his contemporaries to forgive Czernowitz for its provinciality and value its opportunities more than its backwardness, cherishing the myth of German-speaking "flourishing little piece of Europe" hidden behind the "half-Asian" Galicia.⁷⁶

City guides, postcards, and similar popular materials replicated this myth, citing authoritative scholarly sources and the men of letters like Franzos. One guide of the early 19th century invited to the city with "a predominantly German character, largely thanks to Jews most of whom spoke German, demonstrating this ways their belonging to German culture.... many houses in the center of the city belongs to Jews."⁷⁷ At the same time, the guide "marketed" the urban diversity:

On the elegant *Herrenhasse*, the houses of separate ethnic communities – the centers of the national-cultural life and places of spiritual meetings - stood close to each other: "German house," a massive four-storied building with bay windows and sharp arches, with an old-German beer pub on the first floor; "Polish house," opened in a grand manner in 1905, a renovated old building decorated with works of well-known Polish artists. Not far from them, a "People's House" of Ruthenians. "Jewish people's house" that had room for all the community activities as

⁷⁵ Franzos quoted in Lichtblau and John, 42.

⁷⁶ Franzos quoted in Rechter, 327. For more, see Karl-Emil Franzos, *Aus Halb-Asien: Kulturbilder aus Galizien, Südrussland, der Bukowina und Rumänien*. 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1876).

⁷⁷ Hermann Mittelmann, *Illustrierter Führer durch die Bukovina*, herausgegeben von Helmut Kusdat (Vienna: Mandelbaum, 2001 (first published in Chernivtsi, 1907-8), 144.

well as a large concert hall, was located a bit further Chernivtsi had not only a motley mixture of people and languages but also of styles.⁷⁸

Although they did not yet challenge the dominant urban myth of Czernowitz, frequent visitors of these “people’s houses” were often engaged in lively discussions of alternative visions of modernity for their city and larger society. Politicians and men (and women) of letters also voiced these visions—various national(ist) ideas. One alternative project was Polish nationalism, which was cut short as a political prospect with the final separation of Bukovina from Galicia in the 1860s, but continued to live in cultural and religious spheres. A Polish traveler, the priest Badeni, for example, openly challenged the myth of German Czernowitz in an account of his visit to the city where he was allegedly surprised to find much more of Polish language and Polish spirit than he expected. Inspired by the vitality of Polish ethos and Catholic religion in Czernowitz, he saw the redemption from the “Asiatic” condition of Bukovina (“[o]n the one hand— the eastern barbarianism; on the other—Jewish-German indifferentism...” in the Catholic—the “truly Christian”— morale.⁷⁹ Two other important ideas were slowly developing underneath, or within, the very “problematic German-Jewish symbiosis” that held together the dominant myth of Habsburg Czernowitz. One of them was exclusive and increasingly antisemitic German nationalism; the other was Zionism (and, to a lesser extent, less prominent forms of Jewish particularism).⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Ibid., 142.

⁷⁹ Badeni, 62-3.

⁸⁰ Lichtblau and John, 50-4; H. Huggenberger, “Iednannia ta protystoiannia. Aspekty ievreis’ko-nimets’kykh vidnosyn u Chernivtsiakh (druha polovyna XIX – 1940 r.),” *Pytannia istorii Ukraïny. Zbirnyk naukovykh statei*, vol.4 (Chernivtsi: ChNU, 2000), 286-292.

Other projects of modernity for Bukovina and Czernowitz were proposed by Romanian and Rusyn/Ukrainian nationalist movements.⁸¹ Both deserve some attention here in the view of their future roles in the life of the city. Both Romanian and Rusyn/Ukrainian “national awakeners”—most of them speakers of perfect German and graduates of German gymnasiums and the University—used Austrian Czernowitz as a public space for their intellectual and populist polemics. These polemics, when not taking a more public and lively form of the gatherings in “national houses” of Czernowitz, parliamentary debates, election campaigns, were occurring in the uniquely diverse and plentiful local presses and in the fields of historical and local lore scholarship that helped lay claims for the region according to the “nationality” of its “truly indigenous” population.⁸² “Awakeners” publicized their debates on the issue of this

⁸¹ Romanian nationalism, inspired and supported by the young irredentist independent Romanian state created in 1878, spread among groups of the younger generation of historians and other intellectuals in Bukovina. By the turn of the centuries, the ideas of “national revival” also gained ground among the eastern Slavic intelligentsia. Bukovina became a subject of interest for the representatives of two major intellectual movements spread among the eastern Slavs of Austria-Hungary and their supporters in the Russian Empire. One of the movements, known as Russophile or, sometimes, Moscophile, advocated unity between all eastern Slavs in a single Russian nation; it considered all eastern Slavs in Eastern Europe as the once lost branches of the Great Russian people. Russophiles used the autonym of the Bukovinian eastern Slavs—Rusyns—in favor of this argument and conceptualized Bukovina as a “forgotten Russian corner in Austria.” The rival intellectual current was represented by the early Ukrainian national movement, often referred to as Ukrainophile, which was gaining grounds as the Russophile current was weakening in the early 19th century. See Frunchak, *Studying the Land*.

⁸² The first regional newspaper appeared in Bukovina in 1848 (but was closed in a year); in 1885 there were already ten newspapers in the region, and by 1914 their number grew to sixty-three. By the 1890s, many newspapers in Bukovina had a clear political orientation. The major regional newspapers included: German-language *Bukovinaer Zeitung*, *Bukovinaer Rundschau*, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, *Czernowitzer Zeitung*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Volkspresse*, *Vorwärts*; the Romanian-language *Gazeta Bucovinei*, *Deșteptarea*, *Privitorul*; the Polish-language *Gazeta Polska*. Russophile newspapers were usually published in Russian or Iazychie, a mixture of Russian, Church Slavonic, and local dialects and included *Pravoslavnaia Bukovyna*, *Bukovyns'ki Vidomosti*, *Narodnaia rada*, *Pravoslavnaia rus.* Ukrainophile papers of different political or religious orientation included *Bukovyna*, *Nova Bukovyna*, *Narodnyi Holos*, *Rus'ka rada*, *Ukraina*, *Pratsia*, *Narodna volia*, *Borot'ba*, and *Zaliznychnyk*. Along with newspapers, a large number of so-called calendars (annual almanacs) of political parties, “thick” journals, and popular periodicals targeted primarily to the peasant population are valuable sources for researching the social and cultural history of the region. For more on the press of the period, Erich Prokopowitsch, *Die Entwicklung des Pressewesens in der Bukovina* (Vienna, 1962); Myroslav Romaniuk, M. Halushko, *Ukrains'ki chasopysy Pivnichnoi Bukovyny (1870-1940)* (L'viv: Oblasna Knyzhkova Drukarnia, 1999).

nationality, quite often in German but also in Rusyn or Romanian, in popular literature.⁸³ One of the well-known radical Romanian leaders, Ion Nistor, born in Bukovina near Suceava, was a graduate of Franz-Joseph's *Universität*, and, after gaining a doctorate and teaching at University of Vienna, a Chair of Romanian history at his *alma mater* and a member of Romanian academy. His works, although concerned little with the spirit of Bukovina's major city, came close to challenging the dominant interpretation of this urban phenomenon by constructing the past of Bukovina in terms of Romanian nationalism and, in fact, locating the future of this city within Romanian polity and culture.⁸⁴ Nistor's ideas, however, reached to the hearts of very few of his "ethnic brethren" until the last days of the Habsburg's empire.⁸⁵

Rusyn/Ukrainian movements did not produce nationalist figures of Nistor's caliber in the Austrian period. Political leaders of Rusyn background like a local landlord Nikolai/Mykola (Ritter von) Wassilko/Vasylo, and the Galician-born Professor Smal-Stots'kyi, although claimed a "Ukrainian" identity at times, ultimately were more concerned with the issues of Bukovinian regionalism vs. Galician "influences."⁸⁶ Above all, both were Austrian loyalists. A

⁸³ The polemical arguments between eastern Slavic and the Romanian authors on the issue of the early native population and, therefore, the question of who should rightfully "inherit" Bukovina became the leitmotif of the historiography of this borderland throughout and beyond the twentieth century. At the turn of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, however, the proponents of the Romanian interpretation were much more aggressive in claiming their historic rights to this land than were their eastern Slavic counterparts. Partially due to the different, more political and irredentist stage of the Romanian national movement in general, this assertiveness can be also explained by the fact that the Romanian conceptualization of Bukovina's went openly against standard Austrian interpretations.

⁸⁴ Ion Nistor, *Românii și Rutenii în Bucovina* (Bucharest, 1915). Similar interpretations were expressed in the work of Nistor's colleague Nicolae Iorga: *Românismul în Bucovina* (Bucharest, 1903) *Neamul Românesc în Bucovina* (Bucharest, 1905). Nistor published many more works on the history of Bukovina in the interwar years.

⁸⁵ This fact was noted as early as 1905 by Nistor's nationalist colleague Iorga and confirmed by later historians. Mariana Hausleitner, *Die Rumänisierung Der Bukowina: Die Durchsetzung Des Nationalstaatlichen Anspruchs Grossrumäniens 1918-1944* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 2001), 82; Stambrook, 2004, 198.

⁸⁶ Stambrook, 2004, 197-9. For more on "real politics" of Smal'-Stotskyi and his relationships with Vasylo, Olexandr Dobzhanskyi, "Stepan Smal-Stotskyi. Real'na polityka," *Bukovyns'kyi Zhurnal* 3-4 (1993): 115-136.

conscious Rusyn/Ukrainian school instructor Omelian Popovych who would later be regarded the father of Ukrainian national education in Bukovina, wrote a book portraying the good deeds of Franz Joseph, raised funds for its publication, and was delighted to see 150 copies of it donated to schools in Austrian Bukovina by the “Rusyn school” (*Ruska shkola*) society.⁸⁷ The leading Ukrainian party in Bukovina—National Democrats—advocated Austrian loyalty on the eve of World War I. Whatever future they imagined for eastern Slavs of Bukovina, in late Austrian period Rusyns/Ukrainians of Czernowitz located this future within the borders of the Dual Monarchy. So, most probably, did Yuri Fed’kovych, a poet and Rusyn/Ukrainian activist, who wrote not long before he died in Czernowitz in 1888:

I love my Rus’-Ukraine;
I believe in its future...⁸⁸

Destined to become one of the two most important symbols of Ukrainian culture in Bukovina, Fed’kovych was born as Osyp-Dominic Gordynskyi in 1834 to a state servant with noble Polish background and an illiterate Rusyn-speaking Orthodox mother who nonetheless preferred “lord-like” lifestyle. Baptized in Roman-Catholic church; raised in noble manners although in relative poverty; and educated in German schools of Czernowitz, Gordynskyi was fascinated by German culture and literature and wrote his own poetry in German until the late 1850s.⁸⁹ At the same time, his personal development was strongly influenced by his life-long hatred of his father who was despotic and abusive towards Osyp’s mother. The desire to

⁸⁷ Later, in the 1930s, Popovych became much more exclusivist in his views of “national consciousness.” In his memoirs he called the Bukovinian metropolitan Repta a “werewolf” who became an ardent Romanian [in order to advance in his church career], “forgot his Ukrainian origin” and betrayed his initial “Rusyn” identity. (Popovych, 171). On the book about the emperor, Stambrook, 2004, 194.

⁸⁸ Makovei, late 1880s (379).

⁸⁹ He retained his admiration of the “German spirit” and “highly talented men who came during the Austrian period from German regions to Bukovina to spread [in]...” even when he switched to writing in Rusyn. Osyp Makovei, *Zhyttypys Osypa Iurii Hordyns’koho-Fed’kovycha* (Chernivtsi: Zoloti lytavry, 2005), 97.

dissociate with his paternal background led obsessive and melancholic Osyp to converting to Orthodox Christianity, changing his given name to Yuri, taking a new last name Fed'kovych, and eventually donning Hutsul folk garb and moving to his native mountain village of Putyla to live "simple ways."⁹⁰ He broke with the German culture that he so admired as a youth and began writing romantic poetry in his mother's native Rusyn. Suffering from nervous disorders, alcoholism, and generally weak health, obsessed with astrology, isolated and depressed Fed'kovych was literary "rediscovered" in the late 1880s by several Rusyn/Ukrainian activists, who were looking for contributions to their newly created newspaper "Bukovyna," and made the central figure of Ukrainian movement in Czernowitz for the two last years of his life.

Ukrainian publishers in Czernowitz were still in need for Rusyn/Ukrainian contributions in 1891, when another future great poet and symbol of Ukrainian movement, Olha Kobylans'ka, moved to the city. She was born in 1863 to a Galician Rusyn father and a Polish-German mother and raised equally fluent in "Ruthenian," German, and Polish. Romantic and sensitive girl who lived with financially stressed parents and six siblings, she received only elementary education but was fascinated by the ideas of women's emancipation and dreamed of a writing career since youth, when she wrote her first poetry and prose in German. Despite her great hopes for her family's move to Czernowitz, she never fully escaped what she considered the suffocating life in semi-poverty. Not able to afford formal education and with meager prospects of a marriage, she found an outlet for her talents and ambition in writing prose in Rusyn/Ukrainian. Deprived an access to the German-language high culture of her city due to her social standing, she was well-

⁹⁰ According to his biographer Osyp Makovei, and memoirs of his contemporaries, Fed'kovych's search for identity began early and was a life-defining experience. Initiated by his complex relationships with his father, whom Osyp presented as his step-father, this search was probably also influenced by his encounter with the Italian liberation movement as an officer of Austrian army during the revolution of 1848-9. He spent most of his remaining life in Putyla, apart from a short period in Lemberg, as an editor for the Ukrainian cultural society "Prosvita," and his last years in Czernowitz (1876-1888). See Makovei, Popovych.

received by the young and unpretentious world of Ukrainian literature, to which she eventually made an important contribution with her simple but powerful romantic works about love, women's freedom, and peasants' lives.⁹¹

Neither Gordynskyi-Fed'kovych, whose Rusyn self-consciousness was largely an outcome of his personal relationship with his parents, nor Kobylians'ka, who aspired above all for personal emancipation, financial sustainability, and education, went beyond asserting their cultural identity and using the opportunities of cultural expression and relative freedom of consciousness provided by the Habsburg state.⁹² Just as much as they associated with the imaginary world of Rusyn/Ukrainian culture, materialized locally in a separate public sphere, they associated with the predominant "European" world of Czernowitz and larger capitals that it tried to replicate.⁹³ For them and for the growing numbers of local intelligentsia—primarily teachers and priests—of Romanian and East Slavic background, "nationally conscious" that they developed coexisted with various degrees of Austrian patriotism, monarchical loyalty, religious affiliation, and regional and /or urban identity. For most Czernowitzers, identifying with Habsburgs was a more concrete way of affiliating with European civilization. Operating within various value systems simultaneously presented no problem on individual level. Even Nistor,

⁹¹ Fascination with Ukrainian idea and development of Ukrainian consciousness was closely related to Kobylians'ka's unshared love to a Ukrainian activist from Galicia, Osep Makovei, who worked in Czernowitz as the editor of *Bukovyna* in 1895-97. Her letters and other personal accounts reveal that she was always driven primarily by the desires of personal emancipation which she connected to education and entering the "cultured world." While still living in a village family home, feeling suffocated by poverty and "idiocy of rural life" (to use the famous Marx's expression) she heard about an elderly professor in Czernowitz who was allegedly looking for an "unpretentious" young woman to marry. Desperate to change her life, she wrote a letter to him, offering herself as a candidate. She did not send the letter, dissuaded by her sister and a friend. One wonders if Olha would choose to write in Ukrainian if she did marry this German- and Polish-speaking professor and received her doctorate, as she dreamt. For a recent biography of Kobylians'ka, see Volodymyr Vozniuk, *Bukovyns'ki adresy Ol'hy Kobylians'koï. Biohrafichno-kraieznavcha monografiia* (Chernivtsi: Knyhy-XXI, 2006). On her marriage idea, pp.44-5.

⁹² For example, Fed'kovych was able to change his religious confession officially while in the army.

⁹³ Kobylians'ka, for example, went to Vienna to unwind and find new inspiration.

who would become the most ardent fighter for the complete Romanianization of Bukovina after the collapse of Habsburg Empire, participated in the royal anniversary celebrations in Vienna as late as 1908. In the realm of politics, very few national or cultural leaders in Czernowitz saw on the then European map more attractive polities for their “imagined communities” than the Dual Monarchy. In terms of internal and cultural affairs, political leaders joined together in a “progressive bloc” to counterbalance any single national group that was aspiring for cultural and political dominance in the region (most often, Romanians, towards the end of the Austrian rule). An important local politician, Romanian loyalist Aurel (Ritter von) Onciul, described the limits of “national consciousness” typical for an educated Czernowitzer of the time, when he stated: “the national principle does not involve the suppression of others.”⁹⁴

Once their differences were recognized and “ethnic sensibilities” respected by local and imperial government, Czernowitzers with different national consciousness or with none at all eagerly shared their regional and imperial loyalties and their urban space.⁹⁵ This sharing was made easy by the predominance of German language but at the same time it promoted voluntary and opportunistic multilingualism.⁹⁶ The “national houses” advertized as the symbols of diversity

⁹⁴ Stambrook, 2004, 187-95. Onciul quoted on p. 195. Onciul was a member of the progressive bloc, or “free-thinking union” comprised of Ukrainian, Romanian, Jewish, Armenian, and German deputies from Bukovina in the Vienna parliament. More radical Romanian currents in Bukovina included irredentist nationalists and antisemitic Christian Socialists. (Irina Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics of Greater Romania. Regionalism, Nation Building and Ethnic Struggle, 1918-1930* (Cornell University Press, 1995), 56. Social democrats were also acquiring stronger influence towards the end of the Habsburg period. For more on the local politics, Theodore Ciuciura, “Provincial politics in the Habsburg Empire: the case of Galicia and Bukovina,” *Nationalities Papers* 13(2) (1985): 247-73.

⁹⁵ Quotation from Stambrook, 2004, 190.

⁹⁶ On the roots and nature of multiculturalism in Austrian Bukovina, Trude Mauer, “National oder supranational? Prag und Czernowitz: Zwei Deutsche Universitäten in Ostmitteleuropa (1875/1882-1914),” [National or supranational? Prague and Czernowitz: two German Universities in East Central Europe, 1875-1914], *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* 49(3) (Marburg, 2000): 341-82; Trude Mauer, “Eintracht der Nationalitäten in der Bukowina? Überprüfung eines Mythos,” [Concord of nationalities in Bukovina? Testing a myth] *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 3/10 (2001): 180-91; Kazimierz Feleszko, “Die einstige Bukowina: eine Kulturgemeinschaft. Gedanken über die Folgen der Verwendung “Fremder” Sprachen” [The former Bukovina: a

and differences were, in fact, commonly shared as public spaces: larger Jewish house was used when German house was not big enough for an event; Ukrainian house hosted the 1908 Yiddish conference when progressive Jews of Czernowitz did not even want to hear about emancipation of Yiddish; and students from “ethnic” fraternities regularly attended each others’ annual balls and sports events.⁹⁷ Czernowitz was also devoid of “modern cult of monuments” associated with the development of modern nationalism and compartmentalized collective memories.⁹⁸ The few existing monuments of the city reaffirmed its regional, religious, and Austrian loyalties. The earliest of the existing statues were religious ones, such as the well-known *Mariensäule*, or *Bildnis der trauenden Gottesmutter* (1827) on the central square in front of the City Hall. Later, several busts, plates, and monuments to the members of royal family, famous cultural figures, and local political activists appeared in the city. However, most of them were located in parks or in the yards of the buildings, remaining intimate and aesthetic rather than pompous and political. Two exceptions were the stately monument to Austria constructed in 1875 on the latest and largest square, *Austriaplatz*, and a stele in commemoration of the fallen soldiers of the 41st, “Czernowitz” regiment named after Archduke Eugene, erected in 1902 on the intersection of two major streets. The stele with a figure of an eagle on top became widely known as “the fallen

cultural community. Thoughts on the consequences of using “foreign” languages], *Südostdeutsches Archiv* 40-41, (1997-1998): 162-83.

⁹⁷ Stambrook, 2004, 190; on student fraternities, Georg Drozdowski, *Damals in Czernowitz und Rundum*; Vladimir Trebici, “Relațiile dintre societățile studențești române și germane de la Universitatea din Cernăuți ca model de înțelegere interetnică (1875-1938),” *Analele Bucovinei* 4, no.2 (1997): 281-89.

⁹⁸ The writer Peter Demant (pen name Vernon Kres) who was the son of an Austrian high-ranking officer who chose to stay in Bukovina after the collapse of the empire, remarked in his autobiographical novel that there was “no cult of monuments” in Chernivtsi and similar provincial cities and towns of the empire. (Kres 2008, 208.) For more on the role of monuments in assigning meaning to the built environment, see the essay by Alois Rielg, “The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Essence and Its Development,” in Nicholas Stanley Price, M. Kirby Talley Jr., and Alessandra Melucco Vaccaro, eds., *Historical and Cultural Issues in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage*, trans. Karen Bruckner and Karem Williams (Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 1966), 69-83.

soldiers' memorial" or "the Black Eagle."⁹⁹ Because it was openly non-religious, or rather multi-confessional, the monument was often interpreted as the symbol of Bukovina's multicultural regional identity.¹⁰⁰

World War I brought to an end the short-lived "golden age" of the Czernowitz, an urban phenomenon based on the German-Jewish symbiosis that was becoming more and more problematic with the advent of modern antisemitism and nationalism. After the stability of the late Austrian period, the Bukovina became a battle ground. Its capital's residents, if they were not able to flee the city, saw acting Russian army for the first time after the turbulent years of 1848-49.¹⁰¹ The war intensified national movements, resurrected the old, Russian and Romanian, claims for the province, and brought about a new political force in Eastern Europe: the Ukrainian national movement, or rather two separate movements based in Kiev and in Galicia.¹⁰² War-time censorship, arrests, and other security measures further antagonized radicals and pushed more "nationally conscious" Romanians to their camp.¹⁰³ While local radical Romanians were inspired

⁹⁹ Serhy Osachuk, Volodymyr Zapolovs'kyi, Natalia Shevchenko, eds., *Pamiatnyky Chernivtsiv* (Chernivtsi: Zelena Bukovyna, 2009), p.9-24.

¹⁰⁰ Serhy Osachuk, Volodymyr Zapolovs'kyi, Natalia Shevchenko, eds., *Pamiatnyky Chernivtsiv* (Chernivtsi: Zelena Bukovyna, 2009), 9-24; Olexandr Masan, Ihor Cherkhovs'kyi, Chernivtsi: 1408-1998, 189-90; see also Ihor Chekhovs'kyi, *Chernivtsi—kovcheg pid vitrylamy tolerantnosti* (Chernivtsi: Ruta, 2004).

¹⁰¹ The location of the famous Russian Brusilov offensive in August 1914, Bukovina survived three occupations by the Russian imperial army—the last one in 1916 jointly with Romanian military units—and three consequent Austrian takeovers, before it was finally held by Romanian troops. First-hand accounts of these events include: Eduard Fischer, *Krieg ohne Heer: Meine Verteidigung der Bukowina Gegen die Russen* (Vienna: Schubert, 1935); Julius Weber, *Die Russentage in Czernowitz. Ereignisse der ersten und zweiten russischen Invasion* (Czernowitz, 1915).

¹⁰² For a first-hand account of Ukrainian movement of the time, see Vasyl Kuchabsky, *Western Ukraine in Conflict with Poland and Bolshevism, 1918-1923*. Transl. by Gus Gafan (Edmonton-Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 2009.) and a review by Svetlana Frunchak in *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, vol.52-1-2 (March-June 2010): 227-8.

¹⁰³ For a contemporary Austrian perspective, see Erich Prokopowitsch, *Das Ende der Österreichischen Herrschaft in der Bukowina*, (Munich: Verlag R. Oldenburg, 1959) (includes extensive sections of original documents); for a Romanian perspective, Teodor Bălan, *Suprimarea mișcărilor naționale din Bucovina pe timpul războiului mondial, 1914-1918* (Chernivtsi: Glasul Bucovinei, 1923); on the security measures and population internment in Bukovina

to step up by the Romanian state, Ukrainian leaders in Czernowitz felt lost and “abandoned by Vienna and Lviv.”¹⁰⁴ Similarly lost was Jewish local community that, even more than Ukrainians, fully affiliated with and depended in their wellbeing on the Habsburgs.¹⁰⁵ Apart from several mass demonstrations, general disarray, and criminal incidents, Czernowitz remained comparative calm and saw no serious violence. When Emperor Charles I stepped down on 11 November of 1918, the empire collapsed, the last President of Bukovina Count Joseph von Etzdorf transferred his power to the politically helpless Ukrainian Council joined by federalist-minded Romanians, the political glue that hold Bukovinian society together was removed. The German-Jewish capital and its “motley” province were to be inherited by its Romanians and Rusyns/Ukrainians. With aggressive Romanian state hungry for the lands of the empire that had Romanian populations, and fragmented Ukrainian movement squeezed between Bolshevik, “White” Russian, and Polish armies, the answer to the question “who?” was easy.

According to the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk signed on 3 March 1918 between Russia and the Central Powers, Bukovina remained a part of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. However, since the Empire was in the midst of political agony, Romanian and Ukrainian national

during the war, S. Nelipovich, “Naselenie okkupirovannykh territorii rassmatrivalos' kak rezerv protivnika: internirovanie chasti zhitel'ei Vostochnoi Prussii, Galitsii i Bukoviny v 1914-1915 gg.,” *Voenno-istoricheskii zhurnal* 2 (Moscow, 2000): 60-9.

¹⁰⁴ Popovych, 185. Other accounts of the events of 1918 include: Myron Korduba, „Perevorot na Bukovyni“ *Lvivs'kyi Naukovyi Visnyk* 80-82, book 10-12 (L'viv, 1923); Myron Korduba, „Do perevorotu na Bukovyni“ *Lvivs'kyi Naukovyi Visnyk* 3-4 (1923); I.Pihuliak, „Spomyny pro lystopadovi podii na Bukovyni“ *Ukrains'kyi holos* (Winnipeg, 1927); for more, see Frunchak, *Studying the Land*.

¹⁰⁵ The Jewish National Council became the third local political force in the region. It hesitated between supporting Romanian or joined Ukrainian-Romanian councils while avoiding any serious internal disputes. On Jewish national council during the transfer, David Sha'ari, “Ha-mo'asah Ha-le'umit Ha-yehudit Be-buqovinah Ba-ma'avar Min Ha-Shilton Ha-habsburgi La-shilton Ha-romani, November 1918-Desember 1919” [The Jewish National Council in Bukovina during the transition from Habsburg to Romanian rule, November 1918-December 1919], *Shvut* 15 (1992): 7-39.

organizations formed provincial national councils in Czernowitz. The Ukrainian Council, headed by Omelian Popovych, was joined by Romanian activists who favored Bukovina remaining within the federated Habsburg Empire. The joint council proclaimed a provisional regional Ukrainian-Romanian government on November 6, 1918, with the prospect of a possible division of the province into Romanian and Ukrainian parts, depending upon the results of a popular vote. The creation of Romanian National Council, headed by the local chauvinist landlord Iancu Flondor, around the same time, was a revolutionary departure from the more flexible politics practiced in the city up until 1918.¹⁰⁶ The council advocated incorporation of Bukovina into Romanian state that was becoming the inevitable political reality. On November 11, 1918, Romanian military forces entered the capital of Bukovina and the region effectively became part of Greater Romania.¹⁰⁷ Politically, Austrian Czernowitz ceased to exist; its collapse as an urban phenomenon, though, was conditional on cultural and demographic change that was yet to happen.

¹⁰⁶ Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics*, 57.

¹⁰⁷ Romanian National Council led by Flondor organized “a general congress of Bukovina,” where representatives of select political groups and organizations in the region approved a resolution about the unconditional unification of the province with the Romanian Kingdom. This congress was attended by representatives of Romanian, German, and Polish organizations but had no Jewish and Ukrainian official deputies. (Livezeanu, 59.) Meanwhile, a more popular demonstration—“People’s Assembly”—was called in Czernowitz by the Ukrainian National Council, and allegedly proclaimed the will of the people to join the Western Ukrainian People’s Republic proclaimed in Lemberg/Lviv. According to the memoirs of its participants and witnesses, the Assembly, although widely attended and quite emotional, had a vague political character; it was a semi-chaotic mass meeting typical of the revolutionary era. On the assembly, Popovych; Korduba; on general account of life in the city during and immediately after the war, Rezzori, *Snows of Yesteryear* Bukovina was promised to Romania by the Allies in exchange for joining the war against Central powers (declared in 1916). Leonid Sonevtsky, “Bukovina in the diplomatic negotiations of 1914,” *The annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.* 7, no. 1-2 (23-24) (1959): 1586-629; Sherman D. Spector, *Romania at the Paris Conference: A Study of the Diplomacy of Ioan I.C.Brătianu* (Iași: The center for Romanian studies, 1995).

The annexation of Bukovina to the Romanian Kingdom was legalized only in September of 1919 by the treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye. For more on the last days of Austrian administration and the transfer, see Erich Prokopowitsch, *Das Ende der Österreichischen Herrschaft in der Bukowina*, (Munich: Verlag R. Oldenburg, 1959) or its Ukrainian translation Erikh Prokopovych, *Kinets Avstrii’s koho panuvannia v Bukovyni*. Transl. O.Matiichuk, N.Panchuk (Chernivtsi: Zoloti lytavry, 2004); for a more general background of Bukovina’s history during World War I, Volodymyr Zapolovs’kyi, *Bukovyna v ostannii viini Avstro-Uhorshchyny 1914-1918* (Chernivtsi, 2003).

Czernowitz in Cernăuți: Challenging Continuity (1918-1940)

As a part of the highly centralized Romanian state, Bukovina was deprived of its autonomous status and turned into a regular province; as a result, members of its non-Romanian populations were considered national minorities. Despite the promises made by Romanian government to the international community, their rights and interests enjoyed little legal protection in the Romanian Kingdom.¹⁰⁸ The Romanian state sponsored a movement of Romanian peasants into the region in order to change its demographic profile. In the economic sphere, most of the Austrian financial investments were replaced by Romanian funds while investments by Entente members were also encouraged. However, the major tool for the Romanianization of Bukovina was cultural politics, and in particular the educational reform. Romanian government in Bucharest and the local Romanian authorities in Bukovina embarked on a zealous fight with German culture and Bukovinian regionalism which, in the conditions of the city dominated by Jewish-German urban elite, could not but result in official and popular antisemitism even before it was officially promoted by the state.

For the statesmen in Bucharest and their enthusiastic messengers sent to the provinces, cultural Romanianization was an important part of the unification of Romanian nation state: having made Romania, they had to make Romanians now. For the majority of Czernowitzers, though, Romanianization was an assault on the urban phenomenon they knew and valued. There were very few “old Czernowitzers” who embraced the Bucharest’s view. One of them was Ion Nistor who, after taking refuge during the war in Bucharest and Bessarabia, returned to

¹⁰⁸ At the time of signing the Treaty of Saint-Germain, Romania was obliged to incorporate into its constitution articles that recognized citizenship rights and cultural equality of minorities, and particularly full emancipation of Jews.

Czernowitz in 1918, joined the Romanian National Assembly of Bukovina, and was one of the fifteen Bukovinians who presented the Union Act to Romania's King Ferdinand I. Freed from the imperial censorship and probably also from the remnants of multilayered ambiguities of Habsburg self-identification, Nistor re-constructed the past of his province and projected its future accordingly, when he wrote in 1918:

[The Austrians] sought by all means at their disposal to erase all traces of the past and to smother the national consciousness of the native population. [They] found support in our alien compatriots. ... Since some of them had no homeland, and others had one elsewhere, they began to preach the doctrine of “Bukovinism” (Bukowinärthum) a favorite of both the Vienna and Cernăuți governments. According to the principles of this doctrine, all the peoples of Bukovina, especially the Romanians, had to rid themselves of their national consciousness, to break all ties with their co-nationals in other countries, to abandon their language, and to forget the ancestral traditions and mores so as to melt together with the other peoples into an exotic Bukovinian species, having German as the language of conversation....

Today, when the national principle is celebrating its great triumph, when the old states are tumbling down, and in their ruins are arising rejuvenated national states within the ethnic boundaries of each nation, “Bukovinism” has to disappear. ...Bukovina has reunited with Romania, within whose boundaries there is no room for *homo bucovinensis*, but only for *civis Romaniae*.¹⁰⁹

“Normalizing” Bukovina according to the modern “national principle” turned to be a challenging task, though. Nationalization of educational system was the most important tool of Romanianization. For rural Bukovina it meant the reform of primary schools. Thus Romanian statesmen expected to raise the educational level (thus increasing the upward mobility) of ethnic Romanians and to “bring back” to the body national the “Ruthenianized Romanians” of

¹⁰⁹ Nistor quoted in Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics*, 49 and 59.

Bukovina who considered themselves Rusyns/Ukrainians. Making Romanian the mandatory language of instruction and suppressing most of the possibilities of cultural expression and education available to Slavic speakers before, the school reform made the modern choice of a nationality almost unavoidable for Bukovinian peasants, pushing more and more of them into either “Romanian” or “Ukrainian” flocks led by nationalist activists. Nationalist ethos was spreading among the peasant population slowly, though; opportunistic, survivalist choices and fluid, flexible identities were still very common. This persuaded Romanian authorities in the general “goodness” of the “simple folk” who was easily redeemable from Ruthenianization. It was the educated strata of “Ruthenianized” Bukovinians—people like Mykola Vasylko, Stepan Smal-Stots’kyi, and Omelian Popovych—who were considered the troublemakers in this respect.¹¹⁰ However, troubles that few such people created by spurring the alternative, Rusyn/Ukrainian, identity among local Slavic-speakers were of a much lesser scale and political significance than the entire city of Cernăuți.

Romania inherited a “perfect city”—the embodiment of the then vanguard urban planning ideas.”¹¹¹ Thanks to the relatively short period of the construction of the entire city, it was divided into a compact business center and several outskirts. It had a comparatively low density of buildings and plenty of parks and green areas. An industrial district formed along the banks of Prut River. The city had up-to-date communications and infrastructure: it was connected with the nearest large city of the empire through railway; in 1895, its first electrical

¹¹⁰ Rusyn/Ukrainian speakers who developed some degree of “national consciousness” or just resented the disruption of customary ways of life often avoided Romanianized public education by sending their children to clandestine Ukrainian schools instead. For more on nationalizing primary education, Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics*, 63-8.

¹¹¹ Korotun, 2003, 15. The architect Vecherskyi calls the early 20th-century Chernivtsi “a unique urban space” where “the traditional for older European cities multiplicity of stylistic layers was absent.” (Vechers’kyi, 158)

station emerged; in 1897, the streetcar line was built. In addition to its electrical street lightning, in the city water intake, running water system, and sewage were built between 1895 and 1912, bringing the city's living conditions to the then western European standards.¹¹² Romania also inherited an urban population of 91,852, 47.4% of whom were Jews.¹¹³ No more than 20% of the urbanites considered Romanian their native tongue. The biggest problem, in the eyes of the Romanian authorities, was that the city's public sphere, secondary school system, University, and physical space were all dominated by German-speakers.¹¹⁴

Jews and Germans predominated in urban secondary schools, reflecting the demographics of the city. Initially, Jews were not singled out among the enemies of the state officially; even non-loyal Romanians were treated as harsh as others deemed non-patriotic. By their sheer number, though, urban Jews became a “special” problem for the authorities. Nationalization of secondary school system compartmentalized the education according to nationality, creating several urban lycées instead of the Austrian state gymnasia, in order to cordon the “minorities” into separate schools and to reduce their social resources and influence. Jewish community also started experiencing a dramatic institutional loss of power: their employment in the public sector, including education, became more and more problematic with the state-sponsored promotion of ethnic Romanians and the policy of appointing teachers and state servants from the Old Kingdom to positions in Bukovina while local educators, branded

¹¹² Ihor Zhaloba, *Infrastructura polityka*; Sergiy Tarkhov, *Istoriia mis'kelektrotransportu Chernivtsiv* (Chernivtsi: Prut, 1997).

¹¹³ By 1919 data. Romanian statistics quoted in Susanne Marten-Finnis and Markus Winkler, “Location of Memory versus Space of Communication: Presses Languages, and Education among Czernovitz Jews, 1918-1941,” *Central Europe* 7, no.1 (2009): 31.

¹¹⁴ Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics*, 60.

“superfluous,” were sent to Romanian heartlands. Realizing that replacing Jewish elite of Cernăuți was not possible in a short run, Romanian authorities hoped to separate the Jews from their German/Austrian identity and to give them a Romanian orientation, setting a transition of ten years, after which all instruction would be only in Romanian and Hebrew.¹¹⁵ Even if this policy was caused by the desire to integrate the region into the Romanian state, wider public received it as a message of antisemitism. The latter that was growing ever stronger since the early 1920s.

In 1923, parliamentary discussions about Romanian constitution and citizenship caused more intense agitation against Jews by rightists. In Czernowitz, urban Jews still constituted as entrenched elite despite the efforts to reduce their resources and influence. Numerical predominance and social influence of Jews in the city, although it instigated nationalism among Romanian urban minority, also protected the city from wide-spread radicalism and outbursts of violence until the mid-1920s. Urban community was resisting the government’s efforts to destroy it with all means still available to it in the centralized and authoritative Romanian state. Tireless Benno Straucher employed Romanian patriotic rhetoric that became the only legitimate framework for a public discourse, arguing in his parliamentary speech in 1924 that Jews of Czernowitz were good Romanian citizens who did not deserve discrimination. Although he technically spoke for the Jewish rights, according to the contemporary political realities, it was the loss of Bukovinian regionalism and Czernowitz urbanism that Straucher was in fact lamenting:

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 71-8.

The flowering city of Cernăuți with a very patriotic and loyal, civilized, and prudent population, has lost the function and position of a capital, has suffered various economic, moral, and political charges, in a word... it is losing its significance day by day.¹¹⁶

Straucher was right: Romanian statesmen in charge of Bukovina despised the city as a sickly, corrupted spot on the healthy body of “Romanian” countryside, taking all the possible measures to change the situation. When in 1925 the government introduced a standardized examination for the graduates of secondary schools applying for university studies (the baccalaureate), it became—or at least was interpreted so among minorities—a tool of state manipulation in order to control the access to higher education in the newly incorporated borderland regions. In Cernăuți, where the 1926 lists of examinees had 91,8 % of minorities and only 8.2% of Romanians, the examination led to the first serious incident of anti-Jewish violence. In 1925, at one of Cernăuți high schools, all the Romanian students passed the baccalaureate while only 30% of German and Ukrainian, and only 15% of Jewish students received positive results. The next year, 2/3 of all examinees and 80% of the Jewish students failed the exam in the entire city. These results were non-comparable with national pass/fail levels that averaged at 50%.¹¹⁷ These odd numbers, together with widespread gossip about the corruption of the external baccalaureate commission that arrived from the Old Kingdom, caused popular discontent and public demonstrations organized by the failed students. In response to the complaints, the government formed a commission to investigate the test results and procedures. The commission that represented centralized state in this un-subdued city found the results fair, blaming “the corrupt, unhealthy, cosmopolitan atmosphere of Cernăuți” with “frequent evening

¹¹⁶ Straucher quoted in Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics*, 73.

¹¹⁷ Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics*, 80-7.

dances and superficial learning” and “more frivolous life of young people” in comparison with the rural areas and smaller towns where students achieved better results. “The height of ignorance,” read the report of the commission, was demonstrated “in the history and geography of the fatherland.”¹¹⁸

The discontent quickly became strongly politicized; however, the slogan “down with the Romanians” that often sounded on the streets referred, most probably, to “real” Romanians (e.i. political authorities from Bucharest and the messengers of the new cultural politics) rather than “Bukovinians.” One of the popular leaders, a Jewish student David Fallik, who hit a teacher during a street meeting, was arrested among several other students. The trial over the demonstrators was to take place in a small Bukovinian town of Câmpolung known for its popular antisemitism. On the eve of the trial, a 21-year-old student from the University of Iași active in the proto-fascist Brotherhood of the Cross, Neculai Totu, shot and killed Fallik. This crime brought the nationalist, regionalist, and ethnic issues underlying the Cernăuți events into national public debate. Totu himself was tried in Câmpolung on 21 February, 1927, in an atmosphere of public exaltation in favor of the defendant, and was acquitted as a martyr and a hero.¹¹⁹ Popular nationalism that was gradually penetrating Cernăuți was fully endorsed by the authorities.

While the early centralizing policies of Romanianization, initiated by the National Liberal Party of Romania, were to some extent counterbalanced by attempts by the National Peasant Party of Romania in 1928-1933 to accommodate needs of national minorities, these adjustments were met with no enthusiasm by the local authorities of Bukovina who tended to be ‘more

¹¹⁸ Report quoted in Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics*, 82.

¹¹⁹ Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics*, 85-6.

Romanian than Bucharest.¹²⁰ Radicalism was also spreading among the youth in the entire country. In 1927, antisemitism became the central idea to attract supporters for the newly founded League of Archangel Michael (Iron Guard) organized by a radical activist Corneliu Codreanu. In 1933, the Liberal Party came to power, banning the Iron Guard for several years. The Jews of Czernowitz felt no relieve from antisemitism, though, since liberals appropriated much of the radical rhetoric in order to mobilize the public. In 1934, when Ion Nistor became the minister of labor, he called upon Romanians to “proceed in a careful but determined manner in order gradually to wrench the bread out of the mouths of the Jews.”¹²¹

And yet, in spite of financial hardship that many Jews of Czernowitz felt due to employment difficulties and growing feeling of insecurity that was permeating the city, everyday life in the city changed little since Austrian times. Urban Jews, who in 1930 comprised 38% of the city’s population and the majority of its elite, refused to consider themselves Romanian.¹²² Although leaving in the shadow of World War I, and later in the approaching shadow of another horrifying world war, in a kind of collective denial the residents of Czernowitz seemed to continue leaving, culturally, in Habsburg Czernowitz, although they were making the necessary adjustments to their lives as the policies of Romanianization intensified and antisemitism was becoming more and more difficult to ignore. As a result, the city as a whole was refusing its new

¹²⁰ For more on political developments, see Mariana Hausleitner, *Die Rumänisierung der Bukowina: Die Durchsetzung des nationalstaatlichen Anspruchs Grossrumäniens 1918-1944* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 2001).

¹²¹ Nistor quoted in Hirsch and Spitzer, *Ghosts of Home*, 78.

¹²² According to the Romanian census of 1930, the population of Chernivtsi was 112,427 with the following ethnic composition: 38% Jews, 27% Romanians, 14,5 % Germans, 10% Ukrainians, 8% Poles, and 2,5 others. Romanian census statistics quoted in Denys Kvitkovs’kyi, Teofil Bryndzan, Arkadii Zhukovs’kyi, eds. *Bukovyna – її mynule i suchasne* (Paris-Philadelphia-Detroit: Zelena Bukovyna, 1956), 429. The increased percentage of Romanians is explained by the state-sponsored influx of Romanian state servants and authorities from the Old Kingdom as well as change of official identification of some urbanizes who were willing and able to claim Romanian nationality, most often Orthodox Slavs who might have given “Ruthenian” as their spoken language to Austrian census takers. The decreased number of Poles is due to emigration to Poland during and after World War I.

identity, symbolized by its Romanian name, Cernăuți, until the end of the Romanian rule in 1940. Instead, it maintained the myth of Czernowitz, and adherence to German was a core ingredient of it. This myth was “both a mental construct and an ideological response, found form in a dual identification for many middle-class and working-class Jews of the interwar generation and their somewhat older siblings: both with a [nostalgic] Habsburg world of yesterday ... and with a contemporary Austro-German *Kulturkreis* ... from which they were, in fact, geographically and politically removed. Serving as bridge and connection to both of these, the German language gave them access to a rich literary and cultural realm that enabled them to view themselves as still within the circle of Western European cultivation, cosmopolitanism, and urbanity that their parents and grandparents had so esteemed. And it provided them with the hope of an ongoing continuity with that realm, no longer legal and political... but cultural, through projection and identification.”¹²³ Another important component of the interwar idea of Czernowitz was its persistent cultural hybridity and the unique local jargon based on the mixture of languages that reflected the intersection of West and East, urban and rural, moderns and traditional.

The outlook and structure of the city did not change much either, regardless of the ambitious desire of the new urban planners to Romanianize the appearance of the city.¹²⁴ Generally, the Romanian central government fostered Bukovina’s regional economic development, and particularly its construction business; however, two economic crises of 1929–1933 and 1937–1939 had a serious negative impact on the economic situation in Bukovina,

¹²³ Hirsh and Spitzer, *Ghosts of Home*, 89. What I refer to as the myth of Czernowitz, Hirsch and Spitzer call “the idea of Czernowitz.”

¹²⁴ On the policies of Romanianization through urban planning, Kolosok, “Mistobudivna spadshchyna Chenrivtsiv.”

preventing ambitious urban reconstruction. Several blocks of modern four- to five-storied cooperative and rental apartment complexes fully equipped with all the modern amenities and a few separate buildings that were incorporated into the older city structure extended the old city center without disrupting its wholeness. One more dissonant structure, the Romanian House in the *Art Noveau* style was added to the admittedly disharmonious but widely recognized as the most beautiful and intimate square of the city, the former *Fischplatz* (renamed *Alexandru* square). Some of the Romanian additions continued the *Art Noveau* architectural tradition in Cernăuți while many others represented the “neo-Romanian” style that was gaining popularity throughout the country. Although propagated by the new administration as a part of ideological and aesthetic Romanianization, the neo-Romanian style actually fitted into the hybrid urban fabric of the city without disrupting it.¹²⁵ Luxury collages behind the *Volkspark* only added to the city’s attractiveness and greenery. Several new Orthodox churches were located mostly in the outskirts of the city, while one of them, the “twisted” Church of St. Nicolas, became one of the new city’s attractions thanks to its two canopies that created an impression of falling to the opposite sides. New industrial districts grew on the outskirts. Together with its population (the census of 1930 showed 112,427) the city grew and was further modernized but its skyline and appearance were by no means significantly altered.

Aesthetic Romanianization was modestly successful only in the realm of monumental propaganda which was mostly destructive. Romanian authorities removed or relocated to inner yards many Austrian-era public statues, including the Austria-monument, a memorial to Schiller in front of the city theatre, several depictions of the Habsburg royal family members, and even

¹²⁵ Vandiuk 2003, 88.

the seemingly neutral “Mariensäule.”¹²⁶ The latter was removed from the central square to clear enough observation space for the most grandiose project of the Romanian era, the “Unification” (*Unirea*) memorial (1924). Located on an elevated round platform, the memorial depicted a soldier-liberator greeted by a kneeling girl in a peasant folk outfit, representing the grateful Bukovina. Under the major sculpture, there was a figure of an Ox (the symbol of Romania) trampling down the Austrian Eagle.¹²⁷ This ambitious symbol of the nationalist Romanian dream never had a chance to materialize in the city. The Czernowitzers enjoyed and cherished their “Austrian heritage”: the cleanness, elegancy, and splendor of the city center that reflected the aspiration for truly “European” life. Like their grandparents and parents, the young generation of lower middle class, middle class, and not infrequently working-class urbanites whether educated at home or in public and private schools, grew up knowing in details streets and architecture of Vienna and Paris, European literature from classics to Hugo, Verlaine, and Flaubert. Literature helped them imagine the European places considered central in the “western civilization” connect them with the architecture of their own city.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Osachuk, Shevchenko, Zapolovskyi 2009, 9-32.

¹²⁷ On the creation and installation of the monument, see N. Petrescu, “Istoria dramatică a monumentului unirii de la Cernăuți,” *Glasul Bucovinei* 1 (Rădăuți, 1994): 6-13.

¹²⁸ Many Chernivtsi residents who attended public and private schools in early 20th –century Chernivtsi have similar memories of the high quality of education that they provided as well as very strict discipline rules. They also often stressed the accessibility of secondary education to a wide range of population, regardless of ethnic background, religion, and social standing. For example, Zenovia Peniuk who grew up in a working-class Ukrainian family (that nonetheless spoke German at home) claimed in a conversation with me in 1996 (?) that her education in languages and humanities that she received in a state Orthodox lyceum for girls was far superior to the instruction in the Soviet Lviv State University that she attended to get a formal diploma after the war. See Svitlana Frunchak, *Istoriia Chernivets'koï himnazii No 4*, [...] Similar observations were made by Pearl Fischman who noted in her memoir that the instruction in the Soviet State University of Chernivtsi that she was able to join in 1940 was a mere formality in comparison to her studies in a public gymnasium that left deep memories and profound knowledge in many fields. Pearl Fischman, *Before memories fade*, [...] Many Jewish residents of the city, interviewed in 1998 about their pre-war and wartime experiences, shared similar memories of their childhood and adolescence: for most of them, German was the native tongue spoken at home (where, in many cases, Yiddish was not spoken at all), German literature (often including Marxist) and theater was a “sacred thing.” One of the interviewed, Roza

The younger generation of Czernowitzers in the 1920s-1930s did not live in a frozen past, though. They watched latest films and discussed latest books; inspired by the modern German youth movements, they took trips to the city's surroundings and more remote Carpathian Mountains, dressing in Tyrolian costumes; they explored their sexualities and tested the limits of the modern effect of increased personal freedom.¹²⁹ They also were political, and the world of their politics was modern and radicalized. If most Romanians preached some degree of nationalism, many ethnic Germans were embracing ideas of national socialism, and some Ukrainians were fascinated by the ideas of integral nationalism imported from Polish Galicia, most of Jews leaned towards socialism (which also attracted youth from other ethnic groups) or Zionism, or experimented with all of them, but few were active in their movements beyond discussions, fearing arrests and imprisonment. Paradoxically, many Zionist groups seemed to consolidate their allegiance to German culture and language as well as local environment, that is, Czernowitz urban and regional identity. For example, *Hashomer Hatzair* (The Young Guard), a youth labor Zionism group, was brought to Czernowitz from Vienna by a group of young men and women who found refuge in the capital during World War I. "Their outdoor and athletic activities appealed to us greatly, and we loved summer camps and excursions into the mountains

Tzukerman, remarked that she was later frustrated to hear Soviet "lies" about how "the poor of the city" had no access to education whereas she never paid a penny for hers. Petro Rykhlo, ed. and transl., *"Kolys' Chernivtsi Buly Hebreis'kym Mistom..." Svidchennia Ochevydtsiv / "Czenowitz Is Gewen an Alte, Jidische Schtat..." Ueberlebende Berichten* (Chernivtsi: Molodyi Bukovynets', 1998), [...].

¹²⁹ The modernism of life in the interwar city is discussed extensively in Kres, Moia pervaiia zhyzn' and Pearl Fichmann, *Before Memories Fade*. N.p.: Booksurge Publishing, 2005. This modernism was also reflected in the urban diverse presses. See Susanne Marten-Finnis and Markus Winkler, "Location of Memory Versus Space of Communication: Presses Languages, and Education among Czernovitz Jews, 1918-1941," *Central Europe* 7, no. 1 (2009): 30-55.

of southern Bukovina. ... [I]n spite of learning little Hebrew and singing Hebrew songs, we spoke German at our meetings,” remembered a former group member Carl Hirsch.¹³⁰

Their love of German *Kultur* was accompanied by the disdain of the ‘inferior’ “Balkan” culture that was pushed upon them by the nationalist, increasingly antisemitic government. Female Czernowitzers refused to follow Paris in their fashions, as did the newcomers from the France-inspired “old [Romanian] kingdom” and continued to dress *a la* Vienna.¹³¹ They sabotaged Romanian plays in the city theatre and attended instead guest performances by Viennese and Berlin groups staged in the German and Jewish “houses.”¹³² Pearl Fichmann, who was a youth in the interwar Czernowitz, wrote in her memoir later:

In our house and all around me people spoke German, read German books and the daily local German newspapers. Once a month we would get *Scherl's* magazine, published in Berlin, the equivalent of *Life* magazine, combined with articles similar to the *New Yorker*. ...

The poet Rose Ausländer noted that in the interwar Cernăuți, “in spirit, [they] remained Austrians; [their] capital was Vienna and not Bucharest.”¹³³ A lifetime resident of Czernowitz-Chernivtsi, the 1909-born Rosa Tsukerman, remembered the city of her childhood and youth “one of the most cultured cities in eastern Europe...”¹³⁴ Such it seemed to so many young Jews

¹³⁰ Oral memories of Carl Hirsch quoted in Hirsch and Spitzer, *Ghosts of Home*, 85.

¹³¹ Kres 2008, 203.

¹³² The last German production was staged in the Cernăuți City Theatre on 22 January 1922; after wards, German performances continued in German and Jewish houses and in Philharmonic hall, with many guests groups from Vienna. Younger Czernowitzers attended Romanian theatre with Romanian friends, but their parents, who rarely mastered Romanian and were strongly resented to Romanianization, ignored them. Hirsch and Spitzer, *Ghosts of Home*, 92.

¹³³ Ausländer quoted in Hirsch and Spitzer, *Ghosts of Home*, 51. Former residents of the city remembered that their escape to Vienna during World War I reinforced their Austrian affiliations. *Ibid.*, 49.

¹³⁴ Quotes from “*Kolys' Chernivtsi Buly Hebreis'kym Mistom...*”, Rykhlo ed., 78.

of the interwar Cernăuți who, while their parents might have been attending the city's seventy-six or so synagogues indulged themselves in "European culture" of Austrian variety and allegedly often "did not realize that they were Jewish" until "they found themselves in the city ghetto."¹³⁵ As many other chroniclers of the life in interwar Cernăuți who retrieved their memories through the filter of "nostalgia for the future that never happened," Rosa clearly romanticized and idealized her memories: although they considered themselves Europeans, most Czernowitzers considered Cernăuți the backwaters and dreamt of leaving it for the real European capitals.¹³⁶ They perceived it as "the end of Europe," to the east of which were "Russia" (later, Soviet Russia) and "Balkans," both representing the unknown, foreign, and closed word.¹³⁷ In addition to the feelings of isolation in the periphery and the rapidly diminishing opportunities of

¹³⁵ Ibid. Despite common linguistic and cultural assimilation, secularization among Jews of Czernowitz-Cernăuți did not reach levels of the larger German and Austrian cities and many of them preserved moderate religiosity. Marten-Finnis and Winkler, "Location of Memory," 49.

¹³⁶ The metaphor of "Nostalgia for the future" belongs to Svetlana Boym. The perception of Cernăuți as provincial backwaters is mentioned by Hirsch and Spitzer, Fichmann, Kress, and other authors. Von Rezzori, for example, maintained that his parents considered Cernăuți of the 1920s "deeply backwards" and "nostalgic" in character, although not devoid of "a whiff of Occidental luxury." Von Rezzori, *The Snows of Yesteryear*, 121.

Fictionalized, memorial, and other personal accounts about Cernăuți carry a great degree of subjectivity and are the products of conscious and sub-conscious individual myth-making. When read collectively, they do create a myth of Czernowitz that exists apart from the physical city and belong to the realm of cultural production. However, I disagree with Marten-Finnis and Winkler who argue that these accounts create "a perception of interwar Czernowitz as pre-industrial, pre-modern, and a heaven of multi-ethnic, harmonious co-existence" and are thus "unreliable as historical evidence." (Marten-Finnis and Winkler, "Location of Memory," 34.) As this chapter demonstrates, the myth of Czernowitz was emerging gradually and was a constituent part of the urban phenomenon, including its most idealistic elements. The related notion of *genius loci*—a distinct character created by the multiplicity of available memoirs—is discussed by urban scholars and philosophers. See Pert Vail, *Genii mesta* (Moscow: KoLibri, 2007); Jerzy Mikulowski Pomorski, "The City and Its Genius Loci," Purchla ed. 1996, 21-37. An interpretation of the history of Chernivtsi along these lines can be found in Krzysztof Czyzewski, "Czerniowce (Czernyovtse): A Forgotten Metropolis on the Frontier of the Habsburg Monarchy" in Purchla ed. 1996, 193-204.

More importantly, if some accounts, such as the cited book by Drozdovsky, are more romanticized and openly driven by the nostalgia for the lost "paradise," others, like the works of Kres, Hirsch (Carl Hirsch, "A Life in the Twentieth Century: A Memoir." Unpublished manuscript. Leo Baeck Institute, New York, 1996 and www.ghostsofhome.com), and Fichmann, reconstruct a more complex reality. See Hirsch and Spitzer, *Ghosts of Home*, for analytical interpretations of the memories of Austrian and Romanian Czernowitz.

¹³⁷ On the "end of Europe" and its "outpost," Kres 2008, 184; on the derogatory meaning of "Balkans," Von Rezzori 1989, 36.

physical relocation to “real Europe” with the rise of Nazism, the admirers of German culture in Cernăuți, including the future famous German poet Paul Celan, found themselves painfully trapped in their German identities in the suffocating atmosphere of the rapidly intensifying antisemitism of the late 1930s.¹³⁸ Within the myth of Czernowitz, a “deterritorialized German” that was in the core of this myth was becoming “unspeakable while still being spoken” by its assimilated Jews.¹³⁹

In 1936, a second incident of anti-Jewish violence happened in Cernăuți when the police arrested and allegedly assassinated a local musician and Bund activist of Edi Wagner.¹⁴⁰ In January of 1938, a Revision of Citizenship decree invalidated all citizenship papers granted to Jews after World War I rendering over 33 % of the country’s Jews stateless; a large percentage of them were Cernăuți Jews. An all-out antisemitic terror campaign followed.¹⁴¹ Nationalist Ukrainian groups, although they were marginal to local politics and largely imported to Bukovina from neighboring Polish Galicia, became active in antisemitic propaganda and

¹³⁸ For more on Celan’s personal identity in the context of interwar Chernivtsi, Amy Colin, *Paul Celan. Holograms of Darkness* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991).

¹³⁹ Hirsch and Spitzer, *Ghosts of Home*, 247.

¹⁴⁰ A trained optician and a charismatic youth leader who abandoned his earlier Zionist ideas in favor of socialism, Edi organized a multi-ethnic musical ensemble of left-leaning amateurs. The group, who would not skip a chance to sing International during their concerns, acquired popularity in the city and its proximities but also attracted the attention of the police. The group was arrested during police rides in response to the murder of a local fascist leader during a politically charged scuffle in the central park. As a leader of the group, Wagner was tortured, beaten, and probably through out of the window of the police office. He died soon in a hospital. I am grateful to Charles Rosner, a native of Cernăuți and a nephew of Edi Wagner, who shared with me his unpublished account about Edi Wagner’s life and death. The incident is also mentioned in Hirsh and Spitzer, *Ghosts of Home*, 79.

¹⁴¹ The 1937 election failed to create government; king Carol II returned from exile and appointed the minority party (the National Christian Party) who became known as Goga-Guza regime that “turned Romania towards Nazi germany” and proclaimed policies to ensure “Romania for Romanians.”

violence.¹⁴² Another antisemitic force was represented by ethnic German groups inspired and openly supported by Nazis. Since the 1920th, ethnic German groups of Bukovina established ties with Austria and Germany. *Auslandsinstitute* in Berlin, Vienna, and Stuttgart were created for this purpose. Along with cultural pursuits, they became the platforms for the intelligence activities (according to Romanian secret police) and later, since 1930s, the avenues of intensive Nazi propaganda. In 1923 a German consulate was open in Chernivtsi. After the University of Cernăuți was Romanianized, local Germans also brought National Socialism and antisemitism as they were returning from foreign universities they now increasingly attended.¹⁴³ The city was becoming noticeably polarized along ethnic lines. And yet, even while the possibilities were still available, local Jews were still largely reluctant to emigrate. Carl Hirsch remembered: “we were not [completely] carefree, we were worried, but not enough to flee. In fact, those who had gone to Western Europe to study—Hedy Brenner, Paul Celan, many others—came back, one by one, after *Kristallnacht* and the *Anschluss*. The war ... came to Czernowitz much later.”¹⁴⁴

Between 1918 and 1945, Cernăuți writers and journalists produced more German works, and of a higher standard, than during the Austrian period.¹⁴⁵ The most well-known of them was Paul Celan, “whose name and poetry are virtually synonymous with the *Sprachlosigkeit*, the loss

¹⁴² See Ihor Piddubnyi, “Problemy Ukrainiis’kkocho natsionalistychnoho rukhu na Bukovyni v 30-ti roky,” *Zelena Bukovyna* 3-4 (Chernivtsi, 1997) /1 (1998): 32-34; Ihor Piddubnyi, “Politychne zhyttia Bukovyny v period korolivs’koï dyktatury (1938-1940),” in *Naukovyi visnyk Chernivets’koho Universytetu* ed. Iurii Makar et al (Chernivtsi, 1996), 104-113; Mariia Mandryk, *Ukrainiis’kyi Natsionalizm: Stanovlennia u mizhvoiennu dobu* (Kiev: Vyd-vo im. Oleny Telihy, 2006), 295-312.

¹⁴³ Serhii Osachuk, V.Zapolovs’kyi, V.Kholodnyts’kyi, ed. “*Dodomu v Raikh!*” *Pereseleennia nimtsiv z Pivnichnoi Bukovyny 1940 roku (Materially, svidchennia, dokumenty)* (Chernivtsi: Zoloti Lytavry, 2004), 22-4.

¹⁴⁴ Carl Hirsch quoted in Hirsch and Spitzer, *Ghosts of Home*, 82.

¹⁴⁵ Marten-Finnis and Winkler, “Location of Memory,” 38; Andrei Corbea-Hoisie, ed. *Jüdisches Städtelbild Czernowitz* (Frankfurt am Main: Jüdischer Verlag im Suhrkamp, 1998), 20-23); Hirsch and Spitzer, *Ghosts of Home*, 93-8, 328-29.

of language and reason that has been seen as emblematic of postwar European thought.”¹⁴⁶

Others were Rose Ausländer, a poet and author of the romanticized descriptions of the city, and young poet Selma Meerbaum-Eisinger, Celan’s cousin who did not survive the Holocaust.¹⁴⁷ 4 out of five German newspapers in Czernowitz had Jewish editors and contributed to the lively and fierce debates along with numerous Romanian, Ukrainian, and Yiddish newspapers.¹⁴⁸

This outburst of German cultural production might be explained by the change, rather than continuity, of Czernowitz life under Romanian rule. Limited political, career, and even travel opportunities re-directed self-expression of the educated and ambitious youth into literary sphere. The same limitations, caused by the raise of antisemitism, spurred the development of a distinct Jewish national identity in some Czernowitzers. Increasingly, left-leaning youth was using Yiddish, and a string sub-current of Yiddish culture appeared in the city. Although some of Yiddish writers were unassimilated refugees from Bessarabia (including Jacob Sternberg), home-grown Yiddish writers such as Itzik Manger and Joseph Burg appeared in the 1930s.¹⁴⁹ At the same time, younger Jews, Ukrainians, and some Germans were fluent in Romanian, and many

¹⁴⁶ Hirsch and Spitzer, *Ghosts of Home*, 247.

¹⁴⁷ For more on Selma and her poetry, see Selma Meerbaum-Eisinger, *Harvest of Blossoms. Poems From a Life Cut Short*, ed. and introduction by Irene Silverblatt and Helene Silverblatt, trans. by Jerry Glenn and Florian Birkmayer (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2008).

¹⁴⁸ Marten-Finnis and Winkler, "Location of Memory," Myroslav Romaniuk, *Ukraiïns'ka presa Pivnichnoiï Bukovyny (1918-1940)* (L'viv: Feniks, 1996); Prokopowitsch, *Die Entwicklung des Pressewesens in der Bukovina*.

¹⁴⁹ See Markus Winkler, *Jüdische Identitäten im kommunikativen Raum: Presse, Sprache und Theater in Czernowitz bis 1923* (Bremen 2007); Hirsch and Spitzer, *Ghosts of Home*.

activists argued for the introduction of Romanian in Jewish education and public sphere in order not to halt Jewish integration into Romanian state and nation.¹⁵⁰

In spite of important changes in the urban life brought about by the Romanian rule, and particularly its final years, on the eve of Second World War, German dominated the Jewish public sphere of Czernowitz, and Jews predominated in the city. A former Czernowitzers Hardy Breier remembered in the early 21 century:

Most of us were born in Rumanian Bukowina. We spoke German but had no German formal education. German we learned at home and [from] reading books. The [German] slang, which gives the language its richness and flavor was missing. ... Our street slang was a German spiced with Yiddish, Ruthenian, Rumanian and understandable only to town people. Even local ethnic Germans were speaking dialects we wouldn't understand. But we declared boastfully that we had *Deutsche Kultur*! Rumanian we learned from kindergarten age, there we learned the anthem: *Traiasca Regele*—long live our King. ...

When we came to Rumania, the local Jews despised us. They couldn't stand our stance of superiority, high nosed declarations: "We are not Rumanians! We are different and much superior!" We were proud of our heavily accented Czernowitzer speech! We even stressed it to make it obvious. We were aristocrats! We could recite Wilhelm Busch in original of whom these savage *Regatler* haven't even heard of! How couldn't they see and admit our supremacy? And how they hated us! They called us Czernoschwitzers. Even in Israel we resented being called Rumanians. [When asked,] "Are you from Rumania?" we would reply with obvious uneasiness and sorrow: "Technically we are."¹⁵¹

¹⁵⁰ For a Ukrainian perspective, see Davyd Romaniuk, *Pryborkannia pravdy, abo dobrodiinist' iak sposib zhyttia, ed. Illia Havanos* (Chernivtsi, 1998). During my conversations with old Czernowitzers of Ukrainian background, Zinaida Peniuk (in 1997) and Taras Ridush (in 2008) they stressed that resentment of radical Romanianization politics among Slavic speakers did not result in their rejection or hatred of Romanian language. Multilingualism being very common and traditional, they considered it normal and even beneficial to be fluent in several languages, including Romanian.

¹⁵¹ This citation is from a post on the listserv Czernowitz-L, a virtual space of communication between "old Czernowitzers" most of whom are Jews. For more information, see <http://czernowitz.ehpes.com/>. Hardy Breier is

In 1940, they were still in Cernăuți, worried but leaving their everyday lives, reading their German books, and strolling the western-looking streets of their city. To many of them, “the Dniester River, the Eastern border between Romania and Russia was like the end of Europe. It was less accessible ... than the moon is to-day.”¹⁵²

one of the most dedicated contributors to the myth of Czernowitz that acquired a life of its own. For more on this, see “Commemorating the Future in Post-War Ukrainian Chernivtsi,” forthcoming in *Eastern European Politics and Societies* (29 pages) currently available online as doi:10.1177/0888325410364673 (<http://eep.sagepub.com/cgi/rapidpdf/0888325410364673v2>). [check standards on citing emails]

The “aristocratism” of “Austrian” Jewish Czernowitzers as perceived by “Romanian” Jews is described by Norman Manea, *The Hooligan's Return: A Memoir*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003, 63, 77.

¹⁵² Fichmann, [find p. or online ref.]