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Brody always on my mind: the mental mapping of a Jewish city¹

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Once overwhelmingly inhabited by Jews, the Austro-Galician border town of Brody, in present-day Western Ukraine, has retained an important place on Ashkenazi mental maps until today, even though scholarly studies on Brody are scarce. The present article tries to capture the elements that allowed Brody to inscribe itself so successfully in Jewish memory. Therefore, this paper analyses several *lieux de mémoire* underlining Brody's enduring perception as a town closely related to Jewish issues. These places, however, are not only physical spots in the cityscape, like the ruins of the synagogue and the cemetery, but also images of and texts about Brody. Whether intended or not, pictures and postcards also have an impact on how Brody has been remembered; and so do memory books, be they written in Yiddish, Hebrew, Polish or Ukrainian. This study argues that Brody appears on the mental maps of Eastern European Jewry as an amalgam of physical places, icons and texts linked to a multi-layered and multifaceted urban history

Keywords: Brody; Galicia; Jewish city; mental mapping; *lieux de mémoire*; collective memory; urban history; borderlands

Two decades after the end of the Second World War that brought Jewish Brody to a brutal end, the Israeli scholar and native of Brody, Dov Sadan, stated, “It would be difficult to find a Jew – not only from that region but also from Ukraine, Lithuania, Poland and a good part of Germany – for whom ‘Brody’ could be mentioned who would not recall or associate at least something with this name.”² Brody, in today's Ukraine, is indeed well known as a Jewish place through novels, family histories, pictures and surnames relating to its toponymy. This article touches this city's legacy and looks for its traces in Ashkenazi mental landscapes.

In general, knowledge of the city's history seems to be rather diffuse. Scholarly investigations with Brody at their heart are scarce, especially in English.³ Furthermore, most of them concentrate on specific aspects or follow an ethno-centrist approach and fail to embed this Austro-Galician border town in a larger European context. This may explain why the picture we have of Brody is blurred by snatches of memory and myths intermingling with hard facts.

The aim of this article is thus to disentangle the different layers of how Habsburg Brody was and is perceived in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Much of the city's legacy seems to come to us from the minds and memories of people who live outside Ukraine, not least because the Second World War and its aftermath put an end to Jewish and Polish life in Brody. Jewish collective memory after 1945

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concentrated on sacred sites in particular.⁴ Of course political movements like Zionism and Bundism, social conditions and antisemitism are remembered as well, but Jews travelling to Eastern Europe today do not visit former Zionist party offices, but synagogues and cemeteries. We know that collective memory is always selective and depends on the sociological conditions of individual memory-makers.⁵ Indeed, memory seems to be even more selective the further the memory-makers are away from the remembered place. Without interaction with contemporary local narratives, memorial tours to Jewish sites often ignore the post-Soviet realities of the towns they visit.⁶ This is not only true for Brody, but applies to many cities in Eastern Europe, whose history and geography has been recast by those who left.⁷ Hence, this case study on Brody will also discuss how a city was and continues to be drawn on Ashkenazi mental maps.

After some introductory remarks on Brody's economic, political and cultural history, the paper introduces three different types of *lieux de mémoire* ("places of memory").⁸ It starts with identifiable physical places within the cityscape: the ruins of Brody's Great Synagogue and the Jewish cemetery. The second part of the article approaches Brody from an iconic slant. The city's oldest depiction, dating from 1837, a 1904 painting by Isidor Kaufmann and a postcard from the 1910s present very different visualisations of a Jewish city. The third section analyses memory books like the Jewish *yizker-bikher* and their Ukrainian and Polish counterparts as written manifestations of nationally exclusive memories of a multinational city. Brody is one of the rare cases where we are lucky to have memory books from all local ethno-confessional groups. In conclusion, this study finally introduces the Galician border as a last *lieu de mémoire* of Brody, merging a physical place with the images produced in memory books and even literary texts.

The current article intends to bridge the discrepancy between Brody's supposedly successful anchorage in Jewish mental maps and the distorted knowledge of many important historical facts, the city's thrilling economic past in particular. This paper argues that the Brody in our mind is an amalgam of physical places, images and texts linked to a multi-layered urban history.

Introductory remarks on Brody's Jewish history

The timeframe of Brody's Jewish history comprises a period of 360 years. If the historians Nathan Gelber and Jakov Chonigsman disagree on whether the city's Jewish history ends in 1943 or 1944, they both begin their story with the year 1584 – the year Brody was granted Magdeburg Rights. Even though the town was first mentioned in 1084 and Jews most likely settled there even earlier, continuous and reliable records start only with the year when Brody received its town charter.⁹ The influx of Jewish merchant families began when the Polish nobleman Stanisław Koniecpolski (1594–1646) bought Brody in 1629 and developed the city into an important trade junction in the region. Jews were under the direct protection of the noble city owners and could settle without any restrictions within the town and exercise any profession or commerce.¹⁰

By the middle of the eighteenth century, Brody had developed into the region's most important hub for trans-European trade. The statistics of the Leipzig Fair, arguably the largest in the German Lands, list the first merchants from Brody in 1728, all of them Jews.¹¹ As much as Leipzig was Brody's main partner city in Western Europe, Berdichev's long-established fairs were the counterpart in the East.

Manufactured goods from the Western countries found their way to consumers in the East via Brody, whereas raw materials from Eastern and Southeastern Europe headed in the other direction.¹²

When the Habsburg Empire annexed Galicia in 1772, Vienna quickly understood Brody's importance in international trade. In 1779 Maria Theresa issued a privilege declaring Brody and its surroundings a free trade zone.¹³ This allowed the city to continue its role as Eastern Europe's main hub for goods in transit, reaching its peak during the years of Napoleon's Continental System.¹⁴ In those years the trade axis Odessa–Brody was vital for Napoleon-controlled Europe. As the Royal Navy were blockading French ports, desperately needed Ottoman cotton was mainly shipped to Odessa and then brought into continental Europe via Brody.

Brody's merchants had developed close relations with Odessa almost upon the foundation of this port city in 1794. When Tsar Alexander I delivered an *ukaz* in 1803 that declared Odessa a free port, Jewish immigration sped up enormously, including a considerable influx of Jews from Galicia and Germany. Strikingly, the latter were collectively called "Brody Jews," even though many of them were not originally from that Austrian border town; however, they were the most prominent. In the first decade of the nineteenth century, more than 300 wholesalers from Brody opened huge branch offices and stocks in Odessa and assigned agents to do their business there.¹⁵

In the long run, being squeezed between the Russian and the Austrian Empires, Brody could not maintain its formerly extraordinary commercial importance. New problems arose from the general worsening of the political relations between these two powers after the Congress of Vienna. Both countries pursued a protectionist economic policy and put spokes in the traders' wheels. After the middle of the century, finally, other Galician towns pushed Brody from its position as the Crownland's third-largest city (after L'viv and Kraków) and reduced Brody to a medium-sized provincial city.¹⁶

Before its economic decline in the second half of the nineteenth century, Brody had for more than 200 years attracted Jews from all over the region as a place to earn a living, as a place of shelter and last but not least as a place of Jewish learning. When the Habsburg Empire annexed Galicia in 1772 Brody became this new Crownland's largest Jewish community – with 7000 Jews it then outnumbered even L'viv's *kahal*.¹⁷ With regard to the proportion of Jews relative to Christians, Brody was Austria's most Jewish city, Jews always counting for at least two-thirds of all inhabitants until 1914.

As early as the first half of the eighteenth century, Brody developed into an important centre of Jewish scholarship. Scholars educated in Brody were widely appreciated for their strict adherence to Jewish Orthodox traditions, their Halakhic authority and their knowledge of the Kabbalah. Some even made their way to Western Europe, like for instance Eliezer Rokeach (1649–1741), who became Amsterdam's chief rabbi in 1735, or Ezekiel ben Judah Landau (1713–93), who was Prague's chief rabbi after 1755. Especially important was the study house attached to Brody's main synagogue, the so-called Broder kloyz. The town rabbis and judges (Yiddish: *dayonim*) were considered authorities in the whole world of Ashkenaz and attracted Jews from all over the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth to study there or to settle their legal and Halakhic problems at Brody's Jewish courts.¹⁸

Brody's leading religious authorities had a clear orientation towards traditional Rabbinic–Talmudic Judaism and strongly disapproved of any non-Orthodox religious movements.¹⁹ At their insistence the city's *kahal* proclaimed as early as in 1756 a ban

(Yiddish: *herem*) from the community upon any adherents to the Frankist movement – although no Frankists were recorded in Brody at that time. Other important cities of the region like L'viv, Dubno and Luc'k quickly followed Brody's example. The attitude of the local Misnagdim towards the Hasidic movement was less radical, but nevertheless they urged Brody's Jewish community twice, in 1772 and in 1781, to officially impose a *herem* on the city's Hasidim. This time the issue was rather delicate, because Hasidism had rapidly spread among Brody's lower classes. As a consequence the *kahal's* officials had to tame their disapproval in the decades to come, as the Hasidim soon outnumbered the Misnagdim. Moreover, a new and common adversary loomed at the end of the eighteenth century, the Haskalah movement, which was hostile to both these Jewish currents.²⁰

When Brody's Jewish wholesalers visited the fairs in Leipzig, Breslau and Frankfurt (Oder), they got in touch with the Haskalah and carried the new ideas homewards.²¹ The importance of the city's merchants and their far-reaching European networks from Leipzig to Berdichev and Odessa can hardly be overemphasised. Brody was the Haskalah's lynchpin on its way from Western to Eastern Europe and was deeply involved in the transformation and adaptation processes so typical of cultural transfer.²² In Brody, as well as in Ternopil' and L'viv, there developed a specific Galician variant of the Haskalah, which took local circumstances into account. Other than in the German Lands, the Enlightenment did not induce a wave of secularisation in Galicia.²³ Furthermore, whereas Maskilim generally favoured Hebrew as the language of Jewish scholarship and culture but praised German as a means of intellectual communication, several Galician Maskilim were willing to reach out to the masses in their daily language, namely Yiddish.²⁴ This was especially the case with Menachem Mendel Lefin Satanower (1749–1826), who settled in Brody around the turn of the nineteenth century and laid the foundation for Brody's enlightened reputation. Even though Brody's Maskilim strongly disagreed with the Rabbinic Orthodoxy, they did not cut themselves off totally from the traditional institutions of learning (*kloyz*) and representation (*kahal*). In Brody, for instance, they never founded a reform synagogue (temple), and the two old synagogues continued to be the centre of the city's Jewish intellectual life.²⁵

Even though Brody's importance for Jewish scholarship declined in the second half of the nineteenth century, the city continued to be crucial for Jewish history, and memory. When anti-Jewish pogroms broke out in the Russian Empire in April 1881, Brody became a hotspot of international Jewish attention.²⁶ Between summer 1881 and autumn 1882 Brody was the centre of an international relief action led by the French Alliance Israélite Universelle and supported by several Austrian, German, British and American aid associations. Not all people fleeing to Brody came as refugees; many of them tried to seize the opportunity for a low-priced shipping ticket for America. However, in the end almost two-thirds of the approximately 20,000 refugees in Brody returned to their homes in Russia.²⁷

Even after the pogroms had ended, Brody continued to be an important gateway for Jewish emigration until 1914 and was home to legal and illegal agents of several emigration agencies.²⁸ This was mainly because Brody was one of only three railway inter-sections between the Habsburg and the Russian Empires (opened in 1873). The itinerary via Brody was therefore the shortest way to the Atlantic for potential emigrants from southwestern Russia and for those who intended to seek their new home in one of the big cities in Western Europe. Furthermore, for emigrants who decided to leave Russia illegally, such as men liable for military service who were unable to receive

official emigration permission, crossing Russia's negligently controlled land border might have been easier than crossing its maritime borders.

Brody suffered severely during the First World War, which left large parts of the city destroyed, the main synagogue heavily damaged and several civilians dead.²⁹ Thousands, especially Jews, had fled Brody upon the arrival of Russian forces within only one month of the declaration of war in August 1914. Collectively suspecting Ruthenians to be traitors and spies, the Austrian army deported many of them to the empire's inner provinces. The first Russian occupation lasted for approximately one year and was renewed for another year after the Brusilov offensive in summer 1916. The Russian imperial army also had its list of potential spies; however, former local public functionaries and judges could keep or were even encouraged to keep their positions, mainly Poles and Ruthenians but also some Jews.³⁰

After the short intermezzo of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic, from November 1918 to May 1919, and an even shorter Soviet occupation during the summer of 1920, Brody became part of the Second Polish Republic. Due to the war, the city shrank to two-thirds of its pre-war population of 18,000 inhabitants and lost its role as a border town (the Polish–Soviet border lay 50 kilometres further east). Brody's economy started to slowly recover after 1922, but after the Great Depression reached Europe in 1929–30 local living conditions severely hardened. Brody's Jewish community never regained its pre-war numerical strength, but the Jewish population's occupational structure largely remained unchanged, with only a slight shift towards more blue-collar workers at the expense of petty traders. Yet, the political orientation of Brody's Jews turned away from acculturation towards various currents of Zionism.³¹

In accordance with the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact, the Red Army occupied Brody at the beginning of the Second World War. After Nazi Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941, the Wehrmacht entered Brody within two weeks. The Nazis immediately killed more than 250 members of the city's Jewish elite. Before Brody's Jews were forced to move to the ghetto in autumn of 1942, several hundred Jews had been murdered on Brody's streets and more than 2000 deported to Belzec. After further mass executions in the nearby forest and the liquidation of the ghetto in May 1943, the remaining 3000 Jews of Brody were deported to Majdanek. When Brody was liberated in July 1944, the city was mostly deserted with only about 700 people still living there. A few tens of Jews survived the Nazi occupation hiding in or near Brody, but most of the approximately 150 surviving Jews were returnees who had been drafted into the Red Army when the Soviets ruled Brody between 1939 and 1941. Most of the Jewish survivors, as well as the remaining Polish population, moved to Poland after the irrevocable installation of the Soviet regime, whereupon Brody was resettled rather quickly by peasants from the surrounding villages.³²

Physical places of memory

The Great Synagogue

The first and most important physical *lieu de mémoire* is the ruins of Brody's Great Synagogue (see Figure 1). Memory books, travel accounts of all times, paintings and belletrist snapshots associate several things with this building: the city's scholarly importance, the splendour of the architecture, Brody as a hotspot of the Haskalah and the centrality of religion for the Eastern European Jewish *lebenswelt*.



Figure 1. The Great Synagogue in Brody 2009. © Börries Kuzmany.

The synagogue was built after the devastating fire of 1742 with a loan from the city's owner, Józef Potocki. For the following two centuries this fortress-style synagogue dominated the city, and even today its remnants still occupy an impressive place in Brody's cityscape.³³ The building is sometimes also referred to as the "Old Synagogue," which is misleading, because the once neighbouring New Synagogue, now destroyed, was most likely built earlier. The latter happened to be renovated in 1804 and thus maybe seemed younger to the inhabitants in later years.³⁴

During the Battle of Brody between the Wehrmacht and the Red Army in 1944 the New Synagogue was completely destroyed, whereas at least the outer walls of the Great Synagogue survived. After the war, the building was provisionally reconstructed and was officially listed as a historical monument. Since the 1960s it has been put to use as a storage facility. When the roof started to leak, the building was abandoned and has slowly fallen into disrepair ever since. In 1988, the western wall collapsed and in 2006 parts of the provisional roof fell in. The idea of Brody's municipal administration in 1991 to turn the remnants into a picture gallery aborted because of funding problems and a preference to restore first of all Ukrainian national *lieux de mémoire*.³⁵ Only recently, an initiative by Brody's twin city in Germany, Wolfrathshausen, has decided to finance at least the stabilisation of the existing walls. However, it is not totally clear when these works will be started and the problem of a complete restoration remains unsolved, not least because there are no precise plans what to do with the building in the long run.

The Great Synagogue has been an important landmark of Brody's physical and mental cityscape for more than two centuries. Many travel accounts dating from the Habsburg period prominently mention this place. Emperor Joseph II stated in his rather jejune notes of his 1773 inspection tour to Galicia, "The synagogue is very beautiful and large."³⁶ Two missionaries from the Presbyterian Church of Scotland also

marvelled at Brody's Jewish prayer house: "We visited one of their finest synagogues. It is like an ancient Gothic church: the roof very elevated and supported by four immense pillars in the massy gothic style. Brass lustres in great profusion were suspended from the roof, especially in front of the ark, all handsome and brightly polished."³⁷ Christian travellers were impressed by the size and splendid architecture, even if some of them, like Joseph Pannel, hardly found a friendly word to say about the city's Jewish inhabitants.³⁸

The Yiddish writer An-sky, on the other hand, reflected on the longstanding cultural importance of the Great Synagogue. He visited Galicia twice as an emissary of the Russian Red Cross, at the end of 1914 and during the summer of 1916, after the Russian Army had conquered the province. In his travel recordings he noted, "I visited the old synagogue, which had played a major role in earlier Jewish cultural life ... A whole era of Jewish life was bound up with Brody and its synagogue. The old building had a very splendid interior."³⁹ Thus, whereas Christian travellers remarked on Brody's Great Synagogue as an important monument, An-sky and other Jewish visitors like the painter Isidor Kaufmann refer to it as a place of Ashkenazi religious, cultural and intellectual history.⁴⁰

Since the presence of Jews in Brody ended in the 1940s, the Great Synagogue has continued to be the city's most important Jewish *lieu de mémoire*. It stands for both important religious currents in the city, the traditional Talmudic scholarship often associated with the Broder kloyz as well as the Haskalah. This legacy of Brody as an important centre of Jewish learning in Eastern Europe still echoes in the earlier Yiddish *yizker* books from the first two decades after the Second World War.⁴¹ In addition, the 1994 published memory book on Brody, *Ner Tamid*, deals at length with rabbis, *dayyanim* and other scholars connected to the Great Synagogue.⁴² The virtual memory reflected on the website *shtetlinks* also puts a strong emphasis on Brody as a religious centre of East European Jewry.⁴³

The few tourists visiting Brody today, be they from Western Europe, North America or Israel, pay much attention to the ruins of the synagogue. The head of Brody's Regional Museum repeatedly indicated to me that these "Westerners" have different priorities when coming to Brody than visitors from Poland or Ukraine.⁴⁴ In the traveller's eye today, the synagogue recalls not only a place of former Jewish scholarship but first and foremost a symbol of the rupture caused by the Second World War and of Eastern Europe's lost Jewish world.

The Jewish cemetery

A similarly strong symbol of the demise of Jewish Brody is the still existing vast Jewish cemetery on the outskirts of the present city (see Figure 2). The cemetery was established during the cholera epidemic of 1831, when the old cemetery (created in the first quarter of the seventeenth century) reached its limits.⁴⁵ The abovementioned Presbyterian Scottish missionaries, who visited Brody in 1939, were impressed by the width of the city's new cemetery and the magnificence of many of the tombstones.⁴⁶

Whereas the old Jewish cemetery was severely damaged during the Second World War and eventually dismantled by the Soviets in the 1950s to turn this place into a stadium, the "new" cemetery remains in existence today. During the Soviet period it was continuously falling into disrepair because those few Jews who resettled in Brody after the Holocaust came here from other parts of the USSR and therefore did



Figure 2. The Jewish cemetery in Brody 2009. © Börries Kuzmany.

not have any ancestors buried in Brody. Eventually, even those Jews left the city in the 1990s, because there are no other Jewish inhabitants left in town.⁴⁷

Only after the collapse of the USSR was the cemetery rediscovered by travellers from America, Israel and Western Europe. Some of them were in search of tombstones of family members; most of them, however, came to gaze at Brody's ample graveyard with more than 5500 gravestones remaining intact. Among the earliest visitors, in 1989, were the journalist Verena Dohrn and the photographer Guido Baselgia. A couple of years later they published their impressions of former Galician and Bukovinian territories in Frankfurt's *Jüdischer Verlag*. Two pictures dedicated to Brody's Jewish cemetery show the graveyard still unfenced.⁴⁸ Some 15 years later, the Israeli journalist Ruhama Elbag also marvelled at the huge dimensions of this place and complained that some local villagers used the vast space for planting cabbage, sunflowers or corn. After more than two hours roaming around the tombstones, she concluded that it might be one of the most impressive Jewish cemeteries left in Eastern Europe.⁴⁹

At the western edge of the cemetery a memorial was erected in 1994. The Hebrew, Ukrainian and English texts honour the Jews murdered under German occupation between summer 1941 and summer 1944. The memorial is situated on the spot where the Nazis murdered about 250 prominent Jewish residents of Brody during the first weeks after their invasion.⁵⁰ Not surprisingly, the Holocaust dominates the Jewish memory book *Ner tamid* as well as the virtual memory on the internet. However, an American project initiated in 1996 successfully photographed each gravestone and transcribed all legible epitaphs, engraved mostly in German and Polish besides of course liturgical texts written in Hebrew.⁵¹

These two physical memory places, the Great Synagogue and the Jewish cemetery, are crucial to those who actually travel to Brody. These objects are visibly Jewish and their state of decomposition clearly demonstrates the abrupt end of the Jewish presence

in this part of the world. What Michael Meng stated for Jewish ruins in Poland and Germany fits for Ukraine as well: “They can be touched, experienced, discovered, and photographed, and they are the last, tangible traces of a fading past.”⁵² Jewish tourists, be they religious or not, identify with these places as a manifestation of their own Jewish heritage. They try to relocate themselves on the mental maps of their ancestors.

Nevertheless, these places also matter to non-Jewish travellers. Many, especially those from Germany or Austria, come to Galicia with a longing for a past that supposedly was more colourful and peaceful. By retrieving this former multicultural world, especially the references to Jewish life, some of these “spurensuchers” may wish to atone in an intellectual way for their fathers’ or grandfathers’ involvement in the Second World War.⁵³ Brody turns out to be the perfect place for such nostalgia, not only because of the city’s rich Jewish history, but also because the remnants of the huge synagogue and the vast Jewish cemetery so impressively demonstrate the violent end of a long story.

Images and perceptions of Jewish Brody

Another approach to frame Brody in the realm of *lieux de mémoire* is an iconic angle. Drawings and old postcards are often used to visualise a specific memory of the past, especially in media like the internet or illustrated books. The arrangement or accompanying text, however, usually appeals more to readers’ feelings than to historic reality. Recently, Maya Benton critically revised the pictures taken by Roman Vishniac, a famous photographer of Polish Jewry in the 1930s. She put the pictures into a historic context to show how images of a vanished past were used to construct memory and identity.⁵⁴

Brody actually was the Habsburg Empire’s most Jewish city, the number of Jews ranging between two-thirds and three-quarters of the total population. In the Jewish collective memory this dominance is often reinforced by imagining Brody as a purely Jewish shtetl. With the help of a lithograph, a painting and a postcard depicting Brody in Habsburg times, I want to demonstrate how Brody was represented and perceived as a Jewish urban space in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Carl von Auer’s The New Market in Brody, 1837

The lithograph by Carl von Auer dating back to 1837 or 1838 is the oldest existing picture of Brody (see Figure 3).⁵⁵ It shows the New Market, one of the city’s best addresses, looking from north to south. Von Auer draws a striking social portrait of a city, which had seen its best times during the bygone Napoleonic period but was still Galicia’s second-largest town and the Crownland’s most important international trade junction at this time. We mostly see one- or two-storeyed stone houses, which were rarely seen in this region in the 1830s, when wood was the main construction material even in town centres. Furthermore, the park looks well maintained and architecturally designed, with a pagoda in the centre, and people enjoying strolling in the alleys. Moreover, a three-horse carriage indicates the wealth of the people sitting in it.

This takes us to Brody’s inhabitants. Von Auer presents a predominantly Jewish city; except for the people in the carriage, one of the group of three men on the left edge and one promenader in the foreground, all people are clearly marked as Jews by their clothing. And we cannot even be sure whether the non-Jewish-dressed inhabitants are gentiles, because many followers of the Haskalah preferred to dress in Western



Figure 3. Carl von Auer, *The New Market in Brody*. Lithograph 1837. © Brody Regional Museum.

clothing. Strikingly, all those identifiable as Jews appear poor, wearing ragged clothes. The men on the outmost left and outmost right edge look particularly deplorable, whereas those wearing a *shtreimel* and the two women look a little better off.

Von Auer's lithography is entitled *The New Market in Brody*. Thus it does not explicitly refer to a Jewish place or subject. However, the city's public space is obviously dominated by Jews, as befits a town where more than 85 per cent of the population were Jewish at that time.⁵⁶ Von Auer thus caught a rather realistic picture of Brody in this period, showing a wealthy city with poor Orthodox and Hassidic Jews.

Isidor Kaufmann's Friday Evening in Brody, 1904

Even more than von Auer, Isidor Kaufmann presents Brody as an entirely Jewish urban space, if in a totally different manner. Kaufmann (1853–1921) was born in Arad and later moved to Vienna for his artistic studies. From the 1890s he became increasingly interested in Eastern European Jewish piety and undertook extended journeys to the empire's eastern provinces to portray traditional Jewish life. The tableau *Friday Evening in Brody* is undated but was most likely painted in the months after his trip to Eastern Galicia, including Brody, in the summer of 1904 (see Figure 4).⁵⁷

Kaufmann presents Brody as a typical East European shtetl; to be more precise, he depicts it in the way Western-assimilated Jews imagined the shtetl, with only Orthodox and Hassidic Jews roaming the streets.⁵⁸ Pious men and boys follow the path to the illuminated synagogue, which sits above all the houses and symbolises the centrality of religion in all spheres of life. Kaufmann reinforces this by adding a dome, which Brody's Great Synagogue never actually possessed, and by pretending that the building is on a hill or somehow elevated, which was not the case in reality. No women or girls are to be seen, because they are supposed to be at home to prepare for Shabbat. The



Figure 4. Isidor Kaufmann, *Friday Evening in Brody*. Oil on canvas 1904. © Benjamin Eliezer Perl.

shtetl's roads are unpaved and the detached houses are only one-storeyed. The blurry figures and the smooth yellowish-brown colours of the entire tableau evoke a mystic and exotic atmosphere in an allegedly more authentic Ashkenazi Jewry than in the westernized urban centres of the Habsburg Empire.

Władysław Kocyan's "Goldgasse," 1911

The last image I want to discuss in this paper is a postcard from the early twentieth century depicting the Goldgasse, Brody's main street connecting the city's two main squares (see Figure 5). It is undated, but the photo must have been taken between 1911 and 1914.⁵⁹ Dating from the same period as Kaufmann's tableau, we once again see a totally different city. There are no Jews; at least, nobody who could be identified as such by his appearance. All men, again there are no women in the picture, are properly dressed in a modern way and are posing for the photograph. So, the producer of the postcard staged an image of the urban space he deliberately composed without Jews. On the basis of many photographs stored in the Austrian National Library, we can easily realise that traditional Jewish clothing was not uncommon in Brody in the last years before the outbreak of the First World War.⁶⁰ The photographer of the picture is unknown, but it was produced and sold by Władysław Kocyan, owner of a Polish stationery company in Brody, who presumably desired to present his home town in a way he wanted it to be perceived. Postcards had become extremely popular at the beginning of the twentieth century and allowed the spread of visual impressions of a place to which most people would never go. Generally, postcards followed a common iconic set-up, but the producer of the postcard decided which picture would and should be representative of a given city.⁶¹

We see a modern Central European town with two-storeyed, or in the case of the building on the left-hand side even three-storeyed, houses, telegraph cables and electric



Figure 5. “Brody. Ulica Złota.” Postcard 1911. © Brody Regional Museum.

street lightening.⁶² Special attention should be drawn to the tallest building in the street, the Hotel Bristol. It was opened in 1909 in Art Nouveau style and, together with the earlier Hôtel de Russie, Hôtel de l’Europe and Hotel Erzherzog Rainer, was one of the most comfortable places to stay in the city.⁶³ In the last quarter of the nineteenth century it was in vogue to name upper-class hotels after the English city of Bristol; in Vienna, right next to the opera house, a luxurious Hotel Bristol was opened in 1892. Thus, Brody sought to join this European trend and tried to emulate the empire’s capital. This hotel was then and is now the highest building in the Goldgasse and can be easily recognised as the prominent “Hotel Brodnitzer” in Joseph Roth’s novel *Radetzky March*. When Isaac Babel’ arrived in Brody with Semen Budyonny’s Red Cavalry in the summer of 1920, he was very much impressed by the Hotel Bristol, where he perceived remnants of a vanishing Western civilisation in war-destroyed Brody.⁶⁴

Special intention should be drawn to an inscription that can be found on the postcard. On the right edge, we can identify the signboard of an ironmonger, which is written in Polish and Ukrainian (“Handel żelaza i farb”). As a consequence of Brody’s international trading networks and its affiliation with the Haskalah, the city’s public space was dominated by the German language during most of the nineteenth century. Later than in other Galician towns, Brody’s Jews switched from German to Polish only in the last decade of the century; and, even then, this transition evolved slowly and not unanimously.⁶⁵ As Ruthenians were a very small group in the town, accounting for approximately 12 per cent of all inhabitants, their language played an inferior role in public life during the nineteenth century.⁶⁶ Furthermore, it is

astonishing that in the middle of Brody's main street a bilingual Polish–Ukrainian signboard is to be found. No matter whether the shop owner was Ruthenian himself, or whether he was simply trying to increase the number of his customers, the Ukrainian language had gained importance in the public space by the eve of the First World War.

We can also see from the postcard's caption that people accepted Brody's multilingualism and even perceived it as a typical feature of their city. Producing postcards with captions in two languages was quite common in Galicia and the Habsburg Monarchy in general, as postcards are intended to be bought by visitors not necessarily familiar with the local language. This would explain the caption in German, the empire's *lingua franca*. However, I would argue that the trilinguality of this Goldgasse postcard was chosen intentionally to distinguish Brody from other cities.

Yet, one of Brody's most important languages was certainly missing: Yiddish. Even though the city's Jewish elite, heavily influenced by the *Haskalah*, was quite favourably disposed towards standard German and sent their children to the German Kronprinz-Rudolf high school in the town, Yiddish was certainly the most common language among Brody's lower strata. Further away from the city's wealthier streets, Yiddish signboards and inscription were certainly frequently found. However, as the Austrian constitution perceived Jews solely as a confessional minority, Yiddish never gained any legal status.⁶⁷ Without doubt, Władysław Kocyan could have decided to add a Yiddish caption to his postcard, but Yiddish had a low reputation; furthermore, it would have obviously contradicted his choice of a photograph that lacked any identifiable Jews.

Most interestingly, this postcard exists in several variants. The original photo was obviously republished several times with captions adapted to the political circumstances. Presumably published during the First World War is an edition with a Russian caption on the left-hand and Polish one on the right-hand side (see front cover of this issue).⁶⁸ Actually, Brody was twice occupied by Russian forces for several months in 1914/15 and in 1917. Therefore, the caption may be a snapshot of the reality of this period, when indeed Polish continued to be accepted as an official language by the Russian authorities, but Russian replaced Ukrainian as the formal language of the city's Ruthenians.⁶⁹

Władysław Kocyan published the same photograph a third time in 1929. This time the caption on the flipside was in Polish and French: "Ulica Ułanów Krechowickich – Rue des Uhlans de Krechowice" (see Figure 6).⁷⁰ First of all, the former Goldgasse/ulica złota was renamed after a military unit that fought back the Red Army during the Polish–Soviet War of 1919–21. Furthermore, multilingualism had disappeared from the city's self-representation – whether the bilingual signboard of the ironmonger was still there in the 1920s is obviously not ascertainable anymore. Thus, in the inter-war period Brody sold itself not as a multicultural but as a Polish city, in which international tourists, for whom the French caption was obviously intended, were warmly welcome.

Comparing these three images, we can observe three different representations of the same city: von Auer drew Brody as a major Jewish city, Kaufmann turned it into a traditional shtetl and Kocyan presented a modern urban space not identifiable as Jewish. Eventually, Kaufmann's image was the most successful. Joseph Roth, arguably the city's internationally best-known son, most strikingly uses Brody's shtetl image in his literary essay "The Jewish Town," published in 1927. Even though he does not explicitly mention the town's name, the description of the city's layout makes clear that he had his birthplace in mind. Roth draws a picture of petty and medium traders



Figure 6. “Brody. Ulica Ułanów Krechowickich.” Postcard 1929. © Library of the Institute of Ethnology in L’viv.

as well as craftsmen employed in rather poorly paid, religion-related jobs, referring hereby to the ubiquity of religion for shtetl dwellers.⁷¹

On today’s mental maps Brody is largely remembered as a *shtetl* because of its huge Jewish majority and its deep poverty. Both notions are true for the turn of the twentieth century. However, collective memory seems to ignore several features that do not allow us to classify Brody as the embodiment of a shtetl, at least not before the middle of the nineteenth century. By numbers of inhabitants Brody was much bigger than a hamlet (fluctuating at around 20,000 people); the city’s mercantile elite was engaged not only in local or regional, but in international trade; and the strong attachment of Brody’s upper strata to Enlightened ideas turned Brody into one of the few strongholds of the Haskalah in Galicia. Nevertheless, Kaufmann painted Brody as the epitome of the Eastern European Jewish *lebenswelt*, and in illustrated publications and on the internet his artistic interpretation is sometimes adopted.⁷²

Brody’s memory books

Memory books are the last type of collective memory products I want to discuss in this paper. It goes without saying that they intend to be and actually are *lieux de mémoire* in the collective memory of the targeted ethno-confessional community. In the case of Brody, we are lucky; between 1988 and 1998, each national group that formerly lived in the town published a book with memoirs and historical descriptions. Yet, comparing them with each other, one might get the feeling that the authors were writing about totally different cities.

Polish memory

The most neutral of all memory books are the Polish ones, published by Zbigniew Kościów. The first one, *Brody – Memory of a Kresy-Town*, is a short but fairly scholarly history of the city including some pictures; whereas the second one, *Brody Motifs*, corresponds better to the genre of a memory book.⁷³ The latter unites several abridgements of Brody-related texts or recollections written by different authors, as well as short biographies of famous Brodyers, and some photographs of the contemporary city.⁷⁴ Published in 1993 and 1995, respectively, both books exemplify the increased public and academic interest in the former *kresy*, interwar Poland's eastern territories. The *kresy*'s rural areas were mostly inhabited by Ukrainians, Belarusians and Lithuanians, whereas Poles and Jews dominated the region's cities. As the Soviet Union annexed these lands in 1939, special attention to these territories was not opportune in the communist era. Only after 1989 did supposedly lost memories of the *kresy* re-emerge.⁷⁵

Both Polish memory books on Brody focus on the Polish population to a certain degree. Nevertheless, they also include Ukrainians and especially Jews within the historical narrative. Among the 18 biographies presented, 15 are Poles (three of them women), three are Jews and one is Ukrainian and one Armenian. However, Kościów pays little attention to these people's ethno-confessional affiliation. He describes the expansion of Polish patriotic clubs and education as well as Polish refugees of the 1863 uprising in Russia, but long sections of these books deal with Brody's economic history and urban development. The selection of the printed illustrations, of which a good half are nationally not attributable, also indicates that Kościów conceives Brody as a city with a multidimensional past. Interestingly, the Polish memory books put little emphasis on the Second World War, which distinguishes them from their Ukrainian and Jewish equivalents.

Ukrainian memory

Even though both Ukrainian memory books bear the same name, *Brody and District*, their original background is different. The first one was published in 1988 by the Ukrainian diaspora in Toronto within a series published by the Shevchenko Scientific Society and contains 670 pages.⁷⁶ The editors' explicit intention was to rectify the lies of the "occupier," that is the Soviet Union, about former Ukrainian national life in the region.⁷⁷ The book exclusively focuses on the memory of Ukrainian emigrants and has the idea of the nation at its heart. It does not deal with other ethno-confessional groups explicitly, although Poles and Jews appear from time to time when interethnic relations are addressed. In general, *Brody and District* characterises the Ukrainian–Polish relationship as more conflicted than the Ukrainian–Jewish one.

This 1988 memory book's historical section consists of several articles on archaeological findings and early modern Brody, whereas the part with biographies of famous people from Brody concentrates on people who spent their childhood under Austrian rule and who later, in the 1920s and 1930s, became Ukrainian national activists in the Second Polish Republic. No Poles or Jews qualify in this section as famous Brodyers. The same applies to the large chapter on personal accounts of life in Brody and its district. The contributors recall their families' lives in the interwar period but also during the Second World War. They express wide sympathy for the OUN (Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists) and the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent

Army), and even to some extent for the SS “Halychyna” (14th Waffen Grenadier Division of the SS). The book’s last hundred pages are dedicated to patriotic poetry and songs of former inhabitants of the region, and sketches and notes of foreign travellers to Brody.

The other *Brody and District* memory book was published in 1998 in Brody and, thus, represents more or less the current Ukrainian narrative on the spot.⁷⁸ It was born out of a conference in Brody in 1993 with participants from the worldwide Ukrainian diaspora and local West Ukrainian historians. It continues in large part the narratives of the abovementioned Toronto memory book; however, it is slightly more moderate in its nationalist verve and tries to include the local situation created by the political and economic circumstances of newly independent Ukraine. Again, almost half of the almost 600 pages are dedicated to archaeology and the region’s early modern history; smaller towns and villages in the Brody district in particular receive considerable attention. In the personal memories published, there is a strong emphasis on educational issues and people describe their schooldays in the interwar period. We also find an article on the history of the local high school and its roots in Brody’s Jewish secondary school.⁷⁹ Multicultural life and interethnic conflict are frequently mentioned in these personal recollections of the past. Most interesting is the 150-page chapter entitled “The Brody District during the National Liberation Struggle for the Liberty of Ukraine.” On the one hand, this section deals with the national struggle for the survival of the Western Ukrainian People’s Republic in 1918 and 1919. On the other hand, it addresses the Second World War, if in a rather diverse manner. Some eulogise the OUN and the UPA, some try to justify why they entered the SS “Halychyna,” but there is also mention of Ukrainians displaced to Germany for forced labour, detention in concentration camps and mass executions of Jews. Whereas the Soviet period is largely omitted, the last 120 pages are dedicated to contemporary Brody. This section is heterogeneous and includes articles on the ceremonies for the monument erected in 1993 to the victims of Bolshevik repression, and the reopening of the main Uniate church, as well as pictures of workers on state farms and factories.

Compared with its Canadian predecessor, the Ukrainian memory book published in 1998 is more moderate in its nationalist outlook. Certainly, this edition also clearly follows a Ukrainian narrative and concentrates on Ukrainian actors; for example, in the section on famous people from the region we find no Poles or Jews. However, there is a wider range of opinions about what is part of the Ukrainian memory. This can go as far as in the case where a contributor calls for a renovation of the synagogue, which he reckons is an integral part of Brody’s heritage.⁸⁰

Jewish memory

Jewish memory of Brody appears in several memorial books published after 1945, especially to preserve the memory of the Jewish victims of the Second World War. This kind of book has a long tradition in Jewish history since the fourteenth century and was commonly called *Memorbücher* or *yizker-bikher*. Argentinian associations of Galician Jewish immigrants published three different memory books in 1945, 1961 and 1968 in Yiddish, dedicated to their former home region under Austrian and Polish rule.⁸¹ Besides essays on Galicia in general, there are several articles on Galician shtetls and cities, amongst others on Brody. The Brody-related contributions deal with quite different topics, including the Broder Singer Berl Margulies, the

disputatious Orthodox Maggid Shlomo Kluger and a rather satirical description of how Brody lost its free trade privilege. The most instructive essay is written in the 1961 Galician *yizker* book by Dov Sadan, a native of Brody who later became the first professor of Yiddish studies at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. As cited in the opening quotation of my article, Sadan states that Brody's contribution to Eastern European Jewish intellectual and cultural history can hardly be overestimated.⁸²

Only after four decades of preparation was a memory book dedicated exclusively to the city of Brody published in Israel in 1994. In contrast to the earlier *yizker-bikher* written in Yiddish, this book, *An Eternal Light – Brody in Memoriam*, is in Hebrew, and there is also an abridged version translated into English.⁸³ As is characteristic of memorial books after 1945, more than the half of it is dedicated to the Second World War, including testimonies, poems and registers of the victims of the Holocaust. Some remembrances, however, reach back to the interwar period.

The period before 1918 is covered by the first two chapters, which deal with the history and culture of Brody's Jewish community. Here excerpts of Nathan Gelber's scholarly work on Jewish Brody and Zionism in Galicia are prominently included.⁸⁴ These chapters briefly mention Brody's commercial importance, but their main attention is on the religious, cultural and political ties with East European Jewry. These two sections deal with important rabbis, the Haskalah, Jewish Orthodoxy, the Broder Singers, Jewish education and Brody as a place of refuge and emigration, as well as with the Zionist movement in the city.

Eternal Light presents Brody as an almost exclusively Jewish city. Certainly, more than two-thirds of the population were Jews until the Second World War; nonetheless, other ethno-confessional groups were present in town as well, and they were dominant in the city's environs. Poles are mentioned rather indirectly, for example where the book deals with the struggle between pro-German- and pro-Polish-orientated Jews at the end of the nineteenth century. Ukrainians do not appear at all before the interwar period. As a rule, this memory book treats Poles with more sympathy than Ukrainians. This also becomes apparent the manifesto "We Polish Jews . . .," written by the Łódź-born Polish-Jewish poet Julian Tuwim in 1944, which is included in its original Polish variant but also in Hebrew, Yiddish and English translation.⁸⁵ Here, the author professes to belong to Polish language and culture and expresses his hope for a future anti-fascist and righteous Poland. There is a certain discrepancy between *Eternal Light's* Jewish national overtone and the prominence this book gives to a Polonophile manifesto by printing it in four languages. However, it may well reflect the self-perception of a considerable part of Brody's pre-war Jewish population.

To sum up, all memory books published during the last thirty years clearly follow ethno-confessional narratives, although the discourses within a particular national narrative change over time and with changing political circumstances. Only in rare cases do they characterise other national groups in an explicitly negative way. Most often they simply ignore the others and evoke among the reader the feeling that these memory books deal with totally different cities. But the Polish ones do concede more space to the other nationalities. All the memory books place an emphasis on the early modern period to prove the indigenous character of their respective ethno-confessional group, on the interwar period and on the Second World War. The focus on the years between 1939 and 1945 results not only from the temporal closeness of these gory times but also from the desire to assert authority over the interpretation of what really happened in this period. What Shimon Redlich stated for Brzezany, another formerly Galician city, is also true for Brody: "The complex and tragic past of the Jews,

Poles, and Ukrainians and their conviction of exclusive victimhood resulted, mostly, in separate self-centred memories.”⁸⁶

Conclusions

This paper has traced Brody’s position on the mental maps of East European Jewry. I argue that the perception of Brody is not so much linked to particular historical facts as to history-laden places of memory. These *lieux de mémoire* are visitable physical places on the one hand and images, memory books and novels on the other. To conclude, I want to introduce a last *lieu de mémoire* that unites Jewish and non-Jewish as well as physical, iconic and textual aspects: the Galician border. A mere 10 kilometres from the city centre, the border is intrinsically linked to Brody’s history and memory. Being a symbol of imperial rule, the border might supposedly be identified as a non-national *lieu de mémoire*. However, if we take a second look we will see how important the border is in Jewish collective memory.

The border set up in 1772 turned Brody into a border town for 150 years.⁸⁷ Having been an important trade junction for many decades, the city now also received customs facilities and became the hotspot for the legal and illegal crossing of goods and people. Even though many perceived trade and smuggling to be closely linked to the Jewish community, we may grasp the phenomenon of the border better if we understand it as place of interethnic and transnational cooperation.⁸⁸

Interestingly, two Jewish novelists whose biographies are linked to Brody include the teamwork between Jews, Poles and Ruthenians in their oeuvre. Joseph Roth, born in Brody in 1894, repeatedly describes the inns at the border as a fateful place where Jews and Christians met to make their deals. Examples can be found in the novels *The Radetzky March* and *Weights and Measures*. Even though the border towns in these two books have fictitious names, they resemble Brody in their topography and population structure. Not surprisingly, though, Joseph Roth and his mythicising description of the East Galician periphery has become a *lieu de mémoire* in itself and, arguably, is the most frequent association people in German-speaking countries have with Brody.⁸⁹

Sholem Aleichem, who in 1905 emigrated from Russia via Brody, is another author who incorporates Brody and the Galician border in his writings. In his novel *Motl, the Cantor’s Son*, a young boy and half-orphan describes the emigration of his family from a fictitious Russian-Podolian shtetl to America. To cross the state border between Russia and Austria, the family relies on the help of a dishonest Russian-Jewish gang. The Jewish agent Chajmowa in Radyvyliv never delivers the luggage she promised to smuggle across the border; and Chajmowa’s partners in the border inn, six Christian soldiers, try to rob the family’s belongings instead of showing them the way to Brody.⁹⁰

Finally, Sholem Aleichem also refers to Brody as a gateway for East European Jewish emigration. The first time Brody became noticeable as a doorway to the West was in the early 1880s, when several thousand Jews sought shelter in the Austrian border town from anti-Jewish riots in the Russian Empire. The pogroms of 1881–2 constitute an important watershed in Jewish memory and historical narrative, hence the border town of Brody has a firm place on Jewish mental maps. Memorial websites touch on this issue as well as the memory book *Eternal Light*.⁹¹ However, Brody not only was the crossroads of Jewish migration during the pogroms in 1881/2, but remained an important junction in the decades to come.

As a physical place, the border ceased to exist after the First World War, when Brody and neighbouring Radyvyliv were both included into the Second Polish

Republic. Today, the administrative boundary between the L'viv and Rivne district runs along the former imperial border; and in Ukrainian elections, as well as in the prevalence of the Uniate Church in former Galicia relative to the Orthodox Church's domination of all other regions, this historical dividing line reappears as a phantom border.⁹² Still, except for a road sign welcoming drivers to the L'viv district, nothing indicates the previous importance of this place, and hardly any Brody tourist makes their way to this former crossing point. However, the image of Brody as a border town with customs facilities and toll gates, best visualised in a trilingual postcard dating from the beginning of the twentieth century, remains firmly anchored on travellers' mental maps (see Figure 7). In all the memory books, be they Jewish, Polish or Ukrainian, we find references to this image. The Austrian writer Martin Pollack published an imaginary travel guide to this former Habsburg province in 1984 when individual travelling in the Soviet Union was still strictly limited. In his chapter on Brody, Pollack includes this very postcard and refers to Joseph Roth's depiction of Brody's border in his novel *Radetzky March*.⁹³ The border town image is also visible in Verena Dohrn's travelogue from the early 1990s, which refers to the 1881 pogrom refugees and Isaak Babel's brief stay in Brody in 1920.⁹⁴ A more recent radio production on Galicia past and present of the Austrian Radio Broadcast Corporation, dating from March 2006, spends more than a third of the broadcast on Brody as a literary space on the former imperial border.⁹⁵ Finally, when the Israeli journalist Ruhama Elbag visited Brody in 2004 she bore several Jewish authors linked to this city in mind; one was Sholem Aleichem and his novel *Motl*, with its young boy illegally crossing the Austro-Russian border near Brody.⁹⁶

This last example of the border as a *lieu de mémoire* proves that memory appears in many facets. This paper, concentrating on Jewish mental mapping, argues that the components of these sceneries are multi-layered. They obviously include physical places in the city itself like the Great Synagogue or the Jewish cemetery. Apart from these, pictures and postcards as well as different sorts of texts are important elements in



Figure 7. "Brody. Granica." Postcard c. 1910. © Brody Regional Museum.

people's thoughts about Brody. Images and memory books receive special attention once a specific ethnic community is eradicated from an actual urban space. As in so many other towns in Eastern Europe after 1945, Brody's Jews and Poles – to some extent also Ukrainians – transferred their hometown onto the mental maps of a wider diaspora. Detached from Brody's former multicultural reality, the memory discourse often follows an aggravated national pattern and mostly excludes the others from the historical narrative.

When Jews from the West started to travel through the former communist countries after 1989, they were often looking for Jewish places in order to perform their own national, religious or secular Jewish identity. Interestingly, even those who would hardly visit a synagogue or a cemetery at home identify with religious sites of memory.⁹⁷ Accordingly, Jewish tourists coming to Brody today pay little attention to non-religious Jewish places like the building of Brody's former chamber of commerce or the city's former German-language high school (gymnasium). Even though the chamber was dominated by the city's wealthy Jewish merchants, and the gymnasium's largest ethno-confessional group were Jews, tourists are more inclined to identify the ruins of Brody's Great Synagogue and the abandoned cemetery as Jewish places.

Brody successfully found its way onto the mental maps of East European Jewry. The city embraces a bundle of different traits of memory, including its historical importance in the cultural, economic and intellectual life of the world of Ashkenaz as well as its tragic disappearance in the course of the Second World War. Dov Sadan, hence, rightly states that Brody has a telling name. Crucial to the region's history in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, Brody even today cannot be dismissed from the virtual memory of Eastern Europe's vanished Jewry.

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Notes

1. This article is based in large parts upon my earlier book: *Brody. Eine galizische Grenzstadt im langen 19. Jahrhundert*. It condenses and reorganises the book's material on Jewish history and memory.
2. Sadan, "Broder gasn," 71.

3. I know of no English scholarly publication explicitly dealing with Brody except for my earlier article "Center and Periphery at the Austrian–Russian Border" and two articles concentrating on the refugees arriving in Brody in 1881 and 1882: Grubel, "From Kiev via Brody to Pankow," and Lukin and Shraberman, "Documents on the Emigration of Russian Jews via Galicia." In other languages the situation is slightly better, and we even have some older monographs. The L'vivian historian Jakov Chonigsman published a book on Brody's Jews in Russian: *Evrei goroda Brody (1584–1944)*. From much earlier decades we have two books in Polish dealing with Brody's socio-economic past: Barącz, *Wolne miasto handlowe Brody*, and Lutman, *Studja nad dziejami handlu Brodów w latach 1773–1880*; and one book on Brody's Jewish community before it became Austrian in 1772: Wurm, *Z dziejów Żydostwa Brodskiego*. There are two older Ukrainian publications. One was written by the Galician Russophile Venedikt Ploščans'kyj and the other one by a Ukrainophile history teacher from Brody's high school: Ploščans'kyj, "Galyc'ko-rus'kyj torgovel'nyj gorod Brody," and Sozans'kyj, *Z mynuvšyny mista Brodiv*. The most important study on the city's Jewish community, if with a strong Zionist bias, is authored by Nathan Gelber, who also published several articles in Hebrew and German, where Brody is frequently mentioned: Gelber, *Toldot jehudej Brodi*.
4. Meng, *Shattered Spaces*, 11.
5. For collective and selective memory see Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, and Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, especially the latter book's third part dealing in detail with the forgetting of the past.
6. See e.g. Elbag, "Brody between the Lines."
7. See e.g. the recent study on Vitebsk: Zeltser, "Imaginary Vitebsk."
8. Pierre Nora understands the notion of *lieux de mémoire* in a larger sense including geographical places, historic events, collective myths and art. See Nora, *Les Lieux de Mémoire*.
9. Chonigsman, *Evrei goroda Brody*, 6.
10. Sozans'kyj, *Z mynuvšyny mista Brodiv*, 4–10; Petryšyn, "Die Judenviertel in der Stadtplanung und Stadtentwicklung Ostgaliziens," 236–7, 260; Chonigsman, *Evrei goroda Brody*, 30.
11. Freudenthal, *Leipziger Meßgäste*, 52–3; Markgraf, "Zur Geschichte der Juden auf den Messen in Leipzig," 15–16, 68–70; Reinhold, *Polen–Litauen auf den Leipziger Messen des 18. Jahrhunderts*; Hasse, *Geschichte der Leipziger Messe*, 352.
12. Barącz, *Wolne miasto handlowe Brody*, 121; Middell, "Brody, Leipzig, Lyon."
13. For full text of the privilege see *Continuatio edictorum et mandatorum universalium in Regnis Galiciae et Lodomeriae*, 52–7.
14. For the history of the free trade privilege see: Grossmann, *Österreichs Handelspolitik mit Bezug auf Galizien in der Reformperiode*; Lutman, *Studja nad dziejami handlu Brodów*.
15. Zipperstein, *The Jews of Odessa*, 42. For general information on Odessa, see also *Jewish Encyclopedia* (1906), <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/11660-odessa>
16. See the inhabitants statistics in *Tafeln zur Statistik der österreichischen Monarchie* for the earlier years, and the *Statistisches Jahrbuch der österreichischen Monarchie* for the second half of the nineteenth century.
17. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 1094.
18. Wurm, *Z dziejów Żydostwa Brodskiego*, 47–8; Zakharii, "Galician Jerusalem," 11–12.
19. Wurm, *Z dziejów Żydostwa Brodskiego*, 48, 56–8.
20. Davidowicz, "Jakob Frank, der Messias aus dem Ghetto," 170, 175–6, 180; Doktor, "Chasydyzm wobec erupcji frankistowskiej," 61; Dubnow, *Geschichte des Chassidismus*, 81–2, 199–201.
21. Gelber, *Toldot jehudej Brodi*, 173–4.
22. Steer, "Einleitung;" Solomon, "Zum Problem des Kulturtransfers und der Haskala in Galizien."
23. Feiner, *Haskalah and History*, 73.
24. Holzer, "Enlightment, Assimilation, and Modern Identity: The Jewish Élite in Galicia," 84; Gelber, "Mendel Satanower, der Verbreiter der Haskalah in Polen und Galizien," 51. On Lefin in general see Sinkoff, *Out of the Shtetl. Making Jews Modern in the Polish Borderlands*, p. 168–202 and chapter 5, p. 203–270.]

25. Gertner, *Hrav voha'ir hagdolah*; I refer to the English summary in his thesis, "Rabanut vedajanut be-Galicia bemachcit harišona šel hamea hatsa-esre," viii.
26. For general information on the background of the 1881/2 pogroms see Aronson, *Troubled Waters*; Klier, *Russians, Jews, and the Pogroms of 1881–1882*.
27. For more information on the relief operation and the inner conflicts see Lukin and Shraberman, "Documents on the Emigration of Russian Jews via Galicia;" Kuzmany, "Das jüdische Brody," 112–16; Siegel, *Österreichisches Judentum zwischen Ost und West*, 98–104; Szajkowski, "The Attitude of American Jews to East European Jewish Immigration;" "II. Israélites de Russie," *Bulletin de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle*, 2^e semestre 1881 to 1^{er} semestre 1882.
28. Hödl, "Vom Shtetl an die Lower East Side", 98.
29. On the destruction of Brody and its Jewish population see Ansky and Neugroschel, *The Enemy at His Pleasure*, 65–72.
30. Adelsgruber et al., *Getrennt und doch verbunden*, 207–47.
31. Wasiutyński, *Ludność żydowska w Polsce w wiekach XIX i XX*, 119; Chonigsman, *Evrei goroda Brody*, 61–71; Gelber, *Toldot jehudej Brodi*, 323–5.
32. Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien*, 69, 135; Sandkühler, 'Endlösung' in Galizien, 167, 257; Chonigsman, *Evrei goroda Brody*, 78–89.
33. For details of the early Jewish community and the synagogue in Brody see Wurm, *Z dziejów Żydostwa Brodzkiego*, 43–4. See also the "introductory remarks" to the present article.
34. Kravtsov, "Die Juden der Grenz- und Freihandelsstadt Brody."
35. Korčak, "Brodivs'ki synahohy," 40–1.
36. Österreichische Staatsarchiv [Austrian State Archives, Vienna] Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Hofreisen, Ktnr. 4, (1773): 48.
37. Bonar, *Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry*, 453.
38. Pennell, *The Jew at Home*, 37–44.
39. Ansky and Neugroschel, *The Enemy at His Pleasure*, 72.
40. See the discussion of his painting *Friday Evening in Brody* in the next section.
41. Tsuker, *Pinkes Galitsye*; Tsuker et al., *Yerlekher gedenk-bukh*, with Dov Sadan's contribution cited in the very first paragraph of the present article.
42. Mandel et al., *Ner tamid*, 24*–27*, 32*–34*, 50–54, 61–95.
43. <http://kehilalinks.jewishgen.org/brody/brody.htm>
44. Actually, tourists from Austria and Germany also come for the Jewish heritage, but rather look for the places that inspired the Austro-Jewish writer Joseph Roth.
45. Gelber, "Aus dem Pinax des alten Judenfriedhofes in Brody," 119–21.
46. Bonar, *Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry*, 454–6.
47. *Kratkaja Evrejskaja Ėnciklopedija*, vol. 1 + suppl. 2, col. 547–9 + 232, cited hereafter as *Ėlektronnaja Evrejskaja Ėnciklopedija*, <http://www.eleven.co.il/article/10761>
48. Dohrn and Baselgia, *Galizien*, 45–7. It is unclear who sponsored the erection of the fence in the early 1990s.
49. Elbag, "Brody between the Lines."
50. For the Holocaust in Brody see especially Chonigsman, *Evrei goroda Brody*.
51. For the Brody Cemetery Project see: http://kehilalinks.jewishgen.org/brody/brody_cemetery_project.htm
52. Meng, *Shattered Spaces*, 212.
53. Byczkiewicz, "Die neueste deutschsprachige Reiseliteratur zu Galizien," 2, 4.
54. Benton, "Magnifying History;" Newhouse, "He Was the Foremost Photographer."
55. There is hardly any additional information on either the painter or the first publication. Janiv states that it was first published in the book *Galizien in Bildern* in 1837 or 1838. V. Janiv, "Iljustratyvnyj narys mistobudivel'noji istorii Brodiv," in *Zrobok, Brody i Bridščyna*. Today this lithograph is in the L'viv National Gallery.
56. Gelber, *Toldot jehudej Brodi*, 258.
57. Natter, "'Geschreibsel und Zuckerwasser?'" especially pages 22–36. The catalogue gives a reproduction of the picture and a short description on pages 286–9.
58. Defining a "shtetl" is very difficult, but see Klier, "What Exactly Was a Shtetl?"

59. As we can see electric illumination in the Goldgasse, we can date the photograph to after 1911, the year when an electric power plant was built in Brody. The trilinguality of the postcard's inscription points to the Habsburg period.
60. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek – Bildarchiv und Grafiksammlung [Austrian National Library - Picture Archives and Graphics Department, Vienna]: <http://www.onb.ac.at/sammlungen/bildarchiv.htm>
61. Jäger, “Globalisierte Bilder.”
62. Actually, a power plant was constructed in Brody in 1911, which allows us to date the postcard. See Dubas, “Bridščyna,” 642.
63. Stril’čuk, “Brodivs’ki hoteli XIX – počatku XX st.,” 58–60.
64. Roth, *Radetzky March*, 143; Babel and Avins, *Diary 1920*, 30 July 1920, Brody, 43–4.
65. See e.g. the letter to the editor complaining that some people neglect to include Polish signboards: *Kronika*, ‘Deutschland, Deutschland über alles’, in *Gazeta Brodzka. Dwutygodnik poświęcony sprawom społeczno-ekonomicznym i przemysłowym powiatów brodzkiego i złoczowskiego. Organ brodzkiej Rady powiatowej* 7 (1897): 3.
66. Lutman, *Studja nad dziejami handlu Brodów*, 125.
67. On the question of official language issues, see Stourzh, *Die Gleichberechtigung der Nationalitäten in der Verfassung und Verwaltung Österreichs*, 74–8.
68. A copy of this postcard is in the Brody Regional Museum.
69. On Brody under Russian occupation during World War I, see chapter 6 in Adelsgruber et al., *Getrennt und doch verbunden*.
70. For a copy of this postcard see: <http://www.lvivcenter.org/en/uid/picture/?pictureid=2880>
71. Roth, “The Jewish Town,” 25–55.
72. See e.g. the Shtetlinks website for Brody: <http://kehilalinks.jewishgen.org/brody/brody.htm>
73. Kościów, *Brody*.
74. Kościów, *Motywy Brodzkie*.
75. Kochanowski, “Paradoxe Erinnerungen an die Kresy,” 269–73.
76. Čumak, *Brody i Bridščyna*.
77. Čumak, “U ščaslyvu dorohu,” in Čumak, *Brody i Bridščyna*.
78. Zrobok, *Brody i Bridščyna*.
79. Turčyn, “Deržavna himnazija v Brodach,” in Zrobok, *Brody i Bridščyna*.
80. Janiv, “Iljustratynyj narys mistobudivel’noji istorii Brodiv,” in Zrobok, *Brody i Bridščyna* 1998, 184–197.
81. Tsuker, *Pinkes Galitsye*; Tsuker and Lindman, *Yerlekher gedenk-bukh; Seyfer Galitsye*.
82. Sadan, “Broder gasn.”
83. Mandel, *Ner tamid*. In this article, I mainly refer to the English section of the book.
84. For more information on Nathan Gelber and his career see Biderman, “Der historiker,” and Kappeler, “Wiener Dissertationen galizischer Jüdinnen und Juden zur ukrainischen Geschichte,” 722.
85. Mandel, *Ner tamid*, 53–64, 431–44.
86. Redlich, *Together and Apart in Brzezany*, 163.
87. For the setup of the border see Pacholkiv, “Das Werden einer Grenze;” Adelsgruber et al., *Getrennt und doch verbunden*, especially chapter 3.
88. Adelsgruber et al., *Getrennt und doch verbunden*, 113–26. I thank Y. Petrovsky-Shtern for sending me chapter 2, “Lawless freedom,” of his forthcoming monograph. The Golden Age sthetl, where he deals with the close entanglement between Jews and Slavs in Russia’s contraband business.
89. See e.g. chapter 9 in Roth, *Radetzky March*, and chapters 7, 10, 13, 20, 21 in Roth, *Weights and Measures*.
90. Aleichem, *Motil, the Cantor’s Son*, 181–2.
91. <http://kehilalinks.jewishgen.org/brody/brody.htm>; Mandel, *Ner tamid*, 108–13.
92. The political dividing line can be most easily observed in the parliamentary election in 2006, when Juščenko’s party Naša Ukrajina clearly dominated in the districts formerly part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Tymošenko’s Block won in the country’s central regions and Janukovyč’s party won a landslide victory in eastern and southern Ukraine. See the results on: <http://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2006/w6p001>. For the remnants of this border see also Adelsgruber et al., *Getrennt und doch verbunden*, especially pages 267–73.

93. Pollack, *Nach Galizien*: see especially the chapter “Verfallen wie in Brody.”
94. Dohrn, *Reise nach Galizien*, especially the chapter “Verfallen wie in Brody.” Ironically, she chose the same title for her Brody chapter as Pollack above.
95. Margit Hainzl and Emil Wimmer, “Fernes, nahes Galizien. Eine Reise in das entlegenste Gebiet des alten Österreichs,” radio broadcast on Österreich 1, 5 March 2006, repeated 20 July 2008.
96. Elbag, “Brody between the Lines.”
97. Meng, *Shattered Spaces*, 11, 220–1, 227.

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