

CZERNOWITZ: THE JERUSALEM OF BUKOVINA

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Rezumat: *Articolul analizează rolului evreilor în istoria și evoluția orașului Cernăuți, devenit prin ponderea, contribuția și atmosfera mozaică un veritabil "Ierusalim al Bucovinei". Evreii au reprezentat majoritatea locuitorilor municipiului Cernăuți, un spațiu renumit prin înțelegerea și coabitarea grupărilor etnice, specifică Europei Centrale. În Cernăuți s-au format și afirmat Paul Celan (Paul Antschel), Moses Barasch, Jacob Eisenscher, Arthur Kolnik, Șlomo Lerner, Itic Manger, Eliezer Steinbarg, Moses Rosenkrantz, Eric Singer, Rose Ausländer, Victor Wittner, Isac Schneyer, Clara Bloom, Alfred Kitner, Immanuel Weissglass, Alfred Gong, Alfred Margul Sperber ș.a. În 1908 în Cernăuți a avut loc primul Congres Mondial consacrat idișului. Această atmosferă a fost puternic viciată în perioada interbelică de manifestarea puternică a naționalismului și antisemitismului.*

Abstract: *Cernăuți, known as Czernowitz in Yiddish, gathered together important personalities in order to debate on the issue of the status of Yiddish. The power and the contribution of the Jews of Bukovina to the culture and spirituality of Bukovina – beyond the economic references, such as commerce, finances and banks – were really impressive, as a proof being the personalities asserted within the Bukovina area including at the top: Paul Celan (Paul Antschel) Moses Barasch, Jacob Eisenscher, Arthur Kolnik, Slomo Lerner, Itic Manger, Eliezer Steinbarg, Moses Rosenkrantz, Eric Singer, Rose Ausländer, Victor Wittner, Isac Schneyer, Clara Bloom, Alfred Kitner, Immanuel Weissglass, Alfred Gong, Alfred Margul Sperber. The atmosphere was highly flawed in the interwar period of strong manifestation of nationalism and anti-Semitism.*

Résumé : *Notre bref article veut offrir aux lecteurs quelques dates essentielles concernant le climat culturel et institutionnel qui a permis l'apparition en Bucovine d'une pléiade d' intellectuels juifs valeureux, dont: Paul Celan (Paul Antschel) Moses Barasch, Jacob Eisenscher, Arthur Kolnik, Slomo Lerner, Itic Manger, Eliezer Steinbarg, Moses Rosenkrantz, Eric Singer, Rose Ausländer, Victor Wittner, Isac Schneyer, Clara Bloom, Alfred Kitner, Immanuel Weissglass, Alfred Gong, Alfred Margul Sperber, pour ne nommer que quelques uns. Dans la lutte entre une élite assimilée et pro assimilation et une masse de Juifs orthodoxes, réfractaires au renouveau, le monde petit-bourgeois de l'yiddish de Bucovine, longtemps un circuit plébéien et subversif, marginalisé par la bourgeoisie pro assimilation, prend sa revanche, en consolidant son statut surtout après que Tchernovtsy ait hébergé en 1908 la conférence mondiale sur la langue et la littérature Yiddish. L'atmosphère était très imparfaite dans la période entre les deux guerres de la manifestation forte du nationalisme et de l'antisémitisme.*

Keywords: *Bukovina, Jews, Czernowitz, antisemitism, Greater Romania.*

The Cernăuți mosaic community played an important part in modernizing the Bukovinian space, unique in its destiny, ethnic and social status, including the successful compromise of the different ethnic communities known as *Aussgleich* (compromise, agreement)¹.

The paternity of this profitable, intelligent and beneficial compromise of the ethnic communities of Bukovina is to be found in the ideas of Benno Straucher, leader of the Jewish community of Cernăuți, Koko Wasilko, representative of the Ukrainian community, but being of obvious Romanian origin and Aurel Onciul a visionary spirit with definite political abilities and European beliefs *avant la lettre*. The Habsburg accepted an agreement among the three different ethnic groups of Bukovina: the Romanians (represented by Aurel Onciul and Alexandru Hurmuzachi), the Ukrainians (Nicolai von Wassilko) and the Jewish (Straucher himself).

These leaders later negotiated with baron Oktavian von Bleyleben, governor of Bukovina. The agreement stipulated a large electoral reform which guaranteed a fairly proportional representation of the ethnic groups of Bukovina in the local Dieta but, despite the efforts of fighting the anti-Semitism, the Jewish community was not given special recognition (except for a few distinct electoral precincts, they were included in the same groups with the Germans.)²

The famous and most envied „Aussgleich”, designed by the Austrian-Hungarian authorities for the entire monarchy did not prove to be fully functional except for Bukovina; the geographical layout, the intelligence and pragmatism of the Habsburg authorities, the tolerance and peaceful living of the ethnic communities made this compromise possible. However, after 1918, the new authorities gave up the *Aussgleich* in an abrupt and unreasonable way. The institutional efforts could not erase or cancel an experience created voluntarily among ethnic and confessional groups such as those from the historic Bukovina. The evolution of the market town of Cernăuți, on the banks of Prut river towards the recognized and appreciated large city of nowadays³ - from the tempestuous XXI century - occupying the third place among the largest cities of Great Romania (after Bucharest and Chisinau) has been extremely long and complex⁴. Its beginnings are well placed in history and have been researched

¹ Nick Pelling, *Imperiul Habsburgic 1815–1918* [The Habsburg Empire 1815–1918], Bucharest, Bic All Publishing House, 2002, p.101.

² Mihai Ștefan Ceașu, *Chestiunea rezolvării disputelor naționale într-o zonă multiethnică la sfârșitul primului deceniu al secolului XX. Cazul Bucovinei* [The matter of solving national disputes in a multicultural area at the end of the first decade of the XXth century. The case of Bukovina], in Cătălin Turliuc, Mihai Ștefan –Ceașu, *Dilemele conviețuirii în procesul modernizării societății românești în spațiul est-carpatic (secolele XX-XX)* [The dilemmas of living together in the process of modernization of the Romanian society in the eastern Carpathian space], Iași, Junimea Publishing House, 2011, p. 109.

³ Andrei Corbea, *Paul Celan și „meridianul său”. Repere vechi și noi pe un atlas central-european*, [Paul Celan and “his meridian”. Old and new landmarks in a Central european atlas], Iași, Polirom Publishing House, 1998, *passim*.

⁴ *Ibid.*

by the famous Austrian Historian Raimund Friedrich Kaindl and the Benedictine-like patient Romanian Teodor Bălan who used the arguments and instruments of science to uncover and turn to account archaeology discoveries, texts and documents of remarkable value.

In pragmatic, scientifically focused and most of all, interpreted, capitalized and developed, these pieces of information reflect – judging by the conclusions of the scientific texts of Alexandru Bocănețu, Dragoș Vitencu, Radu Grigorovici, Harald Hepner, David Scharry, Andrei Corbea Hoișie, Peter Rychlo, etc. – the age and importance in time of the large city⁵ by the Prut river⁶. As the topic of our research is the Jewish community of Bukovina, we will no longer wander through the history of the city of Cernăuți. Mention must be made of the age of Cernăuți and the disagreements about it- some with no reliable source, others of minimum substance- called out by the Ukrainian and Soviet historians in a certain period of time and out of obvious reasons. Cernăuți is mentioned in a favour given to the Lvov traders on October 8th 1408 by the Moldavian prince Alexandru cel Bun. There is no doubt that the city is even older than that; however, its entrance into the great book of history is conventionally the document written in Alexandru cel Bun⁷, times, more than 600 years ago⁸.

There is one street in Cernăuți that discretely reminds us of the beginnings of this city that has nowadays become an architectural, cultural, demographic, spiritual, confessional, economic, social milestone for the central European culture and civilization⁹. The city includes important outskirts areas, former villages such as: Clocucica to the north- west, Mănăstiriște to the south, The Public Garden to the south east, Horecea to the east and Caliceanca to the north east. Cernăuți has become famous today under the name Czernowitz¹⁰, (its Yiddish name) due to the contribution of the force and spirit of the Bukovina Jewish population, including German culture integrated Jewish and Yiddish speakers¹¹. The beginnings of the mosaic community in Cernăuți are closely connected to the settlement and

⁵ Harieta Mareci-Sabol, *Orașul Cernăuți în descrierile călătorilor străini în secolele XVI–XVII* [Chernivtsi in the description of the foreign travellers in the 16-17th centuries], in „Anuarul Institutului de Istorie [Yearbook of the Institute of History] «G. Barițiu» from Cluj-Napoca”, tom XLIX, 2010, p. 338–344.

⁶ Wlad Bănățeanu, Etel Knittel, *Ghidul municipiului Cernăuți* [A guide to the city of Chernivtsi], Chernivtsi, 2007, p. 9.

⁷ Em. Grigorovitz, *Dicționarul geografic al Bucovinei* [Bukovina's geographical dictionary], Bucharest, Socec Publishing House, 1908, p. 59.

⁸ Daniel Hrenciuc, *Provocările vecinătății: ucrainenii bucovineni în Regatul României Mari (1918–1940). Contribuții* [Challenges of neighbourhood: the Ukrainians of Bukovina in the Romanian Kingdom (1918–1940)], Iași, Tipo Moldova Publishing House, 2010, p. 81.

⁹ Norman Davies, Roger Moorhouse, *Microcosmos. Portrait of a Central European City*, London, Pimlico, 2003, p. 228.

¹⁰ Dragoș Vitencu, *Cernăuțiul meu* [My Chernivtsi], edited by Aura Brădășan, Accent Print Publishing House, Suceava, 2008, p. 35.

¹¹ See also Nataly Shevchenko, Helmut Kusdat, *Inhalt*, în *Das Jüdische Album*, Verlag für Photographie, Wien, 2009, p. 7.

development of the Habsburg administration, and the modernization of Bukovina's metropolis is greatly due to the efforts of the Jewish people from here¹². In 1762 Cernăuți had approximately two hundred large wooden houses as well as some highly appreciated inns¹³. In order to develop the region - as Alexandru Bocănețu mentions - Jewish colonists from Galicia were brought with the promise of free land on which they could build houses and shops¹⁴. In 1766, Cernăuți and the City Council offered a place for a house near the Fountain Square to a Jewish called Israel¹⁵. In 1782, only Laila, Israel's widow was still alive.

In 1773, another Jew, David Israel, obtained a place to build a house upon. In 1762 there is mention of Șmul Israil, owner of a place near the old Synagogue¹⁶. Șmul Israil took his nickname from the Varhaus, and David Israel changed his name into the German Zürcher¹⁷. Because of the wars, the price of lands in Cernăuți had gone down very much: The Romanian Simion Umblătorul sold his house to a Jewish for 200 florins and in 1762 a different Romanian, Ioniță Miteșcu, sold his house for 30 Turkish florins to Abraham Moses, a Jew coming from Herța¹⁸.

In 1782 count Loghoteti sold his house and land for no more than 70 florins to the Jewish Wolf Hildenbrand. In 1782 count Șmul Ițic had bought with 38 florins a house in Cernăuți from Paraschiva Dăscălița¹⁹. Based on the *Pitzelli* Protocol, the Jewish could buy houses and land right in the centre of Cernăuți. The Austrian historian Johann Polek mentions the fact that in 1775 in Cernăuți there lived 112 Jewish families, while in Vijnița there were 60 families. The Austrian general Gabriel Spleny von Mihaldy wrote: „Cernăuți is a quite populated town. The best houses belong to the Jews, and in the entire district there is only one small town”²⁰.

Emperor Franz Josef de Habsburg himself expressed –in 1817 – his admiration for the so called „Judenstadt”²¹, meaning Cernăuți where the Jews played an important part in modernizing and economy. Such imperial acknowledgement was complimentary and a proof of the later developments of Judaism in Cernăuți.

¹² Mihai Iacobescu, *Din istoria Bucovinei* vol. I (1774–1862). *De la administrația militară la autonomia provincială* [Bukovina's History vol. I (1774–1862). From military administration to province autonomy], Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1993, pp. 167–169.

¹³ Alexandru Bocănețu, *Istoria orașului Cernăuți pe timpul Moldovei* [History of Chernivtsi in Moldova times], „Codrul Cosminului. Buletinul Institutului de Istorie și Limbă” [Codrul Cosminului. Bulletin of the Institute of History and Language], Chernivtsi, 1930, p. 130.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Apud Ion Cocuz, *Partidele politice românești din Bucovina 1862– 1914* [Political Parties in Bukovina 1862– 1914], Suceava, 2003, p. 42.

²¹ Jacques Attali, *Evreii, lumea și banii. Istoria economică a poporului evreu* [The Jewish, the world and the money. The historical economy of the Jewish people], Bucharest, Univers Publishing House, 2011, p. 335.

The first two storey house was built in Cernăuți by the Jewish Karl Nadler, in 1828²². The Jewish people knew about the importance of the Enlightenment movement of *Haskala*²³ supported by Herman Juster and Salomon Brunstein, leaders of *Haskala* and the first Jewish citizens²⁴. The Jewish of Cernăuți also wrote for „Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums” „Wiener Blätter” or „Jahrbuch für Israeliten” where there were published among others the letters of Julius Barasch, David Schwarzfeld, etc.²⁵. In 1876 Avram Goldfaden created in Cernăuți the newspaper called „Dos Bukowiner Israelitische Volksblat” which was printed in Yiddish, with a small number of readers²⁶.

In Cernăuți, the Jewish people had a house for praying with the permission of the prince of Moldavia, but the building was ruined during the war and in 1775 the north west of Moldavia was taken under the administration of the Habsburgs and a different evolution in what the Jewish were concerned²⁷. Due to this transformation, Bukovina has become for the public opinion a “Switzerland of the Eastern Europe” and its capital city, Cernăuți, was named “Little Vienna”; lately it has been also called “Europe’s last Alexandria” because of an inspired phrase released by the Polish poet Zbigniew Herbert in 1987²⁸. A capital city of culture, civilization, inter ethnical and multi-confessional agreement, Cernăuți became a model appreciated and well known in the entire Habsburg Empire and later on, in the Great Romania, right after București and Chișinău. In time, the outskirts of Cernăuți such as Roșă, Mănăstiriște, Clocucica, Caliceanca developed and became administratively separate²⁹. Economically speaking, Cernăuți was seen as an important centre. The sugar factories of Lujeni, Schitul Nistrului and Jucica fathered working people from the neighbouring towns. The industry developed well under Austrian administration and there were several (two in Sadagura, and one in Boian, Cosmin, Davidești, Jucica-Veche, Vaslăuți and Zastavna), 17 alcohol factories, 4 alcohol factories (three in Jucica-Veche and one in Rohozna), three sugar factories (Lujeni, Jucica-Veche and Cristeceac), a condensed milk unit (Jucica-Veche), butter and cheese (Rohozna), oil (Jucica-Veche și Lențeștii de Jos), fish (Cozmeni), an oil refinery (Rohozna), eterical oil (Lențeștii de Jos), carbonic acid (Lujeni), paint (Jucica-Veche), iron (Lențeștii de Jos), nails and wires (Lențeștii de Jos), tin and metal (Lențeștii de Jos), locks (Jucica-Veche), sand pits in Ocna, Mitcău and Cernăuți, quartz in Mitcău, plaster in Zviniace

²² Andrei Corbea, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

²³ Jean Cristophe Attias, Esther Benbassa, *Israelul imaginar*, [Imaginary Israel], Bucharest, Univers Enciclopedic Publishing House, 2004, p. 153.

²⁴ Andrei Corbea, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Mariana Hausleitner, *Rolul intelectualilor evrei în Europa Est-Centrală pornind de la cazul Bucovinei* [The role of the Jewish intelectual in Eastern and Central Europe, starting with the case of Bukovina], în SAHIR [Studia et Acta Historiae Judaeorum Romaniae], IX, 2005, p. 266.

²⁷ Andrei Corbea, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

²⁸ Daniel Hrenciuc, *Provocările vecinătății...*, p. 81.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

and Prelipcea, a clothing factory (Jucica-Veche), a socks one (Jucica-Veche), four timber factories (two in Lențești de Jos) and one in Jucica Veche and Nepocălăuți, a box factory (Lujeni), plaster (Cristeaceac și Zviniace), carton (Lențești de Jos), bricks factories (Jucica Veche and Ocna)³⁰. Lots of these had been the initiative of Jewish businessmen. There were many cultural institutions, societies and associations run by Romanians, Ukrainians, German, Polish, Jewish, Czech etc.³¹ The population of Cernăuți evolved rapidly due the continuous economic, social and cultural development. Statistics show the following evolution³²:

1775	2.280 people
1779	3.200
1794	5.063
1805	6.000
1836	14.800
1843	16.584
1851	20.467
1857	26.345
1869	33.884
1880	45.600
1900	67.622
1910	86.128
1930	111.147

Taking into account the population by nationality³³:

Year	1857	1880	1900	1910
Romanian	4.800	6.431	9.400	13.440
Ruthenian	3.500	8.232	13.030	15.253
Jewish	4.678	11.449	21.587	28.613
German	7.612	11.271	12.854	12.747
Polish	810	6.707	8.601	14.893
Other	188	510	295	1.182

Well known, appreciated and recognized as a « Mendelssohn of Romania », the author of “Itinerar în Cracovia, Galiția, Bucovina, Moldova și Muntenia, în 1841-1842³⁴”, Iuliu Barasch, describes a journey in Bukovina as follows:

³⁰ *Enciclopedia României* [Enciclopedia of Romania], vol. II, 1938, p. 129.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

³² Constantin Loghin, *Cernăuții* [Chernivtsi], „Mitropolitul Silvestru” Publishing House, 1936, p. 39.

³³ *Ibid.*; *Izvoare statistice privind mutațiile demografice la est de Carpați în secolele XX-XXI* [Statistical sources of demographic mutations at the east of Carpathians in the XX th century], edited by Cătălin Turliuc, Mihai Ștefan Ceașu, Dumitru Vitcu, Iași, Junimea Publishing House, 2011, p. 166–171.

³⁴ Harry Kuller, *Filozofie. Sociologie. Psihologie. Economie politică* [Philosophy, Sociology, Psychology. Political economy], în vol. *Contribuția evreilor din România la cultură și*

„Bukovina is a beautiful fertile country, with little population.

The Jewish people only live in a few towns. The most important are, as we see, Sadagura and Cernăuți, two neighbouring towns. Sadagura has got a large Israelite community. The character, clothes and lifestyle of the Jews in this town is similar to Galicia and there is nothing else to be added; the only thing is Sadagura became more remarkable since reb Isrulke settled there after being banned from Russia. His particularly ostentatious style, more of a prince than a rabbi, his court and numerous servants blindly obeying his orders lead to the most unfortunate outcome which we will not mention here as it would take too much time. We can only hope that things are going to change once he moves to the Austrian territory. As it happens, the choice of this town was actually a lucky one.

The cattle traders most of them from neighbouring Bessarabia were to come and express their gratitude for the good deals they obtained at the markets. The town also gained a great deal, as the population passing by it grew and generated bigger input of food products and a larger amount of money being exchanged. Above all, alcohol sales grew as a symbol of the spiritual drink of the Chasidic crowds; it made life easier for the inn owners in Sadagura, grew the income of the land owners, of the alcohol producers and sellers in the area. (The alcohol input closely connected to the tadic parties made local land owners do whatever they could to draw tadic to settle on their land, the same as they did to draw a garrison. More than that, they protected him and his Chasidics and promised to defend them on any occasion.

This is how Chasidism succeeded in securing its existence). Half an hour away from Sadagura there stands Cernăuți, capital city of Bukovina. Its romantic settlement at the foot of a mountain, on the banks of Prut River, its beautiful buildings, the city plan and the lack of a main street reminds us of its Turkish origin. Its inhabitants consist mostly of Moldavians, clerks and Jewish. Cernăuți also has an important Israelite community. The real Cernăuți inhabitants, of Bukovina origin, are not numerous; on the contrary, lots of them immigrated to Galicia a long time ago, and since a few years ago they have not been allowed to move back to Bukovina, with some exceptions. Until a few years ago the Jewish people of Cernăuți and all Bukovina were exempt of the kosher meat tax as they are now of the candle tax. (The economic status of the Jewish people in Bukovina is quite prosperous. There are lots of wealthy families that gained their fortune not only by commerce but also by doing different trades such as tailoring; many of them bought beautiful houses. Tailors are an important part of the Cernăuți community).

The clothing of the Cernăuți Jewish has been inspired by that of Moldova and Muntenia. In the eastern part of Bukovina, many still wear Moldavian outfits. Yet, the way young people are dressed in Cernăuți is much more pleasant than in Galicia. Instead of wearing the spodic every day and the streimel on Saturdays, people wear here a samur hat; the short trousers have been replaced with modern pants etc. Women do not wear the frontlet during workdays; instead, they save this precious yet

unuseful piece for holidays. Actually, the frontlet has a funnier look here than in Galicia where women wear it every day and spend all their money just to have one in their chest. During work days women wear a scarf around their heads in a very common way, the same as the Jewish in Moldavia. Many young women of the richest families in Cernăuți wear a European bonnet, but there two categories here. Some wear it every day, others save it for Saturdays and holidays and wear a scarf for the rest of the days; this is the reason why they have been called „Şabes-datşerkes” (Saturday German girls).

The same goes for many young people who behave in a German: some wear on Saturdays the gheroc and the caftan hat and even the ştramel. On this category there are many craftsmen, including tailors. With some exceptions the educational degree is not very high in Cernăuți. Deep Talmudists, Iliem, are rare. Besides their marketing abilities, the general knowledge of a Cernăuți inhabitant does not include more than the usual prayers, the Hebrew writing and a German signature on a document. This ignorance can be explained by the fact that children are initiated in trading since early childhood. Once a 12 or 13 year-old boy has worked hard in a cheder for 6 or 7 years he can say goodbye to acquiring any further knowledge; his father is teaching him about his business, lets him work beside him for a while, then gets a small amount of money to speculate on his own. The boy then needs to earn some capital by himself until his wedding day when, his father doubles or triples what he had made on his own (nadan). An interesting fact is that Bukovina Jewish people are acting with more responsibility in these matters.

The Bukovinian bride groom may not be able to do a peştel but he can provide for his family the next day after the wedding unlike his Galician Baal-beessel who has no perspective and nowhere to go after retirement (Kost). However this early adulthood of Jewish children will soon vanish and a more beautiful age is about to start, as the Cernăuți people and their infinite spirit are going to overtake the wise men of Galicia. Due to their own initiative and the help of some kind men involved themselves in the intellectual Judaism movement they have recently founded an Israelite public school. We can well assume that an establishment of this sort leaves room for improvement both in its design and applicability but because it started as a good cause, we are sure of its right development in the future. It is up to the school's founders to seek help at the managers of some well-organized schools abroad in order to make the necessary changes... Before finishing this chapter, I am glad to give my readers some good news about Cernăuți. In Cernăuți there is now a noble Christian architect who took pity of some orphan Jewish children and is teaching them architecture with no charge. Some people I can trust have told me that these children are on the right track.

This distinguished man, whose name has unfortunately slipped my mind deserves to be mentioned right here as a fortunate symbol of times to come. I am certain that most of us will treasure his memory. There is more good news concerning the statistics this time. In Bukovina there are 55 Israelite families who whose income depends exclusively on agriculture. They are not grouped in one place but live in different villages, among other peasants. Some of these families are descendants of

*the Jewish ploughmen who lived in the Emperor Josef the Second's times and were encouraged by him to practice agriculture. They enjoy up to the present days many privileges; blessing and prosperity characterize their work*³⁵.

Iuliu Barasch ironically and excessively critic about his own people made the remark that the richest Jewish of Cernăuți lived on the mountain side and had beautiful houses in the main street. Poorer Jewish lived in the valley called by Barasch «The vale of tears» (Yoshvey be'emek habacha)³⁶. Barasch also mentions the good deed of a Christian who taught six Jewish orphans lessons of architecture. He left Bukovina heading for Moldova quite content of the situation of the Jewish people here writing "Let our believers in Galicia pick up their hearts and take this beautiful and fruitful example"³⁷. In 1861, when the Bukovina Diet was formed, one of the two deputies in College II, representing the Chamber of Industry and Commerce had to be Jewish.

The fact that a Jewish doctor was chosen for the first time in 1863 meant in the German historian Rudolf Wagner that „discrimination towards the Jewish population has ended”³⁸. Cernăuți has rapidly become a specifically central-European city because of the cosmopolite population and architectural style similar to many cities across the Habsburg Empire³⁹. Besides becoming the most important administrative, political, cultural and spiritual centre of Bukovina, the level of the city grew once the University „Franz Josef” came into being on October 4th 1875 and soon became one of the most significant universities of Central Europe. The University was a multicultural one, having a multi-ethnic and multi-confessional profile and had students that came also from the outside of Bukovina; things changed after 1918. In Cernăuți there were formed many associations, cultural, national and artistic, musical and sports societies. It is worth mentioning the students' academic societies that were organized following the Austrian example with specific, strict rules and promoting dialogue, knowledge and respect for ethnic and confessional diversity. The most important student societies from Bukovina were for Austrians: „Austria” (1875–1918), „Lesalle” (1875–1918), „Gothia” (1876–1930), „Allemania” (1877–1938). For the

³⁵ See also Federația Comunităților Evreiești din România [Hebrew Communities Federation of Romania], *Izvoare și mărturii despre evreii din România* [Sources and testimonies about the Jewish in Romania] III/2, Bucharest, Hasefer Publishing House, 1999, doc. 344, p. 352. Fragments were published in Iulius Barasch, *Jews in Bukovina*, in „Gazeta Bucovinei” [Bukovina's newspaper], IV, No. 45, Thursday 9/21 June 1894, p. 1–2.

³⁶ Federația Comunităților Evreiești din România, *Izvoare și mărturii referitoare la evreii din România*, [Sources and testimonies about Jews in Romania], III/2, doc. 344, p. 353.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 354.

³⁸ Radu Grigorovici, *Studiul critic al recensământului austriac din 1880 cu privire la populația Bucovinei*, partea a III - a, *Bucovina, teritoriu de trecere a evreilor galițieni spre România între anii 1880 și 1900* [Critical study of the Austrian census in 1880 on the population of Bukovina, III, Bukovina, territory of passage of the Jewish of Galitia to Romania between the 1880 and 1900], in „Analele Bucovinei”, II, nr. 2, 1995, p. 352.

³⁹ Norman Davies, Roger Moorhouse, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

German students there were: „Arminia” (1877–1938), „Theutonia” (1903–1938) and „Franconia” (1903–1938) the catholic society „Unitas” (1891–1906) which did not have a nationalist character. The Romanian student societies in Cernăuți were the most appreciated and had a large influence on the other students and the other Romanians. These were: „Arboroasa” (1875–1878), „Junimea” (1878–1938), „Bucovina” (1880–1938), „Academia Ortodoxă” (1884–1938), „Dacia” (1905–1938), „Moldova” (1910–1938). The Ukrainian student societies were: „Sojuz” (1875–1921), „Zaporoje” (1909–1938), „Cernomore” (1913–1938), „Sicz” (1902), „Moloda Ukraina”. The Polish student societies were: „Ognisko” (1875–1940) and „Lechia” (1910–1938), „Academia Obștească din Cernăuți „Carpați” a „moscofililor”⁴⁰. The Jewish student societies were: „Hasmoneea” (1891–1938), „Zephirah” (1897–1938), „Hebronia” (1899–1938), „Humanitas” (1900–1918), „Emunag” (1903–1938), „Hetid” (1918–1938)⁴¹. The student societies had different formal wear, national colours; they each had their own anthem and obeyed a code. The student societies’ purpose was to support their members both financially and to fulfil cultural and national objectives⁴² or Enlightening, and also scientific ones. There were no serious conflicts among members of these societies and the University of Cernăuți became a German Heidelberg in Great Romania after 1918. This Austrian heritage was not promoted well enough by the Great Romania’s authorities and faded away in 1938 when Carol the Second decided to forbid the students societies because of the rise of the right extreme phenomenon, and they never activated this beautiful university tradition again. The elite of the Jewish in Bukovina, born in Galicia, formed and grown in Cernăuți established its cultural model both in Yiddish and German, getting its education in public or private schools in Cernăuți. Vienna was in those days – as Siegfried Jägerdorf mentions – a genuine Jerusalem. If you browse through the pages of « Buletinul Camerei de Comerț a orașului Cernăuți » in the inter-war period (our most important concern in this volume) you can clearly see that most of the companies, factories, associations, banks belonged to Jewish businessmen⁴³. This says a lot about the force, power and predominance of the Cernăuți Jewish people. Many of the personalities who made Bukovina famous over the years were in fact born in Cernăuți.

⁴⁰ Daniel Hrenciuc, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

⁴¹ Arhivele Statului Cernăuți (following we will write the ASRC), Ukraine, fund 325, file 25/1922, f. 23.

⁴² Ilie Dugan, *Istoricul Societății Academice Române „Junimea” din Cernăuți. Partea întâia: Arboroasa (1875–1877)* [History of the Academic Romanian Society „Junimea” of Cernăuți. First part: Arboroasa (1875–1877)], Bucharest, Societății Publishing House, 1930, p. 27.

⁴³ See Avram Rosen, *Contribuția evreilor la progresul industrial în România interbelică* [Contribution of the Jewish to the industrial process in Inter war Romania], Bucharest, Hasefer Publishing House, 2002.

Table no. 1. *The evolution of Romanians, Jewish and other nationalities in 1910*⁴⁴.

No.	Position or activity	Romanian	Jewish	Other nationalities
1	Craftsmen	733	5.091	3.494
2	Merchants	444	8.642	1.226
3	Finance specialists	58	70	349
4	Doctors	14	109	28
5	Pharmacists	1	13	17
6	Lawyers	11	136	14
7	Judges	76	141	228
8	Notaries	8	39	9
9	Clerks	33	39	243
10	Administrative workers	128	109	665
11	Church administrators	37	-	73
12	Court clerks	4	55	47
13	Bank workers	7	21	33
14	Professors	10	7	30
15	Teachers	133	60	219

Source: Mihai Iacobescu, *30 de zile în „Siberia”*. *Căutând arhivele Bucovinei* [30 days in „Siberia” looking for Bukovina archives], Iași, Junimea Publishing House, 2003.

The Jewish community was predominant economically, financially, spiritually and educationally compared with other mosaic communities in Romania⁴⁵. In the XIII-XV century the Cernăuți Jewish people were mostly askenard (known as Ostjuden – eastern Jewish in German) who had settled here in the times of Alexandru cel Bun and benefitting from the commercial privileges also given to Polish, Armenian and Tartar people⁴⁶ in Cernăuți, Hotin and Soroca⁴⁷. The Askenards were related to people in Galicia and Poland⁴⁸ – many of them had similar names – and were easy to recognize because of their clothing and the way they spoke⁴⁹. At the beginning of the XVIIIth century there came to Cernăuți Jewish people originating in Spain and Portugal. So at the beginning of the XIXth century Cernăuți had become the most important centre of the Jewish in Bukovina and one of the most important centres in Central Europe: the religious and social core was the synagogue where

⁴⁴ Mihai Iacobescu, *30 de zile în „Siberia” căutând Arhivele Bucovinei* [30 days in „Siberia” looking for Bukovina archives], Iași, Junimea Publishing House, 2003, p. 250.

⁴⁵ Al. Bocănețu, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

⁴⁶ *From The History Of Chernivtsi Jews*, Cernăuți, 2008, p. 4.

⁴⁷ Dragoș Vitencu, *Cernăuțiul meu*, [My Chernivtsi], Suceava, Accent Print Publishing House, 2008, p. 31.

⁴⁸ Casimir Smogorzewski, *La Pologne Restaurée*, Paris, Gebethner&Wolff, Librairie Franco-Polonaise Et Etrangère, 1927, p. 212–214.

⁴⁹ Filon Lucău-Dănilă, Dumitru Rusan, *Fundul Moldovei*, Fundu Moldovei, Dimitrie Gusti Society, 2000, p. 128.

rabbis educated young people in the spirit of the Tora and Talmud insisting on keeping the old traditions alive⁵⁰. In Cernăuți there were many synagogues- due to the large number and economic power but also to the high education level of the Jewish people-, real art pieces (unfortunately they have been destroyed either by the wars or by the communist regime which gave them the weirdest destinations). The most well-known and imposing synagogue in Cernăuți was the Great Temple, initiated by rabbi Elieser Eliahu Iegel (1825 – 1892), leader of the extremist Jewish from the capital city of Bukovina. On the 8th of May 1873, the chief rabbi and the patriarch founded the future coral temple, built after the plans of the famous Armenian-Polish architect Julian Zacharewicz⁵¹.

Up to 1875 the rabbi of the mosaic community in Cernăuți was in the same time the main rabbi of Bukovina. The rabbi institution was symbolically a working gospel, as it encouraged the Jewish people to use the God given gifts. They were asked to show their abilities and be available and also to cultivate humanitarian values. Many of the rabbis themselves were also craftsmen⁵². Following the disagreement between the ultra-orthodox Jewish and the Enlightening leaders of the Community, in August 1872, 500 orthodox families decided to elect a different rabbi, Benjamin Weiss, and requested to be recognized as a distinct community⁵³. As follows, it was decided that the religious service for the ultra-orthodox Jewish be held in the Great Synagogue Cernăuți, and the enlightened stayed in the Israelite Temple. In 1890 a law was adopted concerning the commune organization, compulsory for all the mosaic communities in Cisleithan Austria. This law defined the mosaic communities as being legitimate units, able of collecting taxes only for religious, social, cultural and educational purposes, thus limiting the mosaic autonomy⁵⁴. The mosaic communities were only recognized as religious entities; the law did not allow them to be represented or organized politically. In the 1890 law 15 mosaic communities were mentioned in Bukovina. The status of each of these had to be acknowledged by the official authorities. This law remained valid until the cult's law of the Great Romania in 1928 was adopted⁵⁵.

Chaim Tirer Czernowitzer (1789–1807) was the first rabbi of the mosaic community in Cernăuți and the most important rabbi of Bukovina⁵⁶. An illustrious

⁵⁰ Ezra Mendelson, *The Jews of East Central Europe between Two Wars*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1983, p. 184.

⁵¹ *From The History Of Chernivtsi Jews*, p. 27.

⁵² Paul Johson, *O istorie a evreilor* [History of the Jewish], Bucharest, Hasefer Publishing House, 2003, p. 142.

⁵³ Constantin Ungureanu, *Bucovina în perioada stăpânirii austriece (1774–1918)* [Bucovina during Austrian administration (1774–1918)], Chișinău, Civitas Publishing House, 2003, p. 202.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p. 203.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*.

⁵⁶ Federația Comunităților Evreiești din România, *Izvoare și mărturii referitoare la evreii din România* III/2, Hebrew Communities Federation of Romania, [Sources and testimonies about the Jewish in Romania III/2], Bucharest, Hasefer Publishing House, 1999, p. 378.

representative of Hasidism,⁵⁷ he contributed essentially to the improvement of the cultural life of the Jewish people in Bukovina⁵⁸. He was against the enlightenment influences into the mosaic communities and the young Jewish people attending German schools⁵⁹. In 1807, Chaim Tirer left for Palestine, and in his place, after an *intermezzo* that lasted until 1833, Isaac Samson was named. He was the leader of the mosaic community in Cernăuți for a very long time, until 1870⁶⁰. Among the important rabbis of the mosaic communities in Cernăuți we are mentioning Eliezer Igel (1853 – 1893), Josef Rosenfeld (1893 – 1923) and Abraham Iacob Mark (1926 – 1941)⁶¹. Rabbi Abraham Jaakov Mark got the title of Doctor in Philosophy of the University of Vienna. Abraham Jakob Mark was a rabbi of the mosaic community in Cernăuți (being a cousin of Moses Rosen, Great Rabbi of Romania). Born in a town in eastern Galicia, Abraham Jakob Mark preached at the Modern Orthodox Temple and also at the Coral Temple, the reformist synagogue of Cernăuți. A true Zionist, Abraham Jakob Mark was the leader of “Mizrachi” society and took part in many Zionist congresses. He was concerned about teaching lessons of Tora and Talmud, and tactfully avoided political temptations.

He was assassinated –on the 6th of July 1942, after David Schaary, a year earlier after other historiography sources - by German army militaries and buried into the common grave of the victims of Cernăuți pogrom⁶². The event itself reflects the tragic destiny of the Cernăuți Jewish people, a community with a special contribution to the province spirituality. Important edilitary, cultural, administrative, spiritual edifices were built in the capital of Bukovina, turning it into a real central European metropolis at the crossroads of the East and the West⁶³. Thus, in 1908 the Centre National Jewish Centre of Cernăuți was opened, and in 1911 at the initiative of professor Leon Kellner Toynbee Halle was inaugurated and it became the centre of the Zionist movement in Bukovina. The mosaic community in Cernăuți was recognized as being very important for the city and so many Jewish mayors, councillors and deputies were elected. In 1905 Eduard Reiss became the first Jewish mayor of Cernăuți, followed by Salo Weisselberg in 1913⁶⁴.

A powerful, respected personality, Salo Weisselberg became an active Zionist⁶⁵. Max Diamant founded, along with a group of Jewish Law of the University

⁵⁷ S. M. Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland. From the Earliest Times until the present day*, Volume II, Philadelphia, The Jews Publications Society of America, 1918, p. 116–125.

⁵⁸ *Introductive Study*, in vol. Federația Comunităților Evreiești din România, *Izvoare și mărturii referitoare la evreii din România III/1*, Bucharest, Hasefer Publishing House, 1999, p. 107.

⁵⁹ Constantin Ungureanu, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

⁶² David Schaary, *op. cit.*, p.150–51.

⁶³ Raimund Fr. Kaendl, *Geschichte von Czernowitz*, Chernivtsi, Zelena Bucovina Publishing House, 2008, p. 148.

⁶⁴ ASRC fund 325, file 2383/1930/1931, f. 2.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

of Cernăuți (Berl Kinsbrunner, Markus Krämer), the „Zepirah” society in 1897. In 1907 Max Diamant became vice-president of the Jewish Party⁶⁶. In 1908, in Cernăuți took place the first International Congress (known as „Tchernovitzer Conference” or „Die Czernowitzer Sprachkonferenz”) on Yiddish⁶⁷. The idea of this important manifestation belonged to Natham Birnbaum⁶⁸, a famous Jewish writer from Vienna. Among the names present at the Conference were: I. L. Peretz, A. Reisen, Sh. Ash, H. D. Homberg, Esther Frumkin, etc⁶⁹. On this occasion Isaak Leib Peretz requested stopping the Kulturkampf” between the supporters of Yiddish and those of the Hebrew⁷⁰. Historian Paul Johnston wrote about „choosing the capital city of Bukovina for this important Conference – although Cernăuți was a great Jewish world centre- was not at all accidental. Here, there lived an important, powerful, homogeneous, community famous in the Austrian Hungarian Empire and beyond. Cernăuți also known as Czernowitz in Yiddish gathered many important personalities to debate the Yiddish problem. Common for their history and destiny, in the dark Middle Ages, the Jewish came to live in towns and so did 30% of those in Bukovina”⁷¹.

Table no. 2. *The evolution of the Jewish population in the second half of the XIXth century*

Town	Total of the population	Jewish people	Percent
Cernăuți	85. 458	28. 613	33, 48%
Câmpulung	8.726	1. 577	18, 07%
Coțmani	5. 577	666	11, 94%
Gura Humorului	5. 257	2. 050	38,99%
Rădăuți	16. 604	3. 940	35,77%
Siret	7. 815	3. 178	40,66%
Storoiineț	10. 266	3. 453	33,63%
Suceava	11. 314	4. 200	37, 12%
Vășcăuți	5. 749	961	16, 71%
Vijnița	5. 216	4. 317	82,77%
Zastavna	4. 622	563	12, 18%

Source: Mihai Ștefan Ceașu, *Evoluția populației evreiești urbane din Bucovina în a doua jumătate a secolului XIX*, in „SAHIR”, X, 2007, p. 36.

⁶⁶ Ion Lihaciu, *Unele aspecte din procesul intentat de Max Diamant pentru recunoașterea oficială de către administrația Imperiului Habsburgic a idișului* [Some aspects of Max Diamant’s pursuit of official recognition of Yiddish by the Habsburg administration], in SAHIR, V, 2000, p. 186.

⁶⁷ Mariana Hausleitner, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

⁶⁸ Ion Lihaciu, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

⁶⁹ *From The History Of Chernivtsi Jews*, p. 34.

⁷⁰ Mariana Hausleitner, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

⁷¹ Paul Johnson, *O istorie a evreilor*, Bucharest, Hasefer Publishing House, 2003, p. 141.

In 2008 famous scientific Judaic community people and many others gathered again – this time in Ukraine – to mark one century from the first Yiddish International Congress. The organization and debates had a powerful echo⁷²: next year, the Cernăuți doctor Max Diamant wrote a petition requesting a national status for the Yiddish; however his initiative remained unsolved⁷³. On the 13th of May, Max Diamant sued the Habsburg authorities to admit Yiddish as an official language. In his complaint, Diamant claimed the breaking of the XIXth article of the 21st December Constitution – *regarding the general rights of the citizens in the provinces and countries represented in the Reichsrat* - which gave citizens the right to cultivating national values and in this case “continuation and cultivating the Jewish language and nationality”⁷⁴. Max Diamant lost the law suit and the reason was that Jewish people could not claim the right to their own language⁷⁵. The Ministry of the Internal Affairs mentioned in its pleading that „the Jewish do not form a nation and are therefore not the carriers of language rights (...). And the language they use in the eastern parts of the Empire is not an official one”⁷⁶.

Even though Max Diamant brought into defence the privileges given to the Jewish by Maria Tereza in 1772, and the fact the Town Hall of Rădăuți surprisingly edited some official announcements in Yiddish, the judges did not favour the complaint⁷⁷. They considered the Jewish people not more than a religious group and not a Volksstamm⁷⁸. Later, there were other attempts in the debates and discussions in the Dieta or Reichsrat (the Parliament in Vienna-D.H.)⁷⁹. Cernăuți vs. Czernowitz became a cultural Yiddish and Hebrew centre – to mention only these communication languages – and also German in which Paul Celan and Rose Ausländer, Albert Maurüber, Arthur Kraft, Lothar Wurzer, Ernst Maria Flinker, Karl Sebastian (Salus) Markus, Artur Oberländer, Alfred Margul Sperber wrote⁸⁰. In the cultural and spiritual centre of Czernowitz there appeared Șlomo Bickel (1896–1969) considered the greatest Yiddish writer of Bukovina⁸¹. An important, influent appreciated personality, Karl Emil Franzos (1848-1904)⁸² had a distant disagreement with Mihai Eminescu: the latter had published in „Curierul de Iași” (on the 25 of August 1876) a

⁷² Andrei Corbea, *Paul Celan și “meridianul său”*. *Repere vechi și noi pe un atlas central-european* [Paul Celan and “his meridian”. Old and new landmarks in a Central european atlas], Iași, Polirom Publishing House, 1998, p. 43.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ Ion Lihaciu, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 192-194.

⁷⁸ Mariana Hausleitner, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

⁷⁹ Ion Lihaciu, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

⁸⁰ Andrei Corbea, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

⁸¹ Carol Iancu, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

⁸² Paul Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

very short note called „The Jewish seed in Cernăuți”⁸³ which was interpreted in extremely ironic ways⁸⁴. In his visit to Cernăuți, the Romanian scholar Nicolae Iorga said he felt he was in a “Jewish city” and the University was “Austrian for the Jewish”⁸⁵. Nicolae Iorga’s ideas has had a nationalist influence on many young generations, but it remained moderate as the savant personally pleaded against violence and extremism to which he himself was a victim on November 27th 1940.

The importance of the mosaic community in Cernăuți was huge, as compared to other similar communities in Galicia and even Europe⁸⁶. Cernăuți was a part of the famous concept of *Mitteleuropa* which was of German origin⁸⁷ and had echoes in the entire central European region through the *lingua franca* in German⁸⁸. At a seminar organized in New York on the role of the city of Cernăuți for the Jewish community (on the 8th of March 2010), the well-known writer Norman Manea described Cernăuți as „the Jerusalem on the Prut River” „the second Jewish Canaan” or „a Jewish Eldorado in Austria”. The Jewish people of Cernăuți have financially supported the publishing of some newspapers and magazines belonging to the German community in Bukovina⁸⁹. This is very important and significant for the relationship with the German population, built on different patterns and on a different land. Later on, the influence of the social nationalism among the Germans ruined the relationship with the Jewish people⁹⁰. The mosaic community in Cernăuți was very well represented: the Jewish National House, the Jewish hospital⁹¹, the Jewish Orphanage the Jewish School, the Jewish Hospice two cemeteries, a slaughterhouse, the public bath „mivke”, were all sponsored by the rich Jewish. After 1918, the American Joint from Chicago also contributed and so did some other 125 volunteer organizations, most of them accepted by the authorities. Czernowitz was rightfully named “Die Stadt der Vereine” (the city of associations and organizations in German)⁹². In the interwar

⁸³ Andrei Corbea, *Karl Emil Franzos și Mihai Eminescu și lecția unei polemici „la distanță”* [Karl Emil Franzos and Mihai Eminescu and the lesson of a distant dispute] în „SAHIR”, III, 1998, p. 191.

⁸⁴ Idem, *Icoane din Bucovina/M. Eminescu K. E. Franzos* [Icons of Bukovina/M. Eminescu K. E. Franzos]; edited by Ion Filipciuc, Câmpulung Moldovenesc, Miorița Library, 2003, p. XXI.

⁸⁵ Idem, *Paul Celan și “meridianul său”. Repere vechi și noi pe un atlas central-european* [Paul Celan and „his meridian”. Old and new landmarks in a Central european atlas], p. 34.

⁸⁶ Idem, *Memorie colectivă, memorie individuală*, [Collective memory, individual memory], in SAHIR, IV, 1999, p. 246–250.

⁸⁷ Jacques Le Rider, *Europa Centrală și paradoxul fragilității* [Central Europe and the paradox of fragility], Iași, Polirom Publishing House, 2001, p. 111.

⁸⁸ Norman Davies, *Europe. A History*, Pimlico, London, 1997, p. 1012.

⁸⁹ Oskar Hadbawnik, *Das Pressewesen in Czernowitz*, in vol. *Czernowitz. Eine Stadt in Wandel der Zeit*, München/Stuttgart, 1988, p. 94 – 97.

⁹⁰ David Schaary, *Comunitatea evreilor din Cernăuți în perioada administrației românești între cele două războaie mondiale* [The Community of the Jewish of Chernivtsi during the Romanian administration between the two World Wars], in SAHIR, IV, 1999, p. 137.

⁹¹ Wlad Bănățeanu, Etel Knittel, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

⁹² David Schaary, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

period Dr. Josef Orestein was the manager of the Jewish hospital⁹³. The Joint Organizations activated in Cernăuți, helping out a number of 570 children and war widows of Jewish origin. The ORT with headquarters in Berlin activated in Cernăuți starting with September 1921. This organization created women and men tailoring classes, woodwork classes etc. for the young Jewish. In 1953 there were 183 boys and 84 girls attending these classes taught by 15 teachers⁹⁴. Other organizations included „Safra Ivrya”, that we have mentioned in the chapter dedicated to education. „Safra Ivrya” had very low budget and “had to deal with the efforts of the authorities to limit its activities”⁹⁵. The association of „Safra Ivrya” had been created in 1905 at the initiative of Joseph Birer. In 1920 this association was taking care of 4 nursery schools in Hebrew, organized evening classes for 120 students, a primary school with 4 classes attended by 130 students, as well as a Paedagogium, a seminar for nursery school teachers.

In 1924, „Safra Ivrya” had 700 members. The Hebrew lessons were extremely rare, as were the young people who were using this language⁹⁶. Hebrew was taught in private schools in Cernăuți, by teachers coming from Bessarabia. There was also a Hebrew Club „Ahad-Ha-Am” which organized Hebrew culture and civilizations lectures. At the „Europa” café in Cernăuți, the Hebrew speakers had their own corner called „Štammtisch”⁹⁷. The „Schulverein” association created in 1919 by the left wing aimed at organizing educational evening activities for children at the professional school of „Morgenroith”⁹⁸. „Schulverein” lead an outstanding activity in Yiddish where many intellectuals were to be remarked such as Feivel Steinberg, Mayer Rosner, Schomo Bickel, Haim Lecker, Israel Schaffer, conducted by Eliezer Steinbarg, coming from din Lipcani, Bessarabia⁹⁹. In the capital city of Bukovina also activated “The society for helping the secondary schools in Cernăuți”¹⁰⁰. Mention must be made of the activity of the lodges of Bnai Brith – created in 1919, and „Veritas” and „Fraternitas”, founded in the interwar period. Between 1919–1922 there functioned a „Committee for helping the refugees from Ukraine”, led by Markus Kramer, Karl Klüger and Samuel Goldfeld. Among the humanitarian associations we mention Hahnasath Kalah – to help young women get married, Mahzikei Šabbath, to help poor people respect the Sabbath, Bikur Holim, to help poor sick people, Frauen Hilfverein, Deborah as well as Gmiluth Hasidim to help the poor¹⁰¹. Poor Jewish students were also helped with food at a special canteen or for leaving to study in universities. Thus, there were numerous associations which dealt with the problems of the young, the old and the sick.

⁹³ A.S.R.C. fund 325, file 2049.

⁹⁴ David Schaary, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ Mariana Hausleitner, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ A.S.R.C. fund 325, file 2383/1930/1931, f. 5.

¹⁰¹ David Schaary, *op. cit.* p. 156.

The Jewish Orphanage was built in 1904 due to the donation of the Wagner family and in the interwar period it was sponsored by the Joint. The old Jewish cemetery founded in 1866 was totally destroyed by the Soviet administration and along with it there disappeared “pieces of outstanding artistic and sentimental value”¹⁰². The new Jewish cemetery was built in Horecea, having 80.000 tombs that belonged to the „golden age” of the Jewish in Cernăuți¹⁰³. In Cernăuți the Jewish owned the main hotels: Hotel „Central”, Hotel „Bristol”, Hotel „Palace”, Hotel „Zum Schwarzen Adler”, Hotel „Gottlieb” etc.)¹⁰⁴, and dominated over the liberal professions. Out of a total of 562 companies in Cernăuți a number of 525 belonged to the Jewish. In 1910 out of a total of 2140 workers and 1402 merchants in town, 1481 respectively 1269 were Jewish¹⁰⁵. Only 24 % of the Jewish in Bukovina were involved in agriculture and forestry¹⁰⁶. At the beginning of the 30s, the Jewish people were using more Yiddish and less German - 80% of it - as they considered it their native language. The distinct way of the Jewish community in Bukovina – not only in Cernăuți – was due, among others, to the knowing and using of the German language, basically the language of the culture that integrated, formed and gave many of them all sorts of opportunities. The case of Paul Celan, Rosa Ausländer, Eliezer Steinbarg are extremely relevant and useful in supporting our idea¹⁰⁷. The whole atmosphere and experience in Bukovina was specific to the German culture and civilization. Cernăuți has remained known as Czernowitz up to the present days. This is due to the mosaic community here, one of the largest in the world. Historians like Wolfgang Benz, Brigitte Mihok have recently written the following: « The economy and commerce were controlled by the Jewish, the city was marked by the Jewish doctors, lawyers, pharmacists and teachers; an educated and wealthy middle class, not at all like the one situated east of Stetl, in the neighbouring Galicia”¹⁰⁸. In the interwar period the Jewish continued to use the name of Czernowitz, Yiddish for Cernăuți, as they were the most numerous of the great city on the banks of Prut and the third as

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ A.S.R.C. fund 325, file 1836, f. 17.

¹⁰⁴ Wlad Bănățeanu, Etel Knittel, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

¹⁰⁵ Constantin Ungureanu, *Bucovina în timpul dominației austriece* [Bukovina during Austrian domination (1774–1918)], Chișinău, Civitas Publishing House, 2003, p. 158.

¹⁰⁶ Idem, *Populația Bucovinei în perioada 1850–1910*, în vol. *Populația României. Trecut, prezent, viitor. Lucrările Conferinței internaționale „Populația României. Trecut, prezent, viitor”*, Cluj-Napoca –Arcaia, 19–22 octombrie 2006 [The Population of Bukovina in 1850–1910, în vol. The Population of Romania. Past, present and future. The papers of the International Conference „The Population of Romania. Past, present and future”], Cluj-Napoca –Arcaia, 19–22 octombrie 2006, coordinated by Traian Rotariu, Sorina Paul Bolovan, Ioan Bolovan, Cluj Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană Publishing House, 2006, p. 289–290.

¹⁰⁷ Mariana Hausleitner, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

¹⁰⁸ Wolfgang Benz, Brigitte Mihok, *Holocaustul la periferie. Persecutarea și nimicirea evreilor în România și Transnistria în 1940–1944* [Holocaust at periphery. The Persecution and killing of the Jewish in Romania and Transnistria in 1940–1944], Chișinău, Cartier Internațional Publishing House, 2010, p. 26.

number of people from the towns across Great Romania, after București and Chișinău¹⁰⁹. This meant 42.592 (37,9%) Jewish that lived in Cernăuți according to the census of 1930¹¹⁰. This data collected and analyzed by the famous specialist Sabin Manuilă reflected and characterized the ethnic profile of the majority of the population in the interwar Cernăuți. The relationships of the Jewish and the Romanian authorities were specific to the Bukovina region and they were also influenced by the foreign input that has created problems on numerous occasions. The anti-Semitism and its development inside the University of Carol the Second from Cernăuți led to violence in Bukovina. The anti-Semite movement - in 1926 young David Falik was shot to death by Nicolae Totu¹¹¹ - became stronger in the counties of the historic Bukovina and the atmosphere was quite¹¹² as shown in the reports of the Gendarmerie, Secret Services, Police, in the newspapers articles and Parliament speeches, in the official reports of the Societies of the Nations –The Committee of the Three¹¹³.

The texts of the letters of complaint sent by the Jewish leaders to the Committee of the Three reflects a reality not so much shown in the official papers: the degrading of the peaceful atmosphere among the ethnics of Bukovina, violence against the Jewish people etc. On March 27th 1933 there was a conflict between the guard students and the Jewish students, mentioned by the General State's Attorney at the Appeal Court in Bucharest: I have the honour to report that the manager of the Jewish Theatre claims that last night several windows of the theatre building were broken. The manager blames the Christian students who had a conflict with a group of Jewish right in front of the theatre, on which occasion the Christians were attacked with knives¹¹⁴. Between 19th and 20th of January 1933 several conflicts took place in Cernăuți between Romanian and Jewish students following a lawsuit of some Jewish communists¹¹⁵. The Jewish students at the University of Cernăuți took common defence measures against legionary attacks and cuzists (members of the National Christian Party led by Octavian Goga - D. H.), a decision taken by political leaders such as M. Ebner, M. Grünberg, M. Reifer¹¹⁶. At a meeting of the Jewish Party on April 5th 1933 it was decided that the Christian shops that" financially or morally

¹⁰⁹ David Schaary, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

¹¹⁰ Constantin Ungureanu, *Populația localităților din partea românofonă a regiunii Cernăuți în 1930 și 1989* [The population of the towns of the Romanian side of the Chernivtsi Region], in "Țara Fagilor" (XX), 2011, p. 55.

¹¹¹ Armin Heinen, *România. Holocaustul și logica violenței* [Romania, Holocaust and the logic of the violence], Iași, University Press „Alexandru Ioan Cuza”, 2011, p. 114.

¹¹² Daniel Hrenciuc, *Integrarea minorităților naționale din Bucovina în România Mare: abordarea național liberală* [The Integration of the national minorities of Bukovina into the Great Romania; a national liberal approach], in „Analele Bucovinei” [Annals of Bucovina], XIII, 1, 2006, p. 61.

¹¹³ Ioan Scurtu, Liviu Boar, *Minoritățile naționale din România (1918–1925). Documente* [The national minorities in Romania (1918–1925). Documents], Bucharest, National Archives of Romania, 1995.

¹¹⁴ Dragoș Zamfirescu, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, p.177.

¹¹⁶ Ștefan Purici, *op. cit.*, p. 419.

encouraged the hitlerist and cuzist actions” were to be boycotted¹¹⁷. In May 1933 the University of Cernăuți was temporarily closed because of these riots¹¹⁸. These manifestations were amplified by the instauration of the social nationalist regime of Adolf Hitler in Germany¹¹⁹ (on the 16th of January 1933)¹²⁰, the rise of which encouraged and supported the right wing extremists across Europe and particularly in Bukovina. The traumatic experiences lived by the few survivors of deportations in Transnistria or in ghettos are terrifying and relevant for the destiny of this community that had to endure so much¹²¹. The predominance of the Jewish in the economic, social, cultural, confessional, educational and spiritual evolution of Cernăuți up to the Second World War was impressive, not to minimize the contributions of the other ethnic minorities. Basically, an ethnic consensus characterized the daily life in historic Bukovina and especially in its administrative, economic, cultural, and spiritual capital city, Cernăuți. In the interwar period, the Jewish were the most numerous populations in Cernăuți, with important and significant contributions to the universal culture and spirituality. Cernăuți has remained a true landmark for the central-European culture at the crossroads of the East and West, a place of deep cultural, confessional and spiritual interference between and people and civilizations.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ Daniel Hrenciuc, *Continuitate și schimbare: Integrarea minorităților naționale din Bucovina istorică în Regatul României Mari (1918–1940)*, vol. II (1928–1940) [Continuity and change: The integration of the national minorities from historic Bukovina to the Kingdom of Romania (1918–1940)], Vol. II (1928–1940)], Suceava, Mușatinii Publishing House, 2007, p. 246.

¹¹⁹ Hannah Arendt, *Originile totalitarismului* [The origins of totalitarianism], Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing House, 1994, p. 419.

¹²⁰ Andreas Hilgruber, *Hitler, Regele Carol și Mareșalul Antonescu. Relațiile româno-germane 1938–1944* [Hitler, King Carol and Marshall Antonescu. The Romanian-German relations 1938–1944], Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing House, 1994, p. 46.

¹²¹ Marcu Rozen, *op. cit.*, p. 61.