

Post-Austrian Lemberg: War Commemoration, Interethnic Relations, and Urban Identity in L'viv, 1918–1939

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EAST AND EAST CENTRAL European cities are a neglected field of research in urban history. While a certain number of publications exist on select urban phenomena such as urban Jewry,¹ only recently have attempts been made to focus research on entire cities. Studies published in the last decade have tried to discover the unknown urban world of multiethnic societies in countries such as Russia, Poland, Ukraine, and the Baltic states.² Researchers must cope with specific problems. General city histories are very rare, with the exception of several "city biographies" dating from the 1920s and 1930s. Archival sources are rather poorly documented in inventories, and holdings (especially on the territory of the former Soviet Union) suffered wartime losses and are often scattered. Multilingual skills and knowledge of "exotic" languages such as Ukrainian, Lithuanian, or Yiddish are mandatory. And finally, the usual approaches do not lead to satisfactory results. "Traditional" urban history deals with Western European and North American

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¹See, for example, Vladimir Melamed, *Evrei vo L'vove, XIII–pervaja polovina XX veka. Sobytiia—obščestvo—Ijudi* (The Jews of L'viv from the thirteenth to the middle of the twentieth century) (L'viv, 1994); Henri Minczeles, *Vilna, Vilno, Vilnius, La Jérusalem de la Lithuanie* (Paris, 1992); Leyzer Ron, *Jerusalem of Lithuania* (New York, 1978); Gabriela Zalewska, *Ludność żydowska w Warszawie w okresie międzywojennym* (The Jewish population in Warsaw in the interwar era) (Warsaw, 1996); Steven J. Zipperstein, *The Jews of Odessa: A Cultural History, 1794–1881* (Stanford, 1986). For a literature survey, see Christoph Schmidt, "Neue Literatur zur Geschichte der Juden in Litauen," *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* 50 (2001): 448–49.

²Selected recent works about cities in Eastern and Central Europe include Andreas R. Hofmann and Anna Veronika Wendland, eds., *Stadt und Öffentlichkeit in Ostmitteleuropa. Beiträge zur*

urban societies that were shaped by a special set of social, economic, and juridical circumstances, in which longstanding city autonomy, rapid modernization since the eighteenth century, a powerful city bourgeoisie, and highly developed and differentiated public spheres played important roles. When one applies the standards of Western city development to the multinational Central and Eastern European cities during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the latter appear to be underdeveloped and lacking in many of the institutional preconditions that make a mere urban agglomeration a city. Such considerations may even be applied to a city such as Lemberg (L'viv in Ukrainian, Lwów in Polish),³ which belonged to Austria-Hungary until 1918, and was always regarded as a stronghold of "Vienese-ness" and "Europeanness" in the "East."⁴

Accordingly, research has to choose a much broader approach to assess the specific character of those cities. Major questions are: Were these urban societies shaped by ethnic and cultural conflicts? Or did mutual influences and interethnic encounter play the decisive role? Did the rise of national movements and the increasing segregation of national public spheres affect city societies negatively, causing alienation and conflict, or did supranational or prenatal urban identities prevail? In this context, it is important to assess the influence of national mobilization on the shaping of modern

Entstehung moderner Urbanität zwischen Berlin und Charkiv, Tallinn und Triest (Stuttgart, 2002); Gerhard Melinz and Susan Zimmerman, eds., *Wien, Prag, Budapest. Urbanisierung, Kommunalpolitik, gesellschaftliche Konflikte (1867–1918)* (Vienna, 1996); Václav Ledvinka and Jiří Pešek, *Dějiny českých měst*, vol. 1, *Praha* (History of Czech cities, vol. 1, Prague) (Prague, 2000); Jacek Purchla, *Krakau unter österreichischer Herrschaft 1846–1918. Faktoren seiner Entwicklung* (Vienna, 1993); Harald Heppner, ed., *Czernowitz. Die Geschichte einer ungewöhnlichen Stadt* (Cologne, 2000); Michael F. Hamm, *Kiev: A Portrait, 1800–1917* (Princeton, 1995); Patricia Herlihy, *Odessa: A History, 1794–1914* (Cambridge, 1991); Guido Hausmann, *Universität und städtische Gesellschaft in Odessa 1865–1917. Soziale und nationale Selbstorganisation an der Peripherie des Zarenreiches* (Stuttgart, 1998); Tanja Penter, *Odessa 1917: Revolution an der Peripherie* (Cologne, 2000); Wladimir Berelovitch, *Histoire de Saint-Petersbourg* (Paris, 1996); Solomon Volkov, *St. Petersburg: A Cultural History* (London, 1996); Blair A. Ruble, *Leningrad: Staging a Soviet City* (Berkeley, 1990); Karl Schlögel, *Jenseits des Großen Oktober: Das Laboratorium der Moderne. Petersburg 1909–1921* (Berlin, 1988); William J. Chase, *Workers, Society, and the Soviet State: Labor and Life in Moscow, 1918–1929* (Urbana, 1990); David Lloyd Hofmann, *Peasant Metropolis: Social Identities in Moscow, 1929–1941* (Ithaca, 1994). New literature referring to L'viv's history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries includes Kazimierz Karolczak and Henryk Żaliński, eds., *Lwów. Miasto — społeczeństwo — kultura* (L'viv: City—society—culture), vols. 1–4 (Cracow, 1995–2002); Christoph Mick, "Nationalisierung in einer multiethnischen Stadt. Interethnische Konflikte in Lemberg 1890–1920," *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 40 (2000): 113–46; Isabel Röskau-Rydel, *Kultur an der Peripherie des Habsburgerreiches. Die Geschichte des Bildungswesens und der kulturellen Einrichtungen in Lemberg von 1772–1848* (Wiesbaden, 1998); Anna Veronika Wendland, "Stadt zwischen zwei Kriegen. Lemberg in der Zweiten Republik, 1918–1939," in *Lemberg—Lwów—L'viv. Eine Stadt im Schnittpunkt europäischer Kulturen*, ed. Thomas Held (Cologne, forthcoming); Wendland, "Nachbarn als Verräter. Nationalisierungsprozesse, Erinnerungspolitik und städtische Öffentlichkeiten im Lemberg der Zwischenkriegszeit," in Hofmann and Wendland, *Stadt und Öffentlichkeit*, 149–69.

³Later, I will use today's name of the city, L'viv.

⁴Marian Tyrowicz, *Wspomnienia o życiu kulturalnym i obyczajowym Lwowa 1918–1939* (Remembrances on the cultural and everyday life of L'viv) (Wrocław, 1991), mentions *wiedeńszczyzna* as a distinct style of Lwów city culture before and after 1918 (p. 43).

urban identity and the functioning of urban elements in patriotic propaganda. Big cities played an eminent role in modern national myths as cultural capitals or imagined political capitals of national irredentists. Pre-1918 L'viv was perceived as such a capital within the Polish and Ukrainian discourses, as was Vilnius within the Polish and Lithuanian ones. An analysis has to take into consideration that East Central European city populations were often not identical with the dominant nation of the empire the city was part of (for example, Warsaw, Kiev, and Vilnius in the framework of the Russian Empire, or L'viv in Austria-Hungary). Additionally, they differed from the rural population (Jewish townspeople and Slavic or Lithuanian rural populations in Russia's Pale of Settlement; and Polish-Jewish cities and the Ukrainian countryside in Eastern Galicia).

On the other hand, this situation was rapidly changing from the mid nineteenth century on, when mass migration from rural areas to the cities began. Unfortunately, research on these subjects is often hampered by mutual isolation. As a rule, scholars focus exclusively on Jews, Poles, Ukrainians, or Lithuanians, and the respective role of each group in the city. Even more so, the role of nationalities other than the scholar's own is ignored, as has been the case with Polish research on Vilnius and L'viv in the interwar era, or Soviet Ukrainian (and most of post-1991 Ukrainian) research on Kiev and L'viv. The majority of Western researchers also concentrate upon one ethnic and/or cultural group, and there is very little comparative research that could enhance a perspective on differences and parallels between different parts of Europe or different regions of Eastern and Central Europe.

This article has been written within a larger research project that attempts to apply an integral and comparative approach to East Central European city history, focusing on L'viv and Vilnius, two cities of the former Polish Commonwealth that were part of the Austrian and Russian empires respectively. Both found themselves within the borders of the Polish Republic after the Great War.⁵ In the following article, I will take a closer look at an almost unknown chapter of L'viv's city history: World War I and the interwar period, when many of the above mentioned problems emerged.

A City at War

Many historiographers of the Great War have traditionally focused on the impact of war events on greater collective units such as states or nations. Only recently have attempts been made to assess the impact of war on city societies, defined as communities occupying a medium level between "imagined" (such as nations) and "experienced" communities (that is, neighborhoods or

⁵Urbane Identität und nationale Integration: Lemberg und Wilna, 1900–1939 (Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum für Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas, Leipzig).

families).⁶ Jay Winter and Jean-Louis Robert chose the capitals of the Great Powers as their field of research, arguing that wars were decided not only on the front lines but in the metropolises of the warring nations as well. But what about "cities at war" at the peripheries? In eastern central Europe, for example, cities lay near the front lines, and the collapse of two multinational powers, the Russian Empire and Austria-Hungary, complicated the situation, plunging Eastern Europeans from international war into civil war.

L'viv, the capital of Austrian Galicia from the Partitions of Poland until 1918, was such a place. Founded by Ruthenian princes in the thirteenth century, the city served as a metropolis of East Slav Orthodox culture at the Western periphery of the Kievan Rus'; it was an object of Polish-Ruthenian conflict from the very beginning. Since the fifteenth century, the city had belonged to Poland and become one of the kingdom's most important multinational trade centers. L'viv's "Golden Age" was a period of flourishing Polish and Armenian city culture. The Jewish community was relatively well off, thanks to royal privileges and its leading role in international trade, but it suffered from religious discrimination and students' pogroms. The Orthodox Ruthenian (Ukrainian) townspeople became subject to increasing political pressure because of their "schismatic" faith. During the Counter Reformation, this process eventually culminated in the attempt to force a church union upon them. The new Uniate Church was conceded to preserve the Eastern rite while being subject to the Vatican's jurisdiction. In Galicia, the union was implemented in 1708 after decades of religious strife. However, the confessional controversy of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries stimulated the social and cultural life of L'viv's Ruthenians, who organized religious brotherhoods, schools, and several cultural institutions in reaction to Polish pressure. The Ruthenians, though eventually becoming loyal adherents of the Uniate confession in the course of the eighteenth century,⁷ preserved a strong feeling of Orthodox city pride. Their historiographers praised the ancient East Slavic principality of Galicia-Volhynia, whose name was partly revived after 1772 when Austria decided to choose *Galizien* as a collective term for the recently acquired Polish lands.

THIS SHORT INTRODUCTION to L'viv's premodern history illustrates the fact that after the end of Austrian rule in Galicia, both the Poles and Ukrainians, its leading nationalities, were able to put forward historical arguments in order to reclaim L'viv as "theirs." Both referred to facts that dated back well into the Middle Ages and to early modern times.

In L'viv, urban history was heavily influenced by war and civil war for years after the "official" end of the conflicts. "Imagined" communities were consolidated during the wars, and through war experience they would

⁶Jay Winter and Jean-Louis Robert, *Capital Cities at War: Paris, London, Berlin, 1914–1919*, Studies in the Social and Cultural History of Modern Warfare, 2 (Cambridge, 1997), 3–24; Benedict R. Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London, 1991).

⁷For a short introduction to the history of the Uniate (from 1774, Greek Catholic) Church, see John Paul Himka, *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine: The Greek Catholic Church and the Ruthenian National Movement in Galicia, 1867–1900* (Montreal, 1999), 5–8.

influence the life of urban "experienced" communities more than ever before. Interwar L'viv was, above all, postwar L'viv. I will try to show how war events and political mythologies about war and civil war formed interethnic relationships in L'viv and shaped the city's role in interwar Poland.

On the eve of the Great War, L'viv was a rapidly growing, dynamic city with high rates of migration from the countryside. From the outside, it was regarded as a "boomtown" of great economic capability and cultural appeal. Jews and Ukrainians made up the bulk of the newcomers, arriving in the Crownland capital from the shtetls and villages of Eastern Galicia.⁸ Alexander Granach, born of Jewish parents in a village near Kolomyia and later a celebrated actor at Max Reinhard's theater in interwar Berlin, remembers this milieu:

And the train rolled into the great railway station of Lemberg-Lwów, capital of Galicia. There's an enormous racket and clamor. Hundreds of people getting in and out, pushing, shouting for railway porters with trolleys and suitcases, locomotives breathing, puffing, blowing, screeching, hooting. People running around busily in all directions—and there, in all this hubbub, there's a group approaching, laughing and waving and coming towards us. It's my elder brother Abram, elegantly dressed, with his wife and grown-up children.... [We] agreed that I should take turns every month to stay at one of the brothers' places. The next day, Shimele Ruskin came and took me to the mechanized bakery at Tabaczynski's. I got employed at two *Gulden* fifty per week, and every day a loaf of bread and twelve rolls.⁹

This was a typical first urban experience for thousands of migrants, who mostly got low-wage jobs in small manufacturing and retail businesses or as domestic servants. As a result of the rapid demographic growth, L'viv faced consequences of urbanization characteristic for the first decades of the twentieth century: housing and infrastructural problems, insufficient energy and water supplies, and social instability. Immigration also shaped the city's national composition: According to the 1914 census, Polish Roman Catholics accounted for slightly more than half of the population, followed by a considerable Jewish community representing roughly one-third, and a partly Polonized Greek Catholic Ukrainian ("Ruthenian") minority of almost one-fifth of the total population. There were also small minorities of Armenians and Germans. Polish was the dominant language in the city, whereas the agrarian Eastern Galician region around L'viv was predominantly populated by Ukrainian-speakers.¹⁰

⁸Between 1869 and 1910, L'viv's population grew from 87,109 to 195,796; 68.3 percent of this growth was due to immigration. See Stanisław Hoszowski, *Ekonomiczny rozwój Lwowa* (The economic development of L'viv) (L'viv, 1935), 64–65. Of the 154,481 inhabitants of L'viv in 1900, only 68,414 were born in the city; the rest (81,059) were born elsewhere, mostly in Galicia. See "Die ortsansässige Bevölkerung der Grossstädte nach der Gebürtigkeit," *Österreichische Statistik* (hereafter *ÖSt*) 63, no. 2. (1903): 48–52, table 4. Between 1900 and 1910, L'viv's population grew at a rate of 28.92 percent, 17.20 percent of it due to immigration and 11.72 percent from natural growth. See "Table 2, Zunahme und Abnahme der anwesenden Bevölkerung," *ÖSt*, Neue Folge 1 (1917): 35–36.

⁹Alexander Granach, *Da geht ein Mensch. Roman eines Lebens* (Munich, 1987), 174f.

¹⁰According to the last Austrian census (1910), L'viv had an overall population of 206,113 inhabitants, of whom 51 percent were Roman Catholic, 19 percent Greek Catholic, and 28 percent

L'viv had extraordinary economic, political, and symbolic significance for Poles, Ukrainians, and Jews. It was Galicia's metropolis, where political and cultural networks and national as well as religious public spheres were concentrated. L'viv's Jewry had experienced their success story during the nineteenth century. Since the Revolution of 1848 and the constitutional period beginning in the 1860s, Jews enjoyed full civil rights, including the right to own land. Legal emancipation and access to higher education gave many Jews the chance to become equal members of L'viv's bourgeoisie. No other Polish city of that size saw a similar rapid and sizeable social advance of Jews. By the twentieth century, the majority of L'viv's Jewry was assimilated to the Polish language and culture. However, this did not result in an erosion of Jewish identity. On the contrary, the liberal attitudes adopted by most of the city's elites enabled Jews to be Polish patriots and remain Jewish at the same time. Thus, broad Jewish participation was a central trait of L'viv's economic and cultural life. As Stanisław Vincenz recounts in his memoirs, Yiddish was rarely to be heard in the streets of interwar L'viv, and even the local Zionists were loyal Poles. The most influential Jewish newspaper in town, *Chwila*, united Zionist sympathies and a commitment to the preservation of Jewish identity with a strong Polish loyalism. This acculturation process had been boosted when Polish replaced German as the official language of Galicia after 1867. Moreover, it became fashionable to despise Yiddish as a provincial jargon that educated people did not speak, nor was it used on shop doors and signs.¹¹

The Ukrainians also owed a great deal to L'viv, though L'viv was not Ukrainian. The city was a center of Ukrainian social mobilization. It offered many educational and career opportunities and was home to many Ukrainian cultural institutions, the see of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic metropolitan, and the headquarters of Ukrainian political parties. Hence, Ukrainians saw L'viv as the natural capital of their "Ukrainian Piedmont," as they called Eastern Galicia.

The Polish inhabitants of L'viv put forward similar arguments, however. The city was the pride of Polish culture and science with its Ossolineum Foundation, the Polytechnical Institute, and a university that rivaled Cracow's as a Polish center of learning. Above all, "Lemberg-Lwów" was the

"Israelite" (Jewish). Almost 86 percent of L'viv inhabitants with Austrian citizenship spoke Polish as their *Umgangssprache*, 11 percent spoke Ruthenian (Ukrainian), and 3 percent spoke German. See "Die ortsanwesende Bevölkerung und Wohnbevölkerung," 43; "Die anwesende Bevölkerung nach der Religion," 80, table 3; and "Umgangssprache von je 100 anwesenden österreichischen Staatsbürgern," 63, all in *ÖSt, Neue Folge* 1 (1917). According to the first Polish census (1921), L'viv had an overall population of 219,392 inhabitants, of whom 51.3 percent were Roman Catholic, 12.1 percent were Greek Catholic, 35 percent were "of mosaic confession" (Jewish). See L'viv Magistrate statistics, 1928, *Derzhavnyi Archiv L'vivskoi Oblasti (DALO)*, fond 2/opys 26/ sprava 2048/arkuš 5.

¹¹ Stanisław Vincenz, *Po stronie dialogu* (Toward dialog), vol. 2 (Warsaw, 1983), 109–31, especially 120–28; Leila P. Everett, "The Rise of Jewish National Politics in Galicia, 1903–1907," in *Nation-Building and the Politics of Nationalism: Essays on Austrian Galicia*, ed. Andrei Markovits and Frank F. Sysyn, 149–77; and, in the same volume, Ezra Mendelsohn, "Jewish Assimilation in L'viv: The Case of Wilhelm Feldman," 94–110.

capital of Galician Polish political and economic mobilization before World War I. Since 1867, Galicia enjoyed a quasiautonomy within the monarchy, that enhanced the position of the Polish elites. The Galician diet, the Crownland bureaucracy, and a dynamically growing third sector (insurance companies, banks, and the professions) served as training grounds from which emerged those specialists who would later manage the administration and economy of independent Poland. Originally, booming L'viv was labeled a "more progressive" and liberal avant-garde city in comparison to conservative, traditionalist, and religious Cracow, especially in the spheres of culture and leisure, as evidenced by the world of L'viv theaters, cafés, cinemas, and dance clubs.¹²

On the other hand, on the eve of World War I, growing political intolerance and the latent Polish-Ukrainian conflict over domination in Eastern Galicia put L'viv's liberalism under pressure. As in other parts of the province, Polish nationalist and anti-Semitic tendencies succeeded in L'viv, and Polish government of the Crownland led to a radicalization of Ukrainian nationalism in the years before the war. It culminated in a sharp conflict over the foundation of a Ukrainian university in L'viv and finally resulted in the assassination of the Galician governor, Andrzej Potocki, in 1908. The precarious *Ausgleich* that was reached in 1914 after prolonged negotiations came too late to bridge the gap of distrust between Galicia's Poles and Ukrainians.¹³

When L'viv became a city at war in the fall of 1914, this distrust would not disappear, though all citizens of Eastern Galicia feared a common enemy, the Russians. In their study on "capital cities at war," Jay Winter and Jean-Louis Robert state

[O]n the Allied side of the line the well-being of the population, defined in terms of capabilities and functionings, was more successfully defended than in Germany.... Ultimately, the contrasts between Paris and London on the one hand, and Berlin on the other, provide in miniature a glimpse of the wider political and economic tests of the war. Those tests exposed different approaches to citizenship, as understood in terms of the entitlements of people to a set of capabilities and functionings necessary for them to go about their daily lives. The Wilhelmine regime failed that test; the Allies on balance passed it.¹⁴

¹²On city development and the competition between L'viv and Cracow, see Lawrence D. Orton, "The Formation of Modern Cracow (1866–1914)," *Austrian History Yearbook* 19–20, Part 1 (1983–84), 105–17; Jacek Purchla, *Jak powstał nowoczesny Kraków* (The emergence of Cracow) (Cracow, 1990), 81–82; Purchla, *Matecznik Polski* (Poland's refuge) (Cracow, 1992); Hoszowski, *Ekonomiczny*, 55–64.

¹³Already in 1910, the national-democratic (*Endecja*) press had its biggest success in L'viv, not in traditionally conservative Cracow. See Harald Binder, "Politische Öffentlichkeit in Galizien: Lemberg und Krakau im Vergleich," in Hofmann and Wendland, *Stadt und Öffentlichkeit*, 259–80. On the Polish-Ukrainian conflict up to 1914, see Kost' Levytskyi, *Istoriia politychnoi dumky halyts'kych ukraintsiv 1848–1914 na pidstavi spomyniv* (History of the political thought of the Galician Ukrainians based on memoirs) (L'viv, 1926); Wilhelm Feldman, *Geschichte der politischen Ideen in Polen seit dessen Teilungen (1795–1914)* (1917; reprint, Osnabrück 1964), 123–28, 206–208, 210–12; 215–309, 313–24, 401–406, 416–22; Marian Mudry, "Od Austrii do Polski: Problem uniwersytetu ukraińskiego we Lwowie w pierwszej ćwierci XX w." (From Austria to Poland: The Ukrainian university problem in L'viv during the first quarter of the twentieth century), in *Lwów*, ed. Karolczak and Żaliński, 4:291–310.

¹⁴Winter and Robert, *Capital Cities*, 20, 22.

The Habsburgs failed the test as well, especially in frontline cities such as L'viv. The city was subjected to foreign occupation and front warfare, as well as Austrian and, in 1914 and 1915, Russian military government. As in other cities, inhabitants suffered casualties and faced shortages of food, coal, and medical supplies. The everyday war experience in L'viv also included martial law, executions, imprisonments without regular trial, expulsions (particularly of Jews from the front zone), plundering, and requisitions. In 1914, L'viv's inhabitants saw mob murders, executions, and deportations of allegedly Russophile Ukrainian "spies." There was a general distrust toward all Ukrainians, who were suspected of sympathizing with the Russians. All this brought about a brutalization of social relations, which further deepened prewar social gaps and increased the enmity between the different national groups.¹⁵

When Austria-Hungary collapsed in October and November of 1918, both the Ukrainian and the Polish sides had already prepared clearly defined plans for postwar and postimperial L'viv. Whereas Polish patriots saw L'viv as an incontestable part of Poland and Eastern Galicia as Małopolska Wschodnia (Eastern Little Poland), the Ukrainians claimed L'viv as the capital city of a future Western Ukrainian state or even as regional center of a future united Ukraine. Polish and Ukrainian activists, mainly officers and soldiers who had constituted ethnic Polish and Ukrainian military units within the Austrian army, now began to organize forces on behalf of their respective provisional governments. In L'viv, the Polish majority within the city council tried to create a *fait accompli* in late October, declaring the city to be an integral part of independent Poland—though in fact a peace conference had to decide about that. The newly established Ukrainian National Council (Ukrains'ka Natsional'na Rada) in L'viv, however, declared itself the Constitutional Assembly of a future Western Ukrainian People's Republic (Zachidn'o-ukraïns'ka Narodna Respublyka, ZUNR). This new state was to include all ethnic Ukrainian territories of the former monarchy, in reference to Wilson's Fourteen Points. Eventually, the Rada and its "military committee" tried to get in ahead of the Poles and seize power in the town on November 1.

Negotiations between the groups deadlocked, prompting open warfare between Poles and Ukrainians. The Poles eventually regained Eastern Galicia by spring 1919, but the struggle over L'viv was decided much earlier. A Polish uprising within the city led by Piłsudskiites and officers sympathizing with the National Democrats withstood the Ukrainians, and when reinforcements arrived from Cracow, the enemy was driven out of town. The Polish side enjoyed broad civilian support from within, whereas the Ukrainians relied mostly on forces from the outside. It was this spontaneous mobilization of the civilian population, including secondary school and university students, women, and underclass and petty bourgeois activists such as craftsmen and railway employees, that made the *Obrona Lwowa* (The Defense of Lwów) famous in all of Poland. In spite of the "professional"

¹⁵Manfried Rauchensteiner, *Der Tod des Doppeladlers. Österreich-Ungarn und der Erste Weltkrieg* (Graz, 1993); Anna Veronika Wendland, *Die Russophilen in Galizien. Ukrainische Konservative zwischen Österreich und Rußland, 1848–1915* (Vienna, 2001), 512–62.

leadership of the Obrona Lwowa, it was the image of schoolboys armed with guns defending their city that became the Obrona memory of interwar Poles—an image which has been reproduced hundreds of times in books, brochures, and newspapers.¹⁶

It was no school trip, however, but a civil war of almost three weeks. It included fierce street fighting and hostage executions, as well as armistices to give citizens opportunity to get bread at the baker's. After the Polish victory, the Poles retaliated against Ukrainians who had supported their compatriots or were suspected to have done so. Such measures were directed even against Polonized Ukrainians who differed from their Polish neighbors merely by religion. At the same time, Polish soldiers and civilians, claiming that L'viv Jews had "supported the Ukrainians," staged a pogrom against them. In reality, the Jewish community had tried to stay neutral, and some two thousand Jews had fought on the Polish side. During the pogrom seventy-four Jews were killed, synagogues and *shuls* were burnt down, and shops and private houses were pillaged.¹⁷

Interwar L'viv: Orleńta Cult and Civil War Commemoration Reuniting Poland

In the collective memory of L'viv's Poles, however, things looked different. Images of Polish valor, solidarity, and heroism against a cunning enemy dominated the interwar discourse on the November events. During the

¹⁶As an example, see the paintings of Wojciech Kossak, which were popular in interwar Poland, *Młody obrońca* (The young defender) and *Orleńta—obrona cmentarza* (The Eaglets—Defense of the cemetery), reproduced on the dust jackets of *Obrona Lwowa. Źródła do dziejów walk o Lwów i województwa południowo-wschodnie 1918–1920. Relacje uczestników* (The Defense of Lwów. Sources on the history of the struggle over Lwów and the southeastern voivodships, 1918–1920. Records of participants), vols. 1 and 2 (1933–36, reprint, Warsaw, 1991); for an example of sentimental Obrona Lwowa lyrics, see Henryk Zbierzchowski, "Lwowski Listopad," in *Lwów. Wspomnienie lat szczęśliwych* (Lwów: Memory of happy years), ed. Janina Augustyn-Puziewicz (Wrocław, 1994), 119–20: "I wtedy zjawia znów w pamięci ten żołnierz mały/Który obronił Lwów dla Polski chwały./Czapka większa od głowy, pod którą widać włos płowy/I twarz rumieni świeża. Karabin dłuższy od żołnierza.... Czyli potrafi ono obronić polski gród?/Ale w tym dziecku jakiś duch, który starczy za dwóch!/Ale w tym dziecku jakiś głód, by walki otrzymać chrzest. (And then again in one's mind appears that little soldier/Who defended Lwów for Poland's glory./A czapka too big for his head, not covering his wild flaxen hair/And a fresh face, blushing. The rifle longer than the soldier.... And how was he able to defend the Polish bastion?/But there is spirit in that child enough for two!/But there is eagerness in that child to receive his baptism of fire.)

¹⁷On Obrona Lwowa events, see Ludwik Mroczka, *Spór o Galicję wschodnią 1914–1923* (The conflict over Eastern Galicia) (Cracow, 1998), 90–125; Melamed, *Ewrei vo L'vove*, 134–35; Wacław Wierzbieniec, "Związek Żydów Uczestników Walk o Niepodległość Polski we Lwowie (1932–1939)" (The Association of Jewish Veterans of the War for Poland's Independence in L'viv), in *Lwów*, ed. Karolczak and Żaliński, 2:287–88; Jerzy Tomaszewski, "Lwów, 22. listopada 1918r." (L'viv, November 22, 1918), *Przegląd historyczny* 75, no. 2 (1984): 279–85; Henryka Kramarz, "Ze sceny walk polsko-ukraińskich o Lwów. Życie mieszkańców w warunkach wojny polsko-ukraińskiej" (From the theater of the Polish-Ukrainian struggles over L'viv. Everyday life at war), in *Galicja i jej dziedzictwo* (Galicia and its heritage), vol. 1 (Rzeszów, 1994), 99–115; testimonies of combatants in a magistrate file concerning alleged cooperation of a Greek Catholic city employee, Julia Pikas, with the Ukrainians, 1935–36, DALO, fond 2/opys 26/sprawa 1083/arkuś 1–115; memories of combatants in Obrona Lwowa, op. cit.

November holidays, held every year to commemorate the Obrona, the participants collectively reiterated and revived the civil war events. They glorified the young Orleń¹⁸ or Dzieci Lwowa¹⁹ who gave their lives in defense of the Polish cause in L'viv. Assisted by the Catholic Church, the traditional commemoration of the dead on All Saints' and All Souls' holidays (November 1–2) was merged with the new Obrona Lwowa cult. Thus, the sacralized honoring of those killed in action became a part of Polish popular culture in the city.

The November celebrations also had a more secular aspect, including army participation and a general militarization of the ceremonies. During the holidays, urban public space underwent special patriotic appropriation. There were processions, military parades, paramilitary sports competitions, street illuminations, and special decorations of buildings and ceremonies at important sites where the fighting had been extremely fierce. All Obrona Lwowa commemorations were organized and institutionalized in close cooperation among the city administration, the army, and a veterans' organization, Związek Obrońców Lwowa (Association of the Defenders of Lwów). The latter collected documentary evidence about the civil war, organized lectures, published books, and lobbied for the "defenders" or their families in order to get subsidies, fee reductions, or public service jobs for them.²⁰

L'viv's citizens continue to remember the November holidays today. Marian Tyrowicz (1901–), a historian from an old, established L'viv family of Armenian descent, published invaluable memoirs about interwar L'viv. Tyrowicz's father and brothers were well-known sculptors and architects, and he himself worked as a teacher, university lecturer, and journalist, putting him in close touch with L'viv's cultural life during the interwar era. After World War II, Tyrowicz lectured on Polish modern history and press

¹⁸"Eaglets," an allusion to the Polish heraldic animal, the white eagle.

¹⁹"Lwów's children," originally a quotation from a pre-World War I popular song about L'viv recruits sent to Bosnia, "Marsz lwowskich dzieci," in Jerzy Habela and Sofja Kurzowa, eds., *Lwowskie piosenki uliczne, kabaretowe i okolicznościowe do roku 1939* (L'viv cabaret, street and occasional songs to 1939) (Cracow, 1989), 239.

²⁰See programs of November holidays in the L'viv City Magistrate records: Związek Obrońców Lwowa, Projekt programu uroczystości obchodu 10-lecia Obrony Lwowa (Association of the Defenders of L'viv. Program outline of the festivities on occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Defense of L'viv), May 1928, DALO f. 2/26/384/7f.; Program uroczystości 10-tej rocznicy Obrony Lwowa: w czasie od 31. X.–22. XI. 1928 r. (Program of the festivities on occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Defense of L'viv, Oct. 31–Nov. 2, 1923), DALO f. 2/26/384/33ff.; Projekt programu uroczystości obchodu 10-lecia Obrony Lwowa, DALO f. 2/26/384/35v.; Program uroczystości I. Okręgowych Zawodów Strzeleckich z broni małokalibrowej we Lwowie (Program of the festivities of the First District Competitions of the Small Caliber Rifle Association in L'viv) (Nov. 3, 1928), DALO f. 2/26/384/37–39; November celebration programs, 1936, DALO f. 2/26/1135/28, 31. In 1920, the city was even awarded a high military decoration "for defending the *polskość*" of the borderlands. See Józef Białtynia Chołodecki, *Lwów kawalerem krzyża "Virtuti militari"* (L'viv, a city awarded the *Virtuti Militari* Cross) (L'viv, 1922). Records of the Związek Obrońców Lwowa that illustrate the society's cultural and lobbyist activities are in DALO, f. 266 op. 1, records of the Society for the Investigation of the History of the Defense of Lwów in DALO, f. 257, op. 1. The society published the above cited source compilation *Obrona Lwowa*.

history at Cracow's Jagiellonian University.²¹ He spoke of "patriotic events that became more and more frequent" between the wars and described conservative patriotic tendencies among Polish writers in L'viv, whom avant-garde culture had to struggle against. Another author remembered that the celebration of Lwowski listopad (Lwów November) became a family holiday, perfectly integrated into the traditional Polish Catholic holiday calendar, right between All Saints' Day and Christmas.²²

This collective commemoration culture, which dominated and redivided public space with the assistance of the municipal authorities, excluded Ukrainian and Jewish L'vivians from the official city memory, further dividing the city along ethnoreligious lines. Polish patriots saw L'viv as an "island" of *polskość* (Polish spirit, or Polish culture) in the midst of the "Ukrainian sea," and as a bulwark of Poland's eastern borderlands. In addition, the revival of an ancient slogan, *Leopolis semper fidelis* (Lwów ever true), linked recent history to events of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when L'viv resisted foreign invasions.²³ The Obrona Lwowa memories were incorporated into this set of city images—an island menaced by the Ukrainian flood, Eastern "hordes," "Cossacks," and "*hajdamaks*" (a notion from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries meaning Ukrainian peasant and Cossack rebels) attacking the border walls.²⁴

This image mirrors not only nationalist convictions developed since the nineteenth century, but also illustrates Polish fears of losing L'viv to the Ukrainians in the future. Poles were not only concerned about migration to the city, but also feared the contemporary Wilsonian concept of self-determination of nations. Last but not least, the emergence of a new eastern neighbor, Soviet

²¹Tyrowicz, *Wspomnienia*; and idem, *W poszukiwaniu siebie.... Wspomnienia i refleksje* (In search of myself.... Memoirs and considerations), vol. 1, *Pod lwowskim niebem* (Under the sky of L'viv) (Lublin, 1988).

²²Tyrowicz, *Wspomnienia*, 22, 24, 39, 44, refers (among other authors) to Artur Schröder and his short story collection titled *Orleń*; and Augustyn-Puziewicz, *Lwów*, 117–20.

²³For the use of the slogan *Semper fidelis*, see note 24, city guides and texts on L'viv history; Anna Veronika Wendland, "Semper fidelis: Lwów jako narodowy mit Polaków i Ukraińców (1867–1939)" (Semper fidelis: L'viv as a national myth of Poles and Ukrainians, 1867–1939), in *Lwów*, ed. Karolczak and Zaliński, 4:263–74.

²⁴For images in memories and city guides of the interwar era, see A. Medyrński, *Lwów. Ilustrowany przewodnik dla zwiedzających miasto* (L'viv. Illustrated guide for visitors) (L'viv, 1937), preface; Mięczystaw Orłowicz, *Ilustrowany przewodnik po Lwowie* (Illustrated guide to L'viv) (L'viv, 1920 and 1925); Józef Piotrowski, *Lemberg und Umgebung. Handbuch für Kunstliebhaber und Reisende* (Leipzig, 1916), preface 1f.; German draft of city public relations text for twenty-year jubilee of Związek Miast Polskich, 1932 or 1933, DALO f. 2/26/817/7. They all offer more information on L'viv's "Golden Age" (its medieval and early modern history), than on nineteenth- and twentieth-century events. "Kronika Lwowa, jego zabytki i osobliwości" (A chronicle of L'viv, its memorials and attractions), in M. Sonnenscheina *Lwowski Skorowidz Adresowy urzędów, handlu i przemysłu oraz wolnych zawodów* (M. Sonnenschein's address book of administration, commerce, industry, and the professions in L'viv), ed. M. Sonnenschein, R. 3 (L'viv, 1927), 5–11, describes war events of 1918–19 rather laconically: The "Polish army" drove out the "military party of Ukraine," but the Defense of Lwów is not explicitly mentioned. For special mention of the conservation of L'viv's *polskość*, see Łucja Charewiczowa, *Historiografia i miłośnictwo Lwowa* (Historiography and amateur local history in L'viv), Biblioteka Lwowska, 107 (L'viv, 1938), 6; and Hoszowski, *Ekonomiczny*. The book is a comprehensive version of several lectures on the economic history of L'viv that Hoszowski delivered for Związek Obrótców Lwowa in spring 1934.

Ukraine, underpinned Polish worst-case scenarios: the possible redrawing of state borders according to “ethnically” defined criteria that would deny the relevance of “historical” facts—in the Polish perspective, the fact that Galicia had belonged to Poland since the fourteenth century. Additionally, certain patriotic works of art and literature and their considerable popularity among the masses gave rise to certain patterns of prejudice. As Czesław Miłosz stated, the Polish stereotype of “the Ukrainian” emerged from the reading of Henryk Sienkiewicz’s extremely popular novel about the seventeenth-century Cossack wars, *Ogniem i mieczem* (With fire and sword). The book created a cliché that was reproduced not only in works of art, newspapers, brochures, and speeches, but most of all, in the schools. Essays by Polish schoolchildren about the Defense of Lwów collected in the 1920s document this fact. The children wrote of Ukrainians who fought against Poland in 1918–19 as “uncivilized,” “brutal,” and “ruthless,” and labeled them “*hajdamaks*.” Students of history at L’viv University were also invited to make *Obrona Lwowa* a subject of doctoral theses and essays.²⁵

The Ukrainian reaction was similar in structure, if not content, to mainstream Polish thought in and about interwar L’viv. The defeated Ukrainian patriots kept alive bitter memories of 1918–19 and imagined “their” L’viv as a Ukrainian city under Polish domination, disdaining the cultural heritage of Eastern Galicia’s Poles as something forced upon the East Slavs by foreign invasion and occupation. They put up their own martyr cult, which in rhetoric and rituals bore a striking resemblance to Polish commemoration festivities. They preferred to gather at their own clubs and hold their own parties and celebrations, thus fostering mutual alienation and the division of public spheres along national lines. L’viv Jews, of course, had no positive feelings about the November days, either. Generally, they found themselves in a precarious between-the-fronts position, accused by Poles and Ukrainians alike of supporting the enemy.²⁶

Moreover, reality in interwar Poland fell short of a period of internal peace and well-being—preconditions the city would have urgently needed to integrate different nationalities and interests. Instead, L’viv had to cope with constant economic crises and growing de-democratization of the political system. The city suffered from its location on the southeastern periphery of Poland and from its “demotion” from a Habsburg Crownland capital to a mere voyvodship center, which led to brain drain and the loss of other important resources. Well-educated L’viv civil service officials got jobs in the

²⁵Czesław Miłosz, *Wyprawa w dwudziestolecie* (Departure to the interwar period) (Cracow, 1999), 78–79; Edward Horwarth, ed., *Kajet dziecka lwowskiego z przeżyć w czasie oblężenia Lwowa od listopada 1918 do kwietnia 1919* (Essays of L’viv children on the period of siege from November 1918 up to April 1919) (L’viv, 1921); Tyrowicz, *Wspomnienia*, 121.

²⁶For a document of the Ukrainian martyr cult around the Eastern Galician conflict, see Bohdan Hnatkevych, Lev Lepkyi, and Ivan Nimchuk, “USS. Ukraïns’ki Sichovi Stril’tsi 1914–1920” (USS. The Ukrainian Sich Riflemen 1914–1920) (1935, reprint L’viv, 1991), 129–44. Miłosz, *Wyprawa w Dwudziestolecie*, offers similar observations concerning interwar urban life in Vilnius and Warsaw. A document on Ukrainian city pride is Ivan Krypiakievych, *Istorični prochody po L’vovi* (Historical promenades in L’viv) (1932, reprint, L’viv, 1991).

Warsaw central bureaucracy, and oil companies, insurance firms, and banks moved their main offices from L'viv to Warsaw and Poznań. L'viv's first attempt to overcome economic isolation by founding the Targi Wschodnie (Eastern Fair) in the 1920s met hard competition from Poznań's more potent and Western-oriented International Fair.²⁷

On the other hand, L'viv—that is, the majority of Polish L'vivians and L'viv political, military, church, and other public sphere authorities—introduced a new “virtual” resource into the Polish public sphere after the Great War: the civil war myth of Obrona Lwowa. The collective glorification of the Orleń and of L'viv's resistance to the Ukrainian menace consolidated local Polish society. During a time of social and political instability, the Obrona Lwowa myth offered a tale of national solidarity and heroism that encompassed all Poles regardless of social differences. Moreover, it did not just join classes, but generations and genders by emphasizing the role of children and fathers, men and women fighting together for Poland's unity. Finally, it reunited different and competing Polish regions that had existed in isolation for almost 150 years. City public relations texts, tourist office records, trip programs for tourists or for Americans of Polish origin visiting their ancestors' country, and the program of the Polish president's visit to L'viv in 1924 present the “city of the Orleń” to the entire country and to the rest of the world as a heroic city, a true defender of the fatherland.²⁸ So L'viv came to embody Polish patriotic virtues. The image of the “eaglets” defending Poland became part of twentieth century Polish political and historical vocabulary, and was revived later to commemorate World War II.²⁹ Thus, the Orleń cult is an example of the successful merging of urban and broader national identities: Poles began to imagine a city as the symbol of the nation's will to survive.

²⁷Tyrowicz, *Wspomnienia*, 34–35. For an example of L'viv's structural problems, see “City council resolution against the move of *Polski Bank Przemysłowy* to Warsaw,” Sept. 22, 1923, and City Council to *Polski Bank Przemysłowy*, Sept. 20, 1923, DALO f. 2/26/17/84–88; on interwar L'viv, see Wendland, “Stadt zwischen zwei Kriegen.”

²⁸For general tendencies of L'viv image-making, concentrating on L'viv as a “frontier” city, see city guides cited above; for special focus on Obrona Lwowa, see the program of a trip the Związek Miast Polskich organized for Members of the International City Federation, Sept. 6–16, 1929, July 14, 1929 DALO f. 2/26/484/7, 16f., 20, 26; Excursion Committee of the Associated Business Clubs/Biuro Wycieczkowe Zjednoczonych Klubów Handlowych Polskich to City Presidency, Chicago, Feb. 1, 1929, with program of a trip to Polish cities, including L'viv, May 14–July 20, 1929, DALO f. 2/26/392/184–86; Excursion program of Amis de la Pologne, Aug. 25–27, 1931, DALO f. 2/26/658/19, 23; City Public Relations and Tourist Office, Wytyczne prac propagandowych referenta propagandy (Guidelines for the public relations executive's propaganda efforts), July, 26, 1935, DALO f. 2/26/658/39–44. Plans include production of short films about heroic L'viv, November celebration trips for tourists from other cities, brochures about the city history with a chapter “about how L'viv defended itself.” Here the presentation of L'viv as “city of the Orleń” is mentioned as well; circular of City President Stanisław Ostrowski, Nov. 25, 1938, DALO f. 2/26/1631/2–5, with exhibition plans to commemorate the 600th anniversary of the city in 1940, titled *Lwów historyczny, współczesny i przyszły* (Historical, modern and future L'viv). According to the source, the Obrona Lwowa has to be a separate part of the exhibition; program of the President's visit in L'viv, September 5–7, 1924, DALO f. 2/26/6/19, 22–27.

²⁹This is what my colleagues Andreas R. Hofmann and Ewa Tomicka-Krumrey assumed when discussing this article. It may be interesting to investigate the question whether the post-World

In the long run, however, the tale of national self-sacrifice produced negative consequences. It reproduced, reiterated, and symbolized Polish fears about borderland minority unrest, and it stabilized the notion of an "internal enemy" true Poles should unite against. While keeping together a large part of ethnically Polish society and bolstering a Polish self-consciousness that imagined Poland first of all as an ethnically Polish country, it undermined the precarious consensus of a multinational state in which all citizens should enjoy the same rights and be subject to the same law. Lwów, Poland's *Wacht am Rhein*, was a majority faith that excluded as potential traitors every citizen who did not want to follow a narrow definition of *polskość*, Poles and non-Poles likewise. Thus L'viv's civil war myth did not reunite Poland, but merely its nominal nation—the *Poles*, especially the patriots among them—while it did much to distort and poison relations between the winners and the losers of the civil war of 1918–19, who had to coexist within one country.

Austrian Heritage, City Culture, and Transnational Urban Self-Consciousness

At the same time, everyday life in interwar L'viv produced a constantly growing urban feeling that remained partly unaffected by nationalist integration and might have succeeded in overcoming national segregation if L'viv had had time enough to develop in a peaceful world. Still other, although less forceful, voices rejected the strategies of boundary drawing I presented earlier. From them we receive several splendid post-World War II memories, the most famous written by Józef Wittlin and Stanisław Lem; it is perhaps this aspect of the city that Joseph Roth meant when he called L'viv "Stadt der verwischten Grenzen" (city of the effaced borders).³⁰ There were also many citizens who perceived the civil war first of all as a tragedy, calling it *bratobójstwo* (fratricidal war), and there were left-wing activists of Polish, Ukrainian, and Jewish origin who detested nationalist identity construction for reasons of principle. Many people were simply not interested in politics and tried to forget about the war by enjoying new forms of urban leisure: listening to jazz and radio, watching movies and football matches, and singing "milieu" songs in the L'viv vernacular, a Polish patois interspersed with Ukrainian, German, and Yiddish words. These songs idealized the world of

War II Warsaw memorial of *Mały powstaniec* (The Little Insurrectionist) that was erected in honor of the young participants of the Warsaw Insurrection (August–October 1944) has been inspired by the iconography of L'viv's Orleń.

³⁰Joseph Roth, "Lemberg, die Stadt" in *Joseph Roth: Werke*, vol. 2, *Das journalistische Werk*, 1924–1928 (Cologne, 1990), 285–99, especially 288–99; Józef Wittlin, *Mój Lwów* (My L'viv) (Warsaw, 1991); Stanisław Lem, *Wysoki Zamek* (Castle Hill) (Cracow, 1991); Andrzej Kuśniewicz, *Znaki zodiaku* (Signs of the zodiac) (Warsaw, 1977); Kuśniewicz, *Mieszaniiny obyczajowe* (Miscellaneous impressions from everyday life) (Warsaw, 1985); Lew Kaltenbergh, *Odłamki stłuczonego lustra* (Fragments of a broken chandelier) (Warsaw, 1991); Stanisław Machowski, *Bernardyński mijam plac* (Crossing the Bernardines' square) (Wrocław, 1989); Kornel Makuszyński, *Kartki z Kalendarza* (Calendar pages) (Warsaw, 1939); Jan Parandowski, *Luźne kartki* (Loose-leaf miscellanea) (Wrocław, 1967); Kazimierz Schleyen, *Lwowskie gawędy* (L'viv chats) (London, 1967).

L'viv's suburbs with its inns, *batiar*³¹ street gangs, petty criminals, and odd characters known all over town.

Accordingly, this is the urban world of L'viv that elderly people deported from L'viv by the Soviets between 1944 and 1946 remember today. Their memories are not devoid of nostalgia, and they often romanticize the setting, but nonetheless they give an impression of the urban feeling during the interwar period. We learn about the legendary *Wesoła lwowska fala*, a comedy program broadcast by a L'viv radio station that featured two of Poland's interwar stars, Kazimierz Wajda and Henryk Vogelfänger, as the dialect-speaking *batiarze* "Szczepko and Toriko." People remember street musicians, Jewish peddlers, and secondhand dealers (*handeles*) as a part of everyday street life. They recall the Ukrainian holiday of Epiphany (Jordan), which was traditionally celebrated in L'viv's central market square with a ceremony that moved both Poles and Ukrainians. Others mention the appearance of the first neon signs in downtown L'viv, the matches of the premier-league L'viv soccer and hockey clubs Pogoń and Czarni, the "Lunapark," and, most of all, the movies, a new form of leisure that brought a metropolitan atmosphere to the Galician province. "Synsacja, bu kinu gra" (Sensation, today cinema's playing)³² was a popular dialect song of that time. People remember school friendships between Polish, Jewish, and Ukrainian children who played hooky in the parks around Wysoki Zamek. Their memoirs mention Sunday walks in the ulica Legionów, L'viv's corso, in Kaiserwald—a forest area on the outskirts of L'viv whose German name was preserved during the interwar time and persists even in the Ukrainian city today—or in the distinguished Stryiski Park, whose official name was Kiliński Park in honor of a Warsaw patriotic hero, a fact L'viv's inhabitants obstinately ignored.³³

On the other hand, there is evidence that patriotic images gradually began to penetrate into the seemingly depoliticized area of everyday urban culture. Obviously, schools, churches, scouting organizations, and sports associations (the latter being highly segregated along national and religious lines) were of great importance for this transfer of ideas from the public into the private space.³⁴ The myth of a nation united eventually even encompassed the popular songs L'viv was so famous for, and the *batiares'* participation in the liberation of the city was praised. A true *batiar* was supposed to be a true Pole as well. This is an interesting aspect because the character of the *batiar* had originally symbolized a rather anarchic and antiauthoritarian trait of urban life that seemed to be less compatible with the interests of an integrated nation-state and its ruling classes.³⁵ Thus, referring to Polish L'viv, it

³¹*Batiar* is a dialect word of Hungarian origin denoting underclass youngsters.

³²"Synsacja, bu kinu gra," in Habela and Kurzowa, *Lwowskie piosenki uliczne*, 144–45.

³³See the texts quoted in note 28; Witold Szolginia, *Tamten Lwów*, vols. 1–6 (Wrocław, 1991–94); Augustyn-Puziewicz, *Lwów*; Vincenz, *Po stronie dialogu*, 132–33. Stryi is a town located in the south of L'viv. The park was named Stryiski because of its location near the highway to Stryi.

³⁴In the above-mentioned programs of the November celebrations, schools, scouts, sports associations, and the Catholic Church are often mentioned as organizers of events (see note 20).

³⁵See the anonymous popular songs about the Obrona Lwowa, especially "Mamo najdroższa bądź zdrowa," a song about a fourteen-year-old fighter named Jurek Bitschan, in Habela and Kurzowa, *Lwowskie piosenki uliczne*, 258.

is rather difficult to draw the line between exclusively urban and national identities; in many respects, the former was intertwined with the latter.

Accordingly, Marian Tyrowicz refers to *lwowskość* (L'vivness) as a specific urban feeling, a distinct urban culture that distinguished L'viv from other Polish cities, originating from a special combination of both local and Polish patriotism, multiculturalism—with a dominating Polish culture—and Austro-Habsburg traditions.³⁶ L'viv owed much of this urban aura to the heritage of Lemberg, the Austrian provincial capital. First of all, the city was renowned all over Poland for its *Kaffeehaus* and *knajpy* (tavern) culture, a specific public sphere and gastronomic culture that emerged during the long Habsburg rule. L'viv was said to have the most developed and vivid café culture in interwar Poland; only Warsaw was comparable in this respect. This may have been the most persistent and popular heritage of Austria-Hungary in the southeastern part of the new Polish state. As a rule, Polish historians tended to describe the Austrian period as a time of alien domination, forced Germanization, and political stagnation. There was little sympathy for “kakanian” nostalgia—this was the domain of Galicia’s minorities, especially the Jews and Ukrainians, that had profited from Vienna’s rather than from Warsaw’s rule. Some aspects of the Austrian heritage, including the bureaucratic style of Galicia’s officials, the widespread enthusiasm for academic and other titles, and the notorious litigiousness of the Galicians, went similarly unappreciated in interwar Poland, especially in the non-Galician areas. Several other Austrian traditions in L'viv did not survive the Great War, much to the dismay of L'viv’s bourgeoisie, especially such city holidays as the *korso lwowskie*, a local variant of Vienna’s *Blumenkorso*.³⁷

However, L'viv’s *Kaffeehaus* culture, a central aspect of urban life in Eastern Galicia, underwent a transition influenced by the economic and social developments of the interwar era. Until the mid 1920s, most L'viv cafés were Viennese in style, and socially defined consumption patterns of the prewar time persisted. As Marian Tyrowicz remembers, confectioner’s cafés (*cukierni*) or garden cafés were regarded as family cafés that children and married women could attend, whereas the male population patronized the traditional café (*kawiarnia*). Different social and professional groups—and thus the participants of different public or semi-public spheres that were often isolated from each other—assembled in different cafés. The *Kawiarnia szkocka* (Scottish Café) on Fredro Square and the nearby *Kasyno Literackie* served as discussion forums and, at times, as ballrooms for university professors, writers, and students. Hotel Georges was reserved for establishment writers and upper-class society; Schneider’s, later Zaleski’s, and above all, Atlas’s Tavern (*knajpa Atlasa*) were famous as literary bohème cafés, and were mentioned in every city guide of that period. Retired civil servants preferred the Viennese Café, army officers and high-level officials the Centralna; Jewish businessmen met at the Grand Café, Ukrainian intellectuals in *Narodna hostynntsia*. After the inflation crisis of the early 1920s, and with

³⁶Tyrowicz, *Wspomnienia*, 17, 40.

³⁷*Ibid.*, 199.

the beginning of an economic upward trend in the middle of the decade, cafés and restaurants were increasingly frequented by families, high school and university students, and younger scholars. Trendy pubs, cafés designed in the new functional style, and dance clubs emerged. Avant-garde writers explored the cheap taverns in the proletarian suburbs in search of the *batiar* spirit. Another modern leisure activity of that time—in addition to the movies—was dancing in one of the clubs that ranged from high-class to disreputable places, and cabarets, a genre L'viv was famous for thanks to the legendary reputation of the city's popular humor and its peculiar vernacular. The dancing public of L'viv was moderately modern, sticking to traditional dances such as polkas, mazurkas, and waltzes, but also appreciating the new fashionable dances such as the tango, foxtrot, and Charleston. Dancing was extremely popular during the traditional L'viv carnival ball season in January and February.³⁸

The vivid cultural life of interwar L'viv was enhanced by the special mix of Viennese influences; Polish, Jewish, and Ukrainian cultural heritages; and autochthonous Galician traditions. Poets such as Henryk Zbierzchowski, who spent most of his time in downtown cafés, described the world of the urban milieu and combined, as Tyrowicz puts it, "the atmosphere of the Polish borderlands with a touch of urban Viennese culture."³⁹ Avant-garde culture discovered the radio as a new medium, and poetry readings broadcast by the local radio station were a special and rather modern trait of L'viv's city culture.⁴⁰

Until the end of the 1920s, Viennese traditions persisted in L'viv's press. The time-honored official newspaper *Gazeta Lwowska*, often called *Lemberka*⁴¹ or *The Polish Times*, had been a stronghold of those traditions before and shortly after the Great War. Available in every café, it was legendary for its sober style, and did by no means interfere in partisan politics or controversial local affairs. Other newspapers in the city followed its example. *Słowo Polskie* primarily served a well-educated bourgeois clientele and was renowned for its good local news coverage. The most famous yellow-journalism paper with a prewar tradition was *Wiek Nowy*, which had existed under that name since 1901. It presented sensational articles written by star reporter Feliks Przywiecki, then a local celebrity. It covered a lot of sex-and-crime stories in its "criminal chronicle," and accordingly had lots of advertisements (providing an excellent source for researchers of L'viv's everyday history and the urban feeling of that period).⁴² However, with the enduring economic crisis after 1930, political radicalization and the decline of nonpartisan journalism

³⁸Iurii Vinnychuk, *Knaipy L'vova* (L'viv taverns) (L'viv, 2000), 33–84, 141–70; Tyrowicz, *Wspomnienia*, 53–54, 83, 108, 184–98, 204.

³⁹Tyrowicz, *Wspomnienia*, 43.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 40, 57.

⁴¹In prewar times, the newspaper bore the additional title *Lemberger Zeitung* and was partly published in German.

⁴²This information comes from more detailed research about L'viv's press and public sphere within the above-mentioned research project. For further information, see Binder, "Politische Öffentlichkeit"; and Tyrowicz, *Wspomnienia*, 85, 87, 89.

became increasingly noticeable in L'viv's local press. L'viv's educated classes regretted the deterioration of the intellectual level of culture sections, literary supplements, and satiric publications. Contemporary observers blamed this process, first of all, on the brain drain L'viv experienced in the 1920s, when not only companies, but several leading intellectuals and eminent scholars, moved to other cities.⁴³ Sensationalist journalism began to prevail even in established newspapers, several of which went bankrupt. Influential intellectual institutions such as the literary journal *Lwowskie Wiadomości Muzyczne i Literackie* did not survive the crisis, and L'viv's publishing houses did not want to take risks by publishing younger avant-garde writers, who earned a living primarily through occasional journalism.⁴⁴

A similar decline of quality was noticeable in L'viv's musical culture: before the war and in the early 1920s, opera and concert programs were up to European standards, but the economic crisis after 1930 ruined the finances of L'viv's musical institutions, and famous artists were less often engaged than in the Austrian era. In addition, many people who had frequently attended concerts before the war now preferred the radio as a new, comfortable, and cheap way to listen to classical music.⁴⁵

The Polish-Ukrainian conflict, which escalated again after 1930, and the brutal pacification of Eastern Galician villages by police and army increased mutual distrust and provincial narrow-mindedness on both sides. Western European influences were on the decline in L'viv's public sphere.⁴⁶ It is interesting that Polish intellectuals in L'viv still called cultural cosmopolitanism and progressive thought "European," notwithstanding the rather discouraging fact that continental European politics and ideologies of that period showed quite a different tendency. A contemporary observer of Polish nationalist and anti-Semitic demonstrations might have been inclined to state that "European" influences in the 1930s taught the inhabitants of Eastern and Central Europe a lesson of intolerance and nationalist aggression.

On the other hand, it was in that very period when new, progressive initiatives emerged in Eastern Galicia, and different political groups united in their struggle against nationalism and the insidious growth of fascist tendencies in Poland.⁴⁷ The members of avant-garde circles, Galicians of Polish, Jewish, and Ukrainian origin likewise, felt the increasing provincialism endangering L'viv's public and intellectual life, especially when they compared their city to Warsaw, the new capital. Confronted with the deterioration of the economic situation of L'viv's lower classes, the mass of unemployed workers, and the precarious housing situation in the city, writers and artists became committed to writing social literature. They assembled in groups such as Przedmieście (Suburb), Związek Błękitnych (Union of

⁴³Tyrowicz, *Wspomnienia*, 92, 95, 113–14.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 48–49, 53–54.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 205.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 96.

⁴⁷Vincenz, *Po stronie dialogu*, 106–107, 133–39. For left-wing handbills and brochures about strikes, demonstrations, and riots in 1936, see M. V. Bryk et al., eds., *Istoriia L'vova v dokumentach i materialach. Zbirnyk dokumentiv i materialiv* (Kiev, 1986), 178, 180–84, 196–204; Tyrowicz, *Wspomnienia*, 59–71.

the Blue), or Koło Polonistów (Polonists' Circle). They founded new periodicals such as Tadeusz Hollender's *Wczoraj—dziś—jutro* (Yesterday—today—tomorrow) and *Signały* (Signals), the latter struggling hard with censorship. They organized lectures and discussions, later to become legendary, in the magnificent building of the former Galician diet at L'viv University. Their activities were a leftist challenge to the literary establishment represented by the elder generation of intellectuals, who had been influential during the last decades of the Habsburg era.⁴⁸ Many of those young, challenging writers were of Jewish origin and were killed during the German occupation, among them Bruno Schulz, who lived in Drohobycz, a provincial town near L'viv. Others, such as Józef Wittlin and Marian Hemar, survived war and the Holocaust as emigrés in Western countries.⁴⁹

Conclusion

What conclusions can be drawn from our description of L'viv's urban culture after the Great War? Did competing national identities prevail among L'viv's population, or were the people committed to a transnational urban identity that encompassed the different cultural traditions of Eastern Galicia? Did the city's Austrian heritage still play a role in shaping this identity? After looking at the sources—especially memoirs, archival records, and contemporary publications—one can only arrive at the conclusion that national integration politics heavily influenced urban identity in L'viv, leaving only small groups of L'viv's inhabitants unaffected. Although the Austrian heritage persisted in certain customs and cultural traditions, the majority of L'viv's citizens were proud to have cast off Austrian rule, and they criticized relics of *austriakizm* in former Eastern Galicia. Marian Tyrowicz states that even L'viv's literary and scholarly world rapidly departed from Viennese influences in its quest for new subjects and styles. Intellectuals clearly saw, however, that L'viv's culture did not exactly benefit from the city's new position at the periphery of the Second Polish Republic.⁵⁰ Before 1914, L'viv had been well on its way to developing into a real metropolis of Austria-Hungary's Eastern borderlands, and it played a leading cultural role for Poles, Ukrainians, and Jews compared to other cities in the lands of the former Polish Commonwealth that now belonged to Russia and Germany. In the 1920s, L'viv ceded this function to Warsaw, Vilnius—in the case of Poles and Jews—and the cities of Soviet Ukraine in the case of the Ukrainians.

L'viv's Poles had no great difficulties in combining a strong commitment to their city with an ardent patriotism—but as I tried to show earlier, this urban commitment was strongly intertwined with nationalist prejudice. Polish patriots had a rather one-sided image of their city, identifying *lwowskość* with *polskość*. They of course mentioned L'viv's multicultural character as a

⁴⁸Tyrowicz, *Wspomnienia*, 47, 52, 202–3.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 55–56, 94.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 201.

valuable heritage contributing to the uniqueness of their city. However, their notion of this character was an image of a strong and vivid Polish borderland culture with which non-Poles—Jews or Ukrainians, Germans, and Armenians—voluntarily associated and into which they were assimilated. When mentioning the Polish-Ukrainian conflict or Polish-Jewish tensions, they tended to see their origins exclusively in the nationalist agitation of a few radical activists who disturbed the peace and harmony between “Ruthenians,” Poles, and loyal Jews—often ignoring Polish domination of Eastern Galicia, the nationality policy of interwar Polish governments, or the latent anti-Semitism and Ukrainophobia in broad sections of Polish society.⁵¹ It is no coincidence that the Towarzystwo miłośników historii Lwowa (Association of Enthusiasts of L’viv’s History), which devoted its work to research on L’viv’s history and culture, produced outstanding works about L’viv’s architecture, medieval social history, and the Jewish community, but was at the same time a stronghold of Polish patriotism and Polish city pride.⁵² As the main motive for writing her excellent survey of L’viv’s city historiography, Łucja Charewiczowa, historian and leading member of this association (she was later killed in Auschwitz), names “an unshakable faith in the Polishness [*polskość*] of L’viv proven by the city’s history.”⁵³

The civil war commemoration culture that defined L’viv as a heroic city of Polish defense added an aggressive tone to this celebration of Polish city patriotism. Ukrainian patriots reacted in a similar way, often disrespecting the obvious Polish heritage of Galicia’s former capital and denouncing the majority of Polish-speaking Ukrainian city dwellers, whose Ukrainian culture was often not much more than their Greek Catholic confession, as traitors to the national cause. Only a tiny minority of urban intellectuals really overcame nationalist prejudice and tried to create a new, modern urban identity that combined social commitment and political participation with the quest for new forms of artistic expression. They communicated in Polish because it was L’viv’s majority language and *lingua franca*, but their patriotism was indeed devoted to a city that was a common home for all its citizens, in spite of their different religious or ethnic origins.

⁵¹Ibid., 199–200.

⁵²See the series *Biblioteka Lwowska*, edited by the association, vols. 1–107 (L’viv, 1906–38). For further information about the Association, which was founded in 1906, see Charewiczowa, *Historiografia*, 148–72; and Tyrowicz, *Wspomnienia*, 46–47.

⁵³Charewiczowa, *Historiografia*, 6.