# Chapter 2

# Faith and Reason

Between the mayhem of the seventeenth century and the Spring of Nations in 1848, much of Eastern Europe was torn between the growing influence of the Enlightenment and the persistent sway of religion. The struggle between faith and reason cannot simply be seen as a confrontation of light and darkness. If enlightened states imposed their will in the name of reason, faith was rejuvenated through mysticism and superstition. By the late nineteenth century, religious affiliation became increasingly identified with ethnicity, ethnicity with nation, and the modern state with ever growing power and control over its citizens. But at the beginning of this process few could have predicted the catastrophic consequences of combining ideological faith with technocratic prowess.

Today's Buczacz bears the marks and scars of this process. The town's most attractive edifices were erected in the Age of Enlightenment. They stand out in a largely dilapidated urban landscape that has witnessed the effects of two world wars and the rule of corrupt, ineffective and at times outright murderous regimes. The elegant gymnasium (secondary school) and the fanciful Sokół (Polish youth movement "Falcon") club, both erected in the last years of Austrian rule, symbolize a now faded trust in humanism and a grievously shaken faith in the ethnic nation. The vibrant and picturesque provincial town recorded in yellowing photographs is now a desolate and tasteless backwater stubbornly clinging to a still charming natural setting.

The Polish and Austrian rulers of pre-1914 Buczacz who labored to beautify and improve their town, also sought to find a manageable balance between their ethnically diverse subjects. While at times they could be cruel, callous, and prejudiced, they oversaw a period of uneven but ultimately continuous economic and demographic growth. Yet this was also a time of political disintegration, transformation, and reconstruction. By the middle of the nineteenth century, where this chapter ends, Buczacz was hesitantly stepping into the modern era.

Rebuilding in the wake of the Cossack and Turkish wars was begun by Stefan Potocki, who inherited Buczacz in 1675.[1] Turning his back on a period of religious and ethnic conflict, the Roman Catholic Potocki set out to cater to the material and spiritual needs of all his subjects.[2] Significantly, in 1712 he brought to Buczacz six Greek Catholic Basilian monks and an abbot from Lithuania and set them up in a small fourteenth-century church on the Fedor Hill. In subsequent years, the Basilian Fathers played an important educational role in the town.[3]

Potocki was even more instrumental in the revival of the Jewish community, crucial to the town's economic recovery. His 1699 affirmation and expansion of the privileges granted by his predecessors created the basis for Jewish life in Buczacz until the Austrian annexation seven decades later. Jews were allowed to reside and pursue trade and commerce in Buczacz, to produce and sell alcoholic beverages, and to buy Christian homes; they were exempted from municipal and manorial taxes and rents for twelve years, and protected from municipal courts thanks to Potocki's assertion that he was sole arbiter in "petty and major crimes" by Jews; internal community disputes were handled by the rabbinical court. At the same time, Jews were represented in all municipal matters, and were expected to participate in the defense of the castle. Considering the prominence of their commercial presence, market days were prohibited on the Jewish Sabbath. In a confined urban environment, religious toleration was key: Potocki allowed the Jews to "use the road

leading from the walls of the church and the house of the priest to their synagogue on the banks of the Strypa River."[4]

At the center of Jewish life was the Great Synagogue. In 1728 a new massive stone edifice replaced the wooden structure on the riverbank.[5] Apocryphal tales about its origins recount that it was designed by an Italian architect who later also built the town's famous city hall. In fact, the city hall was built by Bernard Meretyn, a Galician architect of Bohemian-Austrian origins, almost a quarter of a century later. But generations of Jews awed by the size and splendor of the synagogue associated it with the Italian influence on early modern Poland, whose impact on this remote locality was at best indirect. As late as 1938, one commentator wrote sarcastically to a newspaper in Palestine that such "rumors and tales" about "Graf Potocki and the architects he brought from Italy" were "rife in every little town in Poland and Lithuania, and each of us heard them in his childhood."[6]

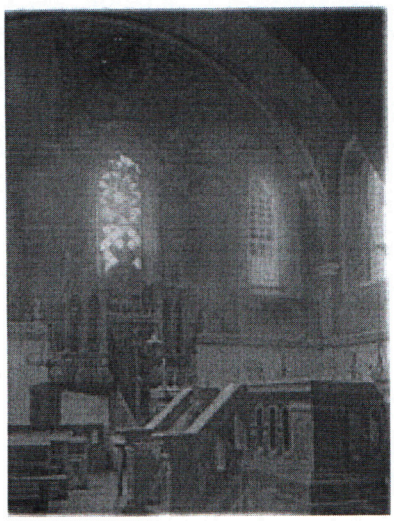
What people remembered in the 1930s was not quite the original structure, severely damaged in the great fire that swept through the town in 1865. Berish (Bernhard) Stern, who later became the first Jewish mayor of Buczacz, wrote at the time in the Hebrew-language newspaper *Hamagid* that along with the destruction of "more than three hundred Jewish homes," leaving "a thousand Jewish families homeless," also "the great and glorious synagogue and two other small synagogues and ten study houses with all their precious books and some holy scrolls were

consumed by the flames."[7] But the Great Synagogue was repaired and served the community for another eight decades. It has since vanished without a trace, its broken hull demolished by the Soviets in the aftermath of World War II. Some of its stones may have been used to build a new cinema not far from where the synagogue had once stood.[8]

Dismantling the damaged structure took several years. As was typical of many other early modern "fortress synagogues" in this region, it was designed to serve as a refuge for the community in times of war and violence, with walls up to 15 feet thick, and a floor dug well below street level, which also allowed for a high ceiling without towering over nearby churches. Curiously, this imposing edifice in the heart of the city is rarely mentioned in travel accounts and tourist guides, and graphic representations of it are quite scarce. In an exceptional photograph taken in 1921 we find it slightly behind the city hall, beyond whose steeple we can see the Basilian Monastery perched on the slope of the Fedor Hill.

For Agnon, the Great Synagogue

was the beating heart of the community: "As long as Buczacz existed, prayer in it never ceased." Its opulently decorated interior was illuminated by twelve opaque windows and four bronze chandeliers, shedding light on the murals of flowers and angels, the two iron rams topped by metal palms on either side of the Torah ark, the marble *bimah*, or reader's platform, at the center of the hall, and an array of other objects, some of which were exhibited at the regional capital of Tarnopol in 1931. None are known to have survived the war. "What is left of the splendid artifacts that were in the Great Synagogue?" asks Agnon: "Only the stories remain."[9]



The stories provide symbolic meaning to the objects in the synagogue that far exceeds their material value. Agnon, who put together an entire tapestry of tales that breathed life back into loss and oblivion, recreates the synagogue's interior as a vast chamber of metaphoric narratives. The great chandelier suspended above the reader's platform, donated by a merchant from Trieste whose ancestor converted to Christianity, symbolizes the eternity of faith and the return of light to its source: it shone until the community was destroyed "and the light went out." The six-branched copper menorah, a gift by the King of Poland, represents the vicissitudes of Jewish life in the Diaspora. Repeatedly lost and rediscovered at times of adversity, it carried at one time the Polish eagle and at another the double-headed eagle of Habsburg. But in the aftermath of World War I, it was shorn of all adornment since "the Ruthenians were rebelling against Poland, and were they to see the Polish eagle in the synagogue they would say that

we are fighting against the Ruthenian people." Agnon's conclusion: "Rulers come and go and Israel remains forever."[10]

If the Great Synagogue was the heart, the study house (*beit hamidrash*) was the soul of the community. The modest stone house next to the synagogue that had replaced an older wooden structure served those with more time and inclination to study.[11] It too burned down in 1865, and Stern lamented the loss of its magnificent library: "We are now," he exclaimed, "as sheep without a shepherd, without synagogues and study houses and without a book to consult, and all are filled with mourning."[12] Such lamentations had a long history; in the following century they would become commonplace.[13] The study house was also rebuilt. Agnon was there for the last time in 1930, upon visiting his hometown after an absence of over two decades. In the novel he wrote following that visit, *A Guest for the Night*, he describes a declining, impoverished community. The study house "had become misshapen. Cabinets once filled with books had been emptied"; "the long heavy benches where the old Torah scholars once sat – were now part empty and part occupied by simpletons"; the ceiling that "had once been black from smoke and soot," was "now whitewashed," and "the walls that had been scraped were now plastered." The fresh paint and plaster did not indicate renewal but the end of the road, since "the soot came from the smoke of our forefathers' candles, with which they illuminated the Torah, and the scratched walls indicated

that someone had been sitting there." But now "these plastered walls make it seem as if no one had ever sat there."[14]

The visit occurs on Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement and the holiest day on the Jewish calendar; yet most men have no prayer shawls: "They have either gone up in flames to heaven or served as bed sheets for prostitutes." From the window, Agnon looks out to the Fedor Hill. Just then, he relates, "a wonderful light shone from the study house to the mountain," a light "the likes of which you have never seen," in "a place you cannot find in the entire universe." We each have only one hometown. But this beauty brings thoughts of death: "Our forefathers would build their study houses next to a mountain, so that if the murderers came to kill them they could hide in the study house, which is protected by the mountain from one side and by the government from the other."[15] Four years after his novel was published, the Fedor Hill became a site of mass murder: neither the mountain nor the government came to the rescue. In the year 2000 the municipality of Buczacz sent in a bulldozer and demolished the study house.[16]

All that lay far in the future. And as memories of the Cossack and Turkish wars receded, their boundless violence also appeared increasingly inconceivable. The inhabitants of eighteenth-century Buczacz lived in largely segregated but hardly insulated religious and ethnic communities. Most people expected to die a natural death; they looked beyond their immediate personal and communal concerns only when events directly infringed on their lives. The passing in 1727 of Stefan Potocki, who had ruled the town for over half a century, was one such event. What made this into a particularly significant moment in the history of Buczacz was that following a six-year interregnum by Stefan's widow Joanna, in 1733 the town came into the hands of their maverick twenty-one year son Mikołaj, who was to rule it until just after the Austrian annexation.[17]

In romantic Polish and Ukrainian literature, Mikołaj Potocki, Governor (*starosta*) of Kaniów and Knight of Malta, is portrayed as the epitome of the *szlachcic*, the archetypical Polish nobleman, whose ample merits and flaws were further accentuated against the backdrop of Poland's unraveling eastern borderlands. Here was a man of vast wealth and ambition fated to rule over a small town on the periphery of the kingdom. Passionate, ambitious, and generous, yet also callous, prejudiced, and cruel, this larger than life figure was constrained both by his nature and by the circumstances of his existence: a ruler of great appetites and uncontrollable urges, given to deep religious faith as much as to moral corruption and bouts of violence. He left a strong stamp on the town, not least thanks to the splendid edifices he commissioned there. But his dubious legacy also portended the troubles that lay ahead.[18]

Educated by the Jesuits in Lwów, Potocki took an early liking to literature, history, and theology, publishing eight slim volumes in 1731 entitled *The Succession of Polish Dukes and Kings*.[19] But once he became lord of Buczacz, Potocki was drawn into an array of administrative and political positions. Having "distinguished himself in every post," writes Barącz, he eventually became "as famous as his ancestors."[20] Yet this was no unblemished fame. As late as 1860 a Polish journalist asserted that Potocki was still "such a popular figure" both "in the tales and songs of Ruthenian

commoners," and in the "stories and anecdotes" of "the more educated classes," because of people's fascination with a certain "devilish, even mythical" quality in him. This quirk of nature, he wrote, attaches itself to those motivated by "madness and eccentricity," those who enter the scene with "a sword in one hand and a torch in the other, leaving behind rivers of blood and heaps of ashes."[21]

Potocki's youthful exploits seem to have been related to his wealth and self-perception as a great lord. Charged with defending Buczacz, he raised his own infantry troop, as well as storing "gunpowder for canon and heavy weapons in the castle on the mountain."[22] But Potocki's private army quickly acquired "a bad reputation." As early as 1738 he and his troops were reported to have repeatedly "perpetrated much violence and excesses" in Lwów, until eventually the city's inhabitants appealed to the king, who ordered Mikołaj to leave the regional capital. But for years thereafter "people still remembered his bloody brawls."[23]

Eager to defend this scion of a great Polish clan, Barącz lays the blame on Potocki's "evil councilors, who advised him to lead a rakish life," and on the "crowd of flatterers" who "always swarmed around him and falsely applauded him." It was for that reason, he suggests, that the young ruler "increased the corruption" and "chaotic venality" in Buczacz to such an extent, that "a Chief Justice had to be kept in the city in order to restrain his arbitrariness."[24] Still, because he "maintained his noble intellect" and thanks to his "golden heart," once the magnate "came to realize the wrongs he had inflicted," according to Barącz, he "generously compensated for them, and, with old Polish devotion, beseeched the mercy of God for himself and forgiveness for his sins at the feet of the altar." Most importantly for the legacy of his rule, Potocki "did not fritter away his property or ill-use his lands but rather wanted to leave behind good memories throughout the country." Or rather, he left behind many wonderful edifices.[25]

If Barącz wants to save Potocki as a great Polish magnate, the Ukrainian Yaroslav Stots'kyi sees him as "an outstanding personality" thanks to his "positive attitude toward Ukrainianness and the Basilian monks, since he converted from the Roman

Catholic to the Greek Catholic faith, spoke the national Ruthenian language, liked the Basilians in Buczacz, and did not abandon this love until the day he died."[26] Yet the fact of the matter is that this proud member of the Polish *szlachta* (gentry) – who is also said to have led a Cossack lifestyle – was recruited posthumously by later generations as a representative of their ethnic-national identity. For all his faults, Potocki clearly followed in his father's footsteps as far as ecumenical generosity was concerned, donating vast sums to all religious institutions and faiths: Paulinians, Dominicans, Bernardines, Capuchins, Armenians, Roman Catholics, Greek Catholics, Orthodox, and even in at least one case, Jews. As an investor in the afterlife, Potocki spread the risk as widely as possible.[27]

And yet Potocki did make a crucial contribution to Ruthenian religion, identity, and education in Buczacz, by funding the construction of the Basilian Monastery, designed by the Silesian architect Gottfried Hoffmann, on the slope of the Fedor Hill. Completed in 1753, it was followed by the building of an adjacent two-story school, and later still the erection of the monastery church in 1771.[28] Most important, given a charter from King Augustus III and an endowment from Potocki, in 1754 the Buczacz Collegium opened its doors in the monastery to both regular students and candidates for the priesthood. Provided with housing, meals and clothing, the students were taught by the successors of the Basilian monks originally brought there by Stefan Potocki in 1712. This was the first formal educational institution in Buczacz.

From the very beginning, the school had a mixed population of Greek and Roman Catholics. By 1769 its 343 students were taking courses in such fields as theology, history, geography, physics, Latin, and Greek, and, after the Austrian annexation,

also philosophy. To be sure, despite their growing numbers, Jews could not attend. As we saw, already in the late seventeenth century tourists claimed that Buczacz had a majority Jewish population. In 1765 the number of Jews in Buczacz reached 1,055, rising to 1,464 in 1812.[29] The earliest available population figure for Poles in Buczacz appears in the Roman Catholic parochial registry of 1819, recording 923 members; the equivalent first available Greek Catholic parochial registry recorded 900 Ruthenians in 1832. The first mention of Jews in the Roman Catholic registry appears in 1835, recording 1,860 Jews and 1,558 Roman Catholics. With a total of over 4,300 city residents of all three religions, this means that in 1835 Jews were the single largest group, constituting over 40 percent of the total, apparently about the same ratio as in previous decades.[30]

Like all students over the ages, the young men enrolled in the Collegium indulged in various pranks. Some combined a taste for brawling and anti-Jewish sentiments, as in the habitual wintertime sport of riding sleighs down from the Fedor Hill into the Jewish quarter and causing havoc there. As reported by a Czech traveler, in spring and summer the students turned their attention to more amorous pursuits, spraying salt on the monastery's lawns so as to attract the cows led by young maidens from the town to the meadows on the hill.[31] But of course the owner of the city did not set a particularly good example thanks to his own predilections for hooliganism and womanizing.

Potocki was also increasingly drawn into the political struggles that proliferated in the last decades of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.[32] In 1733 he supported the failed candidate for King of Poland; six years later, his Cossacks reportedly "terrorized the local gentry, peasants, and Jews" while fending off invading Russian forces. With a private army of 3,000 men, by the early 1740s Potocki's political influence also increased when he obtained a mandate to the Warsaw Sejm, or parliament. But he remained a volatile leader of an unruly force, and following yet another drunken bloody brawl in Lwów in 1755 he was tried and heavily fined by the city's garrison commander. For the next decade the "crazy pasha," as Potocki

came to be nicknamed, remained active in state affairs; but with the approaching dissolution of the Commonwealth he began to disengage from politics and society.[33]

Barącz has suggested that Potocki's change of heart was caused by a general sense of discontent: "In his matrimonial life he did not find happiness, and in governmental politics he constantly appeared terribly distressed, and visibly bored."[34] One response to this condition may have been the magnate's conversion to Greek Catholicism in 1758. The devout Roman Catholic Barącz writes derisively that Potocki "was left to cling to the Ruthenian rite with the Basilian order, where he talked in broken Ruthenian." Potocki's conversion may have also been motivated by his frustration that despite lavish donations the Roman Catholic clergy "boldly reproached his misdemeanors." A more miraculous tale relates that one of the wheels of Potocki's carriage broke near the Greek Catholic Poczajów monastery, but when the enraged magnate shot at his terrified driver, the latter's prayers to the monastery preserved him from harm. Potocki took this as a sign and not only converted but also poured vast amounts of money into the monastery, where he intended to retire and live "virtuously" to the end of his days.[35]

A final attempt to find what some have called "expiation for his immoral life" came in 1764, when Potocki divided much of his vast landed property among his relatives.[36] Eight years later Poland was partitioned for the first time, and the newly named Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria – more commonly known as the crownland or province of Galicia – was created from the southeastern parts of the commonwealth annexed by the Habsburg Empire. Buczacz was one of the many

towns and villages that now slipped out of Polish rule. By 1795 Poland ceased to exist as an independent country altogether and was not resurrected until the reconfiguration of Eastern Europe in the wake of World War I.[37]

For the irascible Mikołaj Potocki the annexation came as a crushing blow. On October 3, 1772, he "watched sadly" as the Austrian "armed forces marched" into "his Buczacz." The humiliation of foreign occupation was compounded by a terrible fire that destroyed some 130 houses in the nearby town of Jazłowiec, also owned by Potocki. That blaze, suggests Barącz, finally "transformed him and made him completely lose heart." The following year he handed over the governorship of Kaniów and the ownership of Buczacz to his relative Jan Potocki, son of the Castellan of Lwów, and moved to the Poczajów monastery, which remained under Polish rule for another two decades.[38]

Yet even there, ensconced in the magnificent monastery he had built, beyond the control of the Habsburgs who took over his property, Potocki would not discard his lifelong contradictory and at times sordid traits – reminiscent of that other eighteenth-century character, Don Giovanni, even in the face of imminent death and the fires of hell. Although he went to "church every morning and evening to say monastic prayers" and even "admonished neglectful monks," at the same time "he kept several prostitutes at his house whom he used to wake up in the morning for the rosary, which he said together with them," and "if any of the girls laughed out, he would lash her back with the stem of his pipe to make her stop offending God, as he put it."[39] Having married Marianna Dąbrowska, the beautiful daughter of his steward, late in life, Potocki divorced her soon thereafter in 1774. He had no known children. Rumors that he was adopted when his mother was beyond childbearing age may have fed the fantasy that he was Ruthenian rather than Polish. Described as "extremely tall with a ruddy, withered face and a gray, thick moustache," the Governor of Kaniów became a legend – and a scourge – in his time.[40]

As the last independent lord of Buczacz, Potocki played the role of a Polish grandee to the hilt. Notorious for "the cruelties committed by him and his retinue when

drunk," he was immortalized by the nineteenth-century Polish poet Zygmunt Krasiński in his 1835 drama, *Nie-boska Komedia* (The Un-Divine Comedy), as the governor who "shot women on trees and baked Jews alive."[41] A Ukrainian folk song depicted him as the killer of a cooper's daughter, and his Buczacz castle was known as "a hotbed of unbridled revels and debauchery." A recent historian judges him to have been a "queer man, a psychopath and a brute," who was "the negative hero of many brawls and commotions." And yet, perhaps also because he symbolizes the end of an era, Mikołaj Potocki simultaneously evokes a measure of ambivalence, perhaps even nostalgia, and is remembered as a "pious, though dissolute despot," a lord who "had a considerable share in the development of Buczacz and other towns," admired not least by art historians who "have no doubt in calling him a generous patron."[42]

Potocki's greatest contribution to the architectural prominence of Buczacz is the city hall. Completed in 1751, it is the joint creation of the architect Bernard Meretyn and the sculptor Johann Georg Pinsel, who adorned it with sixteen sculptures representing of the Twelve Labors of Hercules and Biblical figures. Having collaborated on various other projects, the two men accomplished a well balanced and elegant ensemble topped by a 115-foot tower, described as "an original synthesis" of "architecture and sculptures." Many of the figures were damaged or destroyed in the fire of 1865 and subsequent disasters, and the building has undergone several modifications, including the replacement of

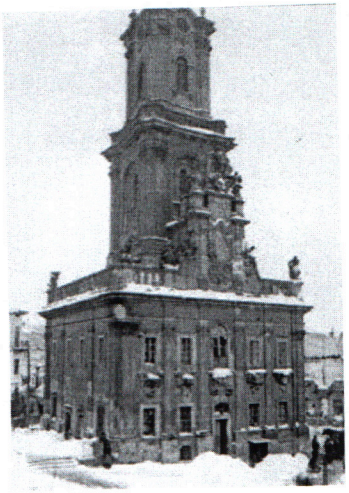
its original roof with a more Slavic-looking Byzantine dome. Recent attempts to restore the now dilapidated city hall have been hampered by lack of funds.[43]

Pinsel is believed to have come in 1750 from Germany or Austria to Buczacz, where he served as court artist to Potocki until his death twelve years later. While most of the figures he created for the city hall were lost, that of Samson and the Lion, which counts among the most famous, was still perched on the parapet of the city hall in the interwar period. Pinsel's interest in Biblical themes is evident from other works, all of which are strikingly realistic. A series of figures he created for the high altar of the Church of All Saints in Hodowica, near Lwów, includes the Sacrifice of Isaac as well as another, fully preserved rendering of Samson and the Lion; both are now displayed at the L'viv Picture Gallery.[44]

The prominence of the city hall has made it the focus of numerous tales and legends. Seeking to recast its creation as a metaphor of Jewish fate, Agnon liberates the narrative from the constraints of the historical record and reimagines the city hall as the creation of the fictional Italian architect Theodore, who also made the sculptures. Upon arriving in Buczacz, Theodore's encounter with Jews praying on Yom Kippur brings back long lost memories, for he had "seen the same when he was a child," before he was abducted by priests and handed over to a sculptor who raised him as his own son. For this reason he fashions his figures after "the faces of the Jews" that he "saw in the town of Buczacz

and of the Jews that he saw in his dreams and visions," making "with his hand what his eyes had seen and what his heart had seen."[45]

After recreating Theodore as a crypto-Jew, Agnon gives him a death that presages the fate of the community. Having completed his work, Theodore is imprisoned by Potocki inside the city hall, so as to prevent him from ever reproducing this masterpiece. In desperation, Theodore makes himself "wings to fly with" from "the leftover planks of wood and ropes and rags," jumps from the tower, and crashes on the hill across the Strypa. Subsequently, the hill is named after the Slavic version of his name, Fedor.[46] It is here that fiction and stark reality (albeit factually inaccurate) meet: "This is the hill," writes Agnon, "where five-hundred Jews were buried alive," while others were led "with truncheons and pistols to the city hall" and "burned alive." Their cries rose "from the bowels of the earth and from the depths of the pit, all the way to the highest heaven," but "the gentiles laughed and said, there they go wailing just as they do in their synagogue."[47]



Igor Duda's guide to Buczacz, published in L'viv in 1985, provides a modified Soviet version of this tale. Here it is three "skillful craftsmen" who build the city hall, and are then stranded on the tower when Potocki, "consumed with envy," removes their ladder. Having "worked day and night" on "making something out of wooden planks," the three are seen "sprouting wings." But only the young apprentice Fedir flies all the way to the hill that is then named after him. In good socialist style, this becomes a tale of workingmen exploited and murdered by an oppressive Polish aristocrat. Following Soviet historical convention, the mass graves of Jews on the hill are not mentioned.

Rather, visitors are pointed to the "common grave of the Soviet soldiers who fell while fighting for the liberation of Buczacz" from "the German-Fascist occupiers." These "Hitlerites," we are told, "exterminated about 7,500 civilians," but the victims' ethnic identity is elided, as is indigenous collaboration, dismissed with the assertion that, "the population did not submit to the fascists."

This local Icarus myth, linking the elegant city hall with the hill of death by way of a catastrophic leap spanning two hundred years, contains an ending as curious as the fantasy of Theodore's Jewish childhood. In 1953, tells us Duda, "fragments of wings, an airplane engine and a cockpit caked with clay" were discovered near the hill. The pilot's documents had survived, indicating that he was Fedir Ivanovych Vlasikov, a true Russian Soviet man, worker, Communist Party candidate, and fighter pilot shot down on April 11, 1944. Through this last crash of a heroic aviator, suggests Duda, "the ancient name of the hill had acquired new meaning."[48]

That meaning remains disputed. A few months after Fedir Ivanovych's crash, the Soviet Extraordinary Commission for the investigation of Nazi crimes exhumed some of the mass graves on the Fedor Hill; soon thereafter they were covered up again and erased from the official Soviet record of the Great Patriotic War.[49] They were mentioned locally for the first time in 2005, when the official web page of Buchach noted that "most" of the "nearly 7,500 inhabitants of the town and the district" murdered by the Germans "were of Jewish nationality." Seven years later this concession to the historical record was withdrawn. Instead, the three apocryphal builders of the city hall were re-designated as local boys, proving that "Buchachians were good craftsmen."[50]

Some locals have been known to complain that in spring, when the snow melts, fragments of human bones occasionally float up from the shallow mass graves on the Fedor Hill. Recently, some fragments of Pinsel's figures have also resurfaced. In 2008, the head of a statue was discovered; it may have belonged to the lost Samson and the Lion. A lost figure of the Virgin Mary was also unearthed, and has since been

restored to its original spot on a column designed by Pinsel and Meretyn. Nowadays the Holy Mother is once more watching over Buchach.[51]

Other treasures of Mikołaj Potocki's rule have been stolen or obliterated. His donations of precious objects, icons, books, and manuscripts to the St. Nicholas Orthodox church have largely disappeared.[52] The Roman Catholic church he built has only recently been restored after decades of desolation under Soviet rule. In other cases, the symbolic value of old edifices has been altered by recent discoveries. In 1990 the remains of 136 adults, children, and a priest were found in the Greek Catholic Saint Pokrova church, erected by Potocki in 1764. It now serves to commemorate what is said to have been a Soviet crime. In the nearby Jewish cemetery several thousand victims lie in unmarked mass graves, their butchery unremembered.[53]

Histories of great magnates rarely linger on their Jewish subjects, just as Jewish accounts pay little heed to gentile neighbors. It is as if Christians and Jews were living a different history in the same place. And in many ways they were. Still, as early as the seventeenth century Jewish-Christian interaction was part of daily life. In 1670 Hrin Szwiec sold a house to

Sztephan Basławkowicz said to be "located between the house of Paweł Szewc on one side, and [the house of] Mejzel the Jew on the other side, to which it is joined by a [shared] brick wall."[54] Such close proximity was the hallmark of Buczacz well into the mid-twentieth century. Even if different religious communities clustered together, within the narrow confines of the town spaces overlapped and contact with members of other faiths was unavoidable.[55] Scarcity of real estate could also mean that when people changed their religion they did not move house. In 1721 the "Orthodox Jew" Israel (Srotko) Leybowicz sold a plot of land to Zaybelz Abramowicz located between the houses of two Jews, one of whom was identified as "the recently baptized Stefan."[56]

Much of the interaction had to do with business relations. But such transactions also reflected relative power and cultural difference. While the Jews were entrusted with finances, they were also treated with suspicion and disdain; their use of documents in Hebrew was another mark of foreignness. In 1734 "the magnificent Anna of Brzezie Lanckoronska," daughter and twice widow of powerful Polish noblemen, deposited "two thousand florins" with "the synagogue of the Jews in the town of Buczacz." The signing ceremony was attended by "the unbelievers" Lumisz Uziel Abramowicz, Taybisz Eliakim Abramowicz, and Eli Herszkowicz. The Polish copy of the agreement was signed "in his own hand by Mikołaj Potocki," while a second copy, written "in Hebrew letters," was "signed in their own hands by the unbelieving elders and Jewish inhabitants of Buczacz."[57]

Most of the time, despite such regular interaction on the street and in business, the Jews inhabited their own unique religious, social, and cultural universe, and were distinguished from their neighbors by physical appearance, faith, dress, and language. Such distinctions were eroded gradually, and never entirely, in the course of the nineteenth century. After the dismantling of Jewish regional and national organizations in 1764, the remaining local *kahal* in each community continued to exercise a great deal of power as tax collector and the first judicial instance. Rabbis also kept playing a prominent role as scholars, teachers, and judges within their communities. And while the ideas of the Enlightenment and the Haskalah seeped in

from Germany and France, in Eastern Europe the rift between the learned religious elite and the mass of the uneducated Jews produced a new movement of spiritualism and mysticism known as Hasidism.[58]

Founded in the early eighteenth century by the Baal Shem Tov, or Besht, apparently born in the village of Okopy, some 80 miles southeast of Buczacz, Hasidism sought to reform Orthodox Judaism and revive religious faith by bringing it closer to the people.[59] Culturally and organizationally, Hasidism borrowed a fair amount from the Polish gentry.[60] It was also infused with the yearning for new forms of religion and worship that resulted from the slaughters of the mid-seventeenth century. These traumatic events have also been linked to the appeal of the "false messiah" Sabbatai Zvi and his self-proclaimed disciple Jacob Frank, who in turn influenced Hasidism.[61]

Well into the nineteenth century, the core of the internal spiritual and cultural existence of such communities as Buczacz was their religious leadership: it provided guidance and education, maintained contact with other communities, and cultivated a sense of history and destiny that ensured the continued survival of a scattered minority in the midst of an often suspicious, resentful, even hostile Christian majority.[62] It could and did also stand in the way of modern education and social progress. But for several centuries, the prominence of a community's spiritual leader was a point of pride and honor.

For Buczacz, this long line of eminent rabbis went back to Jacob Eliyahu ben-Moshe Meir (Mach) who came to it as a refugee during the Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising in 1648. Later rabbis included Elhanan ben-Ze'ev Wolf, author of an influential book published in 1696; former chief rabbi of Lwów, Jacob Joshua Falk, who came there for ten years in 1720; Meir ben Hirtz, who was also state rabbi and signatory of the census list of the Jews in the entire region in 1765;[63] and Zvi Hirsh ben Yaakov Kara, known as *Neta Sha'ashuim* after the title of his posthumous book of 1829.[64]

Beyond their learning, what enhanced the reputation of such rabbis were the legends that attributed to them supernatural powers; these must have compensated for the lack of any real power by Jewish communities vis-à-vis their surroundings.

Rabbi Aryeh Leibush Auerbach, who came to Buczacz in 1739 and left to Stanisławów the following year because of an unspecified denunciation, was a particularly rich source of legends. Since he died prematurely, he had not had a chance to educate his young son. But when the lad was about to be married, he was said to have "uttered a vast interpretation of great insight and erudition." Asked who was his teacher, he said "Father: since the day he died he comes to me every night and teaches me the Torah." After the boy became known as the Gaon David Zvi, his father came to him once more, this time to rescue him from the duke who had "ordered to whip him" because of a false denunciation. Thanks to Auerbach's advice, "what the evildoer had plotted to do to David Zvi, the duke did to the conspirator."[65]

Rabbinical magic was inherently just, but not always benevolent. The family of Rabbi Auerbach's denouncers was "afflicted by its own sin" for many generations. As Agnon tells it, two centuries later "one maiden from that family," who was "a schoolteacher in a village that had only gentiles," was "seduced by one of them and became pregnant." When she "killed the fetus in her womb and separated herself from the seducer," the man "went to the judge" who "sent a police officer and put her in jail. She could not stand the shame. She took arson and died." Eventually, "no one was left of that family but one good-for-nothing who was living with a gentile woman. In Hitler's time the son of that woman denounced his mother's husband to Hitler's boys and they stabbed him."[66]

These tales of the supernatural were invariably didactic. Jewish Buczacz was punished for Auerbach's denunciation by a prolonged inability to find a new rabbi. That long quest took the community from the last vestiges of feudalism to the dawn of reason. The abolition of the Council of Four Lands, followed by the eradication of Poland itself, heralded the emergence of a world that precluded the old Jewish way of life, and was filled with promise and perils. The era of Jewish self-government was now firmly set in the past, as was that of magic and mysticism. Or at least as firmly in the past as anything in Austrian Galicia could be.

For magical methods and techniques used by wandering *ba'alei shem* and adopted by Hasidic zaddiks, such as potions and incantations, and extractions of demons and dibbuks, persisted well after the Austrian annexation. But Enlightened Absolutism brought with it bureaucratic organization and rational thinking, disdain for mystics and a perception of those targeted by the tzaddiks as objects of scientific study, medical treatment, or psychological observation.[67] Such attitudes, as well as the fear of heretics and "false prophets," also influenced the leadership of Jewish communities in Galicia.

The fear of heretics had solid grounds. Sabbateanism had infiltrated Buczacz already in the seventeenth century, when several local men established links with Sabbatai Zevi's emissary Haim Malach. Even after Malach was denounced, the Buczacz Sabbateans remained in touch with other representatives of the movement in the region. The following century, in 1752, a religious court in Brody found two men from Buczacz, Mordechai Ben-Moshe and Yissachar bar Nathan, to have had links with Jonathan Eybeschütz, head of a yeshiva in Prague and later rabbi in Germany, who was considered a crypto-Sabbatean.[68] As late as 1825, an investigation of Sabbatean activities concluded that, "the band of these traitorous conspirators, who were in Buczacz, went to Nadwórna," not far from there, where they "exchanged wives with each other."[69]

Allegations of improper sexual relations had roots in the previous century. In 1756 Jacob Frank and his followers were arrested and charged with clandestine erotic ceremonies in the town of Lanckoronie nad Zbruczem. While Frank was released as a Turkish subject, the others were investigated by the Jewish court of Satanów and found guilty of adultery, the study of banned Sabbatean books, and professing faith in Sabbatai Zvi.[70] Detailed confessions must have been shocking to the audience. The witness, "Shmuel son of our Master Rabbi Shlomo Segal," for instance, not only admitted that he had "denied the entire Torah," but also recounted an astonishing series of adulterous acts: whereas he had "hugged and kissed Haya the wife of Hershel Shabtis," that same Haya had "fornicated with" her husband's "brother Leibush," as well as with "his brother-in-law Palnichin," while her husband Hirsh

Shabtis "fornicated with [Shmuel's] wife" in his presence as well as "with his wife's sister Menucha." Buczacz was represented in the inquiry by Itzik Meir Bashush Zlachever, who had "fornicated with the wife of Leib son of Yeshaya."[71]

Frank's influence in Galicia-Podolia also stemmed from the fact that it was his native land. Some have suggested that he was born in Buczacz, and Agnon asserts that "after he returned from Turkey," this "loathsome person" owned a house "behind the Strypa River."[72] Others, including Frank himself, maintained that he was born in the nearby town of Korolówka. Be that as it may, and despite Agnon's attempt to defend the reputation of Buczacz by claiming that not one of its sons "became a follower," the evidence indicates that Sabbataens and Frankists maintained a presence in the town for the better part of two centuries.[73]

Still, we should not exaggerate the influence of Frankism in Buczacz: not a single Jew from the town was present at the mass conversion of Frank's adherent to Christianity in Lwów in 1759. Perhaps the growing prosperity of the community weakened the hold of mysticism and strengthened bourgeois mentality. As early as 1713-14 the community paid a hefty poll tax totaling 1,200 gulden. As we saw, by 1765 the Jewish population of Buczacz numbered over 1,000 people, and by all accounts was relatively well off.[74] The town was also becoming an integral part of wider commercial networks; one of its residents, the merchant Abrahamcik, was a supplier of Turkish tobacco to the *kompania tabaczna*, which held a monopoly over tobacco manufacturing in all of Poland. The confidence associated with economic strength may have motivated the *kahal* to refuse city owner Mikołaj Potocki's demand in 1747 that it make a perpetual donation to the Greek Catholic Church – a dispute judged in favor of the Jews by the local court a decade later.[75]

Mikołaj Potocki died in 1782, ten years after the Austrian annexation, and was buried in the Assumption Cathedral in Poczajów. His successor, Jan Potocki, seems to have settled down in Buczacz with his wife Joanna only in 1779.[76] Jan did not have much interest in improving the economy of Buczacz beyond serving his own needs; he also became involved in a series of disputes with the Jewish community

and the new Habsburg authorities. The Austrians, for their part, made a concerted effort to reorganize and centralize the city's administration, reflecting their attempt to transform the socioeconomic and political landscape of Galicia as a whole, and channel tax revenues to the state coffers and away from the local nobles.

Shortly after taking over the province, the Habsburg authorities estimated the total population of Galicia at approximately 2.6 million, including 95,000 nobles, 1.9 million serfs and free peasants, 332,000 Christian city dwellers, and – in 1785 – a total of 215,000 Jews.[77] Buczacz was located in Eastern Galicia, which extended south and east of the San River. Unlike the western regions, here the majority of the population was Ruthenian, the Polish nobility owned most of the towns and large estates, and the Jews made up a major component of the urban population. Most of the Polish nobles were either small farmers or wretchedly poor peasants. Having lost their ability to elect the king after the fall of Poland, many of them were also deprived of their noble titles by the Austrian emperor.[78] Conversely, the great magnates, who held two-thirds of the privately owned land, had previously ensured themselves of a stable money supply by leasing as much as they could to the Jews: monopoles over the rights to produce and sell alcoholic drinks and dairy products, to operate mills and to collect tolls and customs; they even leased them entire villages.[79] This was not an arrangement that made for good relations between the Jewish leaseholders and the serfs.

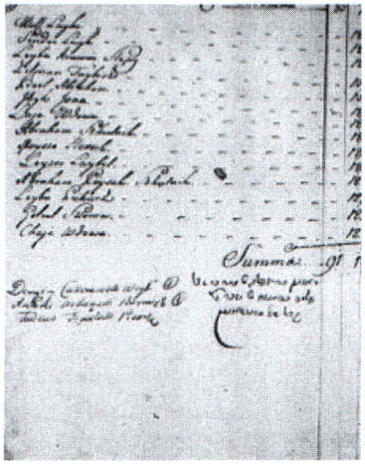

Distribution of Races in Austria-Hungary.

Everything changed under the Austrians. But it took time, negotiations, and compromise. In Buczacz, while the incoming administration was figuring out how to run the city, the semi-defunct Polish owners and the leaders of the Jewish community tried to reposition themselves vis-à-vis their new masters; to that end, they provided them with their very different narratives of past practices. The quarrel centered on the rights for revenues from so-called domestic taxes collected by the *kahal.* Jan Potocki, along with his brother Piotr and their father Józef, who owned nearby Monasterzyska, claimed such revenues belonged to them as lords of these towns. But the Austrians consistently sided with the Jews, even though they eventually decreed that all revenues would go to the central government. Austrian District Director J. Kolmanhuber ordered the Potockis on March 19, 1777, to "entirely cede" these tax profits "to the free disposition and use of the Buczacz *kehilla* without any indemnification whatsoever, and from this time on not to disturb in any manner the *kehilla*'s collection of its revenue or usufruct."[80]

This instruction set off a power struggle between the local nobility and the new administration. On April 2 the nobles appealed to the Austrian governor, arguing that Kolmanhuber had made his decision "on the basis of perverse denunciation by the stubborn Jewish people." The Potockis referred the governor to the 1539 statute of Polish King Sigismund I, which stated that "nobles who have Jews in their towns or villages" shall "administer justice to them according to their own will." The Austrian regime's instructions, they asserted, were "contrary to the intention of the law" and would work "to the disadvantage of the inhabitants." Since they had the right to grant privileges to the Jews, the Potockis argued, they could just as easily withdraw them. As for the revenues, these were needed for the upkeep of the town, such as "the reconstruction of houses" damaged in "the recurring fires in the city." The Jews, after all, "possessed numerous tracts of land in the district of the city and outside it." Where else would the city owner's revenues come from? The issue, they implied, was Jewish greed, for "had Catholics possessed the tracts, estates, and houses occupied by the Jews, they would have in fact provided much greater revenue to the heirs and would have ensured proper tranquility." And, in any case,

why were the nobles "obligated to turn over a certain portion of their revenue to the Supreme Treasury," while the Jews were "excused from making the aforementioned payment to the heirs"? This was contrary, they fumed, to what the "most ancient custom had established since the founding of the city."[81]

*List of taxpaying Jews in Buczacz with signatures of Kahal members in Roman and Hebrew script, probably 1777*



The Austrians were not convinced. On August 7 the regional office in Halicz reported, "this winter Herr Potocki established his own breweries and forbade all Jews from brewing." This action was contrary, wrote the official, to the "privileges of the Jews of Buczacz, specifically granted them when they first settled the city," which "allow them to brew and sell beer and brandy in return for the expected dues." And in fact, "up to now" the Jews had "enjoyed these freedoms without any restrictions." The clearly frustrated official added: "I have made a friendly request to Herr Potocki, that he put an end to this mischief." The official knew that changes were on the way, but insisted that "as long as these ancient privileges are still in place," the city owner "cannot arbitrarily obliterate" them.[82]

But Jan Potocki just kept on imposing ever more taxes, duties, and tolls, primarily directed at the Jews, including some that the Austrian authorities had already abolished.[83] In 1781 the governor of Galicia addressed him in stern terms. "His Majesty," he wrote, "had deigned to decide and command that, on the subject of the existing controversy between you, Herr von Potocki, and the Jewish community of

Buczacz, the latter be reinstated to enjoy the rights of the disputed *gabella*," the tax on domestic transactions and kosher meat, "and that everything be returned to its pristine state [*ad statum pristinum*]."[84] This warning, too, had little effect. What led to Potocki's final downfall was rather the cumulative detrimental effect of his measures on the local economy, and a final attempt to save his skin at the price of completely antagonizing his Austrian masters.

This last episode must be seen within the larger context of the effort by Joseph II to modernize his empire by alleviating the conditions of the peasants. In 1782 the emperor began implementing an agrarian reform that would restrict the serf system in Galicia, deprive or limit the Polish nobility's right to impose taxes, confiscate some of the vast tracts of land owned by monasteries, and provide peasants with their own land. The reforms met with increasing resistance by the nobility and the church, and after the death of Joseph II in 1790, his successor, Leopold II, swiftly put an end to the entire undertaking.[85]

Yet during this brief period of reform, the authorities in the Zaleszczyki District, to which Buczacz belonged at the time, evaluated the profits made by the landowners in order to impose on them real estate taxes, as decreed by the government on April 20, 1785.[86] The following year, on June 7, 1786, the town of Buczacz was sequestered and handed over to the canonical priest Imcé Potocki as "plenipotentiary granted complete powers."[87] The removal of Jan Potocki was clearly the result of financial mismanagement, arbitrary rule, and on-going confrontation with the Austrian authorities. But another reason, probably discovered during the district's investigations of landowners, was that despite the antagonistic rhetoric by both sides, and in direct contravention of the recent Austrian ban on Jewish leaseholders, Jan Potocki had made a "secret arrangement" with the Jews, allowing them to lease properties from him. This last desperate bid to avoid bankruptcy led to a heavy fine by the authorities and the distribution of a printed version of the magnate's sentence to all law courts as "a warning to rebels."[88] In the triangular relationship between the owner of the city, the Jewish community, and the Austrian authorities, no one was left entirely happy. The

Potockis could no longer arbitrarily extract taxes to pay for their expenses; the Jews were barred from continuing their traditional economic activities; and the Austrians were still having much trouble enforcing their policies.[89]

In fact, the removal of Jan Potocki did not resolve the issue. Reporting on conditions in Galicia three years later, on September 22, 1789, the Austrian official Leopold Haystorf described a region still mired in feudal bonds and economic stagnation. Buczacz, he wrote, was a "populous city, suitable as a municipal center due to the considerable number of Christian residents." But it had been unable to implement the "the right granted in the year 1781" to collect tolls and taxes "*ohne Dominio*," that is, independently of the local lord. Instead, the city owner was still leasing property and monopolies, as well as tax and toll collection rights, which caused a substantial loss of municipal earnings. Consequently there were not enough funds for the upkeep of bridges, roads, and public buildings, as well as "for paying the salaries of individual municipal employees or the police." Even the "very attractive two-story city hall," part of which was being used by the city council, could not be maintained "in a good state of repair" with the insufficient revenues from renting the "remaining rooms and vaults on the ground floor."

It would appear, then, that despite government instructions, the new lord of the city was still employing the Jews as an instrument of collecting revenues for his own use by leasing them his properties. He also persisted in collecting taxes on kosher meat, despite the fact that five years earlier the Austrian government had ordered all such revenues to be directed to the state treasury.[90] Still, in the long run, the empire largely eroded or at least modified the status and power of the local elites in ways that served better its own interests. It also brought about dramatic changes in the situation of the Jews, despite a great deal of initial resistance and a diminishing urge for reform in Vienna. But this was a long and at first rather painful process, even if in retrospect Habsburg was remembered somewhat nostalgically as a protector of the Jews.[91]

Habsburg policies toward Jews in the early years pursued two goals. First, the regime sought to limit their numbers by imposing a "toleration tax" in 1773, resulting in deportation to Poland of those unable to pay, and prohibited Jewish marriages without gubernatorial permission requiring the payment of a fee. But second, Habsburg sought to assimilate Jews into German culture and employ them as agents of Germanization in Galicia. For this purpose the regime decreed in 1787 that all Jews take up German family names; it also ordered the centralization of Jewish religious leadership and greatly restricted its authority. Yet the attempt to change the socioeconomic situation of the Jews, from a heavy concentration in trade and handicraft to farming and agriculture, launched in 1784-85, largely backfired. By forbidding Jews who did not engage directly in work on the land from leasing estates, mills, inns, taverns, and breweries, the Austrians deprived about a third of the Jewish population in Galicia of their livelihood, compelling them to move into towns and cities, deepening Jewish poverty and accentuating the profile of Jews as inhabiting a narrow economic niche.

In this sense, when the Austrian government guaranteed to Jews "the privileges and rights of other subjects" in 1789, the year of the French Revolution, it was not in fact proposing full emancipation. That had to wait until 1867. For while Jews were allowed to practice their religion, and restrictions on their marriages were lifted, they were still singled out by the imposition of the "toleration tax," the "meat tax," and later on also a tax on candles, an essential item for Jewish religious rite. Finally, the Jews of Galicia were made liable for military service, which imposed a particularly heavy burden on the largely orthodox population. Yet over the long run, many of the taxes and obligations were either evaded or not strongly enforced, while in the case of conscription limited relief and consideration of religious practices were eventually provided.[92]

Because the Josephine reforms largely failed, the conditions of the peasantry were not greatly improved, the position of the local nobility and church remained quite strong, and the Jews largely retained their special socioeconomic status. At the same time, Habsburg had set a process in motion that gradually transformed the relations

between social classes and ethnic groups in Galicia, as well as between those groups and their rulers in Vienna. The largely Ruthenian peasants of Eastern Galicia tended to believe that Habsburg was on their side rather than that of the landlords; the nobility and the Roman Catholic clergy felt that Vienna was undermining their privileges, even though the empire eventually opted for Polish autonomy. And the Jews, who initially viewed Habsburg rule as a threat to their traditional social, religious, and economic existence, changed their minds in the wake of the 1848 Revolution and began to perceive the new emperor, Franz Joseph, as their benevolent lord and guardian.

Following its takeover by Imcé Potocki in 1786, Buczacz established a city council intended to prevent arbitrary rule and to provide more rational fiscal management. As we know, although it was convened on December 2 that year, the council did not inhibit some of the abuse that continued for at least another three years, but it did signal a new direction in managing municipal affairs. Its four members, President M. Dierzkowski, Judge Tomasz Urbański, Counselor Michał Głowacki, and Mayor Paweł Boguniewicz, were evidently all Polish. The city seal reflected the identity of its civic leaders and lord, carrying the Potocki clan's coat of arms and the inscription: *Civitas Buczacz sub tutela cruces* (the city of Buczacz under protection of the cross).[93]

Despite its purely Christian composition, four years after its establishment, on May 26, 1790, the city council called a first meeting with the *kahal*. The context was a rise in internal social unrest in Buczacz, aimed mostly at the Jews and benefiting from the weakened status of the city owner – the traditional enforcer of law and order. Specifically, the goal of the meeting was to look into charges that students at the Gymnasium in the Basilian Monastery had attacked and robbed the Jew Moszke Berkowicz during a riot. Berkowicz had already testified at the criminal court in Stanisławów that the students had "violently attacked Jewish property and citizens during the riots." But the Buczacz city council and *Kahal*, perhaps in an attempt at reconciliation, concluded that, "concerning the riots, we know nothing and have heard nothing about a rebellion by students in Buczacz." At the same time they conceded that "such odd behavior," which they had just denied, "would have never

happened during the time of Governor J. W. Mikołaj Potocki," whereas during Jan Potocki's rule, while "there were student fights," they "were pacified without damage to property. As for this riot," they concluded, "none of us knows or has heard about either theft or injury of citizens by the students."[94]

This is the first known official document that directly refers – in a somewhat tortuous manner – to anti-Jewish violence in Buczacz, attested to by both Christians and Jews. The signatories of the document include five Poles and two Jews, Berysz Hofman and Ruvin Szternbaum.[95] Since the majority of the students in the gymnasium were Greek Catholic Ruthenians, along with a smaller contingent of Roman Catholic Poles, all three ethnic groups were evidently involved in the riots. In the wider context, this episode reveals a recurring theme in interethnic relations. In 1790 the Jewish and Christian elites agreed on the need for a strong leader to prevent communal violence. While the students did in fact occasionally riot in the Jewish quarter during Mikołaj Potocki's rule, influenced no doubt by his own attitudes, the Habsburg authorities by and large prevented such incidents. This changed dramatically during World War I and its immediate aftermath, when external forces supported local ethnic groups in attacking their neighbors. In World War II ethnic violence became state policy facilitating extermination and genocide on the local level.

But preventing ethnic conflict did not only have to do with enforcement. Education could also play a major role. Naftali Herz Homberg, a *maskil* from Bohemia, who was appointed superintendent of all German-Jewish schools in Galicia by Emperor Joseph II in 1787, established no less than 107 "normal" public schools throughout the province, including the Jewish boys school opened in Buczacz in 1788. Homberg's radical educational reform aimed at creating a new generation of Jews, fluent in German and proper Hebrew grammar, morally cultivated, and effectively trained to take up a productive trade. But the majority Orthodox Jews in Galicia vehemently opposed this initiative and with the change in government policies Homberg's educational system was abolished. The school in Buczacz closed down in 1806.[96]

We can only speculate about the impact of these experimental schools on those who attended them, let alone their potential long-term influence on future generations had they not been abolished. Attendance of the Jewish boys school in Buczacz, where a teacher named Chaykes and several assistant teachers held classes, increased from 28 students in 1788 to no less than 200 in 1790, a clear sign of growing enthusiasm among Jewish parents and their children. A similar trend was observed in Galicia as a whole, with the number of students rising from a total of 5,907 in 1788 to 28,800 in 1790.[97]

The Collegium at the Basilian monastery, established in the mid-eighteenth century, had a far longer lifespan.[98] But although the format and content of the teaching was gradually modernized, it remained under the control of the Basilian Fathers almost until the end of the nineteenth century. Following the Austrian annexation, the original Lithuanian monks were replaced by Ruthenians. In 1784 the Collegium was converted into a "normal" school and then designated a gymnasium in 1804. Led by Provincial Director Justian Iniewicz, by 1817 the school had a staff of six teachers, one for each of its grades, along with an instructor of catechism and two replacements; all were members of the Basilian Order.[99]

Four decades later the school converted to the conventional four-grade format. But as a report on public schools in Eastern Galicia for 1854-5 put it, "the teaching staff is appointed by the Basilian priests," and "although this is a public school, it is not considered to be governmental, because it originates from a private foundation established by Count Mikołaj Potocki," who "entrusted it to the Basilian monks." The

report did add that "the government supplements resources for the school from the public treasury," and that "lessons are delivered in the German language apart from religion which is also taught in Galician-Russian," that is, Ruthenian. It further detailed the school's impressive collection of books, scientific apparatuses, maps, globes, stuffed animals, and the likes.[100] By 1870, over 25,000 students had attended the gymnasium. But although many of them had received a "normal," or Western education, they were being taught by Basilian monks with a strong Greek Catholic and Ruthenian orientation at an institution entirely barred to the Jewish population of Buczacz.[101]

The school was finally nationalized and transferred to its impressive new building – where it remains to this day – only in 1892. The new, truly public gymnasium was a comprehensive school with eight grades and a mixed student population without any formal religious or ethnic distinctions; it therefore also catered to a growing number of Jewish students. Only the dormitory attached to the monastery stayed as a reminder of the school's previous location. But in 1912 the Basilian Fathers opened a new school, the St. Joseph Missionary Institute, whose goal was to prepare students for monastic vocations.[102]

Early attempts to improve, open up, and to some degree integrate education following the Austrian annexation therefore quickly ran out of steam or had at best mixed results. The Jews resumed traditional schooling, Ruthenian and Polish students remained within a Christian, albeit increasingly "normal" setting, and the vast majority of the population had hardly

any education at all. By the time an integrated school was finally established, national and ethnic fault lines had solidified and a much greater effort would be needed to bring the groups together. But most efforts were actually directed in the opposite direction, seeking to forge distinct and increasingly antagonistic ethnic identities. What might have been accomplished a century earlier had largely become a chimera on the eve of the World War I. One of the unforeseen consequences of Habsburg rule in Galicia was that this vast multiethnic empire contributed substantially to the creation of modern Polish, Ukrainian, and Jewish national identities. Looking back we can say that during those years Galicia emerged as an inherent part of the Polish romantic imaginary, the birthplace of Ukrainian nationalism, and a decisive battleground in the struggle between Jewish modernizers and traditionalists.[103]

The fiasco of Homberg's German-Jewish schools did not take the wind out of the sails of Jewish educational reform. Advocates lamented the debilitating effects of traditional schooling and called repeatedly for Jewish improvement, or *Verbesserung*. For such moderate Galician *maskilim* as Mendel Lefin and his disciple Jozef Perl, the main foe was Hasidism, which was well on its way to triumph over the traditional orthodox *mitnagdim* (literally the opponents). What they envisioned was not secularization and assimilation, but rather adaptation of Jewish customs, laws, and identity to the changing world around them.[104] Nor were all members of the religious elite blind to the need for a more active response to the challenge of modernity. One outstanding example was Rabbi Pinchas Eliyahu Horowitz, who spent several years in Buczacz in the latter part of the eighteenth century, was known as a kabbalist and a mystic, and yet was also an early proponent of the *Haskalah*, a strong promoter of education and science, and a vehement critic of popular superstitions. Condemning traditional Jewish schools that "do not teach the children any profession," he called for a structural economic transformation that would channel the youth to productive labor and trades by providing professional training. To that end, Horowitz himself published what is considered one of the earliest encyclopedias of the natural sciences in the Hebrew language in 1797.[105]

But Horowitz was an exception, and reformers such as Perl had good reason to denounce those they saw as the orthodox defenders of reaction and ignorance. Perl's Israelite Free School in Tarnopol, 40 miles north of Buczacz, was founded in 1814, and provided elementary education to boys and girls, combining Jewish and general subjects taught in "purified German." The school was subsequently incorporated into the general educational system, but no wider network on this model was created, not least because of Austrian fears that the orthodox Jewish leadership would view this as an attempt to bring about a religious reformation. Perl's proposals to institute vocational training were also rejected, and his call to eradicate Hasidic mysticism and obscurantism fell on deaf ears. In 1838 Perl concluded that because of the widespread belief that when a Jew is "engaged in any kind of non-Jewish knowledge, he abandons both the Torah and the commandments," the ignorant would "hate and pursue" reformed Jews "almost to their deaths." Perl's own early death the following year was celebrated by the *hasidim* as the fall of a sworn enemy.[106]

Jewish children in Buczacz were unlikely to gain access to Perl's school. The kind of schooling they were subjected to for much of the nineteenth century was described in a spirited pamphlet published by the essayist Moriz Bernstein in 1850.[107] Lamenting the "dearth of culture" among Galician Jews, he blamed their "fanaticism" and "dogmatism" on their education, which, in his view, was the main cause of "all prejudices and often also all spiritual stunting."[108] This process, he wrote, began at home, where the child was presented with a view of religion as the product of "an endless series of forefathers," creating in the child "a slave mentality" that tied him down with "spiritual chains" that would "accompany him into maturity in the wider world." Thanks to such narrow-minded views, exclaimed Bernstein, "the freedom of humanity was dragged to the grave," making for the "stark religious barriers that divide people into enemy neighbors and break up human kind into numerous kinds."[109]

Upon entering primary school, usually the traditional *cheder*, the "filth and uncleanliness" of the classroom was bound to have a "most detrimental impact on

the physical condition of the child." The teachers "had no knowledge of the world, no social tact, and no understanding of life."[110] Instead, teachers would strive "doggedly to hammer the assigned weekly Biblical chapter into the poor child." Since this usually exceeded "the child's comprehension capacity," the teachers' conduct was "often very harsh." No wonder that "the children went to school very unwillingly" or had to be "forced to do so." Such schooling, concluded Bernstein, was the cause of "all the mental lethargy, all the nonsense and muddled faith, and often all the spiritual ossification, which then accompanied the youth's adult life."[111] This condition was further exacerbated when followed with studies at a yeshiva, or religious college, since the students explored the Talmud without receiving any preparation for life in the world. This explained, he believed, the numerous ills of Jewish marriages, which brought together inexperienced young men and largely uneducated young women by arrangement between parents focused primarily on social status and material gain.

Writing in the mid-nineteenth century, Bernstein believed that the situation he described "remains so in large part still at present." The one ray of hope he could detect was Perl's "most laudable well-known Israelite school in Tarnopol," directed at the time by his son Michael. The school "had a powerfully beneficial influence on the reform of religious views, ideas and ethics, as well as on the current spiritual progress of the Israelite nation in Galicia," which, he fervently hoped, would finally begin "to reconcile itself with contemporary ideas."[112] In fact, following Perl's death, the focus of Jewish reform and enlightenment largely moved to Lemberg, where a similar school was established, along with a new reform synagogue. But as Bernstein saw it, in smaller provincial towns such as Buczacz, the ordinary Jew was still "marked by his long caftan" and "grating jargon," which made "the circle of his cultivated neighbors almost inaccessible" to him.[113] Only by learning Polish, "the language of the land," would the Jews of Galicia "feel reconciled with their nationality at home," build "peaceful relations and even friendships with their neighbors," and "gradually tear down the partition that separates between them."

Yet over the next half century, nationalism took over the public discourse. Polish nationalists did not believe that Jews could become Poles simply by learning Polish; Ukrainians resented Jews for choosing the language of their oppressors; and many Jews refused to abandon their own languages: Yiddish, spoken by the masses, and Hebrew, seen by Zionists as the true national language. But in the wake of the 1848 revolution, Bernstein believed that the conundrum of the Jew's existence "as a tolerated person" and "foreigner" who can naturally "have but little taste for any nation," would be resolved by granting the Jews equal rights; not by way of a "gift of emancipation" but as a self-evident matter of "human rights."

Unfortunately, the "gift" of full equality granted the Jews of the Austrian Empire in 1849 was revoked two years later.[114] Full emancipation came only in 1867, after the Empire's defeat by Prussia and the *Ausgleich* agreement that transformed Habsburg into the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. Since it was delayed well into the age of nationalism and industrialization, the effects of emancipation were not quite what Bernstein, along with many other *maskilim*, had hoped for. Once Jews could engage in other professions, Bernstein believed, they would no longer have to face "the bitter, offensive allegations and vituperative slurries that heartlessly insult" their "sense of morality and rights," and "injure the Jew within them." After all, "it is not the Jew who is a swindler, a usurer, as he is often called," but the legal restrictions that compel him to become that "profit-seeking salesman" represented in antiquity by "Mercury, who is both the God of thieves and of trade."[115] Emancipation, Bernstein quipped, would also have the additional benefit of alleviating the need for conversion, that "universal panacea against" the Jew's "moral and physical crimes."[116]

Things turned out differently. As late as 1897 Gustav Mahler was compelled to convert to Roman Catholicism in order to be appointed director of the Court Opera in Vienna. By then Karl Lueger, Mayor of Vienna, and Adolf Stoecker, court chaplain to German Emperor Wilhelm II, had discovered the political uses of mobilizing anti-Jewish sentiments in the new era of mass politics. In 1879 a pamphlet written by German journalist Wilhelm Marr popularized the term "antisemitism" to denote a

struggle against the Jews as a foreign and malign race rather than a religious group. These men and countless others were responding to the fact and consequences of Jewish emancipation. As the Jews "came out of the ghetto" and moved into such new areas as journalism, retail, and mass publishing, as well as the legal and medical professions, resentment against them spiked, especially by the old middle class losers of the capitalist rat race and the old conservative and academic elites challenged by the new culture of modernity. Liberated from centuries-old legal restrictions, the Jews were quickly strapped into the straightjacket of an alleged racial essence that no shedding of attire, faith, or culture could ever alter.[117]

The long, winding path from the Haskalah's sweeping vistas of emancipation to the constricted horizons of modern antisemitism eventually reached such provincial Galician towns as Buczacz. But for many years after Homberg's "normal" school closed its doors in 1806, local children had few alternatives to the *cheder*, leaving them locked in a pre-modern universe. Still, the Austrian annexation made it impossible to entirely dam encroachments from the larger world. If the children remained sheltered – or, as Bernstein would put it, enslaved – in the traditional school, the empire had a major effect on family life and the fate of young men.

As a result of the economic hardship precipitated by Austrian Jewish policies in the early years of Habsburg rule, many married men went to look for work far from their hometowns; often they never returned, leaving their wives unable to remarry for lack of evidence of their husbands' fate. This condition, known in Jewish law as "*isha aguna*" (literally "anchored woman") became so common that the religious authorities had to apply themselves to its resolution in order to ensure continued procreation and care for children in their communities. The rabbi of Buczacz in the years 1794-1813, Zvi Hirsch, became especially preoccupied with this matter, conducting detailed inquiries into the fate of these lost husbands.

Speculations about vanished men provide us with another glimpse into Jewish society in Galicia at that time, especially perhaps into anxieties about the perils of leaving one's family and community and venturing into an unknown and alien

world. As Agnon tells it, some of these men "died in temples, their bellies swollen from hunger, and some of them went mad from their suffering." But what made matters even worse was that as the men "wandered off from their own place to a place where they were unknown, they sometimes conducted themselves immorally with the daughters of Israel, so that in each place to which they came they married women and then left them and went off to another place and married other women and left them too." This not only further increased the numbers of abandoned women, but also of orphaned children. And for this reason, whenever "a rumor arrived from a distant land that someone from some town had died or was killed or was drowned by the gentiles in a river, and there were clear indications that he had married several women who were asking to be released," Rabbi Hirsch would debate the matter at length and often rule in favor of releasing these women.[118]

This fear of sexual promiscuity and its effects on the coherence of the Jewish family, viewed as the core of the community, also informed the Jewish response to the empire's imposition of military conscription. As Agnon saw it, of all the "evil edicts" issued by the new government, the hardest was the decree to "convert Jews into warriors," something that "had not happened since the destruction of Jerusalem and our Exile from our land." Conscription meant that young men would be both lost to their community and lost as Jews, because they would not be able to keep the rituals of their faith.

Military service entailed many other ethical dilemmas. It meant, as Agnon put it, that at time of war Jewish soldiers "were forced to shed innocent blood." But precisely because the gentiles "had become used to seeing the Jews humiliated and contemptible," when "the Jews acted like the gentiles" and "took up Esau's work and made war," they were, in sense, redeeming themselves. Yet internally, conscription opened the door to corruption. Since each community was required to provide an annual quota of conscripts, the *kahal* would "pay Jews money to hire and bring them to the emperor's agents." And when "not enough men were found who could be bought with money, the community elders would take anyone who had not pleased them and hand him over to the authorities against his will," or seize "faultless lads,

who had simply not been able to study the Torah because of their poverty." Here, then, a pattern was set of leadership collusion with external forces at the price of their opponents, the poor, and the helpless, that would reemerge a hundred and fifty years later under far more murderous circumstances.

Debates over the morality of such practices have a similarly long history. Then and much later, there were those who said that it was "better to take the ignorant than the learned," while others maintained, "one may not redeem one soul with another." But the barter over souls continued, fed in part by fears of the physical and spiritual contamination entailed in such total immersion in the outside world. This is the gist of Agnon's tale about Dan, an eighteen-year-old tailor's assistant chosen by the *kahal* to serve in the army: "Strong as an oak," Dan is also a poor orphan and an easy target. Ironically, the elders name him Hofmann, and then promptly forget him. After serving four years, Hoffman sets out back to Buczacz, but disappears on the way. Six years later he is discovered chained to a local noblewoman's bedroom, dressed as a woman, his hair and beard overgrown. The local administrators are scandalized: "Is he nothing but a breeding bull?" asks one; just imagine "how angry and envious the gentry will feel when they see that she who had turned them down had taken a Jew," snickers another. Hoffman is released, but never speaks again; "sick with sorrow," he dies within a year. Subsequently, the noblewoman's diary reveals that although he "had suffered greatly from that gentile woman," Dan "had withstood everything and was not tempted by her."[119] She had kept him on a chain like the bear she had played with and then shot as a child, perhaps because her father's mistress had used his bear to kill her mother. Yet Hoffman "had preserved his righteousness and innocence and did not commit a sin."

This uncanny tale encapsulates the terrors of uncontrolled violence, perverse sex, and psychological chaos associated with leaving one's community. The perceived abnormality of making a Jew into a warrior ends up with his transformation into a an unnatural hybrid, neither male not female, neither Jew nor Christian, neither human nor bear, mute and subdued as a caged

beast. As one measure of the Jewish march into modernity, over the next century all this changed dramatically. By World War I, Jews were keen to demonstrate loyalty to their state through military service. In World War II, even as close to six million Jews were murdered, 1.5 million served in the Allied armies. Some 5,000 Jewish volunteers from Palestine joined the British Army's Jewish Brigade Group, wearing a sleeve patch bearing the Star of David: one of them was my father.[120] Only a few generations separated them from Hoffmann the soldier – but also an ocean of history.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, Jewish Buczacz resembled many other provincial towns in Galicia. Its community leader, Meir Schneier, participated in the 1790 delegation to Vienna that persuaded the newly installed Emperor Leopold II to replace the personal conscription duty by the quota system that was applied to such unfortunates as Dan the tailor's assistant. Requests to relax the restrictions on operating taverns and to reinstate the jurisdiction of Jewish religious courts seem to have also had an effect. By all accounts, during the next several decades the Jews of Buczacz were still managing inns and handling much of the trade in agricultural products, as well as dominating the local artisanal sector. This brought about a gradual improvement in the economy, and the large debts accumulated by the Jewish community under Polish rule were gradually paid back.

In one respect Buczacz stood out. In the unavoidable struggle between the *hasidim* and the *mitnagdim*, it was the latter who uncharacteristically won; conversely, in the tug-of-war between the orthodox and the *maskilim*, the community was not torn apart and experienced nothing like the violence that led to the murder of Lemberg's Reform Rabbi, Abraham Kohn, in 1848.[121] This may have had to do in part with the nature of Hasidism in Buczacz, which saw its heyday during the three-decade "reign" of Abraham David ben Asher (Anshel) Wahrman, appointed the town's rabbi in 1813. The wealthy product of the established religious elite, Wahrman combined vast Talmudic learning with knowledge of German and Polish and an inclination toward mathematics and the natural sciences. Torn "by the opposition between the Talmud and the Kabala," Wahrman was said to have "adopted the Hasidic mode of

living" while being guided in matters of Jewish law "by purely Talmudic principles."[122]

Still, Wahrman ended up as a divisive figure, opposed both by the *mitnagdim* and by the growing number of *maskilim*. The established elites perceived him as undermining their authority. The *maskilim*, for their part, saw him as a "wonder rabbi" and accused Wahrman and his followers of "acts of trickery" such as magical healing, as well as of hiding army deserters, smugglers, and thieves. When he died in 1840 thousands of *hasids* attended his funeral, and his grave became a site of pilgrimage for his followers, who from now on called him a tzadik. And yet his passing heralded the demise of Hasidism in Buczacz. In August 1841 the *maskil* Yosef Tefer, a native of Buczacz who had moved to Tarnopol, accused Wahrman's son and successor of financial improprieties and of conducting "demon-dances" over tzadik's grave. He recommended to the state authorities that the "memorial tent" built at the cemetery be dismantled, and requested help for his enlightened brothers in Buczacz against the *hasids*, since they disdain work and education, refuse to become useful citizens, and are led by a rabbi who promotes schism and idleness.[123]

By the time Buczacz appointed a new rabbi thirteen years later, the Revolution of 1848 had already occurred, and even in distant Galicia the Springtime of Nations was beginning to change the tempo and nature of life. To be sure, the religious elite retained its hold over public and administrative affairs, but the growing circles of *maskilim* sought improvements in education and local culture. Most important, both in the municipal and on the regional and state levels, Jewish life after 1848 intersected increasingly with public affairs more generally, in administration and politics, economic and cultural activity, education and social organization. The era of mass politics and ideological mobilization was about to begin, and the esoteric preoccupations of magical rabbis, just as much as the burning faith and bizarre superstitions of their followers, would recede to the periphery and assume the status of legend and myth, nostalgic recollections and tall tales.

It did not take long for other, no less fervently held beliefs in race and blood, national fate and historical destiny, fiery leaders and unbending dogmas, to be grafted onto or to entirely replace religious faith and tradition. But for a moment it seemed that a bright new future was about to unfold, full of promise and hope and opportunities. The path appeared wide and clear; but each of the groups inhabiting this land perceived it differently and marched in a different direction. And as time moved on, the paths taken increasingly diverged, until one group's bright future became another's abyss of despair.

[1] Stots'kyi, 39, 143.

[2] Barącz, 54.

[3] Barącz, 27, 54; Kladochnyi, 4; Kowalski, *Powiat Buczacki*, 34, 49-50; "Bazylianie w Buczaczu," *Oriens: Dwumiesię cznik poświęcony sprawom religijnym wschodu wydawany przez misję wschodnią OO. Jezuitów w Polsce*, 5th year, Nr. 4 (Warsaw, August 1, 1937), 155.

[4] *The Book of Buczacz*, 72-3; Polish original, 67-8; and in Barącz, 14-16, both citing document deposited in the Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (ÖSA), Ministerium des Innern (MdI): IV T. 1777, X. Subsequent rulings further expanded these privileges. In 1706 Potocki decreed that Jews were allowed to become members of guilds, and in 1723 he decreed that four men, including two Jews, would guard the market square. *The Book of Buczacz*, 48, 73; Polish original, 69 citing document in the ÖSA/ MdI, and the Ossolineum, Rękopis, 3636.

[5] According to Kladochnyi, 12, the Great Synagogue was built in 1685 with help from King Sobieski, after the old synagogue burned down. This must refer to the wooden synagogue on the banks of the Strypa mentioned in Stefan Potocki's decree. See also Agnon, *The City Whole*, 18, and Chapter 1, above.

[6] *The Book of Buczacz*, 89-91, reproducing D. Neuman, "The Synagogues in the Town," *Davar Supplement*, August 28, 1938, and response by M. Rabinowitz, *Davar Supplement*, September 9, 1938 (all in Hebrew). Neuman notes that the date 1728 was inscribed in Hebrew and Roman numerals over the side door of the Great Synagogue. *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 26, (Krakow, 1984-85), 114, refers to the architect as Bernard Merettini; this Italianization appears by all accounts to be erroneous. See also J. K. Ostrowski, ed., *Land of the Winged Horsemen: Art in Poland, 1572-1764* (New Haven, 1999), 91. On the Italian influence on Polish art and architecture see Ostrowski, 60-2, 89-91; Zamoyski, *The Polish Way*, 189-205; G. Rąkowski, *Przewodnik po Ukrainie Zachodniej*, II: *Podole* (Pruszków, 2006), 263-5.

[7] B. Stern, "Austria," *Hamagid*, 9th year, Nr. 34, Łuck (August 30, 1865, in Hebrew), 267; *The Book of Buczacz*, 91-2. See also Chapter 3, below.

[8] See Chapter 13, below. According to I. Duda, *Buczacz: The guide* (Lviv, 1985), the "Komsomolets" cinema can accommodate 460 viewers. The bas-relief that adorns it, created by the sculptor V. Mel'nyk of Ternopil', depicts "Komsomol members from the 1920s and contemporary life."

[9] Agnon, *The City Whole*, 12, 20, 29, 89-90.

[10] Ibid, 25-7, 29-37.

[11] Ibid., 37-40, 43-56; *The Book of Buczacz*, 90-92.

[12] Stern, "Austria."

[13] David G. Roskies, *The Literature of Destruction: Jewish Responses to Catastrophe* (Philadelphia, 1988); Roskies, *Against the Apocalypse: Responses to Catastrophe in Modern Jewish Culture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984).

[14] S. Y. Agnon, *A Guest for the Night* (Tel Aviv, 1998, orig. pub. 1938, in Hebrew), 11. See also *A Guest for the Night: A Novel*, trans. M. Louvish (Madison, Wis., 2004), 8-12.

[15] Agnon, *A Guest for the Night*, 12-13.

[16] See chapter 12, below. See also Synahohy Ukrainy : No. / 9 вісник укр захід проект реставрації – Journal of the Institute of Western Ukrainian Restoration Project, 50-51

[17] Barącz, 54.

[18] See, e.g., Alina Kowalczykowa, *Romantyzm: Nowe Spojrzenie* (Warsaw, 2008), 77-83.

[19] *Sukcessya Xiążąt i Królów polskich* (Lwów, 1731); Barącz, 55; Kowalski, *Powiat Buczacki*, 70-71.

[20] Barącz, 55-6.

[21] *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, 1860, Nr. 24, APK, zesp. Teki Schneidera, file 227, pp. 665-8.

[22] Barącz, 33-4.

[23] *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 26 (Krakow, 1984-85), 113.

[24] Barącz, 33.

[25] Barącz, 56.

[26] Stots'kyi, 39-40.

[27] Stots'kyi, 40, Barącz, 56-7. See also B. Voznyts'kyi, *Mykola Potots'kyi, Bernard Meretyn, Ioan Heorhiy Pinzel'* (L'viv, 2005, in Ukrainian).

[28] Stots'kyi, 40-41, 143-4.

[29] *The Book of Buczacz*, 56, 53, n. 28, citing IV T 1, Carton 2582, Nr. 143, October 1812, Ministry of the Interior, ÖSA.

[30] Archives of the Lwów Episcopacy: Directorium Divini Officii in Archidioecesi Leopoliensi (Leopoli [Lwów], 1819), 73; Directorium Divini Officii in Archidioecesi

Leopoliensi (Leopoli [Lwów], 1835), 68-9; Schematismus Universi Venerabilis Cleri Archidioeceseos Metropolitanae Graeco Catholicae, Leopoliensis, pro anno domini 1832, 89.

[31] Kladochnyi, 5-6; Kowalski, *Powiat Buczacki*, 49-52; "Bazylianie w Buczaczu," 155.

[32] Lukowski, 82-8.

[33] *Słownik Biograficzny* 28 (Kracow,1984-85) , 113.

[34] Barącz, 58.

[35] *Słownik Biograficzny*, 114; Barącz, 57-9.

[36] *Słownik Biograficzny*, 113-14.

[37] Lukowski, 88-96.

[38] Barącz, 34-5.

[39] *Słownik Biograficzny*, 114, citing F. Karpiński, *Pamiętniki* (Warsaw, 1898), 18, 66, 74-6. See also Grodziski, *Wzdłuż Wisły, Dniestru i Zbrucza* (Kraków, 1998), 137.

[40] *Słownik Biograficzny*, 114, citing J. U. Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki czasów moich* (Paris, 1948), 81-3; Natalia A. Feduschak, "A Prince, Philanthropist and Playboy – an exciting life of Mykola Potocki," KyivPost (November 2, 2011): http://www.kyivpost.com/guide/people/a-prince-philanthropist-and-playboy-an-exciting-li-116186.html (accessed September 16, 2012), citing Borys Hryhorovych Voznytsky, *Mykola Potocki, Bernard Meretyn, Ioann Heorhiy Pinzel* (L'viv, 2005, in Ukrainian). Tellingly, the article fails to mention that Potocki was Polish, implying that he was a Ukrainian prince.

[41] Ów, starosta, baby strzelał po drzewach i Żydów piekł żywcem.

[42] *Słownik Biograficzny*, 113-4; Grodziski, *Wzdłuż Wisły, Dniestru i Zbrucza*, 136-7; Żarnowski, 8; C. Miłosz, *The History of Polish Literature*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley, 1983), 143-7. See also L. Wolff, *The Idea of Galicia* (Stanford, 2010), 145, citing Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, *Graf Donski*, 2nd ed. (Schaffenhausen, 1864), 343, who in turn cites the fictional giant Ruthenian peasant Onufry as recalling: "My father told me how the former master, the father of our count, made the peasants climb up into trees and cry 'cuckoo' and then shot them down like forest birds." Wolff suggests that this story was derived from Galicia accounts of the 1780s, in which a Polish nobleman sent either a peasant or a Jew up a tree and then shot him down.

[43] P. Krasny, "Osiemnastowieczne figury przydrożne w Buczaczu: Uwagi o inspiracjach czeskich w Twórczości Bernarda Meretyna," *Prace z Historii Sztuki* 21 (1995): 65-75, plus 11 photos; G. N. Logvyn cited in Duda. See also Kladochnyi, 10-11; Voznyts'kyi, 50-69; Kowalski, *Powiat Buczacki*, 28-32; Żarnowski, 16.

[44] J. K. Ostrowski, "A Great Baroque Master on the Outskirts of Latin Europe. Joahnn Georg Pinsel and the High Altar of the Church at Hodowica," *Artibus et Historiae* 21/2 (2000): 197-216, with photos of these works on pp. 211-212. In Ostrowski, *Winged Horsemen*, 86, an interwar photo clearly shows the remaining four figures, including Samson and the Lion; see also ibid., 62, 243. T. Kuznek, *Przewodnik po Województwie Tarnopolskiem* (Tarnopol, 1928), 222, similarly mentions four remaining figures. According to Duda's guide of 1985 the remaining sculptures include "Hercules tears the jaws of a lion," "Hercules kills the Hydra," "the sea god Poseidon," "David, who won a duel with the giant Goliath," and "two naked figures of slaves." Kladochnyi, 10-11, wrote in 1990 that the remaining sculptures included "David triumphs over Goliath," "Hercules tears the jaws of the Lion," "The Bound Peasant," "A Ukrainian Cossack with a Pipe," and several other unnamed works. Because Pinsel's sculptures for the Buczacz city hall are known as the Twelve Labors, the figure slaying the lion may be Hercules and not Samson; yet it is similar to the Samson figure of the Hodowica high altar. On the present condition of the city hall and Pinsel's sculptures, see http://buchach.org.ua/ (accessed August 26, 2012). Many of Pinsel's works were exhibited at a special exhibition in the Louvre museum in Paris between November 2012 and February 2013. See: http://www.reveland.com/actualit%E9s/actu_art.asp?art=24090 (accessed August 26, 2012).

[45] Agnon, *The City Whole*, 233-6. During his decade in Buczacz, the sculptor Pinsel must have encountered its Jewish population. Could he have modeled some of his Biblical figures on characters he encountered in the town's alleys?

[46] The hill is called Fedor by the Poles and Fedir by the Ukrainians. Agnon calls it Fidor, and may be referring to the Russian Fyodor.

[47] Agnon, *The City Whole*, 536-8.

[48] Duda.

[49] See chapter 10, below.

[50] See http://buchach.net/. The site changes to often to keep track of its content. Yet another twist on the legend can be found in S. Grodzinski, *Wzdłuż Wisły, Dniestru i Zbrucza: Wędrówki po Galicji* (Cracow, 1998), 137, where we read that "long ago, a Polish nobleman of an ancient house, or a magnate, invited the learned Italian named Fedorini. Fedorini constructed a machine in which, like Icarus, he wanted to rise upward or perhaps gently glide down into the Strypa ravine. Unfortunately, he paid with his life for that brave intention. But he has survived in memory. The people called the hill from which he set off on his last journey by his name."

[51] Den', No. 9 (March 12, 2008): http://www.day.kiev.ua/197785/

[52] Kladochnyi, 7; Kowalski, *Powiat Buczacki*, 44-5.

[53] Kowalski, *Powiat Buczacki*, 35-7, 44-9; Duda; Żarnowski, 15-17; Ostrowski, *Winged Horsemen*, 52; Kuznek, 222-3; Kladochnyi, 7.

[54] Manuscripta, Instituti Ossoliniani (MIO) II. 393, "sale of a house," in Polish.

[55] For examples from another town, see D. Frick, "Jews in Public Places: Further Chapters in the Jewish-Christian Encounter in Seventeenth-Century Vilna," in *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*, Vol. 22, ed. A. Teller et al. (Oxford, 2010), 215-48; Frick, "Jews and Others in Seventeenth-Century Wilno: Life in the Neighborhood," *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 12 (2005): 8-4.

[56] MIO II. 393, Polish and Latin.

[57] APK, Teki Schneidera, files 227-9, 1734, submitted at L'viv on January 28, 1786 by Michael Woros, notary, in Latin and Polish.

[58] See more in N. Sinkoff, *Out of the Shtetl* (Providence, 2004).

[59] M. Rosman, *Founder of Hasidism* (Berkeley, 1996), 63-4. See also I. Etkes, *The Beshet: Magician, Mystic, and Leader*, trans. S. Sternberg (Waltham, MA, 2005); R. Mahler, *Hasidism and the Jewish Enlightenment: Their Confrontation in Galicia and Poland in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1985).

[60] A. Teller, "Hasidism and the Challenge of Geography: The Polish Background to the Spread of the Hasidic Movement," *AJS Review* 30/1 (2006): 1-29.

[61] A. J. Brawer, *Galizien: Wie es an Österreich kam* (Leipzig & Vienna, 1910), 104-7. More in G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (New York, 1995); Scholem, *The Messianic Idea in Judaism and Other Essays on Jewish Spirituality* (New York, 1995); Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi*, trans. R.J. Z. Werblowsky (Princeton, 1975).

[62] On the internal life of Jewish communities in the early modern period see G. D. Hundert, *The Jews in a Polish Private Town* (Baltimore, 1992); A. Teller, *Living Together* (Jerusalem, 2003, in Hebrew). Further on Hasidism in G. Dynner, *Men of Silk* (New York, 2006); M. Wodziński, *Haskalah and Hasidism in the Kingdom of Poland* (Portland, 2005).

[63] Majer Bałaban, *Spis Żydowil Karaitów ziemi halickiej (Kraków*, 1909), 4, cited in *The Book of Buczacz*, 65, n. 15.

[64] Zvi Hurvits, *Sefer kitvey hageonim* [Book of Writings by Rabbinical Authorities], (Piotrków, 1928), 199. The Buczacz court records contained a Polish-language document from 1785, signed by Rabbi Tsvi Hirsh, son of Jacob Kara. Cited in *The Book of Buczacz*, 65, n. 16; document reproduced ibid., 69-71.

[65] Agnon, *The City Whole*, 305-6.

[66] Ibid., 307.

[67] Dynner, 137-95.

[68] P. Maciejko, *The Mixed Multitude: Jacob Frank and the Frankist Movement, 1755-1816* (Philadelphia, 2011), 8-9, 11; *The Book of Buczacz*, 52-53, and n. 18, citing M. A. Perlmutter, *The Book "va-Avo Hayom el Ha'ayin" [I Came Today to the Spring] and its authorship by Jonathan Eybeschütz* (Jerusalem, 1941-42, in Hebrew). See also Perlmutter, *Jonathan Eybeschütz and His Relationship to Sabbateanism: New Investigations on the Basis of the manuscript va-Avo Hayom el Ha'ayin* (Tel Aviv, 1947, in Hebrew).

[69] *The Book of Buczacz*, 52, and n. 17, citing G. Scholem, "Bruchia, Leader of the Sabbateans in Salonika," *Zion* (1941): 193.

[70] P. Maciejko, "Frankism," *The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, ed. G. D. Hundert (New Have, 2005), xxx; Maciejko, *Mixed Multitude.*

[71] J. Emden, *The Guide Book* [*Sefer Shimush*] (Amsterdam, 1757-8 [also Jerusalem, 1974, in Hebrew]), f. 6b-7a, cited in M. Bałaban, *On the History of the Frankist Movement* (Tel Aviv, 1935, in Hebrew), 120-125. See also Maciejko, "Frankism."

[72] Agnon, *The City Whole*, 214.

[73] *The Book of Buczacz*, 53; Maciejko, *Mixed Multitude*, 12, where the village of Berczanie in Podolia is also mentioned as a possible birthplace.

[74] *The Book of Buczacz*, 53.

[75] Ibid., 53-4, also citing I. Schipper, *Dzieje handlu żydowskiego na ziemiach polskich* (Warsaw, 1938), 263, 313.

[76] Barącz, 34-5.

[77] Brawer, *Galizien*, 15-17, 22-8; W. O. McCagg , *A History of Habsburg Jews, 1670-1918* (Bloomington, 1989), 27. For higher estimates, see Sinkoff, 201-225.

[78] Brawer, *Galizien*, 35-9.

[79] Ibid., 45-9.

[80] APK, Teki Schneidera, files 227-9, March 19, 1777, in Latin.

[81] APK, Teki Schneidera, files 227-9, L'viv, April 2, 1777, in Latin, referring to the decision of the directorial court of the Halicz District on March 19, 1777.

[82] APK Teki Schneidera, files 227-9, August 7, 1777, in German.

[83] APK, Teki Schneidera , files 227-9, September 23, 1777, in Latin.

[84] APK, Teki Schnedera, file 228, pp. 395-402: "Bürgermeister von Buczacz," account of the city of Buczacz, 1784, in Polish, copy filed in Lemberg, August 4, 1784, signed by Franz de Paula Heß, k.k. Gubern.Registrator, document in German with Latin term.

[85] Background in L. Schneider, *Das Kolonisationswerk Josefs II. in Galizien* (Berlin, 1989).

[86] "K.k. Galizische Statthalterei, 1772-1854," TsDIAL, fond 146, op. 78, spr. 1.

[87] Barącz, 35.

[88] Ibid., 55, n. 24, citing document dated October 11, 1787.

[89] This and the following passage are based primarily on *The Book of Buczacz*, 54-5.

[90] "K.k. Galizische Statthalterei, 1772-1854," TsDIAL, fond 146, op. 88, spr. 183.

[91] The Book of Buczacz, 54.

[92] S. Grodziski, "The Jewish Question in Galicia," in *Polin*, vol. 12, ed. I. Bartal and A. Polonsky (London, 1999), 61-72; Brawer, *Galizien*, 24-9, 40-9.

[93] Barącz, 36.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Ibid. The Polish names are: Walenty Rozmaryński, Maciej Janowczyk, Kazimirz Krzesiński, Jacenty Zajączkowski, and Antoni Bazylewicz.

[96] Riety van Luit, "Homberg, Herz," in *YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*: http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Homberg_Herz (accessed July 30, 2010); *The Book of Buczacz*, 55.

[97] "K.k. Galizische Statthalterei, 1772-1854," TsDIAL, fond 146, op. 85, spr. 1903.

[98] Kladochnyi, 4.

[99] Archives of the Lwów Episcopacy, *Schematismus des Königreiches Galizien und Lodomerien für das Jahr 1817* (Lemberg, n.d.), 595.

[100] "Statystyczne podania szkół publicznych z r. 1854/5 w Galicyi wschodniej czyli w lwowskim ekręgu administracyjnym," in APK, zesp. Teki Schneidera, file 228, p. 243.

[101] Kladochnyi, 4-5.

[102] Ibid., 5; "Bazylianie w Buczaczu," 155-6.

[103] Sinkoff, 201-225.

[104] Sinkoff, 225-70.

[105] *Pinchas Eliyahu Horowitz of Vilna, Sefer Ha'Brit (Book of the Covenant), (*Bruna, 1797), *Part II, Discourse 11; Pinchas Eliyahu Horowitz of Vilna, Divrei Emet* (*Truth Sayings*), 41, cited in E. Yones, *Smoke in the Sand* (Jerusalem, 2001, in Hebrew), 21; *The Book of Buczacz*, 55; M. Rudner, *Buczacz Origins* (Ottawa, 1993), 4.

[106] Sinkoff, 228-31, 269; *Tarnopol Volume*, 46-51, 55-83.

[107] M. Bernstein, *Einige Kulturhistorische Blicke über die Juden in Galizien nebst kleinen Andeutungen auf den Bildungszustand anderer Nationen* (Vienna, 1850). This text is rarely cited. For the context, and a citation of Bernstein, see C. Thornhill, "Eastern Jews and the Sociology of Nationalism," in *Ghetto Writing: Traditional and eastern Jewry in German-Jewish Literature from Heine to Hilsenrath*, ed. A. Fuchs et al. (Columbia, SC, 1999), 68-82. Dr. Joseph or Józef Bernstein, is cited as a physician and a maskil from Warsaw, as well as a correspondent for the German Jewish periodical *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, who published an article on Hasidism in 1839, and another article on the use by Jews of the Polish, rather than German or Yiddish language, in 1840. See M. Wodziński, *Haskala and Hasidism in the Kingdom of Poland: A History of Conflict*, trans. S. Cozens (Portland, OR, 2009), 117, 159.

[108] Bernstein, v, 11-12, 13.

[109] Ibid., 14.

[110] Ibid., 15. On the debate over the cheder in late Imperial Russia, see S. J. Zipperstein, *Imagining Russian Jewry: Memory, History, Identity* (Seattle, 1999), 41-62.

[111] Bernstein, 17-18.

[112] Ibid., 32-3.

[113] Ibid., 39.

[114] S. W. Baron, "The Impact of the Revolution of 1848 on Jewish Emancipation," *Jewish Social Studies* 11/3 (1949): 195-248, esp. 231.

[115] On this image see also Y. Slezkine, *The Jewish Century* (Princeton, 2004), 4-39.

[116] Bernstein, 41-43.

[117] P. G. J. Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria* (New York, 1964); R. Rürup, *Emanzipation und Antisemitismus: Studien zur Judenfrage der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (Göttingen, 1975); J. Katz, *Out of the Ghetto: The Social Background of Jewish Emancipation, 1770-1870* (New York, 1973).

[118] Agnon, *The City Whole*, 444-45.

[119] Ibid., 446-7, 450-51, 456, 480, 484-6.

[120] H. Bartov, *The Brigade*, trans. David S. Segal (Philadelphia, 1967).

[121] M. Stanislawski, *A Murder in Lemberg* (Princeton, 2007).

[122] Louis Ginzberg and A. Peiginsky, "Buczacz, Abraham David B. Asher Anshel," *Jewish Encyclopedia* (New York, 1901-1906), citing E. Z. Shmerler, *Toledot ha-Rabi* (Lemberg, 1890).

[123] *The Book of Buczacz*, 56-8, also citing R. Mahler, *Der kamf tsvishn chasidut un haskala in Galitsye* (New York, 1942, in Yiddish), 248, for Tefer's memorandum; Yekutiel Kamelhar, *Dor De'ah* (Jerusalem 1969-70, reprint of 1932-33 edition), entry on Rabbi Wahrman, 74-81; Agnon, *The City Whole*, 518-42.