In 1672 Buczacz stepped momentarily onto the international stage. On October 18 representatives of Polish King Michał Korybut Wiśnowiecki and the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed IV signed the Peace Treaty of Buczacz in this heavily fortified borderland town. This impressive document, written in Ottoman Turkish and adorned with the Sultan's signature and seal, is still preserved in a Polish archive.[1] But in the annals of Polish history the treaty is remembered as a humiliating moment, one of many that dotted the topsy-turvy fortunes and eventual decline of Poland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Weakened by internal strife, King Michał surrendered Podolia and much of Ukraine to the Turks and pledged to pay a hefty yearly tribute to the Sultan.[2]

The peace treaty did not provide even a brief respite in a decades-long era of bloodshed and destruction across the far-flung lands of the vast Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It would take until the early eighteenth century for large-scale fighting in the region to die down; but by that time, both Poland and the Ottoman Empire were well past their heyday. Precisely a hundred years after the Treaty of Buczacz was signed, the first partition of Poland led to the annexation of its southeastern territories by the Habsburg Empire. Less than three decades later, Poland was to disappear entirely from the map of Europe for well over a century.

Born into an era of violence, Buczacz was baptized with fire and sword: the manner and purpose of its birth heralded its tragic demise. Yet in the intervening centuries, it became the site of a rich, vibrant, and fascinating society. Its story is in many ways

the story of hundreds of towns and cities throughout Eastern Europe that formed part of a civilization that no longer exists and is largely forgotten. Between that world's bloody beginning and its murderous end extends a long life that gives them both meaning.

In 1882, Sadok Barącz, a Polish Dominican monk of Armenian origins, published a colorful history of Buczacz.[3] Based largely on documents that were lost in the upheavals of the twentieth century, this nationalist Polish account by a committed proponent of the Roman Catholic faith is also a rich source of local fables and legends. Referring to that infamous treaty, Barącz writes that while "some say that Mehmed negotiated with the plenipotentiaries of the Polish king under the linden tree," others claim that the tree "was planted on the site where the agreement was signed." The linden, he adds, "survives to this day, but it is in a lamentable condition." He then admonishes his readers: "This linden tree, just like an old lady, should be cared for, since only one branch of it still survives."[4]

The great linden of Buczacz, or at least what local residents claim is the original tree associated with the treaty, is still there. Barącz's plea to preserve it evokes not only its historical role but also the symbolism of the linden, put to verse by sixteenth-century Polish poet Jan Kochanowski. In the poem, the tree represents a site of peace and harmony, inviting all, locals and strangers alike, to sit "beneath my leaves and take a rest." There, the tree promises its guests, "the sun will not reach you," and "cool breezes always blow from the fields"; on its branches the "nightingales and

starlings comfortably complain," and its "fragrant flowers" attract "hard-working bees":

> I do not bear apples it is true but my master praises me
> As if I were the best tree in the garden of Hesperides.[5]

It is therefore not for its material use that the linden is loved, but as a place of tranquility in a restless world, reminiscent of the mythological garden of the nymphs. For centuries, people speaking different languages, professing different faiths, and cultivating different cultures have rested under the canopy of the great linden in Buczacz. Like the town, over which it soars, the tree accommodated them all, striking deep roots into the local soil, while spreading its branches far and wide. Nowadays, discolored by soot from passing vehicles, its misshapen remnant only partly obscures the derelict postwar tenements nearby. A stone's throw away a new symbol has sprung up: a monument to the Ukrainian nationalist leader Stepan Bandera. It signifies a different era, when strangers and neighbors alike turned against each other, transforming the garden of Hesperides into a valley of dry bones.

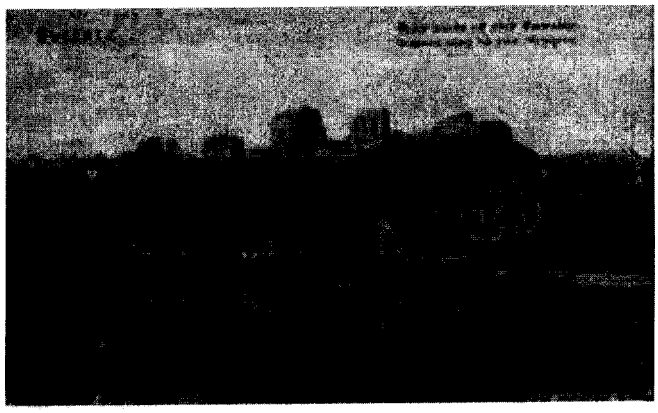
Long before it became one of forty-six fortified towns built to stem the invasions of Tatars, Cossacks, and Turks from the East and the south, the village of Buczacz boasted a palatial castle that merited occasional mention in the chronicles of medieval and early modern Poland. As early as 1260 Buczacz appears in the records as an estate belonging to the noble Buczacki clan, which numbered among the noted early defenders of Poland's eastern borderlands, and was dedicated to spreading the Roman Catholic faith in these regions. In their prime, these early owners of Buczacz – from which their clan's name may have derived – were the first to build a castle on a hill overlooking the village and river in the valley below.[6]

The sweeping landscapes of the eastern borderlands have lodged themselves deep in the Polish romantic imagination. Nobel Prize laureate Henryk Sienkiewicz conjured them in his epic 1884 novel, *With Fire and Sword*, modeling the Wild Fields of Ukraine after the American Wild West he had recently visited.[7] Friar Barącz, who spent his entire life in Galicia, perceived nature as a manifestation of the divine, and ethnic identity as a product of one's habitat. Buczacz, he wrote, was situated "on the frontiers of Podolia and Red Russia," also known as Rus' or Ruthenia, in "a green valley on a rocky base," which "the narrow stream of the Strypa River divides... into two parts. It is one of several charming, beautiful valleys in the region, richly endowed with capricious nature. The gloomy, ancient forests, the clear lakes, the wooded hills, the rich pastures, God's holy might splendidly spread out: all can powerfully harness the Slavic soul seeking freedom and security."[8]

The location of Buczacz, whose name is probably derived from the surrounding beechwood forests, or *buczyny*, was also directly on "the path of the Tatars." It was the warriors of that "brave family from Buczacz" who defended it "with their own bodies" against raids by these "wild oppressors." The Buczackis, assures us Barącz, "set an example to the knights of Rus' and Podolia" by building "a defensive fort to protect the successful development of the town," motivated as they were by "the holy flame of love for the land and for their ancestors." Whenever they heard "the terrifying sound of the enemy coming up from the dark valley," these "military units materialized on their brave steeds – known throughout Poland – as if they had sprung out of the earth." Horses from this region, as Barącz reminds us, were indeed "highly sought after, and one pointed at them with pride: Look! This is a horse raised in Buczacz."

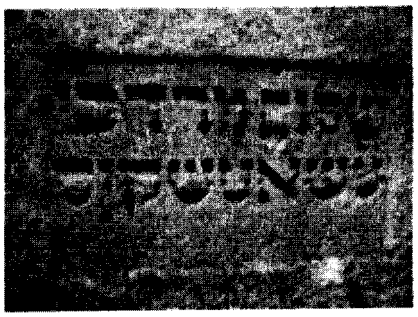
For Barącz the battles in Buczacz represented Poland's overall national endeavor: "When the brave youth of Poland clashed with the enemy throughout the homeland, the elderly worked at home, extracting profits from the land and the forests, even as they watched over their abundant springs."[9] But what created and kept the nation together was religion: "In that laborious work," writes Barącz, "their lives were

fortified by the Catholic faith, the faith into which they entrusted their lives, and in which their progeny – nestling securely at home – continued to be raised."[10] This late nineteenth-century view of medieval Poland betrays no doubts about the existence of an ancient Polish nation or its right to rule over an endless expanse of eastern borderlands. The God-given mission of that imagined nation to rule and conquer comes from its warriors' courage and their unflinching religious conviction. Barącz, of course, was writing blatantly romantic and anachronistic history; but his views reflected a widespread perception of the past that resonated well into the twentieth century.



Barącz died in 1892 in the monastery of Podkamień, just 75 miles northeast of Buczacz. Five years earlier, the author and Nobel Prize laureate, Shmuel Yosef Agnon, was born in Buczacz. That he died in Jerusalem in 1970 as the most celebrated Hebrew language writer of his time is a measure of the transformation of the world both he and Barącz had sought to understand and depict. Yet their views and perceptions were radically different. In part, this was because Barącz was solidly anchored in the nineteenth-century, whereas Agnon was tossed on the waves

of the following century's tempests. But even more pertinent was the fact that the monk's resolutely Polish nationalism and Roman Catholic devotion were matched by Agnon's total dedication to his deep Jewish roots as well as to the creation of a modernist Hebrew literature that was at the base of the Zionist endeavor. The town these two men loved and compulsively described could have been located on two separate planets; and the narratives they wove of its past both reflected the lived experiences and molded the imaginary histories of their communities.



Agnon was the son of Mordechai Czaczkes, whose gravestone can still be found in what remains of the Jewish cemetery in Buczacz. He derived his penname, later made official, from the title of the first story he published in Palestine, where he immigrated in 1908. Although he returned to Buczacz briefly only once, in 1930, much of his writing concerned the life and culture of Galician and Podolian Jewry, for which Buczacz served as a prime example and model. His book, *The City Whole,* which he wrote with "grief and sorrow," was dedicated to "our sons who come after us," so they "would know that our city was whole with learning, and wisdom, and love, and worship, and life, and grace, and benevolence, and charity from the day it

was established until its annihilation by the desolating abomination and the impure and insane who came with it."[11]

Published posthumously, this vast amalgam of myth, legend, and history is a monument to Buczacz as a Jewish city. Agnon displays as little interest in the town after its Jewish population was murdered, as would have Barącz had he seen it bereft of Polish life. But Agnon similarly associates the splendid physical setting of Buczacz with divine grace, describing it as "a city to which God has seemingly loaned some of His own land's glory." Writing in Jerusalem, an ancient capital perched on the edge of a desert, Agnon envisions Buczacz as a region of Paradise, "situated upon mountains and hills," surrounded by "forests thick with trees and bushes," and nourished by a river that "flows within and around" it, by streams that "feed reeds and bushes and trees," and by "good springs" that "abound with fresh water."

Jewish settlement in this idyllic setting is associated by Agnon with the multitude of birds that "dwell in the trees and twitter from them," for while "some of the birds were conceived and born in our city," others "have flown to our city and have remained in it, having seen and recognized how superior our city is." This process of settlement thus harks back to a purer, more innocent past, a time of harmony between man and God that is reflected in the town's geography: "At the bottom of the hills you will find straight places. Some were made by Heaven and some were made by man. Some are intertwined and some complement each other. For this is one instance where the work of Heaven and the work of man live side by side in

peace... Most likely these places were created in the old days, when man's heart was whole, without crookedness and without deceit."[12]

If Barącz depicts Buczacz as the creation of the Polish nobility, Agnon imagines it as founded by a group of Jews, whose "pure hearts yearned to go to the Land of Israel," but found themselves instead in a place of "endless forests, filled with birds and animals and beasts." There they encounter a band of "great and important noblemen," who are "so astonished by their wisdom and their well spoken manner" that they invite the Jews "to come and dwell with them." Thus begins the story of Buczacz, for the nobles, having "recognized that the Jews were their blessing," plead with them to stay, assuring the Jews that "the whole land is wide open to you," and inviting them to "dwell where you wish, and if you want to trade in it so much the better, for there is no one in this land who knows how to trade goods."

For the Jews, this means abandoning the dream of going to Israel. But by now they realize that "they had already struck roots into the land, and built houses, and the nobility of the land liked and supported them, and the women were pregnant or with babies, and some had become exhausted and weak, and the elderly had aged a

great deal and the journey would be hard for them." And so they decide "to build themselves a permanent house of prayer" and to stay, and with time, writes Agnon, "the place filled up with Jews," and "even the noblemen and their servants would come there when they needed advice or merchandise." And as Buczacz "became famous," the lord of the place "built himself a stone house and later on a fortress on the hill facing the Strypa." Meanwhile the Jews "lacked for nothing in learning of the Torah and the knowledge of God and were secure in their wealth and honor and their faith and righteousness," until the day when "they were struck by divine justice and were mostly destroyed with the wrath of God inflicted by the thugs of Khmyl."[13]

Such were the foundation myths and legends of Buczacz as told by Poles and Jews. Both contained a kernel of historical truth, but more importantly, they formed the basis of these communities' collective memory. Contemporary Ukrainian scholars pay little heed to these tales. Local historian Yaroslav Stots'kyi, for instance, notes that archeological excavations near Buczacz uncovered signs of human habitation dating back as far as the early Stone Age, with more recent layers of Trypillian, Scandinavian, Scythian, Gothic, and Sarmatian Alan populations through the early Middle Ages.[14] Such evidence brings Stots'kyi to the conclusion that "these and other races, which inhabited Buczacz and its region in different centuries, created together a pre-Ukrainian identity in the shape of their language, character, religion, culture, and customs."[15] There is no mention of Poles or Jews in that pre-Ukrainian mix.

The earliest historical records document the region of Buczacz under the consecutive rule of two emergent powers in medieval Eastern Europe. The first was Kievan Rus', which formed after the unification of the East Slavic tribes in the ninth and tenth centuries, and reached the height of its expansion under Yaroslav the Wise. Following his death in 1054, the realm was divided into principalities, one of which was Galicia-Volhynia, where Buczacz was later located.[16] By the mid-thirteenth century, after expanding as far as Kiev in the east, the Black Sea in the south, and Pinsk in the north, this Orthodox principality was largely taken over and displaced by the Mongol Golden Horde.[17]

To the west, the Kingdom of Poland, initially formed by Bolesław the Brave in the early eleventh century, became an increasingly powerful state under King Kazimierz the Great. It was during his reign that Poland constructed castles and fortified towns to protect its heartland from invaders. Expanding to the east, Kazimierz conquered large parts of Galicia-Volhynia, whose own ruling house had died out. In 1340 Buczacz came under Polish rule; it was to remain within that kingdom for well over four centuries. Meanwhile much of what had been Kievan Rus' was taken over by the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In 1385 the Lithuanian Grand Duke Jogaila was appointed King Władysław II Jagiłło of Poland and committed to convert the Lithuanians to Roman Catholicism. This personal union began a gradual process that culminated in the unification of these two powers almost two centuries later.[18]

Prominent members of the Buczacki clan were involved in these events. In 1332 Hanka Buczacka married Piotr Gastold (Goštautas, Gasztołd), deputy of the Grand

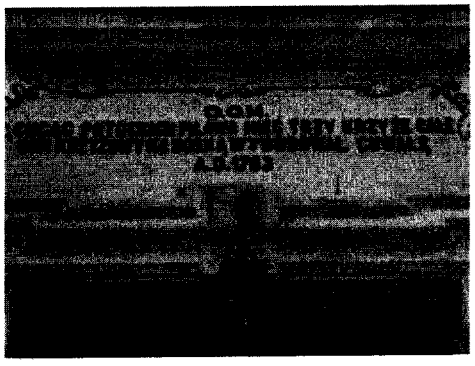
Duke of Lithuania, in the newly established city of Wilno (Vilnius). This "buxom beauty," as Barącz describes the first known female member of the clan, "became a champion of Catholicism in Lithuania. The dark pagan masses submitted to her beauty and perfect religiosity."[19] Much f arther south, the Buczackis strove "to solidify the faith among the urban population" of Buczacz.[20] A key document from the period indicates that on July 28, 1379, the lord of Buczacz, Michał Buczacki, provided funds for the restoration and upkeep of the Roman Catholic Church there. The phrasing of this document has led some Polish writers to speculate that there had already been a Catholic church in Buczacz "as early as the thirteenth century," suggesting that Catholicism was native to the region even before its annexation by Poland.[21]

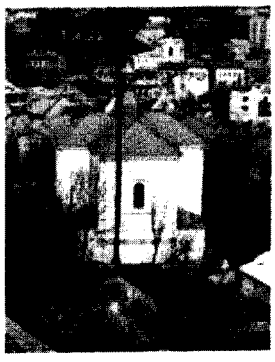
Ukrainian writers see things differently. Father Iosyf Kladochnyi, for instance, describes the erection of the church in Buczacz as an act of colonization, part of the Polish effort "to Polonize the native population with the assistance of Roman Catholicism and to pressure the Ukrainian nobility into supporting the Latin rite." Because they "resisted these efforts," he argues, "Ukrainian nobles were not allowed even into the lowliest state offices and their properties were confiscated. So they accepted the Latin rite and their clans became Polish."[22] From this Kladochnyi surmises that even the "owners of Buczacz were Ukrainians," who only "following the occupation of Galicia by the Poles accepted the Latin rite."[23] Unfortunately, the same 1379 document from which the information about the Catholic church derives, also describes Buczacz as a site protected by a wooden fortress and the "the seat of the Abdank clan, the meritorious protector of the borderland and the disseminator

of western culture and Catholicism."[24] Since the Abdank coat of arms carried by the Buczackis dates back far into early Polish history, it is unlikely that the clan was of Ruthenian origin.[25]

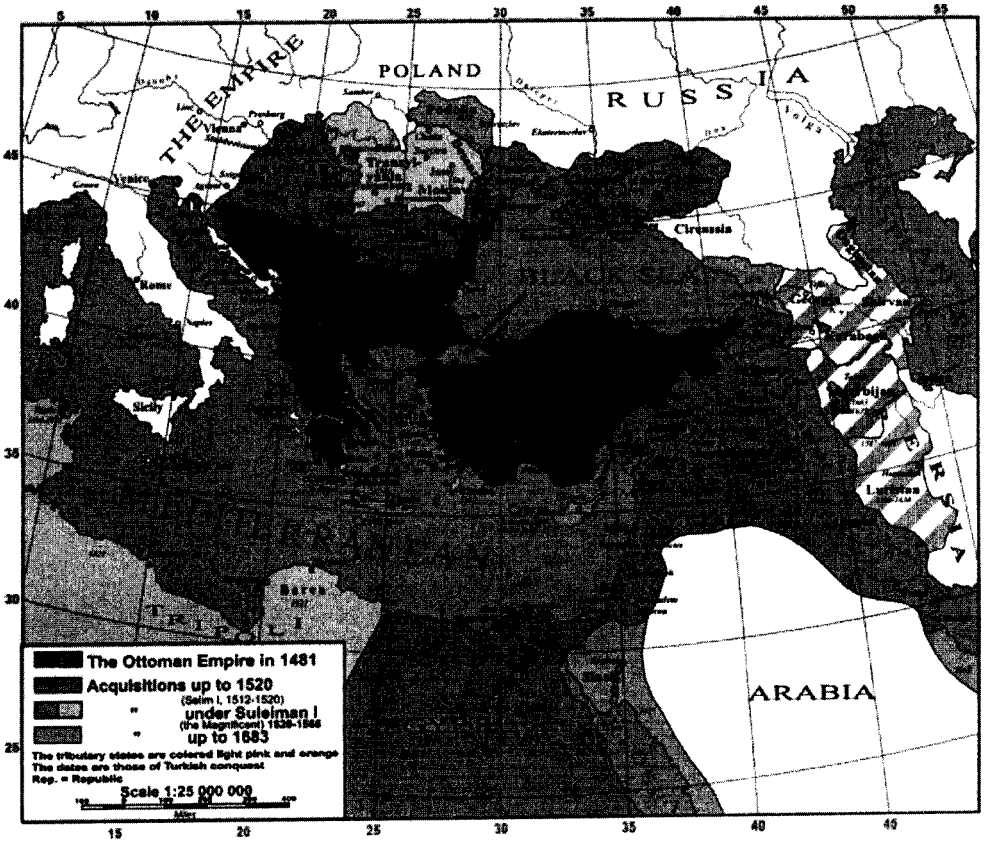
Still, the distinction between Poles and Ruthenians in that period – as well as many centuries later – was clearly porous. Precisely for that reason the Roman Catholic Church served as the center and symbol of Polish dominance in Buczacz. This was where the owners of the town worshipped and were regularly buried. The on-going commitment to the church by the lords of Buczacz was displayed again in 1410, when the brothers Michał and Theodoryk Buczacki renewed the grant of funds for its upkeep. Finally, as Barącz reports, "in 1480 the Voivode [governor] of Podolia, Dawid Buczacki, paid for the construction of an altar in the church in order to have prayers said for the Buczacki family in front of this altar."[26]

The prayers were in vain. Although the Buczacki clan participated in and benefited from the Polish conquest and settlement of Podolia, in the course of the following century it gradually died out. But the new owners of the city maintained the central role of the church as a symbol of political power. In 1763, when the lord of Buczacz, Mikołaj Potocki, replaced the old church with a grander stone structure, he naturally had his clan's name inscribed over the main door, where it remains to this day, long after the expulsion of the Poles from the region in World War II.[27]





In 1569 the Union of Lublin created the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, resulting in Polish rule over all of Volhynia and Ukraine. Contending for dominance in the region was now also the Ottoman Empire, which expanded from southeastern Europe to Hungary and Transylvania during the rule of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent. In turn, the Ottomans were confronted by the Habsburgs under Ferdinand I of Austria, who became Holy Roman Emperor in 1558.[28] Thus by the late sixteenth century East Central Europe was dominated by three major powers: the Habsburg Empire in the west, the Ottoman Empire in the south, and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the north.[29]



These political and military conflicts were infused with religious content. While much of southeastern Europe had come under Muslim rule, the Protestant Reformation was spreading into the lands of Poland-Lithuania. The Roman Catholic Church responded with a Counter Reformation, led in large part by the Jesuits. In Poland efforts to bring the gentry back to Catholicism culminated in a 1668 ruling by the Polish diet making conversion punishable by death. But meanwhile the religious struggle within the Western Church tended to marginalize the Orthodox populations in the far-flung eastern lands of the Commonwealth. Some of the Rus' gentry reacted to this process by seeking Orthodox renewal. But several bishops from Belarus and Ukraine responded by creating a new Uniate (later known as Greek Catholic or Ukrainian Catholic) Church at the Union of Brest in 1596, which pledged loyalty to the Vatican while maintaining the Orthodox rite.[30]

Despite this political and religious turmoil, throughout the sixteenth century Buczacz flourished economically. In 1515 the town was granted the Magdeburg Rights, which gave it internal municipal autonomy, and in 1548 King Zygmunt II August, the last monarch of the Polish-Lithuanian Jagiellon dynasty, allowed Buczacz to hold regular market days. This enabled the town to benefit from its location on the crossroads of several important trade routes and transformed Buczacz into a regional commercial center. By the latter part of the century the town also possessed a paper manufacturing mill and a potash manufactory, as well as guilds of cobblers, furriers, and blacksmiths.[31] For a while, even small amounts of gold were being extracted from the sand of the Strypa River, but the calamitous wars of the following century put an end to this minor gold rush.[32]

The religious strife in the kingdom did not bypass Buczacz. Throughout the early decades of the sixteenth century, as Barącz puts it, "the shining star of the Buczacki family was setting."[33] The last known direct male descendant of this clan was Jakub, Bishop of Płock, who died childless in 1541. Jakub's sister, Katarzyna Buczacka, had married the Voivode of Podolia, Jan Tworowski, who received her inheritance of Buczacz as dowry. Tworowski died in 1547, and his son and successor as owner of Buczacz, Mikołaj, despite the fact that he kept the name Buczacki, betrayed his Catholic ancestors.[34] As Barącz angrily exclaims, under Mikołaj's leadership, "the Calvinist sect spread" in Buczacz, and his "evil example was followed by keen supporters, seeking to spread ideas destructive of Catholicism." Worst of all, the Roman Catholic church "was profaned by the ugly desolation that occurred within its holy walls, where previously the faith of our God-fearing ancestors had resided."[35]

The town's religious identity changed again following Mikołaj's death in 1578, when his "brave son," Jan Krzysztof Buczacki, proved himself to be "filled with the true faith of Catholicism" and "purged the church of the Calvinist sect." We can assume what tactics he used in this purge, since Jan Krzysztof was known as a fierce soldier. Having distinguished himself in several battles against the Tatars and the Moldavians, he was killed in 1602, when still "at the height of his powers" and shortly after he had begun the reconstruction of the castle in Buczacz.[36]

This early death boded ill for the Catholics. Jan Krzysztof's sister, also named Katarzyna Buczacka, who inherited Buczacz, now married Andrzej Potocki, said by

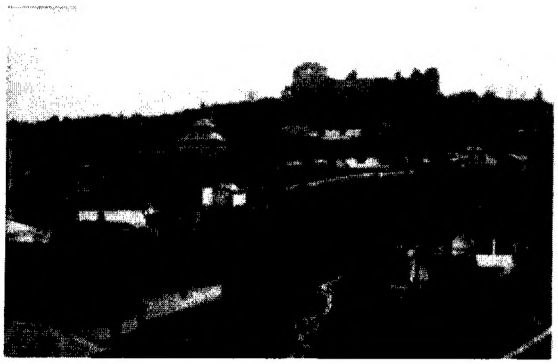
Barącz to have been "filled with the poison" of Calvinism. But not long thereafter Buczacz passed on to Potocki's Roman Catholic daughter Anna, whose marriage to "the very virtuous" Stanisław Golski, Voivode of Rus,' put a quick end to the "religious pollution" of Calvinism there.[37] Since the marriage was childless, when Golski died in 1612, Buczacz was handed over to Stefan Potocki, the youngest son of Mikołaj Potocki, Voivode of Bracław.[38] With that, Buczacz came definitively into the hands of this clan, which held on to it until the Habsburg annexation 160 years later, retaining considerable influence long thereafter.

Stefan Potocki came to Buczacz directly from prison. Aged 44 at the time, this Calvinist scion of an increasingly powerful clan had fought in many of Poland's wars. In 1612 Stefan was captured while trying to reinstall his Greek Catholic wife Marya Mohylanka's brother as ruler of Moldavia. Incarcerated in Istanbul, he "sustained many humiliations, injustices and troubles." According to one version of his rescue, Stefan was released after a vast ransom of 300,000 ducats ($13.5 million) "was collected and rushed" to his captors. This was indeed standard practice at the time: poor captives were sold into slavery, while the rich were used as barter and booty. A more embellished version credits Stefan's wife Marya, who, "donning a hair shirt... gathered poor virgins, widows and orphans, and in tears, stood begging for alms unceasingly, beseeching God to show mercy toward her captive husband." Finally, as explanation for his subsequent conversion, a third version has Saint Dominic himself appear before Stefan as he "sat in prison, held down with shackles," at which point "the shackles fell off from" him and "the door of the prison opened." The saint then "rebuked him to abandon his erroneous apostasy and to pass on to his son the

prophetic utterance" that the Potockis would "continue to exist as long as they remain Dominicans."[39]

Not surprisingly, upon arriving in Buczacz, Stefan became a committed Catholic and devout Dominican – much like Barącz, the weaver of this tale.[40] Stefan not only built a castle in the recently established town of Potok Złoty – apparently named after the Potockis' ancestral town of Potok in the Kraków region – but also founded and endowed the church and convent of St. Stefan. There he lived "piously, with hope for good salvation as a righteous and pious Catholic," until his death in 1631.[41] Marya, for her part, was far more active in Buczacz, leaving such a strong impression on its residents that according to Barącz "even today the grateful people keep in their living memory the name Mohylanka, or 'the proud one,' as she was commonly called."[42]

Marya's activities were both in the military and spiritual spheres. Under her direction, the old wooden fortress, which had stood on a hill overlooking the Strypa since the fourteenth century, was rebuilt in stone, while a complex of ramparts and trenches was constructed around the city as a whole.[43] The road leading to the castle passed by a tower in the eastern part of the town, and then led to a drawbridge over a water-filled ditch. The massive walls of the castle were up to 6 feet thick on the western, less elevated side. Within the walls a wooden gallery supported by stone brackets served for placing cannons.[44] By all accounts, this was an imposing defensive structure.



Marya's second, and more controversial accomplishment was the erection of St. Nicholas, the first Greek Catholic church in Buczacz. Now the oldest surviving edifice in the town, even Polish observers concede that it "is undoubtedly one of greatest monuments in the city." But it is also a reminder of religious strife whose consequences stretch well into the modern era. Seen from a Polish perspective, "this heavy and gloomy religious building evokes certain reflections about its founder," as well as "about later generations of the Potocki family, and especially that zealous propagator of the Greek Catholic Church... Mikołaj Potocki."[45] This last named eighteenth-century lord of Buczacz, about whom more will be said in the next chapter, came to symbolize the deepening rift between Greek and Roman Catholics, and between Ruthenians and Poles, in Buczacz and its region. For Poles, Mikołaj Potocki was a misguided fanatic who abandoned the faith that made him Polish. For Ukrainians, he represents "an outstanding figure in Polish-Ukrainian history," precisely because he converted to Greek Catholicism.[46] No wonder that even recent Polish accounts lament the fact that at the time "Buczacz, whose Ruthenian population was the least numerous ethnic group, had more" Greek Catholic "churches than was required."[47]

In 1631 Stefan's third son inherited Buczacz. Unlike his father, who spent the last two decades of his life in a monastery, Jan Potocki was on call as a soldier for most of his 44 years as lord of the city, during which he witnessed some of the most violent events the region would experience until World War I. Within half a century the great castles built by his father and mother in Potok Złoty and Buczacz were destroyed and the towns' populations mostly put to the sword.[48] These were only two bloody episodes in an era of widespread mayhem and desolation. As Jan took over Buczacz, trouble was already brewing in Podolia and Ukraine.[49] And although Polish accounts of the period speak mainly of the ruling aristocracy, the group that paid the highest relative price in lives lost and property destroyed were the Jews.

For centuries Jews lived as a separate yet officially recognized and formally ordered entity within the Polish kingdom. This caused Jewish and Polish history to have also been written separately, despite the fact that neither society can be fully understood without attention to its links with the other.[50] As early as 1893 the great Jewish historian, Simon Dubnow, recognized the problem of writing an integrated and yet distinct Jewish history. What distinguishes Jewish history, he writes, is that "it

describes, not the accidental deeds of princes and generals, not external pomp and physical prowess, but the life and development of a whole people."[51] And yet, he insists, Jewish history is "not isolated, not severed from the history of mankind. Rather is it most intimately interwoven with world-affairs at every point throughout its whole extent." The "bond uniting" the Jews with "the most representative nations and states," argues Dubnow, "is twofold: in the times when the powers of darkness and fanaticism held sway, the Jews were amenable to the 'physical' influence exerted by their neighbors in the form of persecutions, infringements of the liberty of conscience, inquisitions, violence of every sort; and during the prevalence of enlightment and humanity, the Jews were acted upon by the intellectual and cultural stimulus proceeding from the peoples with whom they entered into close relations." Simultaneously, "Jewry made its personality felt among the nations by its independent, intellectual activity, its theory of life, its literature, by the very fact, indeed, of its ideal staunchness and tenacity, its peculiar historical physiognomy."[52]

The course of Jewish history was about to be violently altered when Dubnow began writing. Israel Friedlander, whose translation of this essay from Russian into German served to produce the first English edition, was murdered while on a relief mission to Ukraine in 1920; the octogenarian Dubnow himself was murdered in Riga by the Nazis on December 8, 1941.[53] Before his death, he is said to have repeatedly urged those incarcerated in the ghetto to "write and record" the horrors they were experiencing. But well over a century after Dubnow's first appeal for an integrated history, this remains very much a work in progress, as reflected in how

history is taught and the historical discipline is organized. This is a burdensome legacy that continues to obscure our understanding of the past.

Scattered Jewish communities are known to have existed in Poland since the early eleventh century; more permanent Jewish settlement in western Poland began during the following century. In 1264 Bolesław the Pious issued the first major charter to the Jews in his principality of Great Poland, establishing Jewish juridical and communal autonomy and refraining from any residential or economic restrictions.[54] The vast majority of Jews settling Poland over the following three centuries came from *Ashkenaz* – the Jewish name for the German and Bohemian lands west of Poland. Small numbers may have also come from the Crimean Jewish kingdom of Khazaria, and some from Byzantium and Kievan Rus'. It appears that only a few Sephardic Jews came from Spain after the expulsion of 1492, and those who did, arrived through the Ottoman Empire and Italy. By the sixteenth century there were an estimated 50,000 Jews in Poland.[55]

Over the next century Poland's Jewish population rose exponentially, reaching no less than 450,000 people on the eve of the Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising, and constituting the largest single Jewish community in the world.[56] While earlier Jewish migration from Germany was caused by increasing persecution in the wake of the Black Death, later waves were triggered by the Union of Lublin and the opening of vast tracts of land to the nobility, which in turn sought to develop towns, commerce, and manufacturing by offering favorable leases and privileges to Jews. The Jews in central Poland were also eager to move further east thanks to intensifying

competition with the emerging new Polish bourgeoisie. The colonization of Ukraine by Polish magnates and Jewish leaseholders and townsmen caused growing resentment among the local peasant and gentry population: a pattern developed of Orthodox Cossacks and serfs rebelling against Roman Catholic Poles, Greek Catholic "traitors," and the "enemies of Christ, the Jews."[57]

In 1334 and 1364 King Kazimierz the Great had confirmed and expanded the privileges granted to the Jews a century earlier; they were subsequently applied to other areas incorporated into Poland in the east, and remained largely in force until the end of independent Poland.[58] Additionally, in 1539 King Zygmunt I relinquished full jurisdiction over the Jews residing on the lands of the nobility, which meant that they came under the direct rule of their magnates and depended on the privileges granted by them. By 1765, shortly before the demise of the Commonwealth, more than half its 750,000 Jews were living in private towns and estates.[59] One of these private towns was Buczacz.

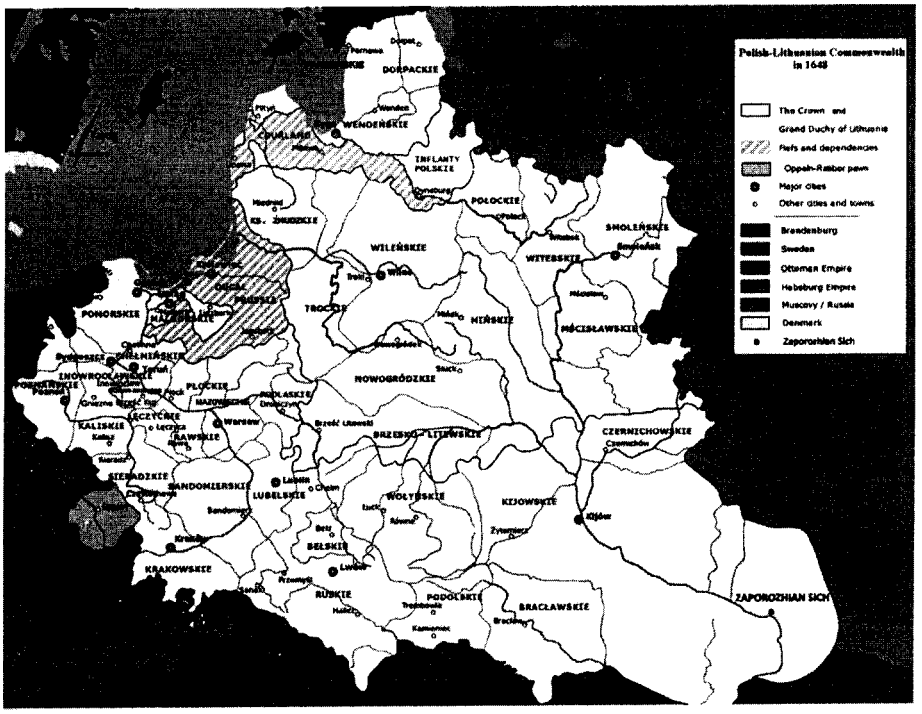
It is not possible to determine when Jews first came to Buczacz. Speculations about an early Jewish-Khazar settlement, and tales of a one-thousand-year-old Torah scroll kept in the great synagogue, cannot be confirmed.[60] Official documents record Jews in Buczacz as early as 1500.[61] The oldest tombstone in the Jewish cemetery has been dated to 1587, with four more put up in the 1590s.[62] Census data similarly indicate a Jewish community in Buczacz throughout the sixteenth century.[63] Commercial activity was, indeed, on such a scale that in 1521 King Zygmunt I ordered the Jewish community in Buczacz to pay the fees it owed the city of

Bydgoszcz, an important trading center in north-central Poland with a substantial Jewish population. And in 1578-79 a Jewish merchant from Buczacz collaborated with co-religionists from Poland and Istanbul in delivering 391 barrels of wine to Lwów, suggesting growing Jewish participation in trade between Poland and the Ottoman Empire.[64]

Thanks to noble privileges, Jews in such private towns as Buczacz could monopolize branches of trade, handicrafts, and manufacture; they were also allowed to elect city councils. Yet various limits on Jewish freedoms and rights remained. We know, for instance, that in the late sixteenth century the Jews of Buczacz could not become members of professional guilds, which were headed by a Polish master and a Ukrainian deputy; Jewish craftsmen were subjected to the rule of their own community leaders.[65]

Internally, each Jewish community (*kehilla*) was managed by a *kahal* composed of the local elite. The *kahal* collected taxes and controlled economic, judicial, educational, religious, family and social matters. The shared interests of such local oligarchies with the noble owners of the estates constituted the basis for Jewish socioeconomic existence in Poland. This also meant that while "private Jews" were exempt from general royal taxes, their utter dependence on the magnates left them exposed to potential abuse. Ironically, it was in response to the 1549 royal poll tax, which the entire Jewish population in Poland had to pay collectively, that the statewide federation of Jewish communities was created. Between 1581 and 1764, local *kehalim* were organized into regional councils (*vaad galil*), which were in turn

confederated on a semi-national level as the Council of the Four Lands (*Vaad Arba Aratzot*) and the Council of the State of Lithuania (*Vaad Medinat Lita*). Within this structure, which provided a degree of self-rule and autonomy, Buczacz came under the jurisdiction of the central Jewish community in Lwów.[66]



By the early seventeenth century the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had reached its greatest territorial expansion and domestic consolidation. The annexation of Volhynia, Podolia, and Ukraine provided Poland with vast grain-growing areas that greatly contributed to its wealth. It was in these regions, too, that Poland repeatedly came into conflict with the Ottoman Empire to the south. In these confrontations, while the Turks used Crimean Tatars as their proxies, Poland employed the Cossacks.

At that time, many Cossacks were subjects of the Polish kingdom, and served in large numbers in its armies. But the Zaporozhian Cossacks, who congregated around their fortress (*sich*) in the "Wild Fields" beyond the Dnieper rapids, fiercely maintained their independence, rising several times against the Poles, and finding support among the peasant serfs who were oppressed by the Polish landlords and their Jewish estate managers. Such rebellions were brutally suppressed but the fundamental tensions that triggered the violence were not resolved. Finally the uprising of 1648 permanently transformed the human and political landscape of Poland's far-flung eastern territories. The fate of Buczacz was greatly influenced by the subsequent demographic and political upheaval.[67]

The events surrounding 1648 illustrate not only how difficult it is to distinguish fact from fiction especially in momentous historical episodes such as the Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising, but also that myth and legend can play an important, at times a cardinal role in perceptions of the past and their impact on visions of the future. Just as in the case of Buczacz, where Poles, Jews, and Ukrainians tended to be mostly concerned with the fate of their own religious and ethnic group, so, too, the historical event of 1648 has an entirely different meaning for each of the three main groups of protagonists. For Poles, this was an uprising of Cossack outlaws and unruly peasants; for Cossacks and peasant serfs, later thought of as Ukrainians but at the time having far less uniform perceptions and motivations, this was a war of liberation from feudal oppression, an Orthodox struggle against Roman Catholic repression and Uniate deceit, and a chance for marginalized Ruthenian and Cossack elites to regain their rightful place in a social order they were engaged in taking

apart. Finally, for Jews the uprising was perceived as the greatest calamity since the Exile, and was subsequently recalled as the most destructive wave of violence until the horrors of the twentieth century.

Mythical or distorted tales of the past can motivate future historical events just as surely as accurate reconstructions may undermine ideologically biased and self-serving histories. But at times we stumble upon evidence of past events as one would stumble over a mass grave: we realize that something terrible had happened, but we do not know the circumstances that brought it about, nor the identity of the actors: and so we set about inventing the tale in a manner that suits the lessons we wish to draw from it.

Agnon relates that one day in pre-1914 Buczacz, the beadle, curly-haired Shalom, hired workers to clear and level the path to the Great Synagogue. "They did not dig very deeply," he writes, "when they struck human skulls buried in three rows and in each row ten skulls with undamaged teeth. Thus they knew that these were corpses of soldiers, which had been lying there for many years." Buczacz, he reminds his readers, "is an ancient town and over the years had seen many wars, and even before the Slavs came to our regions other tribes had dwelled in it whom we do not know, and before them there were tribes of yet other peoples. And they killed each other over and over again and took over their places one after the other." For that reasons, in Buczacz "there is not one square yard that does not contain a grave, if not of a Turk then of a Tatar, and if of neither then of a Pole, and if not of a Pole then of the nations that had dwelled here before."[68]

Buczacz, like much of the region in which it was situated, may be said to have marched into history over piles of corpses; three centuries later, it would make its exit in a similar fashion, only the piles would be much higher, the corpses freshly killed, and the majority of them Jews.

The Great Synagogue in Buczacz, undated

Toward the end of World War II a new edition of Nathan Hanover's book, *The Deep Mire* (*Yeven Metsula*), was published in Palestine.[69] Originally printed in Venice in 1653, this is the most detailed eyewitness account of the destruction of Jewish communities during the Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising. The timing of this reissue was hardly coincidental, coming as it did when news of the mass murder of Ukrainian Jewry was filtering in. Survivors subsequently recalled with rage and horror the participation of their Ukrainian neighbors in the eradication of entire Jewish communities by the Nazis.

The publication in Palestine of this Hebrew-language account was based on an earlier modern edition, printed by the Klal Publishing House in Berlin in 1923, shortly after a wave of pogroms swept through Ukraine.[70] For many Ukrainians, the events of 1919-1920 were associated with the first attempt to create an independent Ukraine since the Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising, which was now being described as Ukraine's "political and national rebirth," "War of Liberation," or the "Revolution of 1648."[71] For Jews this massive outbreak of pogroms signaled the tragic association of Ukrainian nationalism with antisemitic violence and awoke collective memories of "the massacres of 1648-1649."

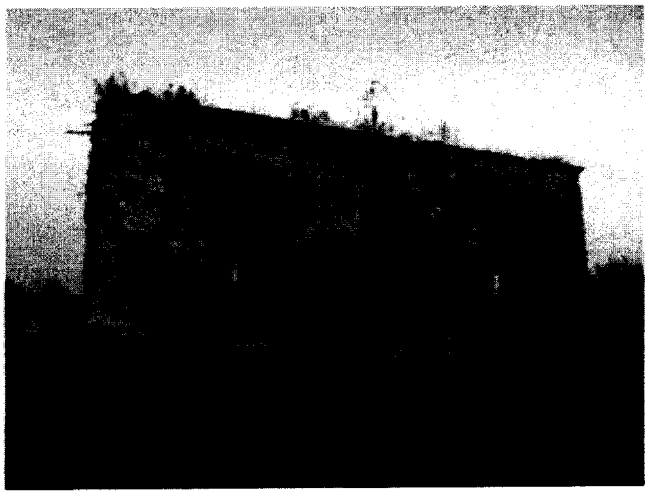
The chief Hebrew editor of Klal at the time was the Hebrew-language poet Hayim Nahman Bialik.[72] Born in Volhynia in 1873, Bialik made his early poetic reputation with two poems written in the wake of the 1903 Kishinev pogrom, described by the *New York Times* as "riots" in which Jews "were slaughtered like sheep."[73] This two-day eruption of murder, gang rape, torture and mutilations, ended with 47 people dead, 424 wounded, and extensive property damage.[74] Preceded by an earlier series of anti-Jewish riots in the Russian Empire's Pale of Settlement in 1881-1882,[75] the Kishinev pogrom heralded a second wave of violence in 1905-1906, totaling no less than 657 pogroms claiming the lives of 3,103 Jews.[76] In the final, massive third wave of violence during the Russian Civil War, an estimated 10 percent of the 1.6 million Jews living in Ukraine were killed, with thousands more raped, maimed, orphaned, and uprooted.[77]

Bialik's Kishinev poems both looked back to previous episodes of anti-Jewish violence and portended the mass murders that were still to come. From the perspective of universal morality, the poems constituted an admonition against impunity, that twentieth-century mechanism which has allowed the perpetrators of genocide to get away with murder. Hence Bialik's call: "If there is justice – let it appear at once!"; his warning: "If only after my destruction under Heaven / Justice will appear – / May its throne be demolished forever!"; and his realization of the inability to avenge the murder of innocents: "Such vengeance, the vengeance of a little child's blood / Not even Satan has conceive." But from a national Jewish perspective, Bialik derided passivity and demanded resistance and retribution: "Your brethren, sons of your people and descendants of the Maccabees... / Escaped like mice and hid like lice / Died like dogs wherever they were found... / Let them shake their fist at me and demand revenge, / Revenge for all the generations from beginning to end, / And may their fist shatter heaven and my throne."[78]

Four decades after the Kishinev Pogrom, Bialik's friend and disciple, the poet, editor, and translator Yaakov Fichman, introduced the new edition of *The Deep Mire* to readers in Palestine with a similar sense of historical urgency and call to arms. "In wartime," he wrote, "when great calamities suddenly occur, we read history books differently... We realize, tragically, that in each generation and each epoch the *same events* happen over and over again, the same terror, the same inability to prepare for and prevent evil."[79] Fichman himself had grasped the "eternal martyrdom" of the Jews only after he reread *The Deep Mire* in postwar Berlin, and recognized that the events which "had shattered us in the years 1919-1921" were but a "repetition of

the catastrophe 1648-1649."[80] As he saw it, "the great tragedy" of the Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising was that the Jewish leadership had become infected with a "diaspora mentality," a "malign fatalism," and a "tradition of 'stretching out our necks' that only serves to incite the beasts." It was that "same seemingly unresolvable predicament," he exclaimed, a predicament "that for three hundred years we have labored – and to our great misfortune, failed – to uproot," that repeatedly culminated in "immeasurable bloodshed and atrocity." [81]

Fichman's reading of *The Deep Mire* was driven largely by an ideological dogma that perceived everything through a narrow nationalist prism. But it reflected a certain understanding of the tragedy of Jewish life in Europe. It mobilized this seventeenth-century account into the service of Zionism; but it did not entirely distort Hanover's meaning, just as his own fate as a victim of the events he described should not be used to deny his descriptions credence and integrity.

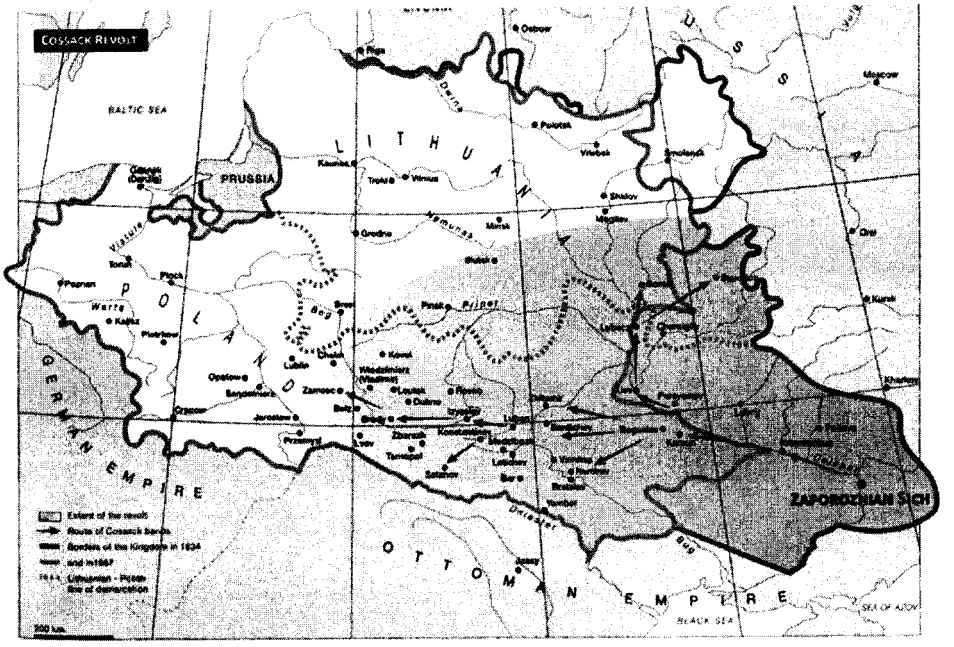


Ostróg Synagogue, 2008

Nathan Hanover was born in Ostróg, Volhynia, in the early 1620s. At the time Ostróg had a considerable Jewish population and was well known as a center of learning. Hanover studied at the Ostróg Yeshiva, but after his marriage moved to his wife's paternal home in nearby Zasław. In 1648 the town was sacked by Cossack rebels and most of its Jews were massacred. Hanover and his family managed to escape, eventually reaching Italy. In 1652 Hanover was living in Venice, where he wrote *The Deep Mire*. Shortly thereafter he moved to Wallachia, where he served as a rabbi, and later lived in the Moravian city of Ungarisch-Brod. In 1683 Hungarian forces allied with the Ottoman army marching on Vienna occupied the town and slaughtered the Jews, who were gathered in the synagogue for morning prayers; Hanover was among them.[82]

The instigator of the events described in Hanover's account was Bohdan Zinovii Khmel'nyts'kyi (known also as Bogdan Chmielnicki).[83] The son of a registered Cossack of gentry origin, Khmel'nyts'kyi was born around 1595 near Chyhyryn, some 150 miles southeast of Kiev along the Dnieper River. Educated by the Jesuits in Galicia, he fought with the Cossacks against the Turks in Moldavia, was taken captive in 1620, and was ransomed two years later. Khmel'nyts'kyi's chances of achieving noble status were greatly diminished when the Poles reduced the number of registered Cossacks in response to the unsuccessful rebellions of 1637 and 1638. Following a conflict with a local Polish nobleman, Khmel'nyts'kyi fled to the Zaporozhian Sich. There he was elected hetman of the host, concluded an alliance with the Crimean Tatars, and set out to do battle with the Poles.

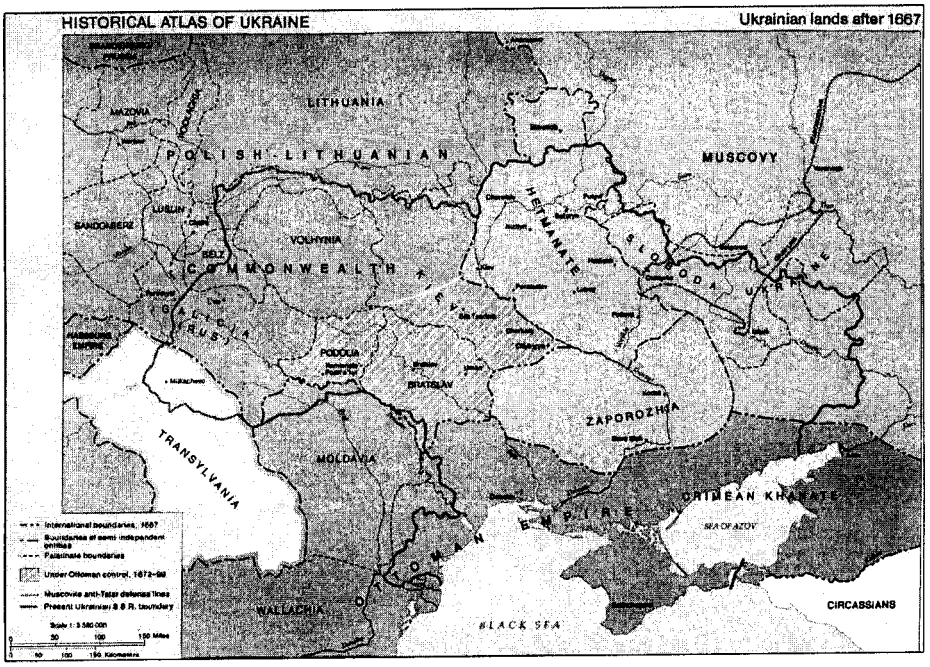
Khmel'nyts'kyi's first two major victories over the Poles in spring 1648 led many registered Cossacks to desert to the Zaporozhians, and unleashed a general revolt by peasant serfs. In view of the growing social turmoil, Khmel'nyts'kyi attempted to negotiate with the Poles for terms that would increase the number and pay of registered Cossacks and restore Uniate churches to Orthodox control. But the death of Polish King Władysław IV, and on-going revolts in Ukraine, hampered negotiations. Cossacks and peasants massacred large numbers of Roman Catholic Poles, Uniate Ukrainians, and especially Jews.[84] Estimates of Jewish losses vary widely, but the most reasonable are somewhere between 20,000-50,000, a substantial percentage of the Jewish population in the eastern parts of the Commonwealth.[85]



The extent of Khmel'nyts'kyi's responsibility for these massacres is disputed. There is a certain tendency, especially among Ukrainian historians, to argue that he had little control over events. Some have suggested that the Jews shared the blame for their own massacres, since "the symbiotic relations of great lords and Jews aroused hatreds in other strata of the population,"[86] and because the Jews "had come to represent the oppressor"[87] and "exploited the properties and peasants mercilessly."[88] Hanover has a slightly different view, writing that because the majority of "poor Ukrainians" were "harshly subjugated" and "bitterly tortured" by the Polish magnates, they became "so wretched that almost all the nations, even that lowliest nation of all [that is, the Jews] ruled over them."[89]

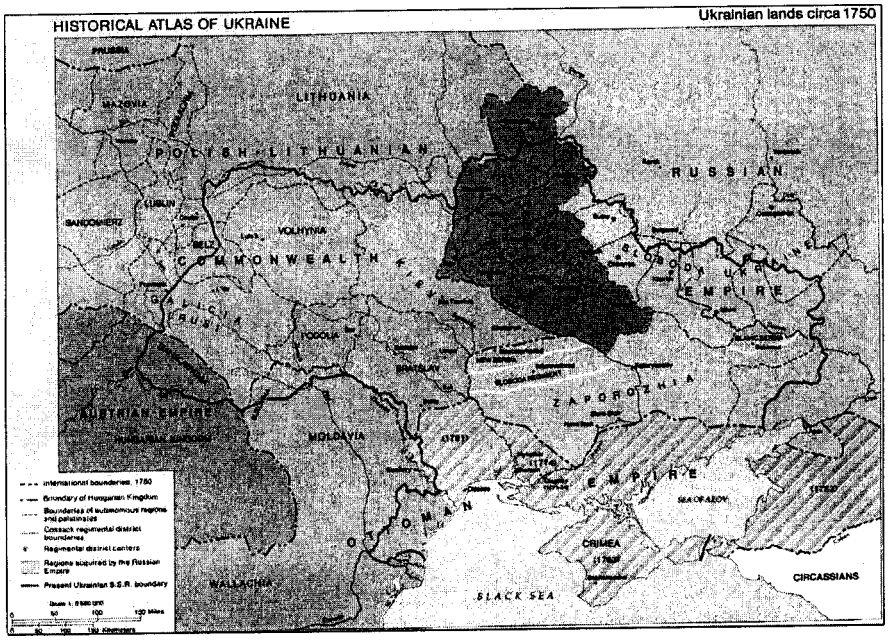
After spreading to Podolia and Volhynia, where it caused further devastation, the uprising ended in summer 1649 with a truce and the creation of a new Cossack state in what are now the central provinces of Ukraine, from which Poles, Jews, and Jesuits were driven out. But fighting went on, eventually leading to the Treaty of Pereislav in 1654, which united the Cossack-held territories of Ukraine with Muscovy – the rising power that later became the Russian Empire. The treaty only heralded further conflict, known as the Period of Ruin in Ukraine and as the Deluge in Poland. While joint Muscovite-Cossack forces attacked Poland from the east, Swedish armies swept in from the north and Transylvania attacked from the south. What Poles subsequently called their War of Liberation ended with a Swedish withdrawal in 1660. For the Cossack state, attempts to reach an agreement with Poland following Khmel'nyts'kyi's death in 1657 brought about an invasion by

Muscovy. In 1667 Poland and Muscovy agreed on spheres of influence in Ukraine with the Dnieper as the dividing line between them.



This partition produced the last phase of violence in a half-century of extraordinary bloodshed. When the Right (west) Bank Cossacks allied with the Ottomans in order to fight their rivals across the Dnieper, Turkish forces instead turned against Poland and wrested Podolia away from it, as agreed in the 1672 peace of Buczacz. But the election of Sobieski as King Jan III of Poland two years later turned things around. In 1683 Sobieski defeated the Ottoman armies besieging Vienna and thus halted the Turkish advance, although most of Podolia and the southern provinces of Right Bank Ukraine finally returned to Poland only with the peace of Carlowitz in 1699, three years after Sobieski's death.[90]

For the populations of these lands, this was a period of fear and destruction, despair and depravation. In some instances, people came together to defend their homes without regard to ethnicity or religion; at other times, they turned on each other with rage and violence, slaughtering the innocent and helpless without regard to the norms and laws that had previously governed their lives. Accounts of these butcheries are as so gory as to stretch credibility, and perhaps their ghastliness was exaggerated; but they came to feature in people's imagination as identifying marks of the past and as threats or models for the future: in this sense, too, the era of fire and sword was constitutive of much that came to pass in the twentieth century.[91]



Hanover's report of Jewish fate in 1648 is precisely such a chronicle of relentless horror and despair. His descriptions of inhumanity still boggle the mind almost four centuries after they were written and remind us that more recent perpetrators of atrocities could invent little that was new beyond the application of technology to

mass murder. Hanover depicts at first how those Jews who failed to escape in time to the western bank of the Dnieper "were martyred in strange and cruel and bitter deaths," indicating that this was a time in which a quick death was a blessing:

> Some were skinned alive and their flesh was thrown to the dogs; some had their hands and feet chopped off, and were then thrown on the highway to be trampled by wagons and crushed by horses... many were buried alive. Infants were butchered in their mothers' laps. Many children were torn apart like fish; they slashed the bellies of pregnant women and took out the fetus and struck their faces with it. They tore open the bellies of some women and placed live cats in them... sewing up their bellies and cutting off their hands so they would not be able to remove the live cats from their bellies; they... skewered some children and roasted them over fire and brought them to their mothers to eat... The Tatars... tortured women and virgins and raped women in front of their husbands... They tore the Torah scrolls into strips and made from them bags and footwear...[92]

Along with sheer violence, brutality, and sacrilege, the war also produced its fair share of deceit and betrayal between religious and ethnic groups. In the city of Niemirów, near Vinnitsa west of the Dnieper, writes Hanover, the Cossacks agreed to spare the Polish town leaders on condition that they hand over the Jews. When the enemy neared the city, the Jews "went into the fortress with their wives and children... so as to fight them." But the Cossacks "made themselves flags just like those of the Poles," and since "without such flags one cannot distinguish between

the Poles and the Cossacks," the Jews were fooled by the Poles, who "knew about this trick and called to the Jews in the fortress: 'Open the gate because this is a Polish army that has come to help you.'" Once the Jews "opened the gate, the Cossacks entered with drawn swords as did the townspeople with swords and spears and scythes and some used clubs and they killed a great many Jews."[93]

From this and other stories we learn that in many cases Jews and Poles fought shoulder to shoulder on the cities' walls but were often eventually betrayed by their own townsmen. In the Podolian town of Tulczyn the fortress was protected by "six hundred... Polish nobles, along with two thousand Jews... among them soldiers and seasoned warriors." Indeed, "the Jews and the nobles signed a treaty that they would help each other fight their enemies and swore not to betray each other."[94] Consequently, the Cossacks resorted to subterfuge, proposing peace with the Poles if "they hand over the Jewish spoil as ransom for their lives." Some Jews wanted "to attack the nobles" in retaliation, "because they were the first to betray the alliance," but their religious leader counseled them to submit to "the will of Heaven." As a result, "the Ukrainians entered" the town, "took all the loot from the Jews," and then demanded that the Poles "hand over all the Jews" as well. The Jews were given a chance to convert, and once they refused the rebels "surged in and massacred them."[95]

Many Jews did convert in order to save their lives during the rebellion; so many, in fact, that in 1649 Polish King Jan Kazimierz allowed Jews to return to their religion without penalty, recognizing that they had converted under duress.[96] Even in the

case of Tulczyn, which has recently been investigated, Hanover's tale of collective refusal to convert is probably apocryphal. Yet the rest of his account has been verified by historians, including the fact that despite their betrayal of the Jews, the Polish nobles too were subsequently also massacred.[97] When, "after the killing of the Jews," the rebels "turned to the fortress in order to make battle," writes Hanover, "the nobles said to them: 'Have you not made an alliance with us and why are you breaking it?' And the Ukrainians responded: 'As you have done with the Jews and broken your alliance with them, so too we will do with you, measure for measure.'"[98]

Hanover's depiction of how he and his family became refugees and outcasts when they fled from Zasław just before it was sacked in July 1648 reflects the fate of thousands of Jews at that time. "We wandered from place to place in the towns and villages and we lay on the open streets and even there we could not find rest. We were robbed and crushed, despised and reviled."[99] And as "the Ukrainians and Tatars spread out throughout the lands of Poland and Rus' and Lithuania," wherever they "heard the news," local "Ukrainians rebelled against their lords and would kill all the nobles and Jews who lived there."[100]

Kamieniec Podolski, 2007

17th C. Cannon in Buczacz castle

In October 1648 the town of Buczacz, whose Jewish population had meanwhile swelled with refugees streaming in from the east and the countryside, came under siege by the Cossacks.[101] Along with other strongly fortified towns in the region, such as Kamieniec Podolski, Jazłowiec, Bełz, and Sokal, Buczacz resisted the attackers and drove them back. According to Hanover, "all the nobles and the Jews... stood against them and shot at them with big guns and killed large numbers of the rabble and they could not conquer them." Still, he concludes, "there were great epidemics and famine in these towns and thousands upon thousands of Jews fell victim to them."[102]

Barącz, who also describes the Cossack siege of Buczacz, has a rather different perspective on these events. Rather than mentioning the town's Jewish defenders, he gives credit to its owner, Jan Potocki, who "courageously r esisted the siege," so that the Cossacks, "unable to capture the fortified city, retreated and burned down the surrounding villages." It was obviously such scorched earth tactics that caused hunger and disease throughout the region. But Barącz is primarily concerned with the effects of the war on Roman Catholicism. Although Jan Potocki had rejected his mother Marya Mohylanka's faith, "the Greek schism" had nevertheless "begun to spread," notes Barącz, which "displeased him greatly." As Jan "contemplated using repressive measures," the "terrified non-Uniate," or Orthodox population abandoned their churches and monasteries. This enabled Jan in 1652 to hand over the abandoned Orthodox monastery on the southern slope of the castle hill in Buczacz to the Dominicans, along with a church and a village to pay for its upkeep.[103]

In the long run, this attempt to "root out the heresies" by bringing in the Dominicans failed, both because of the monks' "limited resources" and, it appears, because the local population refused to abandon Greek Catholicism, which came to distinguish them as Ruthenians. The catastrophe that followed was, according to Barącz, "God's punishment for the spread of religious dissent." This time, the instruments of divine wrath were "the Turkish hordes," who "by fire and sword" carried "a just sentence against the dissidents," destroying the entire city along with the Dominican church (the Monastery was dismantled much later by the Austrians).[104]

In the intervening two decades between the Cossack siege and the sacking of the city by the Ottomans, Buczacz was subjected to several Tatar raids during the Muscovite-Cossack invasion, and its lord, Jan Potocki, was taken prisoner at the siege of Lwów, although he was liberated shortly thereafter by his brother Piotr.[105] Still, following this last bout of violence, the town did its best to recover. The German tourist Ulrich von Werdum, who visited Buczacz in February 1672, described it as "a large and very amusing town, situated on mountains and valleys." The city was "surrounded by a stone wall" and boasted "rather good houses, as well as three Roman Catholic churches, and a Russian monastery, which is now in the hands of the Dominicans. The Armenians also have a church there, and the Jews have a synagogue, as well as a beautiful graveyard, surrounded by a peculiar wall and planted with tall gay trees. The castle is build of stone as are its fortifications. It is situated on a mountain, below which the Strypa River flows, whose water drive ten or twelve watermills that stand one next to the other." Buczacz, noted von Werdum, "belongs to Lord Potocki," and "was completely burned down at the

beginning of the Cossack uprising." But "it has now been largely rebuilt, especially by the Jews, who are very numerous in this town, as they are in all of Podolia and Rus'."[106]

Despite his seeming praise for the Jews, von Werdum perceives them as the main cause rather than primary victims of the Cossack uprising, with the Poles not far behind. Because the Jews "lease inns and most other concessions from the Polish lords for money," he writes, "they are granted a great deal of power over their subjects, and especially over the peasants, whom they roguishly abuse in such a manner, that they berate, whip, and tread over these poor Christians whenever they wish, as I have seen with my own eyes." As for their Polish lords, they "pay no attention as long as they get their money," and they "similarly abuse their peasants worse than slaves or dogs." To add insult to injury, the Polish magnates "let the Cossacks in Ukraine be similarly tyrannized in this manner by their servants and especially by the Jews," and "Christians were tortured, indeed even hanged and killed daily by the Jews." Then, at long last, "the Cossacks, led by General Bogdan Chmielnicki, finally rose up" and "eradicated and smothered right away all Poles and Jews in Ukraine."

Von Werdum concludes that "one of the main causes of the gradual desolation and depopulation of the Ukrainian, Podolian and Ruthenian provinces is that the Jews have often lived there, that they had almost more say than the Christians there, that their synagogues were also built in many sites more magnificently than the Christian churches, and that in these synagogues as in all their words and works,

they abuse and slander the name of our Holy Land and bring with them the curse of devastation wherever they come." To this was added the local Slavic population's propensity for "blasphemy, curses, murders, incest, adultery, whoring, and other bestial vices," which compelled God "to make the lands disgorge their inhabitants, and to make fruitful earth turn into utterly fruitless soil, because of the sin and disgrace which have occurred there."[107] It would appear that for this German tourist, none of the people living in those lands quite merited them.

Local views naturally differed. But contemporary perceptions of reality by those who came to be called Ukrainians are hard to come by. Such views were largely formed through nineteenth-century literary depictions, which came to be read by later generations as true reflections of the Khmel'nyts'kyi era.[108] The very first work of fiction published in Ukrainian, Panteleimon Kulish's 1857 novel, *The Black Council*, for instance, describes Ukraine on the eve of the uprising as a land in which "Polish soldiers used to requisition food and drink in cities and villages, rape and kill defenseless women, make people pull plows across the ice in the middle of winter and let the Jews whip them and sneer at them as they plowed the ice." Even worse, "the Catholic gentry" not only "tried to force a church union with Rome and called the Orthodox faith a peasant religion," they even "rented... their churches... to the Jews." It was then that the Zaporozhian Cossacks "rose with fire and sword against the enemies of their native land."[109] "Ukraine," Kulish exclaims, "has taught the Poles something: she has expelled their minions, repulsed the union with Rome and has punished the Jews."[110]

The idealized view of the Cossacks as freedom loving, ruthlessly brave, and brutally fierce warriors has transcended national and ethnic boundaries. Henryk Sienkiewicz's quasi-fictional Jurko Bohun embodies the Polish fantasy of the Cossack as noble savage.[111] Isaac Babel memorably depicted fearless, simpleminded, and bloodthirsty Red Cavalry Cossacks who were to be feared but also admired, even emulated, by militant Jews of his generation.[112] The Russian revolutionary organization *Narodnaya Volya* (The People's Will), to which not a few Jews belonged, called upon the population of Ukraine to participate in the pogroms raging there in 1881, in order to return to that time when "the people were free Cossacks," "the peasants owned all the land," and there were "no *pans* [Polish nobles] or *zhids* [derogatory terms for Jews]."[113]

In terms of international renown, no Cossack can trump Nikolai Gogol's Taras Bulba, the hero of his 1842 novel.[114] Yet this quintessential Zaporozhian is paired throughout the book with his opposite, the scheming, cowardly, bloodsucking and groveling Jew Yankel. It is as if one cannot exist without the other in this tale of heroism, betrayal, and sheer butchery.[115] Sketching the entire arc of the emerging Ukrainian national imaginary, the novel opens with a pogrom and closes with Cossack martyrdom.[116] The pogrom, incited by news that "our own holy churches no longer belong to us" since "the Jews are holding them in pledge,"[117] ensues with "the grim Zaporozhians" laughing "at the sight of the Jews' shod and stockinged legs flailing in the air" as they are "hurled... into the" Dnieper.[118] The final scene has Taras responding to his son's execution by the Poles with an orgy of revenge unleashed with the slogan "spare nothing," in which "white-breasted virgins" are

"burnt along with the altars," having "found no refuge... even in churches," while the Cossacks "speared infants with their lances and hurled them to their mothers in the flames."[119]

The dark presence behind this violence is Yankel, who seems immune to it even as his community is destroyed. The timelessness of Cossack sacrifice is matched by the figure of the eternal, wandering Jew. Aware of Yankel's demonic essence, Taras calls him to his face a "devilish Judas," a "Satan" and a "fiend cursed by God" who "nailed Jesus to the Cross."[120] But he is also utterly dependent on him. When Taras seeks him out in Uman, he finds Yankel living in "a grimy little hovel with tiny soot-covered windows," a "chimney... stopped up with rags," a leaking roof, and "a pile of litter... in front of the door." But behind this seeming poverty hides endless wealth and destructive power. Yankel is, in fact, "a leaseholder and tavern keeper" who has "all the surrounding Polish landowners and noblemen under his thumb," and is "sucking them dry of all their money." Because of his "Jewish presence," the entire region has been "devastated as if ravaged by fire or plague, and were Yankel to live there another ten years the whole province would doubtless have been laid waste."[121]

These nineteenth-century reworkings of the social and religious conflict at the time of the Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising infected the minds of several later generations of radical nationalists. And yet, at the time, such towns as Buczacz had far more urgent concerns, not least of which was the invasion of the region by a vast Ottoman army and the first Turkish siege of the city in 1672. The Frenchman François-Paulin

Dalairac, a courtier to King Sobieski, who visited Buczacz in 1684, described these events several years later. The first siege, according to him, was a somewhat quaint affair. Since the lord of the city, Jan Potocki, was away fighting the Ottomans elsewhere, and only his wife Teresa and their children were in the caste, the city was in no position to resist the enemy effectively, and submitted to the invaders after a very brief defense. Thanks to this swift surrender, the victorious Sultan, who was at the head of his army, treated Teresa graciously. According to Dalairac, "Mehmed was not so ferocious as to be unaware of civilized manners. He wanted to see the children, whom he tenderly caressed, and he refused to accept a costly jewel offered him by the mother, who was tormented by fear. But concerned that his rejection of the gift would offend her, he thankfully took the jewel from the mother and gave it with his own hands to one of the children."[122]

Such chivalry by a Muslim leader after a period of ghastly wars and massacres in a conflict between Christians was certain to leave a profound impression. The Polish emissaries, who later went to Buczacz for the signing of the peace treaty, offered another version of the story, in which the mistress of the city appeared in a better light. Determined to defend Buczacz, Teresa locked herself in the castle with her children, noblemen, and local townsmen, while Turkish Janissaries bombarded the town, burning down part of it. Eventually realizing that she could no longer defend the city, Teresa announced to the sultan that he would gain no fame by winning a battle against a single woman. The Sultan, for his part, did not loot the castle's treasury or harm a soul: he merely took two sabers and a cap as trophy, along with two of the famous Buczacz horses.[123]

The town was not as fortunate during the second Turkish siege three years later. This time Jan Potocki was there, having returned in 1673 to take part in the failed Polish attempt to recapture the castle of Kamieniec Podolski from the Turks.[124] The following year, in the expectation of another Ottoman attack, the nobles, royal and municipal officials, and representatives of the Jewish community in Buczacz met to discuss the defense of the town. The assembled group decided to appoint a special superintendent for each neighborhood in the city, with the leader of the Jewish community, Yerachmiel, being put in charge of defending the Jewish quarter.[125]

Despite these preparations, when the Ottoman general, Ibrahim Shyshman (Abraham the Fat), who was besieging the nearby castle of Trembowla, sent several detachments to attack Buczacz in 1675, things did not go well. The town itself was easily occupied and torched. Although many of the nobles and some city dwellers managed to escape into the castle, others became stranded in front of the castle's locked gates where, as Agnon writes, they were "slaughtered by the Turks like rams and sheep and their corpses found their graves in the stomachs of wild animals and birds of prey."[126] Polish accounts tend to suppress the fact that most of the victims were Jews. The chivalry exhibited by the Sultan in the previous siege was nowhere to be found. The second abbot of the Dominican Monastery, Kazimierz Zagórski, a theologian and scholar of Polish literature, who was traveling at the time to the nearby town of Podhajce, was attacked and murdered by Turkish troops. Yet the castle itself put up a fierce defense and held out until news of the imminent arrival of a Polish army commanded by Sobieski made the Turks beat a hasty retreat.[127]

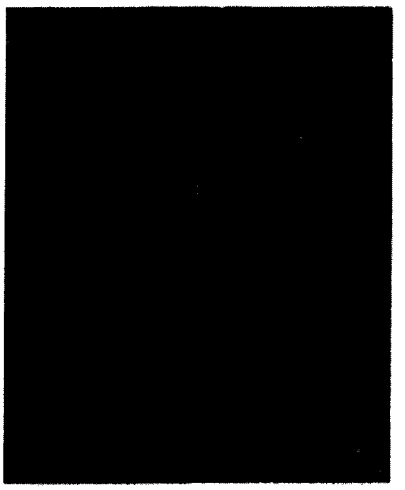
That year Jan Potocki died, leaving Buczacz as inheritance to his son Stefan.[128] The young ruler's reign began catastrophically. As Dalairac writes, in 1676, while Ottoman troops were marching toward Żurawno, some 60 miles northeast of Buczacz, they "accomplished a lasting destruction" of the town, "so severe that only debris remained from the walls and the towers, and from the buildings almost nothing could pass for more than a ruin."[129]

What caused the fall of this mighty fortress, which had withstood so many sieges in the past? According to Barącz, as the Turkish forces "spread out around Buczacz in the shape of a crescent," they began bombarding the castle from "the common of Puszkar," apparently south of the city. Since the "fearless garrison replied vigorously, so that many Turks were killed," the Ottomans repositioned their artillery and "began firing from the Fedor" Hill, across the Strypa river and east of the castle. "But here too they could not achieve anything, because what the Turks destroyed, the garrison promptly repaired." Eventually, it was thanks to "either the treachery of a woman, or the result of making a hole in the wall at the right spot, which enabled" the enemy "to penetrate the castle."[130]

This story, too, has become part of the local lore. Buczacz-born writer Stanisław Kowalski confirms the persistence of a popular legend a century after Barącz's account linking the sack of the city by the Turks to "a betrayal by a local woman who indicated to them a secret passage to the castle." By then, the story had evolved to include the "woman's ghost," which apparently "still appears in the gate of the castle on Resurrection Day, weeping and repenting for her sin of betrayal." This may not suffice to substantiate the veracity of the legend but, in the Polish author's view, it demonstrates "that the population of Buczacz had a deep sense of national ethics, and considered a severe afterlife penance as fair punishment for one's crimes against the nation."[131] That the Jewish residents of the city who made up a considerable proportion of its population were not considered part of the Polish nation is not taken into account in this tale.

Be that as it may, Buczacz suffered a bitter fate. Reinforcements sent to the besieged city at the last moment failed to help and ended up also surrendering to the Turks. With its walls and the embankment severely damaged, the castle fell, the garrison was slaughtered, and the city as a whole was laid waste. Only those who managed to hide underground escaped with their lives.[132] But very soon thereafter, following Sobieski's victory at Żurawno, the city was liberated and the Ottoman Empire conceded some of the territory it had gained in the Peace of Buczacz. Thus the border between the two powers, which for the previous four years had passed through Buczacz along the Strypa River, was moved further away from the city. Now, as Dalairac reported following his visit in 1684, the river merely separated between "Red Rus'" and Podolia.[133]

The Frenchman was impressed by the castle's massive walls, "five levels high and exceedingly thick, made of very strong masonry, rising above the city at the summit of a steep mountain," as well as with the fort's internal baily, which was "decorated with an ornate row of galleries and many different architectural trimmings." He was especially moved by the "very beautiful fountain" enclosed within the castle, "from which remarkably cold and clear water regularly flows." Yet drawing on his military expertise, he warned that the castle was vulnerable to attack from the nearby summit, "on which the stone Russian church stands." As for the city, Dalairac had a poor opinion of its present condition. Buczacz, he wrote, "was once built of stone and surrounded from all sides by quadrilateral towers, from which now only the walls remain, no higher than a man." Inside there were "many ruined and partly burned buildings, and only a few wooden taverns with thatched roofs. At the center of town flows a brook, which propels two or three watermills. Buczacz," he lamented, "was once a very considerable and well defended city, and was clearly of vital strategic importance," which was why "in 1672, the Sultan Mehmed IV came himself to its siege." But by now it was a mere shadow of its former proud self.[134]

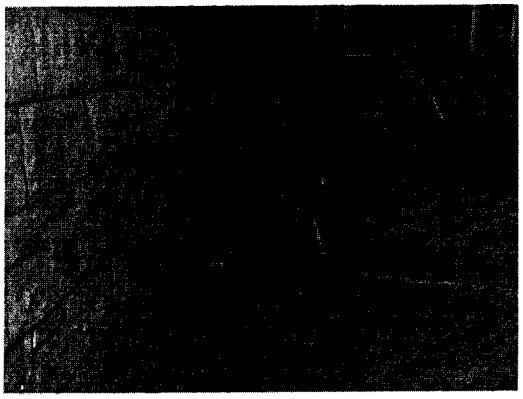


Dalairac's pessimism about the future prospects of Buczacz proved exaggerated. But his observations of the town's population pointed toward a pattern that would remain largely unchanged for several centuries. "Around the city," he wrote, "a large number of orchards are situated next to a great many springs. The peasants build their huts there in accordance with the old Polish [Sarmatian] way and their homes are next to the gate of the city and under the guns of the castle. Inside the city... live only Jews and some Poles."[135]

When the Jews "came back to Buczacz," writes Agnon, "they found the city desolate and their homes in part destroyed and in part occupied by gentiles. The synagogues and study houses had been torn out and plowed and one could not tell where they had been." Each group told stories, true and apocryphal, about how others had taken over their prayer houses, to which myths and legends were usually attached. "Worst of all," relates Agnon, "was the great synagogue, which they had converted into their own church. That is why on the Ninth of Av," the day of lamentation for the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem, "tears run down its walls."[136] But the lord of Buczacz gave the Jews land to build a new synagogue, "so that they would dwell in his city and be satisfied with their residence, since it was the tradition since the days of his earliest ancestors in Poland that any place where the Jews dwelled saw life."[137]

The Jews associated their return to Buczacz with "Sobieski, King of Poland, and all his warriors who came to rescue Buczacz and saved the city and drove the Turks

out." And because of a popular belief among the Jews, write Agnon, "ever since, until Buczacz was destroyed by the persecutions of the ruinous abomination," by which he mean the Nazis, "people would pump water for Passover matzos from the well, from which Sobieski had drunk when he came to save Buczacz, known as the King's Well."[138] Those who visit Buczacz today will still find there a fountain on the hill leading to the ruins of the castle, from which the locals collect water in plastic containers. The water is, even now, cold and refreshing, just as Dalairac described it well over three hundred years ago. The plaque over the pipe protruding from the wall assures visitors that this is, indeed, where Sobieski once stopped to taste the water of Buczacz. Dalairac confirms that the king, along with his wife Marysienka and the royal court, came to Buczacz in 1687.[139] Sobieski was on his way to retake Kamieniec Podolski from the Ottomans. In this he failed, and it took another twelve years before the fortress returned to Polish hands. And beyond his great accomplishment in liberating Buczacz, as Barącz dismissively puts it, Sobieski and his "the royal court... did nothing for the city."[140] The work of rebuilding fell to the young Stefan Potocki, who took the city into the eighteenth century. But this will be told in the next chapter.



The years of fire and sword were finally over. Buczacz would suffer more wars and invasions, but the next two hundred years proved to be by and large a time of growth and prosperity. To be sure, peace officially came to the region only in 1714, and throughout the eighteenth century Polish-controlled Ukraine experienced several uprisings by the *Haidamak* movement, made up of Orthodox peasants and Cossacks, directed against Polish landlords and their Jewish leaseholders.[141] But seen from the perspective of the late seventeenth century, the best days of Buczacz were still ahead. With dedication and devotion by its rulers and citizens, the city became more splendid, vibrant, and creative than ever. Only in the twentieth century was it hurled once more to the ground, prostrate and helpless, its population decimated and its edifices damaged or destroyed. The few who survived the catastrophe of World War II to recount their memories of life along the banks of the Strypa and on its hilly slopes, looked back with pride and nostalgia to those days in which Buczacz had raised itself time and again from the ashes and became a place worth living in. But they had little hope in the future.

[112] Babel's stories about serving with the First Cavalry of the Red were published in magazines and newspapers between 1923 and 1926; in 1926, thirty-four of these stories were published as the book *Konarmia* (translated into English as *Red Cavalry*). *The Complete Works of Isaac Babel*, ed. N. Babel, trans. P. Constantine (New York, 2002), 197-8.

[113] Y. Maor, "The Anti-Semitic Proclamation of the Narodnaya Vola" (Hebrew), *Zion* 15 (1950): 153, cited in I. Bartal, *The Jews of Eastern Europe, 1772-1881*, trans. C. Naor (Philadelphia, 2002), 165.

[114] N. Gogol, *Taras Bulba*, trans. P. Constantine (New York, 2004).

[115] "Biographical Note," and "Translator's Preface," in N. Gogol, *Taras Bulba*, trans. P. Constantine (New York, 2004), v-vii, xvii-xxi.

[116] *Taras Bulba*, 29.

[117] Ibid., 42.

[118] Ibid., 43-5.

[119] Ibid., 138.

[120] Ibid., 79-80.

[121] Ibid., 117-18.

[122] F. P. Dalairac, *Les Anecdotes de Pologne ou Memoires secrets du Regne de Jean Sobieski* (Paris, 1699), 231, published in English as *Polish manuscripts: or the secret history of the reign of John Sobieski, the III. of that name, k. of Poland* (London, 1700), cited in Barącz, 11-12, 53.

[123] Kowalski, *Powiat Buczacki*, 26.

[124] Barącz, 11-12, 53.

[125] *The Book of Buczacz*, 46, citing Akta grodzkie i ziemskie, Lwów, 1931, T. XXIV, P. 380, Nr. 198, §§ 2, 3.

[126] Agnon, *The City Whole*, 16; *The Book of Buczacz*, 47.

[127] Kowalski, *Powiat Buczacki*, 26-7, 37-8.

[128] Barącz, 11-12, 53.

[129] Dalairac, 230, cited in Barącz, 12.

[130] Barącz, 10.

[131] Kowalski, *Powiat Buczacki*, 27-8, citing W. Urbański, *Buczacz i jego Powiat* (Buczacz, 1936).

[132] Barącz, 10.

[133] According to a slightly different version, the boundary agreed on in 1672, which divided Buczacz along the Strypa into two parts, lasted for eleven years, until the Polish victory on Khotyn in 1673. This version of a brief history of Buczacz appeared in its web page http://buchach.org.ua/ when accessed in 2005 but is no longer available.

[134] Dalairac, 228-30, cited in Barącz, 11-12.

[135] Dalairac, 228, cited in Barącz, 10-12.

[136] Agnon, *The City Whole*, 14. In his account of the town's early history, Agnon notes that the Jews tended to confuse between the disasters of the Cossack uprising and the destruction of Buczacz by the Ottomans. He thus depicts the return of the Jews to devastated Buczacz as occurring after 1648, and then corrects himself to say that in fact this occurred after 1676.

[137] Ibid., 14-15.

[138] Ibid.

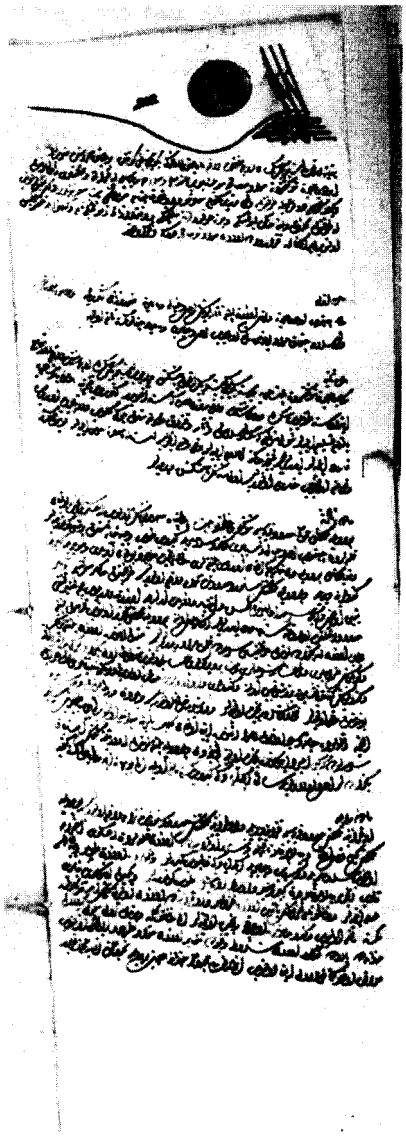
[139] Dalairac, 232, cited in Barącz, 13. See also Żarnowski, 17, who also associates Sobieski's spring with "some symbolic meaning of washing away the dishonor of the disgraceful Buczacz treaty."

[140] Barącz, 13.

[141] Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine*, 227-8, 290-95; Subtelny, *Ukraine*, 147-8, 153-4; Zamoyski, 185-8; Stone, 235-40; *The Book of Buczacz*, 47.

Chapter 1

With Fire and Sword



[1] Biblioteka Czartoryskich w Krakowie (Library of the Czartoryski Family in Cracow), manuscript (rękopis) 609, p. 89.

[2] A. Zamoyski, *The Polish Way* (New York, 2001), 185; D. Stone, *The Polish-Lithuanian State, 1386-1795* (Seattle, 2001), 235-6.

[3] http://www.lwow.com.pl/ormianie/sadok.html; H. Bar-Itzhak, "Folklore as an Expression of Intellectual Communication Between Jews and Poles – King Jan III Sobieski in Jewish Legends," *Studia Mythologica Slavica* VII (2004): 97, n. 4.

[4] S. Barącz, *Pamiątki Buczackie* (Lwów, 1882), 9, n. 1. See also A. Żarnowski, *Kresy Wschodnie II Rzeczypospolitej: Buczacz* (Kraków, 1992), 16-17.

[5] "On the Linden Tree," in Czesław Miłosz, *The History of Polish Literature*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley, 1983), 65.

[6] *The Book of Buczacz*, ed. Yisrael Kohen (Tel Aviv, 1956, in Hebrew), 44, 64 n. 1.

[7] J. R. Krzyzanowski, "Introduction," Henryk Sienkiewicz, *With Fire and Sword*, trans. W. S. Kuniczak (New York, 1991), xii-xiii. The novel was originally published as *Ogniem i mieczem* in Warsaw in 1884.

[8] Barącz, 3.

[9] Ibid., 3-4.

[10] Ibid., 4.

[11] S. Y. Agnon, *The City Whole* (Tel Aviv, 1973, in Hebrew), dedication page.

[12] Ibid., 14.

[13] Ibid., 9-13.

[14] Y. Stots'kyi, *The Basilian Monastery* (L'viv, 1997, in Ukrainian), 36-7.

[15] Ibid., 37.

[16] Paul Robert Magocsi, *Historical Atlas of East Central Europe* (Seattle, 1995), 10, 12, 15.

[17] Ibid., 18-19.

[18] Ibid., 20; Stone, 3-20.

[19] Barącz, 4-5; Stone, 3-8.

[20] Barącz, 5.

[21] S. J. Kowalski, *Powiat Buczacki i jego zabytki* (Biały Dunajec, 2005), 32-4, 49-50.

[22] I. Kladochnyi, *Brief Sketch of Buczacz* (Canada – private publication – 1990, in Ukrainian), 1.

[23] Ibid., 2.

[24] Cited in Stots'kyi, 37.

[25] The W design on the Abdank (also known as Habdank) coat of arms is said to be an abbreviation of four 'V's, which stands for the Latin words "Veritas, Victoria, Virtus, Vita" (Truth, Victory, Bravery, Life). See O. Klymenko and B. Khavarivs'kyi, *Heraldry of Cities and Towns in the Ternopil' Region* (Ternopil', 2003, in Ukrainian), 176. For another version, see Kasper Niesiecki, *Herbarz Polski*, Vol. II (Lipsk, 1839), 1.

[26] Barącz, 5; Stots'kyi, 37.

[27] Kowalski, *Powiat Buczacki*, 35-6.

[28] Magocsi, *Historical Atlas*, 31-3, 46.

[29] Ibid., 46; Stone, 36-66.

[30] Magocsi, *Historical Atlas*, 48-53; Stone, 136-9, 147-8.

[31] Stots'kyi, 38.

[32] Klymenko, 175.

[33] Barącz, 5.

[34] Stots'kyi, 38; Barącz, 5.

[35] Barącz, 5-6.

[36] Ibid., 5-6, 46-8; Klymenko and Khavarivs'kyi, 175.

[37] Barącz, 6, 48-9.

[38] Stots'kyi, 48-9, notes that there are two versions of the Potocki clan's takeover of Buczacz, but both are agreed on it occurring in 1612 following Golski's death. See also P. Stolarski, *Friars on the Fronties: Catholic Renewal and the Domoinican Order in Southeastern Poland, 1594-1648* (Burlington, VT, 2010), 84-5.

[39] Barącz, 49-52.

[40] Stolarski, 82-83. Generally on the Potockis' association with the Dominicans, see ibid., 82-85.

[41] Ibid., 83. According to Stolarski the Church and convent were founded in 1604.

[42] Barącz, 6.

[43] *The Book of Buczacz*, 43.

[44] Kladochnyi, 2-3.

[45] Kowalski, *Powiat Buczacki*, 42-3.

[46] Stots'kyi, 39.

[47] J. Tokarski, *Ilustrowany przedwodnik po zabytkach kultury na Ukrainie*, II (Warsaw, 2000), 37; Kowalski, *Powiat Buczacki*, 43.

[48] Stots'kyi, 39; Kladochnyi, 2.

[49] Barącz, 6-7; Stots'kyi, 39. According to Klymenko and Khavarivs'kyi, 176, Katarzyna Buczacka and Andrzej (Jędrzej) Potocki were the *parents* of Stefan Potocki, whose wife, called here Maria Magdalena Mohyla, was the *sister* of the Voivode of Moldavia, Jeremi Mohyla. This would make Buczacz into the property of the Potockis as of about 1602 rather than 1612. This version makes no mention of Golski. Yet another slightly different version can be found in Kowalski, *Powiat Buczacki*, 25-6.

[50] Kassow, *Who Will Write Our History* (Bloomington, 2007), 49-89, on the beginning of Jewish-Polish historiography.

[51] S. M. Dubnow, *Jewish History: An Essay in the Philosophy of History*, trans. H. Szold from the German trans. by I. Friedlander (Philadelphia, 1927, reprint of 1903 edition), 20-21. The original Russian essay was published in *Voskhod* (October-November 1893): 111-42; (December 1893): 78-112. See also J. Frankel, "S. M. Dubnov: Historian and Ideologist," in S. Dubnov-Erlich, *The Life of S. M. Dubnov: Diaspora Nationalism and Jewish History*, trans. J. Vowels (Bloomington, 1991), 1-33, orig. pub. in Russian in 1950.

[52] Dubnow, *Jewish History*, 22-23.

[53] Frankel, 2, 26.

[54] B. D. Weinryb, *The Jews of Poland* (Philadelphia, 1972), 25.

[55] G. D. Hundert, *Jews in Poland-Lithuania in the Eighteenth Century* (Berkeley, 2004), 6.

[56] M.J. Rosman, *The Lord's Jews* (Cambridge, Mass, 1991), 39.

[57] Bartal, *The Jews of Eastern Europe*, 14-15, 17; Hundert, *Jews in Poland-Lithuania*, 14-15.

[58] Weinryb, *The Jews of Poland*, 27.

[59] Rosman, *The Lord's Jews*, 39-40.

[60] Kowalski, *Powiat Buczacki*, 54-5.

[61] I. Schipper, *Studja nad stosunkami Żydów w Polsce* (Lwów, 1911), 155, cited in *The Book of Buczacz*, p. 64, n. 2.

[62] M. Nosonovsky, *Hebrew Epitaphs and Inscriptions from Ukraine and Former Soviet Union* (Washington, D.C., 2006), 25, 107.

[63] A. Brawer, "Buczacz," *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, IV (Jerusalem, 1978), 1037.

[64] *The Book of Buczacz*, 45, citing Schipper, *Studja*, 206, and I. Schipper, *Dzieje handlu żydowskiego na ziemiech polskich* (Warsaw, 1938), 87.

[65] Kladochnyi, 3.

[66] Rosman, *The Lord's Jews*, 37; Bartal, *The Jews of Eastern Europe*, 18-20; J. Goldberg, "The Role of the Jewish Community in the Socio-Political Structure of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth," in *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*, Vol. 22, ed. A. Teller et al. (Oxford, 2010), 142-55; *The Book of Buczacz*, 45.

[67] Paul Robert Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine* (Seattle, 1996), 175-92; Magocsi, *Historical Atlas*, 59; Stone, 140-47.

[68] Agnon, *The City Whole*, 149.

[69] N.N. Hanover, *The Book of the Deep Mire* (Tel Aviv, 1944/45, in Hebrew); published in English as *Abyss of Despair*, trans. A. J. Mesch (New Brunswick, 1983; Reprint of 1950 edition). See also J. Raba, *Between Remembrance and Denial* (New York, 1995), 38, n. 128.

[70] N. Hanover, *The Book of the Deep Mire* (Berlin, 1923, in Hebrew); H. Abramson, *A Prayer for the Government* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999), 109-140.

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[80] Ibid., 6.

[81] Ibid., 5, 14.

[82] "The Life and Work of Nathan Hanover," *Abyss of Despair*, 13-22.

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[104] Barącz, 7; Kladochnyi, 3.

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