East Central Europe, 33, Nos. 1-2 (2006), 53-70.

Harald Binder

URBAN LANDSCAPE AND PRINTED PRESS IN HABSBURG LEMBERG: THE KOTSKO MEMORIAL OF 1912

Abstract: This article analyzes a political demonstration in Habsburg Lemberg commemorating the death of a Ukrainian student during fights at the university. The Ukrainians in Lemberg figured as an urban minority that claimed chief historical rights on the city, but was largely deprived of the chance to express this claim in public space. In this case, Lemberg's Ukrainians found two alternative sites to be suitable for the public expression of national self: the cemetery, a space largely outside the realm of political control, and a building in the city center of national significance to the local Ukrainian community. In these commemorations, the press played the role of transforming political events into consistent narratives that were in line with different groups' political intentions.

URBAN LANDSCAPE AND PRINTED PRESS

It goes without saying that the city and the media are related to one another in many ways. Cities are the prime places where information is collected, intellectually transformed, technically processed and ultimately passed on to the readers. For a long period in history, the reading community itself was almost exclusively urban in nature. This fact in turn had a strong impact on the selection of information and the specific perspective transmitted to the readership. In East Central Europe, the period when cities were islands of comparatively higher literacy within a largely illiterate society lasted well into the twentieth century. As in other regions of the world, the effect of the modernization process was ambiguous. On the one hand, the development of mass society and the improvement of communication technologies reduced the cultural gap between the city and the countryside. On the other hand, the needs of the modern state helped to further focus institutions in the urban centers. It was here that the increasingly dynamic institutions of higher education, the emerging resources of mass cultural production, as well as the centers of political decision-making and economic power were concentrated.

In addition to such larger issues of center versus periphery, and of homogenization versus fragmentation in modern society, the urban historian is particularly interested in the physical and symbolic stamp which these urban-centered institutions placed on the local cityscape. For many centuries, the architectural style of buildings served as the primary public display of the function and political self-understanding of institutions. This largely "static" relationship between built structure and urban society turned into a dynamic

interplay when, over the course of the nineteenth century, the city became an increasingly important stage for political demonstrations. Buildings and monumental sites were now integrated into the urban fabric as constituent parts of a mobilized, urban environment. As public events became a conspicuous feature of urban experience, they served to underline and strengthen the traditional, stereotypical image of the "dynamic" city versus its "static" rural surroundings. Indeed, although political ideas about national identity or social justice were exported from the urban centers into the villages, the sites of their manifestation remained basically urban, even if the represented meanings and the actors came from the rural world.[1]

In the multinational societies of East Central Europe, public events were used to mobilize society in a variety of contexts, reflecting the political and cultural complexity of the region. Patriotic demonstrations could be devised to link the microcosm of the city to the larger imagined corpus, the nation, while officially organized state displays of power served to confirm the loyalty of the city and its inhabitants to the ruler, the Emperor. Demonstrations held by political parties required a firm mass of followers in order to express the ideological claims guiding the parties. These varieties of meanings all called for specific forms of implementation in urban space. Until recently, scholars have focussed on the question of how social entities, and nations in particular, were constructed and "imagined" by means of public symbols and practices. Two other aspects have received less attention: the urban form and the role of the press in this process.[2]

The specific "urban" approach to political self-expression assumes the city to be the necessary counterpart to public action, the "hardware" which lends physical form to a unifying, collective performance and consequently has an impact on the political beliefs themselves. Buildings, streets, squares and monuments are more than coulisses; they become active players in the scenery. Depending on how their function related to the character and purpose of the demonstration, the role they played could vary. Buildings and monuments could be purposely avoided by the participants, or they could serve as a backdrop for a pause for reflection, for speeches and for singing. They might evoke collective gestures of reverence or, on the contrary, outbursts of anger and physical violence. Whatever positive or negative role they played, these

1. On the interaction of the city and the countryside, see, for instance: Steven R. Epstein, *Town and Country in Europe, 1300-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2001); Irene Winner and Thomas Winner, *The Peasant and the City in Eastern Europe. Interpenetrating Structures* (Cambridge, MA: Schenkman, 1984).

2. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983). For the Habsburg Monarchy, see Maria Bucur and Nancy M. Wingfield, eds., *Staging the Past: The Politics of Commemoration in Habsburg Central Europe, 1848 to the Present* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue Univ. Press, 2001); Daniel Unowsky, *The Pomp and Politics of Patriotism. Imperial Celebrations in Habsburg Austria 1848-1916* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue Univ. Press, 2005).

urban sites figured as a crucial element which transformed an abstract political idea guiding a group of people into a structured, visible form within the urban landscape.

While urban forms structured ideas materially, the press gave performance an intellectual outline by shaping human action into a consistent narrative. Depending on their political leanings, newspapers very often streamlined complex collective behavior into a single, or simplified, meaning. Therefore, once the city was transformed into a liberated arena for public demonstrations, the press's function moved beyond that of a mobilizing and organizing force. By reporting on an event, the press also essentially shaped the animated urban landscape in the minds of the reading community. Over the course of time, the importance of this function grew steadily so that, in today's media-dominated society, those taking part in a public event comprise only a tiny group compared to those passively consuming the narrative.

THE CASE OF LEMBERG AND THE UNIVERSITY DISPUTE

This article will focus on the case of a student demonstration that took place at the beginning of the twentieth century in the Galician capital Lemberg (Ukrainian *L'viv*, Polish *Lwów*). Due to its ethnically mixed population and its geopolitical situation on the Eastern borderlands of Europe, Lemberg is often referred to as a typical East Central European city. Officially founded under Magdeburg Law in 1356, it reveals a characteristically East Central European urban morphology: in the center, the market square with the town hall and a chessboard pattern of narrow streets surrounding it; then, divided by a ring-like structure, the influence of the nineteenth century, conspicuous in buildings like the Diet (now the University), the Polytechnic University, the post office, hotels and banks. Finally, beyond the chronological scope of this article: the vast panel construction settlements of the Soviet Era and the villas of today's nouveaux riches in the immediate surroundings of the city.[3]

The state of the press in pre-World War I Lemberg was, as in all major political and cultural centers of the Habsburg monarchy, complex and multifaceted. In 1910 the Galician capital published approximately sixty periodicals, among them sixteen daily papers. Two out of every three periodicals and three out of every four daily papers were published in the Polish language. The average print run of all the daily newspapers numbered about 6,000 cop-

3. Recent publications on L'viv: John Czaplicka, ed., *L'viv. A City in the Crosscurrents of Culture* (Cambridge, MA.: Distributed by Harvard Univ. Press for the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 2005); *Austrian History Yearbook* 34 (2003) (three essays written by Y. Hrytsak, H. Binder and V. Wendland); see also the multi-volume Polish-Ukrainian series: Kazimierz Karolczak, ed., *Lwów. Miasto – społeczeństwo – kultura* [Lwów: City, Society, Culture] (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Pedagogicznej, 1999); Marian Mudryi, ed., *L'viv. Misto – suspilstvo – kultura* [L'viv: City, Society, Culture] (L'viv: Vydavnyctvo L'vivśkoho Universytetu, Serija Istoryčna, Special'nyj vypusk, 1995ff.) (five volumes to date).

ies for a region having a total population of 200,000 people and an illiteracy rate of close to 30 percent. Many papers, and certainly all of those published daily, represented the interests of specific political groups, factions or political parties. Extended reports on local events or developments in the city itself were given comparatively little room, as the boulevard press was only in its initial phases.[4]

In addition to the built environment and the state of the media, the broader political circumstances in the city represent a third factor to consider. In Lemberg the local Polish elites showed a particularly strong desire to maintain control over symbolic representation. The city represented a manageable political space where a nation without a state could implement its need to display its identity, and one of the means of emphasizing the city's Polishness was to lay claim to its urban space through monuments, street names and public celebrations. This strategy initially pushed imperial symbols into the background, but it also interfered with the increasingly visible Ukrainian claim to the historical legacy of the city. Due to its early history as the capital of Galicia-Wolynia in the thirteenth century, L'viv indeed occupied an important position in the discourse on Ukrainian historical identity. For the Ukrainian community, their contemporary political situation was thus characterized by a fundamental discrepancy between historical imagination and political reality.[5]

The first social group to break the monopoly of the Polish power elites were the students. An academic milieu serving to foster trailblazing forces in society is certainly nothing unusual. Youthful energy combined with radical political ideol-ogy to overcome the seemingly unbreakable grip of the Polish elites on public space. The students' political drive, however, was not exclusively auto-generated but was also developed from outside, that is, from other parts of the Habsburg monarchy. In many other cities, national minorities were demanding their own university in a quest to enhance what they termed

4. On the press in Lemberg, see my two articles in: *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918*, vol. 8 (Wien, 2006). More specifically: Jerzy Jarowiecki, "Typologia i statystyka prasy lwowskiej w latach 1864-1939" [Typology and statistics of the Lemberg press in 1864-1939], in Jerzy Jarowiecki, ed., *Kraków-Lwów. Książki, czasopisma, biblioteki XIX i XX w* [Cracow-Lemberg. Books, periodicals, libraries, XIX-XX Century]., vol. 4 (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Pedagogicznej w Krakowie, 1999); Urszula Jakubowska, *Lwów na przełomie XIX i XX w. Przegląd środowisk prasotwórcych* [Lemberg at the turn of the twentieth century. An overview of the press environment] (Warsaw: Polska Akademia Nauk, Instytut Badań Literackich. Pracownia Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego XIX i XX wieku, 1991). Statistics on the press of the time do not make distinctions by place of issue, and thus the data given here are largely derived from my own database of information.

5. On more recent work on the Polish-Ukrainian conflict in general, see Christoph Mick, "Nationalisierung in einer multiethnischen Stadt. Innerethnische Konflikte in Lemberg 1890–1920," in *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 40 (2000), 113-46 Philipp Ther, "Chancen und Untergang einer multinationalen Stadt: Die Beziehungen zwischen den Nationalitäten in Lemberg in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts," in Philipp Ther and Holm Sund-haussen, eds., *Nationalitätenkonflikte im 20. Jahrhundert: Ursachen von inter-ethnischer Gewalt im Vergleich* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001).

their national "possession" (*Besitzstand*). The largely polonized Lemberg University figured as one of the most heavily embattled sites in the Empire. The fierceness with which both sides fought the issue was, on the one hand, the result of the Poles' aforementioned will to defend their cultural dominance in the city, while, on the other, Ukrainian side it reflected the prime importance of such an institution for a national movement on the rise.[6]

For a number of years, the conflict over a Ukrainian university had been an issue for political bodies in Vienna and Lemberg. When, after the turn of the century, the Ukrainian parliamentary representation gained strength and confidence, the verbal clashes in the *Reichsrat* regularly turned into physical action on the local level, in Lemberg's urban spaces. The fact that the transmission of information usually occurred within one day pointed to the recent acceleration in communications among the media within the Habsburg Empire. In the summer of 1910, however, a tragic event changed the character of the conflict by giving the struggle over a Ukrainian national university in the Galician capital a date independent of external political motivations.

A MARTYR IS BORN

On July 1, 1910, a crowd of Ukrainian students ignored prohibitive decrees from the University authorities and gathered in the corridors of the University building. In the ensuing scuffle with their Polish opponents, an armed Polish student fired into the Ukrainian group mortally wounding Adam Kotsko, a 28-year old leading figure of the Ukrainian student movement. Kotsko immediately became a martyr for the Ukrainians in Lemberg, a young hero who had given his life fighting for his nation. Contemporaries instinctively compared his fate to that of another student of Lemberg University, Myroslav

6. For recent work on the conflict over the Ukrainian university, see: Marian Mudryj, "Od Austrii do Polski: Problem uniwersytetu ukraińskiego we Lwowie w pierwszej ćwierci XX w." [From Austria to Poland. The problem of the Ukrainian university in Lemberg in the first quarter of the twentieth century], in Kazimierz Karolczak, ed., *Lwów. Miasto – społeczeńst-wo – kultura: studia z dziejów Lwowa* [Lwów: City, society and culture. A Study in Lwów history], vol. 4 (Cracow: Wydaw. Naukowe Akademii Pedagogicznej, 2002); Volodymyr Kačmar, *Za ukrajinskyi universytet u Lvovi. Ideia natsionalnoii vyshchoii shkoly u suspilno-politychnomu zhytti halyt'skykh Ukraiintsiv (kin. XIX-pochatok XX st.)* [For a Ukrainian university in Lemberg. The idea of the national university within the socio-political life of the Galician Ukrainians (end of 19th, beginning of 20th century)] (L'viv: 1999); idem, "Sprava ukrainskoho universytetu na tli polsko-ukrainskych superechnostei u Halychyni 1901-1908 rr." [The case of the Ukrainian University on the background of Polish-Ukrainian tensions in Galicia 1901-1908], *Problemy slovianoznavstva*, 52 (2002), 47-58; Martha Boha-chevsky-Chomiak, "The Ukrainian University in Galicia. A Pervasive Issue," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 5 (1981), 497-519; Harald Binder, "Der nationale Konflikt um die Universität Lemberg," in Harald Binder, Barbora Křivohlavá and Luboš Velek, eds., *Místo národních jazyků ve výchově, školství a vědě v Habsburské monarchii 1867-1918* [Position of national languages in education, educational system and science of the Habsburg Monarchy, 1867-1918] (Prague: Výzkumné centrum pro dějiny vědy, 2003), pp. 183-215.

Sichyns'kyi who had murdered the Galician viceroy Andrzej Potocki in April 1908. Initially, few in the Ukrainian community had supported the deed as just revenge for the Viceroy's fraudulent policy in the electoral campaign of that year. In the aftermath of the event, however, the anti-Ukrainian wave which shook Galicia as a result of the assassination, combined with the unfortunate and pitiable image of a Ukrainian in a "Polish" prison, transformed Sichyns'kyi from a culprit into a victim in the public's eye.[7]

Both Sichyns'kyi and Kotsko stood for young radicalism, but only Kotsko could claim to be an indisputable victim of Polish "aggression." Moreover, the context of his death – the struggle for a Ukrainian university – made Kotsko a highly effective unifying figure for the entire Ukrainian political community. The funeral ceremony held for him a few days after the incident gave clear evidence of this fact. It turned into an impressive demonstration of solidarity within the Ukrainian community as it united the majority of parliamentary deputies, a large number of priests, as well as highly esteemed intellectuals like the historian and Lemberg University professor Mychailo Hrushevskyi.[8] Brochures, postcards and other commemorative items played their part in establishing Kotsko as an all-Ukrainian martyr.[9]

The death of the young Ukrainian not only introduced a new name, face and date into the Polish-Ukrainian struggle, but it also added a fresh site to the physical context of this struggle in the cityscape. Until then, student activities had been concentrated in the main university building and its surroundings. The tragic event of July 1, 1910, and the funeral procession that followed added the cemetery to their number. For Ukrainians as a whole in the town they called L'viv, the cemetery was not an unusual locale. On the contrary, it was a very appropriate site for a national community which had no chance to leave its mark on secular urban space.

7. Kerstin S. Jobst, "Ein politischer Mord in der Habsburger Monarchie: Das Potocki-Attentat von 1908 als Kulminationspunkt der galizischen Krise," *Österreichische Osthefte*, 41 (1999), 57-79.

8. Detailed accounts of the funeral event can be found in the Ukrainian press of the time, namely in *Dilo* 1.7.1910 ff.

9. See the postcard in Figure 1 showing the dead Adam Kotsko with the mark of the bullet on his forehead.

Fig. 1. Widely spread postcard showing the dead Adam Kotsko.

This extreme image had tremendous impact and quickly spread at the time. In addition to sparking the numerous protest demonstrations which were held in many cities in Galicia and beyond, the postcard helped to make what was known as the "martyrdom" of Adam Kotsko widely known. In addition, it was only a few days after the fateful incident that the first brochure on it was published bearing title "Zhyttia i smert' Adama Kotska" [The Life and death of Adam Kotsko] (L'viv: 1910).

The cemetery was an autonomous space, where monuments for deceased national heroes could be erected without significant political interference from those in power. Well outside the center, these memorials did not interfere with the Polish claim on the city's national character. A first climax in this respect was reached in November 1911, when the largest demonstration yet seen of Ukrainians on the streets of Lemberg had ended at the Lychakiv cemetery, at the graveside monument of the poet Markiyan Shashkevych. As a social and political space, the cemetery had subdivisions and specific localities. Kotsko's grave enhanced this polyvalence by adding to it a site dedicated what was seen as a heroic fight by students in their quest for a Ukrainian university.

THE MEMORIAL PROCESSION OF 1912

The physical structure of the modern European city predefined funeral processions as a spatial movement of inward-outward orientation: from a church or another religious site, located in the center of the city, towards the cemetery on its periphery. Once the funeral had ended and the tomb had be-


1910.

Fig. 2. The tomb for Kotsko photographed in 1953 shortly before the figure was stolen. Source: Stefanyk Library, L'viv, Manuscript Division, Fond O/H-795.

come a site of memory, the funerary procession's spatial orientation could be inverted, now running
from the periphery to the center. This is precisely what occurred on July 1, 1912, when a group of people gathered at the Lychakiv cemetery to commemorate the second anniversary of Kotsko's death.[10] The tomb itself had previously been a place for mourning and reverence but on this day it was turned into a full-fledged memorial site, as in a solemn act a monument was unveiled next to the student's grave. The monument was a black marble stone, standing approximately one meter high and topped by a mourning female bronze statue, a work by a German sculptor. The inscription read: "1882-1910. Adam Kotsko, fallen at the University, 1 July, 1910." The wording clearly portrayed the University as a battlefield and Kotsko as a soldier in the battle who had died in bravery and self-sacrifice.[11]

The memorial project had been initiated by a committee established immediately after the tragic event with the aim and mission of preserving the treasured memory of the student. The sources do not reveal the committee members' identities, but the realization of the project provides some hints of its composition. In an environment dominated by religious symbols, the marker for the Ukrainian student conspicuously lacked faith-related elements. The female figure did not represent a transcendental concept, but rather stood for worldly youth and beauty, a life in bloom, which had been brought violently to an end. The absence of a cross at Kotsko's grave could easily be linked to the origins of the student movement, as a conspicuously anti-clerical movement, with strong ties to the Ukrainian Radical Party.[12]

On the other hand, as stated above, the student movement of the prewar years had left behind the social radicalism of the 1880s in favor of an all-Ukrainian national mission which, in turn, was unconceivable without the participation of Greek Catholic church representatives. It was therefore not surprising that a number of priests took part in the unveiling ceremony. The singing of the funeral march (*Vy zhertvoju paly*) and of Ukrainian patriotic songs further deepened the solemnity of the atmosphere and helped to create a feeling of spirituality and solidarity among those present at the grave. Among the speeches given, the most aggressive tones came from Adam Vesolovs'kyi,

10. Accounts of the rally are taken from various newspapers. A police report on the demonstration was unfortunately not found in the archives.

11. See Figure 2.

12. John-Paul Himka, *Socialism in Galicia: The Emergence of Social Democracy and Ukrainian Radicalism 1860-90* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1983); Idem, *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine: The Greek Catholic Church and the Ruthenian National Movement in Galicia 1867-1900* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1999).

editor-in-chief of the dominant Ukrainian daily newspaper *Dilo*. Speaking after one of the priests and a former colleague of Kotsko, Vesolovs'kyi used threatening words while claiming that a new era in the Ukrainian struggle for its people's rights had begun.

If, as argued above, political demonstrations needed certain material requisites in urban space to physically structure them, what then structured the demonstration that followed the memorial service for Kotsko once the participants had left the enclosed realms of the cemetery? Again, the cemetery's location on the periphery of town was one determining, structuring factor. As the crowd moved from the enclosed site into the openness of the urban spaces, it transformed its loosely assembled group pattern into one of a self-protective, disciplined "army" marching in rows to the center of town: to the "heart" of the city. This latter well-known analogy between the city and the human body can bring to mind a wide range of associations – in the given situation it was used by the printed press to evoke fear and respect among its readers.

This metaphor also stemmed from concrete socio-political realities that had unfolded in the urban landscape over many centuries; threats to a city and its inhabitants had always assumed an outside-versus-inside character. In the pre-modern past, warriors had conquered the city's heart in battles waged outside the built environment of the city. In 1910 modern "hostile armies" also moved from the urban periphery to the center, equipped not with weapons but with loudly articulated demands for a better future. Seen from the core of wealth and power concentrated in the city center, such individuals were the bearers of social unrest and revolutionary ideology, be they workers from the poorest residential areas or, as in this case, Ukrainians coming in from the cemetery.

The scene at the cemetery had been one of a quiet and solemn nature. As the demonstration moved down *Pekars'ka* (Bakers') street, one of the arterial roads leading from the Lychakiv cemetery to the city center, the group changed in character and became a mass in motion, as Elias Canetti has described masses that need a direction to channel their energy.[13] In this case, the direction – and goal – were understood by the participants without internal communication: the city center. The crowd's dynamic energy was also buoyed by the fact that many individuals, likely from very different backgrounds, had joined its numbers. As an individual, it is easier to hide in a mass in motion than in a stationary group. As the distance from the cemetery grew, so the throng's songs changed from ones of predominately religious patriotism to ones expressing political nationalism.

The continuous stream of action abruptly came to a halt at the end of *Pekars'ka* Street. No stone wall hindered the modern armies from entering the old medieval town. Instead, a human force, the urban police, stood ready to

13. Elias Canetti, *Crowds and Power* (New York: Seabury Press, 1962).

prevent the demonstration from crossing the border between the outer district and the core of the city. The police force temporarily succeeded in dissolving the crowd. They had no means, however, of preventing the demonstrators from proceeding individually and in smaller groups, and of reassembling at the market square for the second climax of the event.

The market square was first and foremost a symbol of political power in the city. As in many towns of the region, a mighty municipal hall stood in the middle of the square. Its location thus defined the very city center on the urban map; at the same time, in the vertical dimension, the tower of the city hall was one of the distinctive elements in the urban skyline. The market square was framed by a chain of narrow houses on all four sides. One building, No. 10, was decidedly more impressive than others. It stood on the corner of the square, on one side facing the city hall, while on the other it was part of the "Ruthenian" (*Rus'ka*) Street. This street's name was a relic from medieval times when streets and districts were denominated by ethnic character. A few houses up *Rus'ka* street, opposite the old Ruthenian Assumption church that dated from the sixteenth century, another stately building housed the Ukrainian Insurance Association *Dnister*.

Fig. 3. The final stage of the rally: the former Lubomirski palace on market square (corner building). Source: Collection of the Center for Urban History of East Central Europe, L'viv / Ukraine.

Rynok 10, as the above-mentioned building was known, had originally belonged to the mighty and wealthy Polish noble family Lubomirski and was later used as a residence by the Austrian governors of Galicia. In 1895, it was bought by the Ukrainian educational society *Prosvita* and soon also housed *Rus'ka Besida*, the cultural club, and *Dilo*, the daily newspaper mentioned above. More than any other, this address thus represented the recent advance-

ment of Ukrainianness in the city.[14] Standing in for the non-existent Ukrainian symbols in the urban political landscape, the building itself played the role of a national monument. Logically, then, it was here that the demonstration of July 1, 1912, concluded.[15]

The *Prosvita*-house also had an architectural asset which made it suitable for what was now to follow: a balcony. Balconies are spatial extensions of the domestic, private sphere into public space. They not only (horizontally) link the inside and the outside, but by their vertical position (*vis-à-vis* the street level) they also define social hierarchies separating the one, or the few, *on* the balcony, from the many *below* it. When the demonstration had regathered in front of the house, it was again the *Dilo* editor Adam Vesolovs'kyi who stepped onto the balcony and addressed the crowd below. With the rooms of "his" newspaper *Dilo* in the back and the mighty town hall on eye-level across the square, Vesolovs'kyi picked up from his remarks at the cemetery about the Ukrainian plight in a Polish-dominated city. The new site on the market square, however, inspired him to spatial references.

The chief point of reference was the town hall in front of him. Just two months prior, this building had seen the city council vote for a protest resolution against the establishment of a Ukrainian university in Lemberg. This political act had come at a time when certain signs from Vienna seemed to indicate that the authorities, and the majority in the Polish parliamentary group, would comply with Ukrainian wishes to establish an institution of higher learning. Polish "Lwów" had mobilized itself in an unprecedented effort to protect itself against the supposed Ukrainianization of the city. Using their monopoly in the political bodies and their command over public space, the Polish power elites had been able to convey the impression that the entire city stood behind the elites' goal of defending itself from the proposed evil. Following the city council's unanimous vote on the resolution which condemned all attempts to undermine Lemberg's Polishness, including the establishment of a Ukrainian university, a massive rally commencing at the town hall had poured into the narrow streets of the city, once again demonstrating who was in command of the public space.[16]

The rally of July 1 finally provided a long-awaited opportunity to take revenge. The balcony of the *Prosvita* building standing "eye-to-eye" with the city hall combined with the support from the crowd below to lead the editor of *Dilo* to imagine the power he represented to be of equal importance as the one represented in the town hall. Over there, he exclaimed, the Poles had just rejected proposals for a Ukrainian university in this "originally (*korinno*)

14. On Polish sensitivity to dealing with this building, see also chapter 5 in Markian Prokopovych, "Architecture, Cultural Politics and National Identity: Lemberg, 1772-1918." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Budapest: Central European Univ., 2004), pp. 321-23.

15. See the contemporary photograph of the Lubomirski/Prosvita building in illustration 3.

16. Harald Binder, "Making and defending a Polish Town: Lwów (Lemberg), 1848–1914," *Austrian History Yearbook*, 34 (2003), 57-82.

Ukrainian town," whereas here in the *Prosvita* building, the powerful Ukrainian rally had proven that "we cannot be ignored in the streets of L'viv."[17] Once again these words clearly indicate how, on the eve of the Great War, the struggle for power had moved beyond the walls of administrative buildings and parliaments and into public urban space.

TWO NARRATIVES

The visual perspective from the balcony of *Rynok 10* appears to have determined the narrative which *Dilo* disseminated to its reading community. According to the Ukrainian paper, the participants of the rally followed Vesolovs'kyi's appeal to go home peacefully so as not to give the police an excuse for repressive actions.

Did they really go home? If we look at other sources, namely Polish press reports, we find quite a different picture of how the day ended. Quite obviously, *Dilo* was eager to present the memorial activities of July 1, 1912, to its best advantage. This meant not only applying the appropriate language and style to their reports; fundamentally important too was the chronological frame given to the narrative. Beginning, climax and end had to be constructed in such a way that would make the event qualify as a manifestation of dignity, significance and power in the eyes of the readers. The solemn beginning at the cemetery, the disciplined march down the road, the mighty gathering in the center of the city – the narrative demanded a conclusion of equally positive symbolic quality: a peaceful crowd, reasonable and self-controlled, following its leader's advice.

In the alternative narrative the story did not end at this point. According to Lemberg's major Polish daily paper, *Gazeta Narodowa*, once of liberal orientation and by 1910 controlled by right-wing Polish national conservatives and notorious for its anti-Ukrainian stance, Vesolovs'kyi's balcony speech was just the third scene in the play. A fourth and fifth were yet to follow: instead of going home after the demonstration, a crowd of youngsters gathered near the University. After trying unsuccessfully to force their way into the building, the Ukrainians then – as in many occasions before – found themselves faced by a group of Polish students. What followed was another round of severe fighting between Ukrainian and Polish youth. The Ukrainians were allegedly armed with "stones and plunder from the cemetery." This remark not only insinuated Ukrainian brutality and the desecration of a religious place; within the Polish five-act narrative it constructed a link between the first scene of supposed solemnity and the concluding outbreak of violence at the end. The conclusive scene in this "Polish" narrative read that the Poles were able to disperse their Ukrainian opponents and in the end left the "battlefield" victorious.[18]

17. *Dilo*, July 2, 1912,p. 2.
18. *Gazeta Narodowa*, July 3, 1912, p. 2.

A comparison of the two newspaper reports reveals many more examples of inconsistencies and contradictions between the two versions. Not only facts, but figures, are inserted into or left out of the picture. The Polish paper, for instance, claims that Lev Bachyns'kyi, member of the Ukrainian Radical Party and deputy to the *Reichsrat*, led the march down *Pekars'ka* Street while *Dilo* does not even mention his name. Being head of the committee for the commemoration of Kotsko he probably did take part, but the Polish papers had other reasons to stress this fact: Bachyns'kyi was probably the most feared and hated Ukrainian politician among the Poles in Galicia. By including him in the narrative, the journalist preparing the report could have been casting the character of the rally as an outright political provocation, thus helping those who were mobilizing the Polish population of Lemberg against the perceived Ukrainian threat.

Other discrepancies between the two accounts concerned the size of the demonstration (which ranges from 300 to 4,000) and its social composition (described as primarily of students or primarily of tramps). Equally, the group behavior of the participants and details of the speeches given were used to evoke positive or negative feelings among readerships. The Ukrainian paper gave the impression of a solemn demonstration made up of well-disciplined, determined people united behind a common goal. The workers marching side by side with priests and intellectuals allegedly exhibited the fearless determination of a socially underprivileged class, ready to disregard individual negative consequences for the common good of the nation. In the Polish reading of the event, the workers were very similar to "other vagabonds" and behaved just as irresponsibly as some schoolgirls who were attending the funeral instead of going to school. While the Ukrainian text emphasized the spiritual nature of the singing, the Polish paper cited the texts of songs and other phrases apt to frighten Polish readers, like "Ukrainianization of Lwów" or *hajdamaki*.[19]

What actually happened in Lemberg on July 1, 1912? It now seems hard to say.

CONCLUSION AND AN EPILOGUE

Such a statement of uncertainty brings us to a first, probably not very surprising conclusion: it does not suffice to say that the Lemberg press fundamentally shaped an animated urban landscape in the minds of its readers following the events of July 1912. The highly politicized atmosphere in the city at the time resulted in the transmission of completely different images of a single political event, with only very small areas of overlap in information and

19. The *hajdamaki* were Cossaks and peasant rebels of eighteenth-century Ukraine who fought against the Polish nobility.

attributed meanings. By inventing different narratives, the press essentially helped to create segregated national and political constituencies.

To be sure, this is not a phenomenon specific to Lemberg or East Central Europe. The strong interrelationship between politics and the media was certainly a hallmark of the time. Closely linked to this fact was the direct personal involvement of journalists in urban events, as seen in *Dilo*'s Adam Vesolovs'kyi. In such cases, where the person writing or responsible for a certain media report was so much a part of the event itself, his journalism would take on characteristics reminiscent of political chronicles. Only in the later twentieth century would the spheres of acting in the public and writing for the public be – more or less – clearly separated.

The use of Lemberg's public space described in this essay demonstrated many similarities with rallies in other towns. Political funerals were a common phenomenon of the time, just as marching and singing were forms of public action known throughout Europe. Examples of minorities who were not represented in public spaces can certainly be found in other cities, as well. In this case, the historical claim of the Ukrainian minority on Lemberg's past, coupled with the highly sensitive issue of proposing a national university and finally with the occasion itself, the mourning of the death of a young man, imparted to the event its special intensity. Finally, we can say that the urban form clearly did leave its mark on the event: a cemetery, a street, a square, and a building. Recalling the dramatic scene on Rynok Square and linking it to the aforementioned fact that Ukrainians were largely excluded from official self-representation in urban space, we are tempted to say: where monuments are silent, buildings speak all the louder.

Today *Rynok 10* has lost its shrill voice. The balcony still faces the town hall, but remains unused. A book shop on the ground floor relates to the *Prosvita* enlightenment movement of the late nineteenth century formerly installed in the house. The selection of books is, however, not unusual in the contemporary ethnically homogeneous Ukrainian city. Recently, a foreign initiative was planned to renovate the run-down building and turn it into a cultural center with a conspicuous, touristic character. If the plan succeeds, it will mark the beginning of yet another era in the history of a building which had once been an urban landmark of pride and provocation.

The second main site of this narrative, Kotsko's grave, can also still be found at Lychakiv cemetery not far from the graveyard's main entrance. Almost a century after the student's death, it now seems hard to imagine that this gloomy place had once sparked so much public excitement. In the interwar years, when the Ukrainian minority saw itself in an even more difficult situation than under Austrian rule, Kotsko's grave continued to serve as a focal

point for gatherings. The climax of Ukrainian political self-expression was the fourteenth anniversary of Kotsko's death celebrated in July 1924.[20]

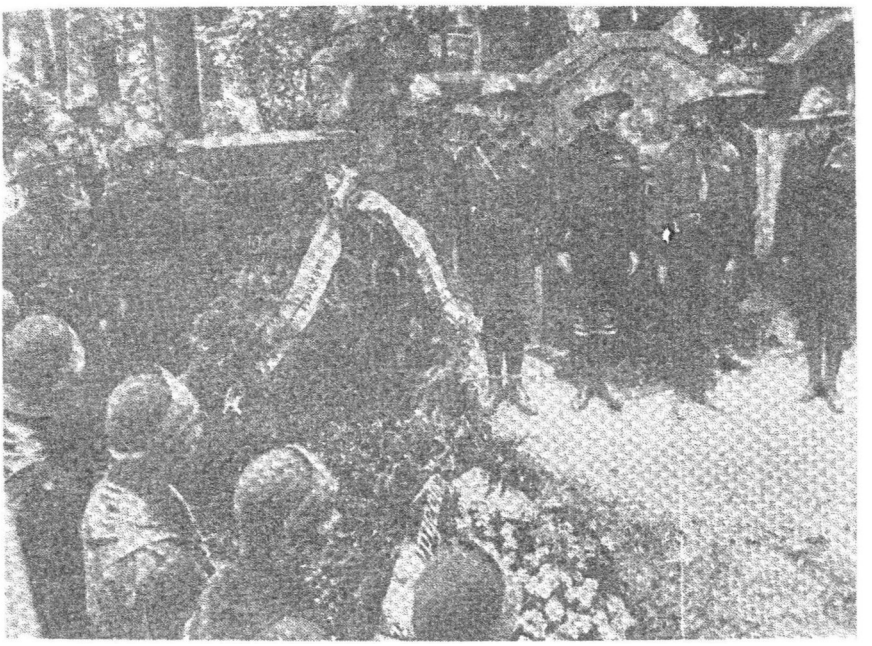

Fig. 4. Memorial service for Adam Kotsko in the year 1930. Source: *Al'manakh ukraiins'koho narodnoho Soiuzu na rik 1970*, p. 79

With the installation of Soviet power and the Ukranianization of the city, however, the political meaning of the site seemed doomed to wither. Only some know that, in fact, in the 1960s a very unusual series of events unexpectedly brought Kotsko's tomb back into public attention. The events serve as an epilogue to our story because they reveal, yet again, the important role of the press in creating a publicly relevant discourse even when political circumstances are not favorable. And it touches on the significance of monuments – regardless of where they stand – as places of memory beyond the discontinuities in history:[21]

In late 1953 or early 1954, the mourning figure in bronze disappeared from Kotsko's grave. Initially the conditions of the late Stalin period did not

20. See Figure 4. Papers of the committee which organized this celebration are to be found in the L'viv Central Historical Archive (CDIAL), Fond 399, op. 1, Spr. 86. See also the brochure: *Borys'. Zbirka statey z pryvodu 14-litnikh rokovyn smerti A. Kotska* [Fight! Collected articles dedicated to the 14th anniversary of the death of A. Kotsko] (L'viv, 1926).

21. On the following, see the set of documents published in Hryhoriy Lupiy, *Lychakivs'kyi cvyntar* [Lychakiv cemetery] (L'viv: Kameniar, 1996), pp. 312-19.

provide a space for public reaction to the theft. Ten years later, however, the case of the stolen female figure gave evidence of the revival of a certain *Öffentlichkeit* in L'viv. A specialist and admirer of Kotsko, Yosyp Ts'och, who authored of a book on Kotsko in 1960, brought up the matter in a regional newspaper, "Vil'na Ukraiina" (Free Ukraine). Certainly still consistent with political mandates of the time, he cast Kotsko as an "outstanding hero of the West Ukrainian revolutionary movement". The unexpectedly enthusiastic response to Ts'och's article, however, demonstrated that for many L'viv citizens the memory of Kotsko had not faded. As one letter to the editor stated, many people of the older generation, many of them witnesses to the events of July 1910, still regularly visited their hero's final resting place in the Lychakiv cemetery. Like Ts'och, their souls felt bitterness when confronted with the disgrace of the desecrated tomb. The authors of such letters to the editor appealed for the restoration of its dignity because "we must honor the fighters for our national freedom, those who gave their lives for the happiness of our days."[22]

The patriotic fervor of these words, indeed reminiscent of the rhetoric of the pre-World War I years, inspired the newspaper to take further action. A letter was sent to the city administration where it was received favorably. The task of restoring the tomb was, however, not easy to accomplish, for the only way to restore the solemn aura of Kotsko's grave was to produce a copy of the lost figure. Contacts with the German creators of the tombstone were established and quite by chance – and to everyone's great surprise – the ensuing correspondence led to the rediscovery of the original statue. Even more astonishing was the place where it was found: thousands of kilometers away from L'viv: in Riga, where it was adorning another grave. The circumstances of its adventurous trip across the Baltic Sea were never discovered. More important and quite to the disappointment of the project initiators in L'viv, all efforts to bring the figure back came to nothing. The happy end of the story was left to be written by yet another period in the history of L'viv and Eastern Europe: in 1989 the bronze statue embarked on its return trip from Riga to L'viv. On July 1, 1990, on the occasion of the eightieth anniversary of the death of Adam Kotsko it was placed back in its original site, where it continues to stand today.[23]

22. *Vil'na Ukraiina*, 184, 18 Sept. 18, 1965.

23. Roman Korytko, "Postrily v universytetskych korydorach" [Shots in the University corridors], *Litopys chervonoii kalyny*, 10-12 (1994), 25-29. Also on July 1, 1990, a relief was put up on the facade of the former University building (today the Faculty of Biology) where Kotsko lost his life. *Vil'na Ukraiina*, 127, July 3, 1990.