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War Commemorative Rituals, Funerals, and the Construction of Collective Memory in interwar Lviv

Unlike in Western European countries, public memory about the First World War was marginalized in the Second Polish Republic. It was impossible to integrate various imperial legacies into the national discourse; the struggle for independence against Ukrainians and the Soviets became a focal point of commemorative narratives. Lviv's urban space was the centre of a symbolic struggle of Polish and Ukrainian memory discourses in which the Ukrainian community was presented as an internal "enemy" potentially dangerous to the Polish state. The article studies the Polish official memory discourse through analysis various political rituals and the construction of "The Cemetery of Young Eagles" in Lviv. Different commemorative practices and the cemetery became the foundation of the official model of Polish collective memory about the Ukrainian-Polish war. The focus on the process of memory construction and urban space during the first part of the 1920s allows to explore the main patterns in the official memory discourse and to reveal a more nuanced image.

Key words: *memory, commemorative rituals, Lviv, monument to the Unknown Soldier*

На відміну від країн Західної Європи в міжвоєнній Польщі пам'ять про Першу світову війну залишилась маргіналізованою. Імперську спадщину було неможливо інтегрувати в національний дискурс і як наслідок війна з українцями та радянською армією стали найважливішими елементами комеморативних на-

ративів. Публічний простір Львова був центром боротьби між польським та українським дискурсами пам'яті. У цій «війні» українці змальовувались як потенційно небезпечні для польської держави внутрішні вороги. Аналізуючи різні політичні ритуали та процес спорудження «Цвинтарю оборонців», стаття вивчає офіційний дискурс пам'яті. Різні комеморативні практики та цвинтар стали основою офіційної моделі польської колективної пам'яті про українсько-польську війну. Зосередження уваги на процесі конструювання пам'яті та міському просторі в першій половині 1920-х років дозволяє дослідити основні тенденції в офіційному дискурсі.

Ключові слова: пам'ять, комеморативні ритуали, пам'ятник невідомому солдату, Львів

After the Great War, military monuments and cemeteries became sites of individual and collective memory. Commemorative rituals were promoted by states and were incorporated into various national discourses.¹ Veneration of the “Unknown Soldier,” parades, and other commemoration ceremonies were used to consolidate the nation. Nationalistic and Christian symbols adorned all nation’s war cemeteries. However, some scholars have highlighted a tension between public and private memorialization of World War I. Commemorative practices were a paradoxical form of remembrance as often they either overlooked or sacralized the mass slaughter and casualties of the war itself.²

Though interwar Poland’s memory discourse was similar to those in other European countries, it focused on the Ukrainian-Polish and the Polish-Soviet wars, not the Great War. During the First World War, the Polish state did not exist and Poles often fought in

¹ Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning. The Great War in Cultural European History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 79

² *Memoirs and the Representations of Great War. The case of World War I and World War II*, ed. E. Lamberti and Vita Fortunati (Amsterdam – New York, 2009), 16-17; Koshar R. *From Monuments to Traces. Artifact of German Memory, 1870-1990* (Berkley-Los Angeles-London: University of California Press, 2000), 99

opposing imperial armies. The only element from the Great War that became part of Polish national mythology was Józef Piłsudski's Legions, the Polish ethnic regiments that were the part of the Austro-Hungarian army. Simultaneously, several national minorities constructed their own martial memories.³ The multiethnic borderlands of Eastern Europe were the territories in which national narratives clashed; ethnic identity and wartime memory became regional fault lines. The article analyses the Polish official memory discourse embedded in military funerals, various political rituals, and the construction of "The Cemetery of Young Eagles" in Lviv. Different commemorative practices and the cemetery became the foundation of the official model of Polish collective memory about the Ukrainian-Polish war. The focus on the process of memory construction and urban space during the first part of the 1920s allows us to unpack the main patterns in the official memory discourse and to reveal a more nuanced image.

A borderland city with an ethnically heterogeneous population, Lviv was geographically situated near Poland's eastern frontier. According to the 1910 census, roughly 196,000 people lived in the city, of whom 52 % were Roman Catholic, 29% were Jews, and 18 % were Greek-Catholic.⁴ The First World War almost immediately effected the everyday life of Lviv dwellers. In September 1914, the city was occupied by the Russian army; a joint Austro-German offensive in spring 1915 liberated the city by the end of the June. The relatively short occupation had serious political, social, and economic consequences. The subsequent years of war deepened the city's economic crises and increased tension between different ethnic

³ Christoph Mick, *Lemberg, Lwów, L'viv, 1914-1947: Violence and Ethnicity in Contested City* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2016), 220-248; Christoph Mick, "The Dead and the Living. War Veterans and Memorial Culture in Interwar Polish Galicia," In *Sacrifice and Rebirth. The Legacy of the last Habsburg War*, ed. Mark Cornwall and John Paul Newman (Berghahn Books, 2016), 233-257

⁴ Pazyra S, *Ludność Lwowa w pierwszej ćwierci XX wieku*, in *Studja z historii społecznej i gospodarczej poświęcone prof. dr. Franciszkowi Bujakowi*, (Lwów, 1931), 417-418, 422, 427-428

groups. Gradually, Lviv dwellers were losing their loyalty towards the Habsburg monarchy and the struggle for an independent Polish state intensified. However, similar processes developed within Ukrainian ethnic communities and after the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Ukrainian-Polish war of Eastern Galicia ensued. During November 1918, street fighting in Lviv cleaved the city's Polish and Ukrainian communities. Although the Ukrainian army evacuated Lviv on 22 November, the city itself was besieged from December 1918 to April 1919. Moreover, violence did not stop with the end of urban warfare as the Jewish pogrom occurred from November 22-24th. The pogrom served to punish the Jews for their neutral position during the Ukrainian-Polish war.⁵ After a short period of peace, the military front of the Polish-Soviet war in summer 1920 ran near the city.

The memorialization of fallen soldiers spread throughout the city during the Great War. Both authorities and various national communities commemorated soldiers through public celebrations and funerals. Soldiers were buried in military cemeteries or in separate parts of public cemeteries.⁶ Polish public funerals even took place according to a near-universal "script." Funerary processions walked through the city centre, stopping near the monument to Polish writer Adam Mickiewicz, sang various dirges, and offered patriotic speeches at the cemetery..⁷

Ethnic myths and cults were soon created that validated Poland's claim to Eastern Galicia. Myths about the heroic struggle of young

⁵ Chwila, January 15, 1919, 4; Chwila, February 7, 1919, 2; Republika, February 15, 1919, 4; (Derzhavnyi archiv Lvivs'koi oblasti) DALO, f. 257, op. 2, spr. 1624, ark. 2

⁶ Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv (TsDIAuL). – f. 694, op. 1, spr. 1, ark. 10; Bohdan Janusz. 293 Dni

Rządów Rosyjskich we Lwowie (Lwów: Księgarnia Polska, 1915), 96; *Wiek Nowy* (WN), November 3, 1915, 4; WN, February 22, 1916, 7; WN, May 14, 1916, 10; WN, May 16, 1916, 4; TsDIAuL, f. 701, op.1, spr. 388, ark. 13; WN, November 16, 1916, 10-11

⁷ WN, February 22, 1916, 7; WN, May 14, 1916, 10; WN May 16, 1916., 4

defenders (*orlęta*), women, and children appeared soon after November 1918. Their stories were quickly published in local newspapers; the liberation of Lviv by Polish children, women, and hooligans (*batiary*) became part of the myth.⁸ Jurko Bitchan, a fourteen-year-old runaway, was one of the many children who gave his life for Lviv's freedom. His mother, Aleksandra Zagórska, also actively participated in "defense", organizing the Women's Civil Militia. His parents decided to build a monument to his sacrifice where he died.⁹ Soon thereafter, the Women's Civil Committee created a scholarship in Bitchan's honor for the young poor participants of the Ukrainian-Polish war.¹⁰ Such stories were very common and established a well-recognized pattern of commemoration. For instance, *Kurjer Lwowski* stressed that Tadeusz Loewenscham's last words, another young Lviv defender, were: "Long live Polish Lviv!"¹¹ These narratives about the heroic struggle of children were replicated in memoirs and fiction; they became especially popular in the 1920 and 1930s.¹² Czesław Mączyński, the city's Polish commandant in November 1918, wrote in the 1926 introduction to *W obronie Lwowa i kresów wschodnich*:

⁸ WN, November 22, 1918, 1; Kurier Lwowski (KL), November 25, 1918, 2; KL, December 9, 1918, 2–3; KL, January 13, 1919, 2; KL, January 30, 1919, 2; KL, April 25, 1919, 3; WN, December 10, 1918, 8; Pobudka, November 22, 1919, 4, 8.

⁹ KL, November 25, 1918, 2; WN, November 28, 1918, 6; KL, December 4, 1918, 2; Biblioteka Narodowa w Warszawie (BN), 15548/II, 24; Pobudka, November 22, 1919, 4; DALO, f. 257, op. 2, 1624, ark. 2

¹⁰ Pobudka, December 14, 1918, 4.

¹¹ KL, December 30, 1919, 2

¹² T. Zubrzycki, *Dzieci Lwowa. Opowieść z listopadowych dni chwały i grozy obrony Lwowa* (Lwów, 1921); Józef Białynia Chołodecki, *Bohaterska dziatwa w obronie Lwowa. Opowieść o Tadeuszu, Janie i Halinie Grabskich poległych w walkach o Lwów*. (Lwów; S. L. Koła im. Adama Asnyka we Lwowie, 1926); *Kajet wojenny dziecka Lwowskiego, (Z przeżyć w czasie oblężenia miasta Lwowa od listopada 1918 do kwietnia 1919 roku)* (Lwów: Z drukarni L. Wiśniewskiego, 1921); Stanisław Nicieja, *Lwowskie Orłęta. Czyn i legenda* (Warszawa: Wydawn Iskry, 2009), s. 60-71; Christoph Mick, *Lemberg, Lwów, L'viv, 1914-1947: Violence and Ethnicity in Contested City* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2016), 222-223

Everyone who struggled desired a soldier's death; an honourable death for the motherland. There was no unit that did not follow this order, that did not fight to the last round, to the last soldier, to the last drop of blood.¹³

During the Ukrainian-Polish war the funeral ceremonies over soldiers' bodies moved from private to public spaces and also turned into nationalistic manifestations. Funerals drew large crowds of Lviv dwellers, including politicians, officials, well-known actors, orchestral musicians, and singers from theatre choirs. The first funeral for fallen soldiers took place three days after the Ukrainian army left the city.¹⁴ This typical example of a mass funeral witnessed the burial of 23 soldiers from Warsaw at the end of January 1919. It started near the military hospital was located and marched through the city to the Lyczakiwsky cemetery. The soloists of the Opera House sang a "Requiem," the theater choir sang mourning songs near the Mickiewicz monument, and speeches were delivered at the cemetery. Among the soldiers was a Protestant and a Jew and in addition to a Roman-Catholic priest, an Evangelist minister and a rabbi participated in the ceremony.¹⁵ The burials clearly functioned as public commemorative rituals. The remains of Władysław Smutek who died in the first days of November were relocated from Bema Square to the Lyczakiwsky cemetery at the end of February 1919. The re-burial checked the same boxes of commemoration as the funeral of the soldiers from Warsaw.¹⁶

Such funerals occurred daily during the Ukrainian-Polish war and they helped the population survive the siege. One of the journalists described the funeral of a young woman, Sofia Chołewianka. The author wrote that everyone was accustomed to these sad ceremonies but that that particular burial was moving because it was very

¹³ Czesław Mączyński, „Słowo wstępne,” in *W obronie Lwowa i kresów wschodnich. Polegli od 1-go Listopada 1918 do 30 Czerwca 1919* (Lwów, 1926), 8

¹⁴ KL, November 25, 1918, 1; BN, 15548/II, 22; WN, November 25, 1918, 3

¹⁵ KL, January 22, 1919, 3.

¹⁶ KL, February 23, 1919, 4.

simple and induced tears in participants.¹⁷ The funerals of women who did not partake in combat but who struggled for the city nonetheless, were more modest. Examples of such funerals are the burials of noted feminist and artist Maria Dułębianska and Countess Theodosia Diduszycka, both of whom were infected by typhus while inspecting Ukrainian internment camps for the Polish prisoners-of-war.¹⁸

Ukrainian soldiers were also buried solemnly,¹⁹ though public ceremonies were often prohibited by authorities. Ukrainian representatives wrote to Kazimierz Gałęcki, a delegate of the Polish government in Galicia, lamenting that the public was not to be informed about the time and location of Ukrainian funerals and that any related congregations would be dispersed by force. Funerals for Ukrainian soldiers were interrupted, Greek-Catholic priests were removed, and Roman-Catholic priests conducted the ceremonies instead.²⁰ Jewish representatives also informed about disrespect shown to their community's sites of commemoration. He wrote that Polish soldiers put their horses to pasture in the Jewish cemetery, beat workers, and broke several grave stones and monuments. Even graves of Jewish soldiers who struggled on the Polish side during the Ukrainian-Polish conflict were destroyed.²¹

During the street battles of November 1918 access to city cemeteries was restricted and soldiers were buried at various sites. For instance, a military hospital was located in a Polytechnic building and, as the result, one of the largest cemeteries emerged in its yard.²² Later, it was suggested to fence-off these small cemeteries.²³ After the Ukrainian army had left the city, Polish soldiers killed during the

¹⁷ KL, March 26, 1919, 3.

¹⁸ KL, March 19, 1919, 4; KL, March 12, 1919, 1; WN, March 12, 1919, 6; WN, March 14, 1919, 9.

¹⁹ Vpered, March 12, 1919, 2.

²⁰ TsDIAuL, f. 146, op. 6, spr. 122, ark. 42.

²¹ TsDIAuL, f. 701, op.1, spr. 506, ark. 1-2 zv., 5-6.

²² KL, November 23, 1918, 3.

²³ KL, May 3, 1919, 6.

Ukrainian-Polish conflict were buried in “The Cemetery of Defenders,” a special part of Lyczakiwsky cemetery. The remains of the soldiers buried in other parts of the city during the urban fighting were moved to the “Cemetery of Defenders.”²⁴ After the body of the last soldier was relocated from the Polytechnic grounds, Polish activists decided to memorialize fallen soldiers and erected a modest monument.²⁵

Maria Ciszkowa, a mother of a fallen soldier, suggested organizing a special committee that would tend the cemetery—“The Society for the Protection of the Graves of Polish Heroes” was established in July 1919.²⁶ Even though some families kept an eye on their relatives’ graves, many were covered by grass and the cemetery was generally neglected. The local newspaper *Kurjer Lwowski* criticized authorities who failed to take care of the cemetery, especially in comparison to the well-groomed cemeteries in Germany. The newspaper did not consider the labor shortage as a valid explanation of the poor maintenance of the cemetery.²⁷ In October 1921, the critical remarks appeared again in *Kurjer Lwowski*. An article even suggested that, perhaps, schoolchildren could be used to tend the graves. Dr. Władysław Kubik, who supervised work at the cemetery, lauded the children’s work, but noted that their volunteerism could not replace the efforts of full-time workers. For example, they usually did not work during the summer vacation. Kubik suggested fundraising to hire a disabled veteran to tend the cemetery.²⁸

²⁴ KL, February 23, 1919, 4; KL, April 25, 1919, 3; KL, May 1, 1919, 5; KL, May 12, 1919, 3.

²⁵ KL, May 12, 1919, 3

²⁶ Przewodnik po cmentarzu obrońców Lwowa (Lwów: Staraniem i nakładem Straży Mogił Polskich Bohaterów, 1939), <http://www.lwow.com.pl/orleta/orleta39.html>; Józef Białynia Chołodecki, „Cmentarz obrońców Lwow,” in *W obronie Lwowa i kresów wschodnich. Polegli od 1-go Listopada 1918 do 30 Czerwca 1919* (Lwów, 1926), 16

²⁷ KL, August 4, 1919, 3

²⁸ KL, September 10, 1921, 2

Clearly, local authorities and the Polish community did not pay enough attention to the “Cemetery of Defenders” in the early 1920s. This changed later in the decade, however, as the cemetery was transformed “Cemetery of the Eaglets (*orlęt*)” in which fallen soldiers from the Ukrainian-Polish and the Polish-Soviet wars were buried. The cemetery quickly became a patriotic symbol for the newborn Polish state. In April 1921, the cemetery administration held an open design competition to redesign the grounds. The committee, ultimately, chose a project titled “White Roses.” Rudulf Indruch, a former soldier and student at Lviv Polytechnic who designed the winning project.²⁹ According to his design, the cemetery would consist of three terraces of graves, catacombs, a chapel, and a gated triumphal arch with twelve Doric columns. The carved figure of a knight dominated the center of the monument.³⁰ Dissimilar to most First World War military cemeteries, the “Cemetery of the Eaglets” monuments featured only male and masculine motifs.³¹ This project was criticized, though because of its significant cost and lengthy construction schedule. Some observers wryly insisted that their grandchildren would officially open the finished cemetery. Some parts of Indruch’s project were not implemented, for instance, the knight statue was not built.³² The “Cemetery of Eaglets” symbolized not only a site of national mourning for fallen soldiers but also the triumph of Poland’s national project in Eastern Galicia.

The uniformity of Great War cemeteries in Western Europe symbolized the comradeship of soldiers in the trenches. In contrast,

²⁹ Stanisław Niciejka, *Lwowskie Orleńta. Czyn i legenda* (Warszawa: Wydawn Iskry, 2009), 83-84; KL, October 19, 1921, 5; KL, April 15, 1921, 5

³⁰ Józef Białynia Chołodecki, „Cmentarz obrońców Lwowa,” in *W obronie Lwowa i kresów wschodnich. Polegli od 1-go Listopada 1918 do 30 Czerwca 1919* (Lwów, 1926), 17

³¹ Prost, Antoine, “Monuments to the Dead,” in *Realms of Memory*. Pierre Nora, ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 315-316

³² *Przewodnik po cmentarzu obrońców Lwowa* (Lwów: Staraniem i nakładem Straży Mogił Polskich Bohaterów, 1939), <http://www.lwow.com.pl/orleta/orleta39.html>

Indruch's design did not emphasize the equality of fallen soldiers.³³ According to his design, the catacombs would host the bodies of the seventy-two soldiers who died the most heroic and valiant deaths for the Polish nation. Some "Lviv defenders" protested against this aspect of the design and a heated discussion took place in the newspapers. The critics insisted that it was not possible to divide the fallen "defenders" into those whose deaths were more and less meritorious.³⁴ Chaplain Józef Panasia, a representative of "The Society for the Protection of the Graves of Polish Heroes", responded to this criticism. He stressed that the catacombs were only a small part of the design and that debates about whom would be buried there were ultimately unimportant. Nonetheless, some families donated money for its construction as they wanted to bury their relatives there. However, the chaplain argued that the placement of soldiers' remains in the catacombs would not divide fallen soldiers into first and second classes.³⁵ Eventually, a special commission decided that the remains of men and women, regardless of age or class, from different battlefields and regions of Poland who died during the first days of November 1918 would be interred there. This compromise changed public opinion and the catacombs were constructed.³⁶

Clear nationalistic messages were present not only in the cemetery's redesign, but in the patriotic speeches offered during various ceremonies, as well. The first part of the project, a chapel, was finished in September 1924 and its solemnization occurred on Septem-

³³ Koszar Rudy, *From the Monuments to Traces. Artefacts of German Memory, 1870-1990* (University of California Press, 2000), 99; Stanisław Nicieja, *Lwowskie Orleża. Czyn i legenda* (Warszawa: Wydawn Iskry, 2009), 88

³⁴ KL, May 4, 1925, 1; KL, May 21, 1925, 3

³⁵ Stanisław Nicieja, *Lwowskie Orleża. Czyn i legenda* (Warszawa: Wydawn Iskry, 2009), 90

³⁶ *Przewodnik po cmentarzu obrońców Lwowa* (Lwów: Staraniem i nakładem Straży Mogił Polskich Bohaterów, 1939), – <http://www.lwow.com.pl/orleta/orleta39.html>

ber 28th, 1924.³⁷ Local and state representatives participated in the ceremony and Władysław Sikorski, the Polish minister of defense, came from Warsaw as a distinguished guest. After the Mass he talked about the connection between the graves and the nation:

The best proof of the unity of the Polish lands is these graves, in which children from all parts of Poland sleep. Widely spread graves confirm the conscious will of the nation and faith in own future.³⁸

Intergenerational continuity was underlined during these event. In addition to the soldiers of the Ukrainian-Polish and the Polish-Soviet wars, participants in the 1863-1864 rebellion and the young scouts (*harcerzy*) participated in the sacralization of the chapel as they were the honored predecessors to the heroes of the twentieth century.³⁹ Władysław Sikorski also opened the memorial plaques devoted to Romuald Traugutt at the Bernardine monastery on the same day.⁴⁰ Traugutt led the 1863-1864 rebellion and was executed by Russian authorities in Warsaw in August 1864.

Another monument that was not part of the “Cemetery of Defenders” but belonged to the same commemorative discourse was opened the same day in Lviv. The monument in the suburb of Persenkowka commemorated the area’s fallen Polish soldiers who died between November 1918 and April 1919. Rudolf Indruch, who re-designed the Cemetery of the Eaglets, also created this monument and Wanda Mazanowska, who lost her son during the fighting in Persenkowka, chaired the committee that supervised construction. The monument consisted of two connected Greek pillars adorned with plaques on which where the names of fallen soldiers were written. In his speech Dr. Stahl, the Lviv Vice-President, stressed that the

³⁷ KL, September 28, 1924, 3; KL, October 2, 1924, 3; Józef Białynia Chołodecki, „Cmentarz obrońców Lwow,” in *W obronie Lwowa i kresów wschodnich. Polegli od 1-go Listopada 1918 do 30 Czerwca 1919* (Lwów, 1926), 18

³⁸ Cyt za. Józef Białynia Chołodecki, *Cmentarz obrońców Lwow. W obronie Lwowa i kresów wschodnich. Polegli od 1-go Listopada 1918 do 30 Czerwca 1919* (Lwów, 1926), 18

³⁹ *Gazeta Lwowska* (GL), October 1, 1924, 2

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

memory of Persenkowka's heroes would be alive in Polish Lviv forever as an example worthy of emulation.⁴¹ Colonel Śniadowski repeated almost the same:

[...] It [the monument] had to be the symbol around which the dwellers of this city, whether woman, officer, or child, would stand hand-in-hand against any enemy.⁴²

Śniadowski articulated the myth about the equal struggle of women, children and soldiers. Such rhetoric stressed Lviv's inherent Polishness and was clearly directed against the Ukrainians as an internal enemy.

One of the main features of the post-Great War commemorative practices was the creation of the cult of the Unknown Soldier. France and the Great Britain, in November 1920, became the first countries in which monuments to WW1 unknown soldiers were established. Next year similar monuments were erected in Italy, the United States, and Portugal.⁴³ The Polish government "borrowed" the commemorative patterns of Western European countries and at the beginning of 1925 authorities decided to establish the monument of the Unknown Soldier in Warsaw. The Historical Office of the General Staff suggested fifteen sites from where remains could be exhumed and special criteria were used to select the battlefield. These included the number of casualties, the size and location of the battlefield, and

⁴¹ Józef Białynia Chołodecki, „Cmentarz obrońców Lwów,” W obronie Lwowa i kresów wschodnich. Polegli od 1-go Listopada 1918 do 30 Czerwca 1919 (Lwów, 1926), 19-24; Przewodnik po cmentarzu obrońców Lwowa (Lwów: Staraniem i nakładem Straży Mogił Polskich Bohaterów, 1939), – <http://www.lwow.com.pl/orleta/orleta39.html#emilia>; GL, October 1, 1924, 2

⁴² Cyt za. Józef Białynia Chołodecki, „Cmentarz obrońców Lwów,” W obronie Lwowa i kresów wschodnich. Polegli od 1-go Listopada 1918 do 30 Czerwca 1919 (Lwów, 1926), 23

⁴³ Carole Blair, V. William Balthrop and Neil Michel, *The Arguments of Tombs of the Unknown: Relationality and National Legitimation, Argumentation*, 25, Vol. 4 (2011): 449-468; Laura Wittman, *The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, Modern Mourning and the Reinvention of the Mystical Body* (University of Toronto Press, 2011), 3-4

the importance of the battle to the larger conflict. As such, most of the fifteen battles took place in Galicia and contemporary Belarus. Unknown remains from Lviv were chosen in a lottery conducted in April 1925.⁴⁴

As such, a three day, ritualized ceremony took place in Lviv in which even Lviv's Jewish community participated. The Jewish Zionist newspaper *Chwila* published numerous articles about the reburial of the Unknown Soldier. In contrast, the most popular Ukrainian newspaper *Dilo* completely ignored the pomp and circumstance. The city was decorated, officials were forced to take the day off, and the reburial became a day of national glory.⁴⁵ The special organizing committee published the following:

The body of the Unknown Soldier will be transferred from the Lviv battlefield to Warsaw not in mourning but in a triumphal procession, in order to remain forever in an aura of immortal glory and in the glow of a lit Candle. It will be moved and will be respected as a symbol of nameless sacrifice that gives to us independence and state power.⁴⁶

The rhetoric behind the establishment of unknown soldier monuments was similar in all countries. It was emphasized that he could be someone's lost family member. For example, the following inscription was written in on the monument in Paris:

⁴⁴ Wanda Mazanowska, „Geneza symbolu nieznanego żołnierza,” in *W obronie Lwowa i kresów wschodnich. Polegli od 1-go Listopada 1918 do 30 Czerwca 1919* (Lwów, 1926), 189-190

⁴⁵ Wanda Mazanowska, „Geneza symbolu nieznanego żołnierza,” in *W obronie Lwowa i kresów wschodnich. Polegli od 1-go Listopada 1918 do 30 Czerwca 1919* (Lwów, 1926), 189-196; *Chwila*, October 28, 1925, 4; *Chwila*, October 29, 1925, 14; *Chwila*, October 30, 1925, 10; *Chwila*, October 31, 1925, 4; *Chwila*, November 1, 1925, 1,4; *Chwila*, November 2, 1925, 3; *KL*, October 29, 1925, 3; *KL*, October 30, 1925, 4, 7; *KL*, October 31, 1925, 3, 5; *KL*, November 1, 1925, 1, 3, 5; *KL*, November 2, 1925, 3

⁴⁶ Cyt. za Wanda Mazanowska, „Geneza symbolu nieznanego żołnierza,” in *W obronie Lwowa i kresów wschodnich. Polegli od 1-go Listopada 1918 do 30 Czerwca 1919* (Lwów, 1926), 191

Here is a hero of the Great War, with no known identity except his nationality.

He might be your father, your husband, your brother, your son...

Therefore, take solace in knowledge that he has a grave and has been honored as a hero.⁴⁷

The special executive committee in Lviv published an appeal to Lvivonians to participate in ceremonies connected to the burial of the Unknown Soldier:

Remember that when you honor the remains of the Unknown Soldier, you at the same time honor the memory of your fathers and sons, the memory of everyone from the farthest parts of Poland who died for Poland and Polish Lviv.⁴⁸

Despite similarities with Western European examples, nationalistic narratives dominated Polish commemorations. Carole Blair, V. William Balthrop, and Neil Michel argue that the establishment of monuments of unknown soldiers served as closure for the families and friends of fallen soldiers.⁴⁹ However, the “official” nationalistic rhetoric in Poland left little room for personal grief.

The process of selecting the unknown remains was also similar across Europe. Nationality was the only identification marker and often the public did not even know the battlefield or the cemetery from where the remains came. Military rank was immaterial: officers and privates were treated as equals.⁵⁰ Three bodies of unknown sol-

⁴⁷ Cited in Carole Blair, V. William Balthrop and Neil Michel, “The Arguments of Tombs of the Unknown: Relationality and National Legitimation,” *Argumentation*, 25, Vol. 4 (2011): 460

⁴⁸ Cyt. za Wanda Mazanowska, „Geneza symbolu nieznanego żołnierza,” in *W obronie Lwowa i kresów wschodnich. Polegli od 1-go Listopada 1918 do 30 Czerwca 1919 (Lwów, 1926)*, 191

⁴⁹ Carole Blair, V. William Balthrop and Neil Michel, “The Arguments of Tombs of the Unknown: Relationality and National Legitimation,” *Argumentation*, 25, Vol. 4 (2011): 460

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 453-454; Malcolm Humble, “The Unknown Soldier and the Return of the Fallen: The Political Dimension of Mourning in German Texts from the First World War to the Present,” *The Modern Language Review*, Vol. 93, No. 4 (2009): 1034

diers buried at the “Cemetery of Eaglets” were exhumed on 29 October 1925. Jadwiga Zarugewiczuwa, who lost her son during the war, chose the remains that were moved to Warsaw. However, the selection ceremony in Lviv was different from those that took place in France, Britain, or the USA. The public knew not only the battlefield and the cemetery from where body was exhumed but also other identification markers, such as the ranks of the fallen soldiers. The remains were of a private, a sergeant, and a corporal. In other words, the organizers of the ceremony emphasized the rank differentiation. Jadwiga Zarugewiczuwa chose the coffin holding the remains of the private and he became the symbolic representative of the Unknown Soldier in Poland.⁵¹

During the next two days the farewell ceremony took place in the city, becoming a visible element of urban public space. At first, the remains were moved from the cemetery to the Cathedral and then through the city center to a railway station. On its way to the station, the procession stopped near the university, the Polytechnic, and the central post-office. Along the route, choirs sang various mourning songs. The main hall of the railway station, the site of the farewell ceremony, was turned into a “mausoleum.” These were days filled with various rituals. For instance, church bells started ringing before the procession entered the Cathedral, horns of locomotives and sirens of the factories whistled, and life in the city stopped for two minutes of silence. During Mass and the transportation of the coffin through the city, two mothers, two widows, two orphans, and two disabled soldiers accompanied the catafalque. A special train moved the remains of the Unknown Soldier to Warsaw together with a fifty-five-person retinue. During this trip the door of the coach was opened, allowing everyone to see the coffin.⁵² Moreover, various commemorations took place not only in Warsaw but in all parts of Poland. The

⁵¹ Wanda Mazanowska, „Geneza symbolu nieznanego żołnierza,” *W obronie Lwowa i kresów wschodnich. Polegli od 1-go Listopada 1918 do 30 Czerwca 1919* (Lwów, 1926), 193

⁵² *Ibid.*, 192-198

government decided to memorialize the Unknown Soldier by holding one minute of silence on 2 November: officials were given three hours off of work.⁵³

That the remains could have been exhumed from one of fifteen battlefields underlined both the unity of the country and importance of the newly incorporated regions. After the remains were exhumed, Józef Neumann, Lviv's City President stated that the city "gifts the respectable remains of a Hero to the whole of Poland."⁵⁴ He also underlined:

The Lviv battlefield gives to Poland one of many unknowns who devoted their lives to the Motherland. Our city is proud and happy. This is the right decision because the majority of soldiers died on those battlefields [...]⁵⁵

Ultimately, the idea of unity and centralization overcame regional divisions in official Polish discourse. On 28 October 1925, the government ordered all plaques outside of the capital that commemorated unknown soldiers donated to museums as only the monument in Warsaw "was an appropriate symbol of national sacrifice."⁵⁶ Instead local authorities had to establish "modest" monuments with plaques containing the names of local soldiers who perished during the First World War.⁵⁷ In other words, the new Polish authorities proclaimed that the monument to the Unknown Soldier could reside only in the national capital and such a symbol had to unite the entire country. In contrast, the local communities could only commemorate the known heroes, not the nameless. This explains, in part, why a

⁵³ GL, October 30, 1925, 1

⁵⁴ Cyt. za Wanda Mazanowska, „Geneza symbolu nieznanego żołnierza,” in *W obronie Lwowa i kresów wschodnich. Polegli od 1-go Listopada 1918 do 30 Czerwca 1919* (Lwów, 1926), 193

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ GL October 31, 1925, 1

⁵⁷ Ibid

marble plaque was placed on the former grave of the Unknown Soldier in Lviv twelve years later, in November 1937.⁵⁸

The funerals of fallen soldiers during the Ukrainian-Polish war became one of the basic elements in the creation of collective memory about the war. These practices were accompanied by short newspaper stories and occurred in urban public space during the war itself. The construction of the ostentatious cemetery was started as private grassroots initiative. “The Society for the Protection of the Graves of the Polish Heroes” and its leader Maria Ciszkowa had cared for the cemetery since 1919. This committee promoted the idea of a monumental cemetery and was the main booster for Indruch’s project. Despite criticism, the grand, controversial, and very expensive cemetery design was implemented; construction lasted nearly twenty years. The cemetery and the monument of the Unknown Soldier provided closure for the families of soldiers. Often, the mothers of fallen soldiers were initiators of commemorative projects and the most active participants of various commemorative rituals. Although the sacrifice of soldiers was commemorated, becoming an integral part of the national discourse, strong patriotic rhetoric did not leave much room for personal grief. Cemeteries and monuments in Europe underlined the equality of all fallen soldiers. In contrast, the Lviv case showed that social divisions were difficult to overcome even concerning commemorative practices. The controversy surrounding the catacombs resulted in social status not playing a decisive role in the burial of the soldiers. Zarugewiczuwa chose the remains of a private as the symbol of the unknown soldier, but this was a conscious decision. The fact that the public knew about the ranks of the three unknown soldiers and she chose the private anyway demonstrated that the lower class social status mattered in the new national symbol.

⁵⁸Przewodnik po cmentarzu obrońców Lwowa (Lwów: Staraniem i nakładem Straży Mogił Polskich Bohaterów, 1939), <http://www.lwow.com.pl/orleta/orleta39.html>

“The Cemetery of Defenders” and the commemorative practices linked to it, presented a combination of national and local in a new model of collective memory. Unlike in Western European countries, public memory about the First World War was marginalized in the Second Polish Republic. It was impossible to integrate various imperial legacies into the national discourse; the struggle for independence against Ukrainians and the Soviets became a focal point of commemorative narratives. Lviv’s urban space was the centre of a symbolic struggle of Polish and Ukrainian memory discourses in which the Ukrainian community was presented as an internal “enemy” potentially dangerous to the Polish state. Though the construction of the memory discourse in the Second Polish Republic was usually presented as the smooth “top-down” process, the Lviv case highlights that it started rather spontaneously during the Ukrainian-Polish war and entered a period of negotiation and definition thereafter. The establishment of the Unknown Soldier’s grave in Warsaw after which the government banned provincial memorials to unknown soldiers, marked the end of this process.