Making and Defending a Polish Town: "Lwów" (Lemberg), 1848–1914

HARALD BINDER

MANY EAST CENTRAL EUROPEAN towns and cities bear several names, reflecting the ethnic and religious diversity once characteristic of the region. The town chosen in 1772 by the Habsburgs as capital of their newly acquired province of Galicia serves as an example. In the second half of the nineteenth century Ruthenian national populists referred to the city as "L'viv"; Russophiles designated the city "L'vov." For Poles and Polonized Jews the town was "Lwów," and for Germans as well as German- and Yiddish-speaking Jews the city was "Lemberg." The ethnic and linguistic reality was, in fact, much less clear than these divisions would suggest. For much of the period of Habsburg rule, language barriers remained permeable. The city's inhabitants were multilingual, often employing different languages depending on the type of communication in which they were engaged. By the late nineteenth century, however, nationalists came to regard language as one of the most important objective characteristics defining their respective national communities. For example, Ruthenian intellectuals felt more comfortable communicating in Polish, but, when acting as politicians, they spoke and wrote in one of the varieties of "Ruthenian."

The many names for the Galician capital can also be related to specific periods in the history of the city. From this perspective, moving from one name to another mirrors shifting power relations and cultural orientation. The seventeenth century historian Bartlomiej Zimorowicz chose such a chronological structure for his "History of the City of Lwów." He traced the fate of the town as it changed from a "Ruthenian" (from 1270) to a "German" (from 1350) to a "Polish" city (from 1550).[1] Zimorowicz's method of dividing

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Center for Austrian Studies
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The author is currently working as an independent scholar in Vienna.

[1]Bartlomiej Zimorowicz, *Historya miasta Lwowa, królestw Galicyi i Lodomeryi stolicy* (History of Lwów, capital of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria) (L'viv, 1835).

the history of the city can be extended into the present: the period from 1772 to 1870 can be seen as one of "Austro-German" cultural hegemony in what was officially termed Lemberg; from 1870 to 1939, the same city became "Polish" Lwów (while still of course being part of the Habsburg monarchy down until 1918). There then followed (Russian) Soviet L'vov from 1944 to 1991, before the city became, from 1991 onward, Ukrainian L'viv.

Beginning with the "European year" 1848, this article analyzes the transformation of Austro-German Lemberg into Polish Lwów in the second half of the nineteenth century and the efforts by Polish nationalists to defend their newly Polonized city. In order to capture the shifting power relations and national discourses involved in this process, I will therefore adopt the—admittedly unusual—procedure of employing the German name for the town when referring to the period before 1870, and the Polish name for the period thereafter; when analyzing Ukrainian national discourse about the city, the term *L'viv* shall be used.

Scholars generally assume that nation building and urbanization are intrinsically connected with one another through the processes of social, economic, and political modernization.[2] Urban environments become centers of nation building because of the intense level of communication which they foster. Urban-based intellectuals function as inventors and constructors of nations, utilizing the cultural resources of the city to reflect on the imagined nation's past, present, and future. At the same time, the tendency of the modern bureaucratic state to centralize political and cultural institutions defines the metropolitan landscape. Despite the seeming consensus about the link between urbanization and the growth of national cultures, however, comparatively few historians have examined in detail how national movements have operated within specific urban contexts. Or to put it another way, most studies have concentrated on demonstrating the existence of changes in the social and economic spheres, with the assumption that this automatically creates a process of nationalization.[3] In doing so, they have not—until comparatively recently—fully explored how urban public space has been used for visualizing interpretations of the past in order to create the (imagined) national community among the people.[4]

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[2]Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca, 1983); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983); John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State* (Chicago, 1994); Karl W. Deutsch, *Nationalism and Social Communication* (Cambridge, 1966).

[3]Max Engman, ed., *Ethnic Identity in Urban Europe: Comparative Studies on Governments and Non-Dominant Ethnic Groups in Europe, 1850–1914* (Aldershot, 1991); Jacek Purchla, ed., *Mayors and City Halls: Local Government and the Cultural Space in the Late Habsburg Monarchy* (Cracow, 1998); Gary Cohen, *The Politics of Ethnic Survival: Germans in Prague, 1861–1914* (Princeton, 1981).

[4]Reinhard Kannonier, ed., *Urbane Leitkulturen. Leipzig, Ljubljana, Linz, Bologna* (Vienna, 1995); Gerhard Melinz, ed., *Wien, Prag, Budapest. Blütezeit der Habsburger Metropolen, 1867–1918* (Vienna, 1996); Thomas Götz, *Bürgertum und Liberalismus in Tirol, 1840–1873 zwischen Stadt und 'Region,' Staat und Nation* (Cologne, 2001); Jeremy King, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans: A Local History of Bohemian Politics, 1848–1948* (Princeton, 2002).

In analyzing the conflictual process of transition from "Lemberg" to "Lwów," the focus here will be precisely on those spheres where rivalry between competing forces took place within a specific urban environment. This will involve pursuing the discussion at three interrelated levels. First, we can assess how the changing constitutional organization of the Habsburg monarchy affected the competition for power at the municipal level. Whereas the struggle for power and representation in Galicia has been studied widely on the state and provincial level, scholars have largely ignored the urban sphere.[5] Second, within the Galician context, too little attention has been paid to the question of what "the city" and urban existence meant in terms of cultural and political values to the protagonists in the national movements. In other words, while we now know a great deal about the construction of "the nation in the village" in Galicia, we still have much to discover about "the nation in the city."[6] This is a crucial question for those national communities, such as the Polish and the Ukrainian, whose identities were constructed to a large extent on nonurban (noble or peasant) historical legacies or political ideologies.[7] Third, claiming possession over a town implies the occupation of public space. As a number of studies have shown, commemorations, processions, monuments as well as architecture, language, and religion can be viewed as symbols, which enable us to read the city as a text bearing a national title.[8]

Ojczyzna (Fatherland)

The Revolution of 1848 began with a power crisis. When news of events in Vienna and of Metternich's resignation arrived in Lemberg on March 18, the state's grip on society loosened and direct public action quickly filled the

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[5]The main exceptions are Henryka Kramarz, *Samorząd Lwowa w czasie pierwszej wojny światowej i jego rola w życiu miasta* (The self-governance of Lwów during World War I and its role in the life of the city) (Cracow, 1994); Urszula Jakubowska, *Lwów na przełomie XIX i XX wieku. Przegląd środowisk prasotwórcych* (Lwów at the turn of the nineteenth century. A survey of the press milieu) (Warsaw, 1991).

[6]Keely Stauter-Halsted, *The Nation in the Village: The Genesis of Peasant National Identity in Austrian Poland, 1848–1914* (Ithaca, 2001).

[7]A number of Polish scholars have studied Galician *Intelligencja* as a social stratum and as a creative force of political thinking. See, for example, Irena Homola, "Inteligencja galicyjska w połowie XIX wieku. Próba charakterystyki" (Galician *Intelligencja* in the middle of the nineteenth century: An attempt at characterization), in *Społeczeństwo polskie XVIII i XIX wieku, T. 5.: Studia o uwarstwieniu i ruchliwości społecznej* (Polish society in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, vol. 5, Studies on social formation and mobilization), ed. W. Kula i J. Leskiewiczowa (Warsaw, 1972); Maciej Janowski, *Inteligencja wobec wyzwań nowoczesności. Dylematy ideowe polskiej demokracji liberalnej w Galicji w latach 1889–1914* (The *Intelligencja* and the challenge of modernity: Ideological dilemmas of the Polish liberal democrats in Galicia in the years 1889–1914) (Warsaw, 1996).

[8]Among others, see the recent collected volumes of John R. Gillis, ed., *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, 1994); and Maria Bucur and Nancy Wingfield, eds., *The Politics of Commemoration in Habsburg Central Europe, 1848 to the Present* (West Lafayette, 2001). On commemorations in partitioned Poland, see Patricia M. Dabrowski, "Reinventing Poland: Commemorations and the Shaping of the Modern Nation, 1879–1914" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1999).

power vacuum. In the Galician capital, which counted approximately 65,000 inhabitants, political mobilization crystallized around a petition to the emperor. To begin with, the writing of the petition brought together a group acting in the name of Polishness and freedom. On the following day, the mass signing of the petition became a public demonstration of popular political participation. All of the city's religious and ethnic communities then took part in the solemn procession through the city to deliver the manifesto to the governor's mansion. After receiving the petition, Provincial Governor Count Franz Stadion appeared on the balcony and declared his intention to forward the manifesto to Vienna, to accept the founding of a national guard, and to give amnesty to political prisoners. Stadion's proclamation, delivered while standing side by side with representatives of the people, made visible the concept of shared sovereignty between monarch and people to the crowd standing below. In the following days, popular political mobilization in the public spaces of the town continued to shape the collective experience of the city's inhabitants, including those who did not actively participate in events but only heard the singing of the crowds passing by their windows.[9]

Political meanings and collective emotions were expressed in Lemberg's public spaces, but the symbols and gestures used were universal. In Lemberg, and throughout revolutionary Europe in 1848, illuminations, cockades, public concerts, and caterwauling represented the common ideas of that year: freedom from autocracy and political rights to "the people." Neither friends nor foes were ethnically defined. On March 21, after an impressive commemorative mass for the casualties of the Viennese revolution in the Dominican church, two army regiments stationed in the town were greeted with cries of "Long live the Germans!" and "Long live the Viennese!" The soldiers echoed them with equal enthusiasm: "Long live the Poles!" For Polish progressives, it was not the "Germans" who were their oppressors, but Metternich, the opponent of freedom, and his hated *Bürokratie*.[10]

This first phase of political mobilization, characterized by direct public action, was succeeded by a period of indirect political activity initiated by two seemingly contradictory enactments by the resurgent authorities: a short-lived ban on public gatherings in the town and the abolition of censorship on local newspapers. As political action withdrew from urban space to editors' offices, activists became journalists. The public sphere became primarily intellectual, and the predominant discourses defined by those acting in the name of Polishness and freedom changed. The focus on concrete political questions receded, and activists, writing for newly founded newspapers

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[9]Vivid accounts of the March events in Lemberg are to be found in Aleksander Batowski, *Diariusz wypadków 1848 roku* (Diary on the events of 1848), ed. Marian Tyrowicz (Wrocław, 1976); Florian Ziemiałkowski, *Pamiętniki* (Memoirs), vol. 2 (L'viv, 1904); Stanisław Schnür-Pepłowski, *Z przeszłości Galicyi 1772–1862* (From Galicia's past) (L'viv, 1894). See also the first editions of the newspaper *Dziennik Narodowy*, founded in Lemberg on March 23, 1848.

[10]On the changing concepts of Polish nationalism, see the numerous studies by Andrzej Walicki, recently summarized in "Intellectual Elites and the Vicissitudes of 'Imagined Nation' in Poland," in *Intellectuals and the Articulation of the Nation*, ed. Ronald G. Suny and Michael D. Kennedy (Ann Arbor, 1999), 259–87.

and journals, now concentrated on the broader issues of the internal condition of the nation: *Narodowość* (nationality), *Uwłaszczenie* (freedom from compulsory labor services, the *robot*), and *Ojczyzna* were the key words in public discourse. *Ojczyzna* stood for the ideal of historical Poland as a supraethnic entity as opposed to the purely functional terminology imposed by the "occupants" of 1772.[11]

This mapping of the present according to historical references rather than the current political reality was also reflected in the geopolitical rubrics introduced by the newspapers: the imagined common homeland was "Poland" (including Poznań, Cracow, Warsaw), whereas "Austria" was categorized as a foreign country along with "Italy," "France," "Germany," and others.[12] As the romantic notion of *Ojczyzna* became a political option, Lemberg, the capital of the Austrian Crownland of Galicia, was now rhetorically reduced to Lwów, a historically peripheral town within the greater ideal of Poland. Political matters pertaining to the Austrian state, such as the Reichstag elections called for July, found little echo in the media. The same was true for municipal politics. Ironically, the idea of strengthening local self-government was in fact propagated by the main adversary of those acting and writing in the name of Polishness and freedom: Count Stadion, the "liberal aristocrat and state official,"[13] not Stadion, the anti-Polish reactionary. Communal autonomy had indeed been Stadion's favorite idea for some time, as he believed local self-government would strengthen loyalty to the Austrian state. In 1848, Stadion advocated this policy as a deliberate counter-strategy to the program of the self-constituted "National Council" (Rada Narodowa) in Lemberg, with its pan-Polish ideology.[14] In the end, however, concrete political action and municipal politics held relatively little interest for the political romantics dominating public discourse during the revolutionary period.

The failure to imagine urban political communities within a greater national frame had its cultural and social origins in the earlier 1840s urban salons and literary journals, which were the most significant sites of noninstitutionalized cultural and intellectual life in the city.[15] They were dominated by noblemen and intellectuals of noble origin, whose patriotic vision of Polishness was connected primarily to landed society and inspired by poetry and literature. Few of these intellectuals had family roots in the city

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[11]The first newly founded newspaper in Galicia greeted the new era with the words, "Finally we are no longer compelled to say *Kraj*. We may say *Ojczyzna*." *Jutrzenka*, May 21, 1848, p. 1.

[12]See, for instance, *Dziennik Narodowy*, Aug. 21, and Aug. 22, 1848.

[13]Helmut Rumpler, *Eine Chance für Mitteleuropa. Bürgerliche Emanzipation und Staatsverfall in der Habsburgermonarchie*, Österreichische Geschichte (Vienna, 1997), 309.

[14]Jiří Klabouch, *Die Gemeindeselbstverwaltung in Österreich 1848–1918* (Vienna, 1968), 29. Stadion was to become the creator of the communal law (*Reichsgemeindegesetz*) of 1849. The National Council denounced Stadion's draft for a municipal law as not in accordance with the March 19 petition.

[15]Władysław Zawadzki, "Dziennikarstwo w Galicji w roku 1848" (Journalism in Galicia in 1848), in *Pamiętniki życia literackiego w Galicji* (Reminiscences of literary life in Galicia), ed. Antoni Knot (Cracow, 1961). On this period, see also Isabel Röskau-Rydel, *Die Kultur an der Peripherie des Habsburger Reiches. Die Geschichte des Bildungswesens und der kulturellen Einrichtungen in Lemberg von 1772 bis 1848* (Wiesbaden, 1993).

itself, and when they became political journalists, they did not change their notion of national culture. After all, in romantic thought, "the city" was not associated with democracy, but rather with moral degeneration.[16] Instead, the noble freedoms of the defunct Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth occupied center stage in Polish national thought for this generation of activists, and the intense political activity in the city during the first days of the revolution did nothing to undermine the prevalence of this notion.

One conspicuous exception to this negative evaluation of the city was the novel *Salon and Street* by Józef Dzierzkowski, published first in a journal and then as a separate book one year before the revolution.[17] The author was himself a good example of those writer-politicians so typical of Lemberg in 1848. He became one of the leading political activists in the early March days, before turning to political journalism.[18] In his novel, Dzierzkowski contrasted the decadent aristocratic salon to the true and morally pure life of the urban street, embodied by a poor shoemaker and his daughter, who was perfidiously seduced by a young nobleman. However, whereas Dzierkowski had experienced Lemberg's salons, he had to rely on his imagination and the works of French novelist Eugène Sue for his positive depictions of street life. After all, Lemberg was no Paris. At the same time, the novel's exceptional success (it sold out in a matter of weeks) must be attributed more to the explicitly antimagnate (not antinoble) stance of the local *intelligencja* and to the everlasting appeal of amorous entanglements than to a positive assessment of the artisan class.[19]

Just as literary trends of the time scarcely emphasized urban life, scholarly treatments of the region's history also located Polish values and identity in the countryside. In the decades before the revolution, a number of histories of the city appeared, focusing on local culture without drawing connections between the city and national identity. The first of the more notable histories was published by a Carmelite monk, Ignacy Chodynicki, in the year 1829.[20] The second was Zimorowicz's history, which, though written in the seventeenth century,

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[16]On the evaluation of urbanity in literature, compare Stefan Tomaszewski, "Miasto" (The city), in *Słownik literatury polskiej XIX wieku* (Encyclopedia of Polish literature in the nineteenth century) (Wrocław, 1991), 543–46.

[17]Józef Dzierzkowski, *Salon i ulica* (Salon and street) (L'viv, 1847). Its great success is described in Zawadzki, "Dziennikarstwo," 153 ff.

[18]On Dzierzkowski, see Kazimierz Chruściński, *Dzierzkowski 1831–1861. Pisarz i działacz polityczny okresu międzypowstaniowego* (Dzierzkowski, 1831–1861: Writer and political activist in the time between the uprisings) (Gdańsk, 1970); and Janina Rosnowska, *Dzierzkowski* (Cracow, 1971).

[19]On the literary life in Galicia in this period, see also Krystyna Poklewska, "Życie literackie Galicji i Rzeczypospolitej Krakowskiej w latach 1830–1848" (Literary life of Galicia and the Republic of Cracow in the years 1830 to 1848), in *Obraz literatury polskiej XIX i XX wieku, T. 1: Literatura krajowa w okresie romantyzmu 1831–1863* (The image of Polish literature in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, vol. 1, Domestic literature in the era of Romanticism) (Cracow, 1975), 347–87, especially 382.

[20]Ignacy Chodynicki, *Historya stołecznego królestw Galicyi i Lodomeryi Miasta Lwowa od założenia jego aż do czasów terazniejszych* (History of the city of Lwów, capital of the Crownland of Galicia and Lodomeria, from its foundation to our times) (L'viv, 1829).

was now translated into Polish in 1835 and thus made accessible to a wider public. The third, published in 1844, was the most important. The author, archivist Dionys Zubryts'kyj, was a respected local dignitary, a leading figure in the Ruthenian Stauropegian Institute, and a conservative follower of the idea of one all-Russian nation.[21] What made Zubryts'kyj's work important, aside from its rich documentary material, was its "Ruthenian" interpretation of Lemberg's history. Zubryts'kyj evaluated events and historical figures, especially the city's so-called "second founder," the Polish "conqueror" Casimir the Great, in a way that could easily be construed as being anti-Polish. Later on, Zubryts'kyj presented the Austrian occupation of Galicia in 1772, the result of the first partition of Poland, as an act of liberation.[22] Zubryts'kyj's "chronicle" combined Austro-loyalism with a Ruthenian stance and thus anticipated one of the main cleavages that emerged in 1848. At the same time, however, the author did not really glorify the early Rus' period in the town's history; indeed, he paid less attention to it than his colleague Zimorowicz had done. Moreover, Zubryts'kyj wrote his book in Polish. Both of these aspects of the work point to the limits of his "nationalism." Zubryts'kyj did not attempt to use history as a means of claiming "primary" possession over the town, nor did the Polish language pose a problem for him when he presented his political and cultural views.[23]

What scope was there, then, for "Rutheniannness" to act as a political and cultural force in Lemberg's urban public space during the early phase of the revolution? First of all, it should be noted that Greek Catholics, who must be viewed as potential members of a Ruthenian national community, constituted only 6 to 7 percent of the population, or some 4,000 inhabitants.[24] Many of them, especially from the younger generation, were sympathetic to the Polish cause and signed the petition on March 19.[25] Whereas those acting in the name of freedom and Polishness made their claims visible by taking politics into the streets, the propagators of Rutheniannness, mostly clerics "enclosed" in church and monastery walls, seemed to be paralyzed by the rush of events.[26] This was clearly expressed in one of the revolution's key

[21]Dionizy Zubrzycki, *Kronika miasta Lwowa* (Chronicle of the city of Lwów) (L'viv, 1844).

[22]Zubrzycki, *Kronika*, 488.

[23]For a survey of the historiography on Lwów, see Lucja Charewiczowa, *Historiografia i miłośnictwo Lwowa* (Historiography of Lwów), Biblioteka Lwowska, 6 (1938, reprint Warsaw, 1990), especially 35–79. Compare the recent essay by Iryna Orlevyč, "Denys Zubryc'kyj. Štrychy do portreta istoryka i hromads'koho dijača" (Denys Zubryts'kyj: Portrait sketches of a historian and civil activist), in *Ukraina. Kul'turna spadščyna, natsional'a svidomist, derzhavnist'. Zbirnyk naukovych prats' 9. Yubilejuyj Zbirnyk na pošanu F. Steblija* (Ukraine: Cultural heritage, national identity, statehood, vol. 9, Festschrift in honor of F. Steblija) (L'viv, 2001), 281–99.

[24]Around 50 percent were Roman Catholics, 40 percent Jews. These numbers emerge from two independent censuses, 1840 and 1851. Michał Wiesiołowski, *Rys statystyczno-jeograficzny Galicyi Austriackiej* (Poznań, 1842), 75 f.; *Die ruthenische Sprach- und Schriftfrage in Galizien* (L'viv, 1861), 246.

[25]In fact, one of Lemberg's leading "Polish" activists in 1848, the writer, journalist, and politician Jan Dobrzański, was himself a Greek Catholic.

[26]Strongholds were the Greek Catholic St. George Cathedral and the seminary, located in the suburb of Halicz, and the Church of Assumption, together with the Stauropygian Institute situated in the medieval Ruthenian quarter.

moments. On March 19, a member of the most important Ruthenian cultural institution in the city, the Stauropygian Institute, spoke to students at the Greek Catholic seminary. He tried to convince them not to sign the petition and reminded them that they were not Poles, but belonged to a different nationality.[27] Apart from this scene, Ruthenianness did not appear as a public force in the town during the first four days of the revolution. Moreover, potentially "national" designations were still primarily conceived of in social terms. On March 21, a rumor spread among the crowds gathered before the town hall that peasant masses were approaching the city and that a massacre similar to that which had taken place in Western Galicia in 1846 was about to occur. There was no talk of Ruthenians. Lemberg's inhabitants still tended to view the east Galician peasants essentially as peasants. The "Ruthenian Sea" about to flood the Polish towns (in later years a central element in Polish national discourse) had not yet been conceived.

It was only in the second phase of the revolution, when Ruthenian elite circles created their own associations and a press organ, that Polish-Ruthenian antagonism became a major issue. Indeed, only this shift from direct urban action, dependent on effective organization and mass participation in the streets, to the more abstract sphere of public discourse enabled the Ruthenians to compete with the Poles. Within this new discourse of national competition, two dominant aspects emerged: a theoretical debate on the essence of the nation (in which the Polish press denied the existence of a separate Ruthenian nation), and political arguments relating to ideological positions: "clericalism" versus "secularism," "reaction" versus "progress," and "loyalism" versus "rebellion."[28]

The discussion on 1848 presented above challenges the long dominant Polish scholarly discourse that places 1846 and 1848 into one supposedly coherent grand narrative of Polish national uprisings in the nineteenth century.[29] This "nationalization" of the memory of 1848 has indeed obscured other important dimensions of the revolutionary year. Lemberg in 1848 was probably more "European" and less "Polish" than at any other time during the nineteenth century. It was the political messages and collective action taking place in other European cities, especially Vienna, and not events and symbols

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[27]*Dziennik narodowy*, Mar. 25, 1848, p. 1. See also the description in Jan Kozik, *The Ukrainian National Movement in Galicia, 1815–1849* (Edmonton, 1986), 178. We do not know precisely how many listeners were convinced by this rather bland speech delivered by a provincial bureaucrat while such dramatic events were taking place outside.

[28]The political debates cannot be treated here in detail. On the complexity of Ruthenian national identity, see the recent article by John-Paul Himka, "The Construction of Nationality in Galician Rus': Icarian Flights in Almost All Directions," in *Intellectuals*, ed. Suny and Kennedy, 109–64. On 1848, see 120–24.

[29]Stefan Kieniewicz, "Galicja w latach 1846–1848" (Galicia in the years 1846–1848), in *W stulecie Wiosny Ludów* (100 years Spring of the Peoples) (Warsaw, 1948), 269–346; see also: Hans Henning Hahn, "Die polnische Nation in den Revolutionen von 1846–49," in *Europa 1848. Revolution und Reform*, ed. Dieter Dowe et al. (Bonn, 1998), 231–52. This view has recently been criticized by Michał Śliwa, "Rok 1846 w Galicji i późniejsza Rewolucja 1848" (The year 1846 and the subsequent revolution of 1848), in *Rok 1848. Wiosna Ludów w Galicji. Zbiór studiów* (The year 1848: The Spring of the Peoples in Galicia), ed. Władysław Wic (Cracow, 1999), 7–20.

from the Polish past, that inspired such an extraordinary eruption of public activity in Lemberg between March 18 and 21, 1848. The centrality of the city as the setting for direct action faded as power relationships stabilized and the discourse of progress retreated from the streets into the pages of the urban press. Those who acted in the name of Polishness came to dominate the realm of public discourse, yet without exercising political power in the city. From its inception, the National Guard was placed under the control of previously existing municipal and state authorities, while the National Council was never officially recognized by the state.[30] Thus, the revolutionaries never disposed of the means to shape political structures or to implement the renaming of public spaces, such as changing the name of Ferdinand Square, where the petition had been signed, to "National Guard Square."[31]

The bombardment of Lemberg in November 1848 signaled the victory of the counterrevolution, and the Galician capital joined the list of other Habsburg cities (Cracow, Prague, and Vienna) whose experiments in freedom were ended by military power. Martial law was imposed, and political organizations and newspapers were shut down. In the 1850s, Lemberg was reestablished as an outwardly loyal administrative center. As elsewhere in the Austrian Empire, there was next to no space for any form of independent political expression. Public gatherings were limited to religious events, and journalism was restricted to approved and censored newspapers and literary publications. Only with the liberalization of politics and the easing of censorship in the early 1860s were new possibilities for public expression opened up. The first elections for the provincial legislature in April 1861 led to a round of practical political discussions as the ever-more-serious conflict in Congress Poland returned the topos of Polish suffering to the foreground. The bloody events in Warsaw and Vilnius unleashed a wave of public displays of solidarity with the fallen Polish martyrs. The now tragically laden concept of *Ojczyzna* dominated the hearts and minds of the city's people, who repeatedly launched into the unifying national song, "Boże Coś Polskę." At the same time, the repoliticized newspapers, above all *Przegląd Powszechny* (edited by Dzierzkowski), outdid each other in employing religious metaphors that compared the nation's suffering with the Passion of Christ.[32] As the city's numerous Roman Catholic churches filled with mourners, the public face of the city was therefore defined by the Polish situation, rather than by the provincial assembly, temporarily housed in the main theater. The Polish uprising of 1863 and the proclamation of the state of emergency in Galicia marked the end of this era.

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[30]Marian Stolarczyk, *Działalność lwowskiej Centralnej Rady Narodowej* (The activity of the Lwów Central National Council) (Rzeszów, 1994); Stefan Kieniewicz, Franciszka Ramotowska, eds., *Protokoły Rady Narodowej Centralnej we Lwowie* (The protocols of the Central National Council in Lwów) (Warsaw, 1996); Marian Stolarczyk, "Galicyjska Gwardia Narodowa w 1848 r.," in *Galicja w 1848 roku* (Galicia in the year 1848), ed. Andrzej Bonusiak and Marian Stolarczyk, Galicja i jej dziedzictwo, vol. 12 (Rzeszów, 1999), 75–88.

[31]*Dziennik Narodowy*, Mar. 24, 1848, p. 4.

[32]For example, *Przegląd Powszechny*, Sept. 14, and Sept. 26, 1861, both p. 1.

Stolica (Capital)

In the year 1870, the Polish socialist theorist and politician Bolesław Limanowski arrived in the Galician capital. He later recalled his first impressions:

> Lwów gave the impression of being a thoroughly Germanized town. Back then you could see roasted chestnuts in the streets and Jews would call: "Heisse Maronen! Heisse Maronen." Small shops were called "Greisslerei." There were many German signs. In the restaurants you could hear more German than Polish.... In the theater there were more performances in German than in Polish. In the Jesuit church the sermon on Sunday was in German. In public administration and schools German had not yet been completely substituted by Polish. Speeches in the Town's Hall, which were directed at a wider audience, were mostly held in German. Meals, beverages, entertainment and fashion were modeled on Vienna. Slowly, however, Polishness displaced the German element and in 1878, the year of my departure, Lwów already had the appearance of a Polish town.[33]

To understand this transformation of Lemberg into "a Polish city," it is necessary to take into account the political changes that affected the structure of the city on many levels. First, the Basic Laws of 1867 transferred important functions from the central bureaucracy to the provinces and their representative bodies. Due to the particular weighting of the electoral franchise for the provincial assemblies, the upper strata of society became the legal holders of political power. In Galicia, it was above all the landed nobility who benefited from these franchise arrangements and used their newfound political power to cultivate Polish language, culture, and memory. Second, the spread of civil society, especially in the form of associations and political movements, energized the urban middle classes, which were predominantly Polish oriented. Third, thanks to the efforts by the Polish elites in gaining a special status for the Crownland of Galicia, Polish officially replaced German as the language of administration and education. The impact of all three developments was greatest in the provincial capital, where educational, cultural, and administrative institutions were concentrated. The general trend was reinforced by the tendency for Jews and Germans to adapt over time to the increasing dominance of the Polish language in cultural and economic life and by the rapid rise in the city's population, which reached 130,000 by 1890 (making the Galician capital one of the largest urban centers in the monarchy).[34]

The decentralization of power after 1867 led to important changes in the legal status of the city. In accordance with the Imperial Communal Law of 1862 and the Provincial Law of 1866, Lemberg received its own statute of autonomy. The city became a focus for political action, and, as a result, practical concerns displaced political romanticism. Influenced by liberal ideas, some Lemberg intellectuals came to view communal autonomy as a vital element in

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[33] Bolesław Limanowski, *Pamiętniki* (Memoirs), vol. 2, *1870–1907* (Warsaw, 1958), 19–20.

[34] Ignacy Weinfeld, *Ludność miejska w Galicji i jej skład wyznaniowy, 1881–1910* (Urban population in Galicia and its confessional composition), part 3, *Wiadomości statystyczne o stosunkach krajowych, Vol. 24/1912* (Lwów, 1912), 8.

civil freedom and as a means of strengthening the national community through participation in public life. One of the most important proponents of this view of municipal autonomy was a young Lemberger, Tadeusz Romanowicz.[35] In 1848, his father, an active participant in the dramatic events of that year, had stood on the governor's balcony and translated Stadion's proclamation into Polish. Having taken part in the failed uprising of 1863, the younger Romanowicz founded the journal *Gmina* (Community) in 1866, at the age of twenty-three. Both the focus of the journal and Romanowicz's own political engagement implied a significant paradigm shift away from the use of uprisings as a political strategy toward concrete "organic work" at the level of communal politics. Here, it is interesting to note that—unlike other towns in imperial Austria—the electoral franchise in the Galician capital was not based on a curial system (the *Dreiklassenwahlrecht*). This was an important factor in producing the subsequent myth of "democratic Lwów," and led liberals such as Romanowicz to hope that the city would function as a kind of model community for the rest of the province.[36]

As Cracow became the center of the conservative and loyalist stańczyk grouping in the late 1860s, Lwów viewed itself as a democratic counterpart to its traditionalist rival and articulated this self-image in terms of a national-patriotic mission. Lwów's political class increasingly equated the city, the center of political activism, with democracy, as opposed to the older view, which had viewed Polish liberty in terms of the noble freedoms enjoyed under the Commonwealth. Two examples of this democratic-national self-conception of the city can serve to illustrate this move toward an urban-based Polish democracy. From 1876 to 1878, newspaper editors and some members of the city council mobilized the democratic-national milieu against the "servile" politics of the Galician administration and of the stańczyk-dominated Polish Club in the Vienna Reichsrat. One leading deputy, Otto Hausner, was even awarded honorary citizenship by the city council for a sharply critical speech in the Vienna parliament. As a torchlight parade moved through the streets of the town in an effort of express public support for Hausner, the police intervened, causing a number of injuries. This in turn led the council to protest against police action and to organize a benefit concert for the wounded.[37] The second example is drawn from an event that took place ten years later. In 1889, Lwów hosted the "gathering of cities and towns" (*wiec miast i miasteczek*). This important manifestation, which had a great impact on provincial politics, brought together mayors and other urban political notables from all over Galicia in an effort to conceptualize

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[35]Halina Kozłowska-Sabatowska, *Między konspiracją a pracą organiczną. Młodość Tadeusza Romanowicza* (Between conspiration and organic work. The youth of Tadeusz Romanowicz) (Cracow, 1986).

[36]*Statut królowej stolicy miasta Lwowa. Ustawa z dnia 14. pazdziernika 1870 nadany* (The statute of the royal capital Lwów) (L'viv, 1871). Vasyl' Kiselyčnyk, "Rozrobka i nadannja L'vovu u 1870 r. statutu na mis'ke samovrjaduvannja" (The preparation and granting of the municipal statute of self-governance to L'viv in 1870), in *Lwów. Miasto, społeczeństwo, cultura* (Lwów: City, society, culture), ed. Henryk W. Zaliński and Kazimierz Karolczak, vol. 2 (Cracow, 1998), 125–31.

[37]See the report in *Gazeta Narodowa*, Nov. 19, 1878, pp. 1–3.

cities—and hence the urban-based ideal of "democracy"—as a political counterforce to the hegemony of the landed elites.[38]

The city and its highest representative organ, the city council, became the focus of political efforts to redefine urban space. In 1869 and 1871, the council passed two packages of resolutions renaming the streets of the city,[39] and it became common practice in subsequent decades to commemorate important historical dates (such as May 3, the day of the adoption of the 1791 Polish Constitution, and November 29, the start of the 1830 uprising) by naming streets or squares after them. The great heroes of Polish history, too, were inscribed onto the map of the city: Sobieski, Kościuszko, Mickiewicz, Słowacki, and Kiliński streets could now be found in the town center, above all in the newly built districts surrounding the old medieval core. Other streets bore the names of cultural heroes: Aleksander Fredro, Karel Szajnocha, Joachim Lelewel, and Adam Asnyk, among others.[40] Similarly, important contemporary figures such as the writer Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, the painter Jan Matejko, and the Galician politicians Franciszek Smolka, Mikołaj Zyblikiewicz, and Leon Sapieha were also honored with prominent streets and squares.[41]

Particularly in the period from the late 1860s to the 1870s, these attempts to furnish the Galician capital with Polish symbols was part of a larger campaign to set aside the cultural marks of the German language. Bilingual street signs, for instance, were changed in favor of Polish ones.[42] "Germanness" stood for the main political foe of the time, German-Liberal centralism, and municipal autonomy offered the possibility of realizing what was simultaneously being fought for at the state level: Polonization of the public sphere. "Ruthenianness," although in part negatively affected by Polonization (as in

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[38]See *Gazeta Narodowa*, May 31, 1904, p. 2.

[39]For a survey of the renamings, see the brochure: "Skorowidz nowych i dawnych numerów realności, tudzież nazw ulic i placów król. Stoł. Miasta Lwowa według uchwał Rady miejskiej z r. 1871" (List of the new and old names of estates and names of streets and squares in the royal city of Lwów according to the resolution of the city council in 1871) (L'viv, 1872). See also the map, "Plan król stoł. miasta Lwowa ze skorowidzem dawnych i nowych nazw placów i ulic" (Map of the royal capital city of Lwów with a list of the old and new names of squares and streets) (L'viv, 1872). A survey of the first act of renaming in December 1869 can be found in *Gazeta Narodowa* Jan. 1, p. 2; Jan. 4, pp. 2–3; and Jan. 5, 1870, p. 3.

[40]The "de-austrianization" was not very conspicuous, as there were not many Austrian-defined names. "Ferdinandsplatz" was turned into "plac Mariacki" (after a statue of St. Mary erected in 1862), and Fresnel Straße into ulica Kościuszko. The main promenade kept its Austrian name honoring Karl Ludwig, as did the hill with the old castle, which was named for the reigning emperor, Francis Joseph.

[41]The relevant state of affairs can be conveniently traced by the growing number of urban maps, especially the most splendid one, issued by the city council in 1890: "Plan królewskiego stołecznego miasta Lwowa (z enklava Jalowiec) wydany staraniem i nakładem Rady miejskiej/Plan der k. Residenzstadt Lemberg und der Enclave Jalowiec, hgg. v. Stadtrat," then in the immediate prewar years, "Lwów—Lemberg—L'viv—Léopol" (L'viv, ca. 1912).

[42]*Gazeta Narodowa*, Dec. 21, 1869; *Slovo* Jan. 5, 1870, p. 4. On the bilingual street signs, see also the complaints by Jan Lam in Józef Rogosz, ed., *Jana Lama Kroniki Lwowskie, umieszczane w "Gazecie Narodowej" w 1868 i 1869 jako przyczynek do historii Galicji* (Jan Lam's chronicle on Lwów, published in *Gazeta Narodowa* 1868/1869, as a contribution to the history of Galicia) (L'viv, 1874), 125.

the case of street signs), did not actually figure prominently as a counterimage for Polish politicians. This explains why, during the municipal elections of 1869, leaflets called upon the electorate to decide if the city was "Polish and Ruthenian or German and Jewish."[43]

Commemorations of important figures functioned as cultural substitutes for a nation without a state, as opportunities to place monuments in public areas of the city, and as consciously urban events too, where the council sought to contrast municipal dynamism with the supposedly static rural world. The cultural and representative role of city space corresponded well to the self-image of Lwów's intellectuals as creators of a modern nation and their vision of Lwów as a more progressive city than its main rival, Cracow. The latter was home to ancient Polish sites of memory, such as Wawel Castle—once the residence of Polish kings—the cathedral, and the royal burial chamber. While Cracow hosted a number of the most important Polish commemorations from the 1860s to the 1890s, many of which were centered on famous figures from the glorious Polish past, Lwów created an alternative profile for itself by concentrating on historical events. One major example of this was the celebration of the 300th anniversary of the Union of Lublin between Poland and Lithuania, which took place in 1869. Under the guidance of councilor Franciszek Smolka, the festivities culminated in a collective symbolic act: after participating in a celebratory mass with "brethren" from the other territories of partitioned Poland, city residents constructed a special memorial mound on the Castle Hill.[44]

The centenary celebration of the Polish constitution held in Lwów on May 3, 1891, though not as colorful as the 1869 event, nevertheless had a more lasting impact on political society in Lwów. To mark the commemoration, intellectuals founded one of the most important Polish associations of its day, the People's School Society (Towarzystwo Szkoły Ludowej). In addition, Lwów hosted the most significant public event to take place in the Galician capital during the 1890s, the Galician Exposition of 1894. Although primarily designed to demonstrate the technological and scientific achievements of the province, leading Lwów circles succeeded in imbuing the exposition with patriotic meaning by combining the event with the 100th anniversary of the Battle of Racławice, which had taken place during the patriotic uprising in 1794. The organizers of the exposition invited other Polish towns to take part in an attempt to turn the event into an all-Polish occasion.[45]

By commissioning scholarly works on the city's past and present, the council sought to create a dominant patriotic interpretation of Lwów's significance for the Polish nation. In 1896, the city fathers commissioned a work

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[43]Kramarz, *Samorząd Lwowa*, 20.

[44]On the 1869 celebration, see Harald Binder, "Politische Öffentlichkeit in Galizien—Lemberg und Krakau im Vergleich," in *Stadt und Öffentlichkeit in Ostmitteleuropa 1900–1939*, ed. Andreas R. Hofmann and Anna Veronika Wendland, Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des östlichen Mitteleuropa (Stuttgart, 2002), 259–80.

[45]The events of 1891 and 1894 are discussed by Dabrowski, "Reinventing Poland," 276–81, 316–28. The author also cites the relevant older publications.

to celebrate a quarter century of municipal autonomy.[46] The final essay, "Lwów as the Capital of the Province," declared that the city played a "leading role in political and cultural life, conscious of its all-Polish obligations in a world of national oppression." *Stolica* (capital) had become a positive key word within Polish national discourse. *Kraj* (province), considered in 1848 to refer purely to a political unit, was now appropriated as *nasz kraj* (our land). It no longer stood in opposition to the all-Polish fatherland, *Ojczyzna*, because, within the hegemonic Polish discourse of the post-1867 period, patriotic obligations could now be fulfilled inside the established constitutional framework of Galicia.

In a similar way, the council had two years earlier asked the director of the university library, Fryderyk Papée, to write a new history of the town. Papée's introductory words demonstrated his conscious effort to reevaluate local history: "Cultivating local history not only enlivens attachment to the family nest (*rodzinne gniazdo*), but it also constitutes a powerful incentive for [awakening] feelings of love for the fatherland (*miłość ojczyzny*)." Papée's history attempted to establish an early Polish presence in the city. He did not begin with ancient Rus', as the above-mentioned Chodyniski had done. Instead, Papée first asserted that the early "brave Polish monarchs" had also sporadically been in possession of the area east of the Bug River. Only then did he turn to the Ruthenian era, devoting little more than six pages to this period in Lwów's history. Papée treated Casimir the Great in far greater detail, deeming him the legitimate successor to the territory by right of dynastic inheritance and declaring him the savior of Rus' and the Ruthenians from pagan (Tatar) rule. He saw the Polish King Casimir as superior to Danylo (the Rus' founder), because the former laid the town's material, economic, and legal foundations. For Papée, Casimir's Lwów was followed not by "German Lemberg" (as Zimorowicz had written), but by the first flowering of the city under Polish rule. Papée then described the city's "Golden Age" (sixteenth century) and the years of war (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries). Finally, the Austrian period was depicted as a time of reform and urbanization, culminating in the statute of 1870. As Papée wrote, "every citizen is proud [of the statute] and at the same time feels deeply attached to the monarch, to whom he owes his renewed civic rights."[47]

Papée's historical portrayal of Lwów must be seen as an attempt to combine loyalty to the Austrian state and Habsburg dynasty with the integration of urban history into the great Polish national narrative. As shown earlier,

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[46]*Miasto Lwów w okresie samorządu 1870–1895* (The city of Lwów in the time of self-governance, 1870–1895) (L'viv, 1896).

[47]Fryderyk Papée, *Historia miasta Lwowa w zarysie* (An overview of the history of Lwów) (L'viv, 1894), 3. In 1886 Papée had been one of the cofounders of the Historical Society (Towarzystwo Historyzne) in Lwów. The Cracow Historical School, not uncontested in Lwów, had largely neglected the urban sphere. Lwów produced its own historical school, which focused on medieval history and the editing of sources. The only urban historian worth mentioning is Władysław Łoziński, who wrote several treatises on the history of the town in the 1860s and 1870s. Andrzej F. Grabski, *Zarys historii historiografii polskiej* (An overview of the history of Polish historiography) (Poznań, 2000), 134–36; Charewiczowa, *Historiografia*, 110–19.

"the city" had also been discovered as a positive political value in the context of associational life and Lwów's anti-stańczyk ideology during the 1880s and early 1890s. By way of contrast, it should be noted that this new evaluation of "urbanness" was to leave little impression in the fields of literature and art. Certainly, it is true to say that, as romanticism declined, so realistic tendencies came to the fore, and this made the city into a potential motif for artistic treatment. For example, Jan Lam's popular "Lwów Chronicles," published in the local daily newspapers, touched upon urban daily life. Nevertheless, despite the vivacity of its street scenes, Lwów never produced any urban novels that could begin to stand comparison with the works of an Émile Zola or Bolesław Prus's famous work on Warsaw, *Lalka* (The doll). Instead, it was Henryk Sienkiewicz's historicist-inspired Cossack oeuvre, *Ogniem i mieczem* (With fire and sword, 1884), that conquered the reading public.[48]

Much the same was true for the visual arts, which favored the nonurban settings of historic deeds as subject matter, rather than the city. Whereas in Cracow Jan Matejko was the uncrowned king of historicist painting, in Lwów his colleague Jan Styka, a native of the town, received the most prominent commissions. During the May 3 celebration in 1891, his huge canvas *Polonia*, which depicted heroes from Polish history, adorned the meeting chamber in the city hall (the city council subsequently acquired the work following a public fund-raising campaign in Lwów). Two years later, Styka's panorama of the battle of Racławice at the Lwów exposition of 1894 was an overnight sensation and turned into one of the event's major attractions.[49]

As might be expected, those acting and writing in the name of a Ruthenian (Ukrainian) nation had a very different historic notion of their city, L'viv, the ancient capital of Galician Rus', from those such as Papée and the Polish-dominated city council.[50] In the early 1860s, the Polish-Ruthenian conflict over autonomy, centralization, and the possible division of Galicia, which had all arisen during the course of 1848, now resumed. In addition to print media, the Galician Sejm and the Viennese Reichsrat became forums where competing political visions emerged. However, despite the growing number of Ruthenians in the capital (by 1890 the Greek Catholics accounted for about 17 percent of the population), the Polish-Ruthenian conflict had little impact on communal politics. As the newcomers were mostly peasants from the surrounding rural areas, this gain in numbers was not translated into political power in the city.[51]

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[48]On Sienkiewicz as the leading figure of "popular nationalism," see Stanislaw Eile, *Literature and Nationalism in Partitioned Poland, 1795–1918* (Basingstoke, 2000), 111–19.

[49]*Polonia: Obraz Jana Styki zakupiony dla gminy miasta Lwowa ku uczczeniu setniej rocznicy ogłoszenia konstytucyi Trzeciego Maja 1791* (The canvas by Jan Styka bought by the city council of Lwów in honor of the 100th anniversary of the May 3, 1791 Constitution) (L'viv, 1891); Stanisław Schnür-Pepłowski, *Racławice. Pierwsza Panorama Polska* (Racławice: The first Polish panorama) (L'viv, 1895).

[50]For a survey of historiography, see Stephen Velychenko, *National History as Cultural Process* (Edmonton, 1992).

[51]Only in 1892 did an independent Ruthenian list participate for the first time, winning 100 out of 4,622 votes. *Dilo*, Jan. 27, p. 3; and Jan. 29, 1892, p. 2.

In short, once the Polish political class had secured its power in the city, it faced little organized opposition. In 1869, for example, when the council was embarking on its first large-scale effort to rename city streets, the only councilor who spoke up in defense of Ruthenian names was the merchant Michajlo Dymet. He pleaded in vain for one of the main streets leading to the Greek Catholic seminary to be named after Lew, the Ruthenian prince, who, according to legend, had given the town its name. The committee preparing the law had instead dedicated a rather dirty, narrow street below the Castle Hill to the nominal founder of the city, arguing that it lay close to the old center of power under the Ruthenian princes. Lew Street later became the center of prostitution in the Galician capital.[52]

Two other, more recent Ruthenian-Ukrainian heroes shared a similar fate: Shevchenko Street, situated on the periphery of the town, carried the unofficial surname of "Swamp Street" as a result of its deplorable condition, while Shashkevych Lane was a tiny dead-end street.[53] It would nevertheless be unwise to read too much into this neglect of Ruthenian symbols within the specific context of Lwów in the 1870s and 1880s. Rather than being explicitly anti-Ruthenian, it seems to have been a sign of carelessness toward the city's Ruthenian heritage, which simply did not register with those eager to redefine the city in a Polish way.

Whereas all the major public buildings in the town were used to project Polish national pride and Polish cultural and political achievement (the town hall, the theater, administrative buildings, the university), buildings that hosted Ruthenian cultural institutions remained ethnic enclaves.[54] It is possible to discern two main trends that characterized the public presence of Ruthenians in the city in this period. First, a process of secularization changed the outlook of the community in the town. The National Home, which was inaugurated in 1864 and hosted theater productions, exhibitions, and other cultural events, as well as the first Ruthenian (Ukrainian) language gymnasium, was the most significant example of a secular location taking over national functions once filled by ecclesiastical buildings.[55] Second, the advance of the national populist, or Ukrainophile, movement challenged the

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[52]*Gazeta Narodowa*, Jan. 5, 1870, pp. 2–3. Wladimir Kuschnir, "Die nationalen Verhältnisse in Lemberg und anderen ostgalizischen Städten," *Ukrainische Revue* 6 (1908): 476.

[53]Mykhailo Hrushevskyj, "Ulycia Shevchenka u L'vovi" (Shevchenko street in L'viv), *Literaturno-naukovyj Vistnyk* 10 (1900), 200–202; Yaroslav Hrytsak and Viktor Susak, "Constructing a National City: The Case of L'viv," in *Composing Urban History and the Constitution of Civic Identities*, ed. John J. Czaplicka and Blair A. Ruble (Baltimore, 2003).

[54]The National Home, founded in 1864, was controlled by the older generation of conservatives of Russophile (Old Ruthenian) orientation. At the same time, the building hosted all-Ruthenian representative events such as the emperor's visit in September 1880 and the first all-Ruthenian political meeting held in November of the same year. See Daniel L. Unowsky, "Our gratitude has no limit: Polish Nationalism, Dynastic Patriotism, and the 1880 Imperial Inspection Tour of Galicia," *Austrian History Yearbook* 34 (2003). On the National Home in general, see Anna Veronika Wendland, *Die Russophilen in Galizien. Ukrainische Konservative zwischen Österreich und Russland, 1848–1915* (Vienna, 2001), 82–87.

[55]The only newly constructed large ecclesiastical building was the Transfiguration Church (completed 1898), which was erected beside the National Home.

leading position of the Russophiles in the public sphere. In 1873, the national populists' main cultural association in the capital, the Shevchenko Society, established its headquarters in the town, and in 1883 the first "national shop" run by the Ukrainophile Narodna Torhivlia (National Trade) society opened across from the National Home.

As for commemorations, they were mostly confined to the few Ruthenian institutions in the city and took place indoors, without challenging the Polish monopoly on the use of public space. Anniversaries (like that of the almanac "Rusalka Dnistriova" in 1888) or the political gatherings ("Viche") of 1880 and 1883 failed to find a way of moving outside of the Ruthenian institutions into the city streets.[56] Instead, Ruthenians had to rely on print media to transform these closed and modest gatherings into public events with national significance. During the commemorative festivities for the Lublin Union in 1869, the only way for the Ruthenians to demonstrate their alternative interpretation of this historic event was to publish a pamphlet and to put up protest posters around the town, which were immediately torn down.[57]

The only major exception to this overall picture occurred in November 1893. A burial procession carried the remains of Markijan Shashkevych, the most revered of the Ruthenian Triad of national awakeners, through the streets of L'viv to Lyczakowski cemetery. Interestingly, this event, which was initiated by the Ruthenian associations, was supported by the city council. Even the mayor and many "Polish" notables took part, showing that there was still room for common Polish-Ruthenian public action. Yet, at the same time, this celebration served only to highlight the dependent position of the Ruthenian community, which could never have organized such an event without the approval—as well as financial and logistical backing—of the city council.[58]

In the late 1870s, around the time that the socialist activist Limanowski, who had commented on the dominance of the German language in the town in 1870, was leaving the city, Yevhen Olesnytsky, a young Ruthenian, arrived in L'viv. Born the son of a Greek Catholic priest in a Galician village, Olesnytsky was to become a leading Ukrainophile politician. Fifty years later he recalled his first impressions of the city, which display many similarities with Limanowski's initial portrayal of the city:

> L'viv presented itself to me as a purely Polish town. All the authorities were Polish, schools and the university were Polish, the theater was Polish, the inscriptions everywhere were in Polish, commerce was in the hands of Poles and Jews, who in national terms also behaved as Poles. The Polish language was everywhere—in stores, restaurants, coffee shops. Even the Ruthenians were speaking

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[56]*Dilo*, Jan. 21, 1888, p. 1. Mar'jan Mudryj: "Ukrains'ki narodni vicha u L'vovi 1880 i 1883 rokiv. Misto na shljachu do masovoji polityky" (The Ukrainian National Gathering in L'viv in 1880 and 1883: The city on the way to mass politics), in *L'viv. Misto, Suspil'stvo, kul'tura* (L'viv: City, society, culture), vol. 3 (L'viv, 1999), 333–47.

[57]*Slovo*, Aug. 14, 1869, p. 4. *Protest der ruthenischen Nationalen gegen die allfällige Deutung der sogenannten Lubliner Union als eines rechtlich zu Stande gekommenen Akts* (L'viv, 1869).

[58]On the Shashkevych funeral, see the detailed description in *Dilo*, Nov. 2 through Nov. 4, 1893.

> Polish. It was a sign of great courage to speak to a waiter or merchant in Ukrainian, and everyone would regard such an act as something extraordinary. The small Ukrainian population in the city hid somewhere in the corners and was not visible in the open.[59]

What is particularly striking is how many of the features seen by Limanowski as essential for defining urban space in national terms reappear in the words of his Ruthenian counterpart: signs, language, theater, and places of consumption. Whereas Limanowski remembered the Jewish street seller offering his goods in German, Olesnytsky has the Jewish elite in mind, which was politically oriented toward Polishness. Finally, Olesnytsky's remarks about Ruthenians "hiding in the corners" reflects the reality of the limited public presence of their "enclosed community."

Obrona (Defense)

The 1896 commemorative volume on Lwów's municipal autonomy was discussed earlier as reflecting Polish pride in the achievements of the previous twenty-five years. Yet, it also marked an important turning point, the beginning of a new era in which such kinds of self-assertion seemed necessary. Decisive here were several changes in the political environment. To begin with, the urban election committee representing the town's Polish elites failed to secure an absolute majority in the municipal elections of 1896 for the first time since its establishment in the 1870s. This result encouraged groups on the left of the political spectrum to cheer what seemed to be the "downfall of the power brokers" (*macherów*) in the town.[60] At the same time, the year 1896 witnessed the enactment of a revised law on elections to the city council, under which half of the 100 councilors were required to resign from their mandate after a term of three years.[61] In the debates preceding this legislation, new mass political parties in the shape of the Social Democrats and the People's Party had called into question the existing system of representation and demanded an extension of the franchise. Finally, that very same year, the Austrian parliament approved a major electoral reform, which provided for a fifth curia based on universal manhood suffrage. In the following year, Lwów's "general curia" sent a Social Democratic deputy to Vienna. Apart from its purely political implications, the Social Democratic victory challenged the carefully constructed self-image that the city's elites had established in the 1870s and 1880s. Now it seemed that Lwów was no longer a resolute patriotic bulwark, but a fount of socialist and populist agitation.[62]

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[59]Yevhen Olesnytsky, *Storinky z moho zhyttja* (Pages from my life) (L'viv, 1935), 127.

[60]*Kurjer Lwowski*, Feb. 28, 1896, p. 5.

[61]*Landes- Gesetz- und Verordnungsblatt für das Königreich Galizien und Lodomerien sammt dem Großherzogthume Krakau*, 23 (1896), 131.

[62]On this period, see the overview by Christoph Mick, "Nationalisierung in einer multiethnischen Stadt. Innerethnische Konflikte in Lemberg 1890–1920," *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 40 (2000): 113–46.

Taken together, all these developments altered the status quo in Lwów and, over the course of the next fifteen years, gradually eroded the Polish elite's sense of security. A series of events accelerated this process, perhaps the most significant being one that occurred hundreds of kilometers away, at Marienburg (Marbork) Castle, once a stronghold of the Teutonic Knights, in Northern Prussia. There, on June 5, 1902, the German Emperor William II delivered a speech in which he denounced "Polish impudence" and declared the defense of German national property (*Nationalbesitzstand*) against Polish incursions to be a holy German mission. The kaiser's tirade came in the midst of a renewed effort to Germanize those eastern territories of Prussia that had been acquired during the Polish Partitions, but the aspect of the speech most offensive to Poles was actually the site chosen for its delivery. Marienburg was intrinsically connected to Grunwald (Tannenberg), the site of the great "Polish" victory over the Teutonic Knights in 1410, which had been immortalized only two years before in Henryk Sienkiewicz's epic novel, *Krzyżacy* (The Teutonic Knights). Despite being the farthest away from Marienburg of all the major Polish towns, Lwów was the quickest to react to the provocation. The city immediately set up a Committee for the Staging of a Grunwald Anniversary, which was then celebrated in the Galician capital just five weeks after William's speech.[63]

However, the most spectacular collective Polish reaction to the new Germanization offensive in Prussia followed one year later, in the form of a "National Rally" (*wiec narodowy*) in Lwów on May 31 and June 1, 1903. Thousands attended a public mass in the Roman Catholic Cathedral. Flags with the municipal colors fluttered from the city hall, while people paraded through the streets with patriotic ribbons pinned to their clothes. The political part of the event was designed to demonstrate unity against the German insults and threats, and local newspapers hailed the show of solidarity as an important step in the defense of the Polish nation. The president of the organizing committee behind the event was the already mentioned Tadeusz Romanowicz, who in the 1860s had been a leading member of the National-Democratic Society (Towarzystwo Narodowo-Demokratyczne), a short-lived association that adopted the ideals of the French Revolution as its motto. Now adopting a more religious turn of phrase, Romanowicz pleaded for a new political trinity: "in necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus charitas" (literally: "in case of need, unity; in case of doubt, liberty; in all things, charity").[64] Romanowicz clearly considered the situation for the Poles to be so threatening that political unity should now take precedence above other concerns.

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[63]On the Marienburg speech and its consequences, see also Dabrowski, "Reinventing Poland," chapter 8. On the Grunwald celebrations, see Jürgen Vietig, "Die polnischen Grunwaldfeiern der Jahre 1902 und 1910," *Germania Slavica* 2 (1981): 237–62.

[64]The speech was printed in *Nowa Reforma* June 3, 1903, p. 1. This was Romanowicz's last major appearance on the political scene, as he died in the following year. The municipality honored him with a publicly financed burial and funeral procession as well as with a street in an area already inscribed with very respectable names.

Like all major Polish patriotic events in the nineteenth century, the National Rally was imagined to reflect the will of Poland as a whole. Now, however, the community envisioned was no longer primarily defined by its common culture, language, or history, but rather as a nation on the defensive. These claims were to a considerable extent substantiated by the presence at the rally of a prominent National Democrat from Russian Poland, Roman Dmowski, who completed his seminal book, *Thoughts of a Modern Pole*, that very same year. Published in Lwów, the work was widely read, becoming a central text for modern Polish nationalism as well as a political guide for many Poles in the Galician capital.[65]

Defense as the guiding principle of political action was transposed into a local situation made all the more acute by the fact that the anti-Polish offensive in Prussia coincided with a point in time when Polish-Ruthenian tensions had reached a new climax. On the one hand, Ruthenian students held mass meetings and temporarily withdrew from the university to demand an institution of their own, while agricultural strikes had also paralyzed the eastern part of the Crownland, causing profound unease among the noble elites. On the other hand, in 1902, the Polish National Democrat grouping took over Lwów's largest daily newspaper, *Słowo Polskie*, which prepared the ground for the official establishment of the National Democratic Party in 1905.

The Polish response to this escalation in political conflicts emerged very clearly during the National Rally, as participants joined in discussions organized within different sections. One of the three sections set up at the rally bore the name "National Defense" (*obrona narodowa*) and focused on the "Ruthenian question." The main section speaker was the leading Galician National Democrat, Stanisław Głąbiński, parliamentary deputy and professor at the University of Lwów. Głąbiński stressed the necessity of maintaining Lwów's Polish character. The integral nationalism articulated by the National Democrats aimed not only to rally different social groups into one ethnically defined political body, but it also sought to lay claim to public space by nationalizing everyday material culture: Głąbiński's speech expressly referred to the importance of Polish street names, shop signs, and so on. The key term employed during the National Rally was "Maintenance" (*utrzymanie*), which referred to the Polish *Nationalbesitzstand*: maintenance of Galician territorial unity, maintenance of the Polish character of Lwów's university and all other educational establishments, and maintenance of the Polishness of all towns and villages inhabited by Poles.[66]

In the emerging age of mass politics, the relationship between politics, culture, and public space in the city was being redefined, as the expression of political demands moved from administrative and legislative buildings

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[65]*Myśli nowoczesnego Polaka* (L'viv, 1903). In the course of only three years, two further editions were to follow. On the ideology of the National Democrats, see Brian Porter, *When Nationalism Began to Hate: Imagining Modern Politics in Nineteenth-Century Poland* (New York, 2000).

[66]*Nowa Reforma*, June 4, 1903, p. 1. *Pamiętnik 1. wiecu narodowego odbytego we Lwowie w dniach 30. maja i 1. czerwca 1903 r.* (Reminiscences of the first National Rally in Lwów from May 30 to June 1) (L'viv, 1903). See also Adam Wątor, "Wiec narodowy we Lwowie 1903 roku" (The National Rally in Lwów in 1903), *Szczecińskie Studia historyczne* 7 (1993): 57–75.

out onto the streets, in the form of meetings, demonstrations, and strikes. Parliamentary elections, which from 1907 onward were carried out on the basis of universal manhood suffrage, formed particular high points in the process of mass mobilization and the concomitant emotionalization of negative images of political and ethnic rivals. During the 1911 elections, for example, the once national-liberal but now more conservative daily paper *Dziennik Polski* viewed the elections as an opportunity to focus on the threat to Polishness in the provincial capital:

> There are many enemies attacking the Polishness of the town and the harmony of its inhabitants. Some are trying to impose upon us parliamentary deputies who act under the sign of internationalism and blindly obey German commands. Others are looking for gaps in the city walls through which fanatic Zionist representatives can squeeze in. Finally, there are those who would entrust Lwów to the successors of Chmelnicki, whose barbarian hordes the city has already once withstood.[67]

Here, three ethnopolitical groups are depicted as dark forces invading the city from outside and seeking to undermine its Polish character: Germans, Ruthenians, and Jews. Each of the three groups of invaders was assigned specific traits: Germans "command," and stand for discipline, power, and ruthlessness, while the unruly Ruthenian "hordes" will employ massive numbers in their assault on the Polishness of the city. The Jews, by contrast, "squeeze in," using their alleged innate cleverness to attain their anti-Polish goals.[68]

As politics moved into the streets, what counted was no longer the relative strength of the competing social and ethnic groups, but the actual number of supporters that could be mobilized at any one time. In such a situation, the Ruthenians were also able to lay claim to at least part of the city's public space, despite constituting only 19 percent of the total urban population in 1910. In terms of absolute numbers, this meant about 40,000 people. A larger number were from the lower classes, and a considerable proportion were school or university students.[69] The Ruthenians' attempt to appropriate public space for themselves can be illustrated by a procession held in 1912 to commemorate the death of a young student killed during riots at the university two years earlier. The procession wound its way from the cemetery to the town center, where the Ruthenian presence had been significantly augmented in the area near "their" old medieval quarter.[70] It came

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[67]*Dziennik Polski*, June 12, 1911, p. 1.

[68]The Jewish national movement was the most recent of the three "sources of threat." Oriented toward urbanity and embracing Galuth nationalism, the Lwów-centered Jewish national movement also represented a third idea of Lwów as a capital of a constructed Jewish nationality in the Habsburg Empire. This topic would deserve further study. An overview of the Jewish history of the town is given by Vladimir Melamed, *Evrei vo Lvove: XIII—pervaia polovina XX veka* (The Jews of L'vov from the thirteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century) (L'viv, 1994).

[69]Weinfeld, *Ludność miejska*, 8. More detailed statistical information on this later period can be found in the annual publication, *Wiadomości statystyczne o mieście Lwowie*, ed. Tadeusz Dyszkiewicz (L'viv, 1899–1914).

[70]In 1905, the insurance company *Dnister* had erected a "Ruthenian" building on "Ruska street," of which the facade had been decorated in a mixed style of *art nouveau* and Ruthenian

to a halt by the former Lubomirski palace, now a Ukrainophile culture center, located opposite the city hall. The building's site on the town's main square opened new rhetorical possibilities, as a balcony speech by the editor of the largest Ruthenian newspaper, *Dilo*, demonstrated. The editor asserted that, "over there" in the city hall, the Poles had just rejected proposals for a Ruthenian university in this "originally (*korinno*) Ukrainian town," whereas here in the Prosvita building, the powerful Ruthenian rally had proven that "we cannot be ignored in the streets of L'viv."[71]

It is also the case that the symbolic power of political processions was not dependent on numbers alone, for their success clearly derived also from how the urban topography was instrumentalized. From this point of view, the place where the commemoration ended had been especially significant, as the closing act was carried out in a "nationalized" building. On other occasions, however, the final speech was often held at the foot of a nationally significant monument. From the late 1890s onwards, for example, the city's Poles had covered Lwów's streets, parks, and squares with a series of statues to "their" historic heroes, thereby creating a set of fixed points across the map of the city. Monuments had been erected to such figures as Jan Kiliński (1896), Aleksander Fredro (1897), Jan Sobieski (1898), Kornel Ujejski (1901), Adam Mickiewicz (1905), Bartos Głowacki (1906), and Franciszek Smolka (1913). Ruthenians, though, lacked such reference points. This became evident in 1911 in the largest demonstration yet seen of Ruthenians on the streets of L'viv, the 100th anniversary celebrations of the birth of poet Markijan Shashkevych. In terms of sheer numbers—reportedly 10,000 people took part—the event was indeed an unprecedented demonstration of Ruthenian force in the capital. Yet, the procession did not end at a secular public location, which would have stressed the continuing presence of the poet in political life. Instead, the procession ended in the quiet, secluded atmosphere of the municipal cemetery, where a monument had been erected next to his grave, and reinforced the fact of his death. While this ceremony represented a respectful way of honoring a dead man, the wider impact of the occasion was diminished by the fact that it took place outside of the city center, where claims to define public space could be staked with greater effect.[72]

To return to the fiery speech made by the editor of *Dilo* on the Ruthenian university question, the year 1912 turned out to be a major flash point in a long-running conflict over what had become the central issue in the struggle

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folk art. In 1895, the Enlightment society Prosvita, a core institution for the Ukrainophiles, had aquired the former Lubomirski palace on the corner of the market square. The building offered space for political and cultural gatherings and harbored Ukrainophile societies, newspaper offices, and a bookshop. Other important new buildings were those for the Shevchenko and Pedagogical societies, the National Hotel (Narodna Hostynnytsja, 1906), which hosted a "Ruthenian" restaurant and coffee shop, and finally the National Museum (Narodnyj Muzej, 1913).

[71]The account is in *Dilo*, July 2, 1912, p. 2. The day ended in heavy clashes between students and acts of vandalism against Ukrainian institutions. *Dilo*, July 3, 1912, p. 4. *Gazeta Narodowa*, July 3, 1912, p. 2.

[72]On the Shashkevych festivity, see *Dilo*, Nov. 3–Nov. 6, 1911 (Nr. 245–47). Two other major commemorations in the prewar years were held for Shevchenko in March 1911 and in 1914.

over the position of Polishness in the Galician capital. When it transpired that, for a variety of reasons that cannot be discussed here, certain political forces centered in Cracow voiced opinions sympathetic to the idea of a Ruthenian university, the Poles of Lwów reacted strongly to what they saw as interference from outside. As had been true during the pronounced rivalry with Cracow in the 1870s and 1880s, those in the capital again viewed the role of the city in terms of a Polish patriotic mission. The city council drafted a protest declaration and sent a delegation to Vienna, while Polish political parties organized mass demonstrations and sent hundreds of letters to the Austrian government. Jan Gwalbert Pawlikowski, a National Democratic leader, described the impending danger for the future of Lwów:

> The consequence of a Ruthenian university would be an enormous growth in the Ruthenian element in Lwów. The Ruthenian question would no longer be an issue of doormen and domestic servants. We would have to deal with the peaks of the Ruthenian nation. The university would act as a magnet not only for the Galician province, but also for areas beyond the state border. Lwów would be the spiritual capital for the Ruthenians, a focus for all Ruthenian aspirations.... You will judge by yourself, if it would be desirable for Lwów to become a Ruthenian spiritual capital, while at the same time it is the capital of a land that is historically Polish and that it is our duty to maintain as Polish.[73]

Arguments of this kind were nearly always heavily laden with references to comparable historical situations from the city's past. Indeed, the paradigm shift from a feeling of unbridled self-confidence to the pervasive fear of ubiquitous danger was matched by a simultaneous redefinition of Lwów's place in history. The most productive writer on the history of Lwów at this time was the archivist and cofounder of the Society of Friends of the Past of Lwów (1907), Franciszek Jaworski, who also functioned as editor of one of the city's older daily papers, *Kurjer Lwowski*.[74] Despite his previous involvement with a well-known progressive journal of a supraethnic nature (the Ruthenian writer Ivan Franko had been among its contributors), Jaworski fully endorsed the newly defined national-patriotic mission. With the city council's support, in 1905, he published a book on the 250th anniversary of the Cossack assault, entitled *The Defense of Lwów*.[75] In 1912, Jaworski then made a prominent appearance as a public speaker at the 250th anniversary celebrations of the university's foundation, which newspaper reports stated was attended by approximately 30,000 people. In his two-volume commemorative album, the historian tried to demonstrate the university's eternally Polish character.[76] Jaworski's efforts were backed up by the local

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[73]*Słowo Polskie*, May 6, 1912, p. 1.

[74]Charewiczowa, *Historiografia*, 125–32.

[75]Franciszek Jaworski, *Obrona Lwowa* (The Defense of Lwów) (L'viv, 1905).

[76]Franciszek Jaworski, *Pamiętnik Uroczystości 250ego Rocznica Uniwersytetu Lwowskiego* (Reminiscence of the 250th anniversary of Lwów University) (L'viv, 1912); and the description of the celebration in *Słowo Polskie* from May 29 to May 30, 1912. For further details on this and the university affair in general, see Victor Hugo Lane, "State Culture and National Identity in a Multiethnic Context: Lemberg 1772–1914" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1999).

press, which once again placed the university question within a particular historical narrative:

> Lwów occupies a beautiful page [*piękna karta*] in the history of Poland. It was always an unconquerable fortress against the onrushing Hajdamaks.[77] It was the end of the road for the Cossacks trying to flood into Poland. Today, once more a Hajdamakian wave is rising high and—with the help of hostile elements—is threatening the land and its capital. The whole land and its citizens are, however, united in defense of this legacy assigned to them by the past.[78]

These words serve to confirm how the national struggle in the Galician capital in the years before World War I had come to revolve around a discourse of threats and danger. For Poles, the historical past and the imagined future were blended into a pessimistic vision, where the only recourse was to defend Polishness every step of the way if one did not wish to be swept aside. Just a few years later, in 1918, the notion of the "defense of Lwów" became a stark reality, as Poles and Ukrainians fought with weapons for the city's political future.

Conclusion

This study has identified three main phases in the development of the city of Lemberg in the second half of the nineteenth century, characterized respectively by three key concepts. *Ojczyzna* referred to a pre-ethnic political understanding of the Polish nation, which was still dominated by Romantic thought. Significantly, there was no place within this idea of the "homeland" for the city, either as a general value or in specific reference to Lemberg itself. By contrast, the discourse of *Stolica* defined the Galician capital as a stronghold of Polish organic work within an Austrian Crownland, whose status was viewed in a positive fashion. At the same time, Lwów's rivalry with noble-dominated Cracow created a link between the urban sphere and the city's self-appointed role as a democratic and national center. Lastly, the term *Obrona* depicted the city as a fortress, ready to stand up to the allegedly evil forces both inside and outside of the city walls.

In terms of public political culture, the year 1848 was dominated by an "international" symbolic language, whereas the years from the 1870s to the 1890s constituted a period in which Polishness was encoded onto the physical sites—and mental map—of the city. In the decade and a half after the turn of the century, national rhetoric became more bellicose as public commemorations focused increasingly on historic acts of defense (Grunwald). Historiography and the cultural discourse on urbanity paralleled these

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[77]The Hajdamak movement was responsible for a series of guerrilla attacks on Polish manors in the eighteenth century, and later was glorified by Taras Shevchenko in his famous poem, "Hajdamaky." See Paul R. Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine* (Toronto, 1996), 294–300.

[78]*Słowo Polskie*, May 4, 1912, p. 1.

developments, with the city becoming a major source of intellectual interest as well as collective biographic experience. Ultimately, however, urbanization had its limits, given that Lwów was surrounded by a still predominantly rural environment. This in turn had repercussions for national discourse, because the attention of political actors was constantly being redirected to nonurban settings, while the ever more frequent references to the nation's past struggles also brought nonurban situations to the fore.

It goes without saying that all the discursive fields mentioned here were intrinsically dependent on the changing dynamics of power relationships. In a social environment where associational life and other forms of civic participation developed relatively slowly, it was the main political institution on the urban level—the city council—that played the primary role in defining public discourse about the past and present. More particularly, this undeniable social and political reality limited the scope of action open to the Ruthenians, the main oppositional force to the city's Polish elite. Due to their demographic situation and social composition, the Ruthenians could only gradually succeed in narrowing the gap between their claim on L'viv as the ancient capital of Galician Rus' and their actual presence in the town.

Finally, it can be suggested that the analytical framework employed here can provide some pointers for the comparative study of cities in the Habsburg Empire, on which there is still much work to be done. The struggle for power and influence in the (autonomous) urban sphere and its representative bodies; the competition over the symbolic occupation of public space; the problem of defining a city's past within historiographical traditions dominated by—often peasant or rural-based—national discourse; and the evaluation of the "all-conquering" city's place in contemporary culture—these are all important issues that require more systematic and comparative exploration. This in turn will enable us to locate a case study such as that of Lemberg/Lwów/L'viv within the broader sweep of Habsburg and East Central European history.